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Listen how the wise one begins construction of a house for Viṣṇu:

*viḷānatā yathārabhyaṃ grhaṃ vaiṣṇavaṃ śṛṇv evaṃ*

Chapters 1-14 of the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*

by

Elisabeth Eva Raddock

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

South and Southeast Asian Studies

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Robert P. Goldman, Chair

Doctor Sally J. Goldman

Professor Joanna Williams

Professor Crawford Greenewalt

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## Abstract

Listen how the wise one begins construction of a house for Viṣṇu

by

Elisabeth Eva Raddock

Doctor of Philosophy in South and Southeast Asian Studies

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Robert P. Goldman, Chair

This dissertation consists of a translation of the first fourteen chapters of *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* and a detailed analysis aiming at its contextualization in historical, cultural, and theological milieus. The *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* is a Sanskrit text from approximately the ninth century A.D. primarily dealing with rituals concerning the construction of a temple to the god Viṣṇu. The text is probably from Eastern India, most likely Bengal or Orissa. The *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* belongs to the Pāñcarātra tradition, a Viṣṇu centered movement within what we today call Hinduism. The *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* has incorporated older texts, most of which are no longer extant, and has also been a source-text for later works, most notably the *Agni Purāṇa* and the *Hari Bhakta Vilāsa*. The text is named after Hayaśirṣa, the horse-headed incarnation of Viṣṇu, who represents Viṣṇu's divine character as revealer of *śruti*. This is the first time that the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* has been translated. The text is important for Sanskrit textual history, art history, cultural history, religious history of the subcontinent, but unavailable to even most Sanskrit scholars because of a lack of access to the Sanskrit text. The translated chapters deal with preliminary work including choosing the participants for the undertaking. They list, therefore, prerequisites and qualifications, particularly of the *ācārya*, the specific qualities required of the site, and for digging the foundation. The *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* situates the temple at the center of the universe by means of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is, I argue, both a ritual and a practical diagram: it is used ritually to locate the temple at the center of the universe; and it is used practically to plan the layout of the temple. The rituals marking the beginning of temple construction, like ritual plowing, can be traced to Vedic ceremonial practice, including, but not limited to, ritual plowing in the Vedic fire altar. The text focuses on certain moments within the construction because of the ritual function of these moments. The text is primarily a ritual text, possibly written for the *ācārya*. The *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* is central to the understanding of temple construction and the rituals around it making the view of these more complete.

For

Mikko – born before the project started, and who learned to run in India.

Elias – born when the translation was on the way.

Noah – born when all that was left was edits.

and Rob – I could not have done it without you.

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## Preface

In 1993 I visited Varanasi. Shortly after I arrived, a short lane close to the Swedish Study Centre where I lived was going to be reconstructed. The priest wanted someone to take photos, and I was summoned. The ceremony was rather short, a few items deposited in a hole in the mud and the first new stone placed on top. But everybody who came by participated in the ritual in some way. Everyone was silent while the priest recited mantras, and everyone eagerly leaned over to look into the hole (which was perhaps two decimeters in diameter). Ever since, I have been curious about the religious rituals involved in construction. When I decided to go to graduate school I intended first to research the *Agni Purāṇa*, as I felt that the importance and worth of the Purāṇic literature has not been acknowledged by the academic scholarship. Reading about the *Agni Purāṇa* I found a reference to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, the source for much of the *śilpa śāstra* material within the *Agni Purāṇa*. Since the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* has edited twice but never translated I turned my attention to the task of translating the first fourteen chapters of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. The text is a fascinating representation of the religious experience of preparing the field and laying the foundation for Viṣṇu's house. Here we see ancient Vedic rituals incorporated into Vaiṣṇava tantra; the purifying effects of agricultural building activities (excavating, irrigation, plowing, etc.), and the central role of the *ācārya* and meditative insight in foundation laying ritual.



## Acknowledgements

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# Part 1 Introduction

## 1 Introduction

How do those desiring liberation make a temple for you, O God? 25

And what is the rule for the protectors of the *mūrti* of the *ācārya*?  
And [what is] the regulation for a sacrifice to the *vāstu*?  
And [what is] the rule for the giving of *arghya*? 26

What is the regulation for the placing of the stones?  
As well as [what is] the [regulation for] the preparation of the sacred ground etc.?  
And [what is] the rule for the temple?  
And [what is] the rule for the image? 27

[What is the rule with regards to] the entire fivefold temple?  
Thus also, what is the method of erecting the flag-staff?  
And whatever else that would be additional to the temples that [too I] asked about, O *Sureśvara*.  
28 (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, 1.25cd-28)

At the end of the first chapter of a text called the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, the god Brahmā asks Viṣṇu the questions quoted above. These questions are then answered in the rest of the work. This dissertation is about the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, a text of around the 9<sup>th</sup> century that sets down the rules and rituals that govern the construction of that most dramatic, physical representation of religion in southern Asia, the Hindu temple.

### 1.1 General introduction

He who attempts to construct temples, and so forth, for the divine [is freed] from the sins of a thousand births. 1cd  
Those who think of building a temple in their minds [are freed] from the sins of a hundred births. 2ab  
By building a temple one reaps the fruit which he does not even [reap] by celebrating sacrifices.  
By building a temple one acquires the fruits of bathing at all the sacred shrines. 6  
By making one temple one goes to heaven. 8a. (*Agni Purāṇa* chapter 38)<sup>1</sup>

Since many cultures have temple building traditions, it is understandable that modern scholarship shows a pronounced universalizing tendency in its attempts to interpret the temple building phenomenon. Titus Burckhardt<sup>2</sup> is perhaps the best representative of a

---

<sup>1</sup> *cikīṣor devadhāmādi sahasrajanipāpanut/ 1cd*  
*manasā sadmakartṛñāṃ śatajanmāghanāśanam/ 2ab*  
*phalaṃ yannā'payate yajñair dhāma kṛtvā tadāpayate/*  
*devāgāre kṛte sarvatīrthasnanaphalaṃ labhet/ 6*

*ekāyatnakṛtsvargī/ 8a*, chapter 38, *Agni Purāṇa*, all references to the *Agni Purāṇa* are to the Ānandāśrama press edition, (first published in Poona, 1900) , Compare *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 12.58-60. Note that all references to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* will be to the *ādi kāṇḍa* unless otherwise noted.

<sup>2</sup> Titus Burckhardt was a 20th century Swiss member of the Perennialist.

broader contemporary trend that locates the temple at the center of the universe, but nowhere in particular. He posits the temple or sanctuary is always, spiritually speaking, situated at the center of the universe, which is what makes it “a *sacrum* in the true sense of the word”<sup>3</sup>. In the sanctuary the individual is sheltered from the “indefinite of space and time” because it is “here” and “now” that God is present<sup>4</sup>. Ironically, the here and now approach enables a historical and geographical indefiniteness in Burckhardt’s discourse. The ontological-existential supposition that God is present here and now compensates, somehow, for the absence of more pedestrian, situated contextualization of any given temple or temple-text.

The presence of God, according to Burckhardt, is expressed in the design of the temple by emphasizing cardinal directions, proportions and symmetry. The design represents the world. By the architectural construction, the movement within the universe is rendered by a (relatively) permanent form<sup>5</sup>. The ritualistic usage of orientation is assumed to be universal. Used in the most diverse civilizations, it is, for example, mentioned in ancient Chinese books<sup>6</sup>. Vitruvius tells us that the Romans established the *cardo* or *cardo maximus* (the north south street orientation) and the *decumanus* or *decumanus maximus* (the east west orientation) of their cities<sup>7</sup>. In the Roman context, a large number of cities did have these two central dividers<sup>8</sup>. Universalizing from the Roman example is an approach that looks satisfactory. However, it presents us with an airy oversimplification. In the Indian research context, because the material available to non-Sanskritists is often so limited, generalizations and comparisons with other cultures feel tempting. Burckhardt’s sweeping statements look, at first glance, reasonable but, in the absence of more thorough site or text-specific studies, there is no way to verify the generalization. And while it is true that for many cultures there is a common assumption that the temple represents the center of the universe<sup>9</sup>, it is not, in fact, a universal theory. Temples, for that matter, are not present in every culture or throughout the history of a single culture. In South Asia they survive only from the fourth century CE onwards. As for the text that I will be dealing with in this dissertation, the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, we know nothing with certainty about the micro-culture in which it was produced. We know neither the century nor the place of the text’s production. Thus it is impossible to articulate dense descriptions of the text relating to its function in society. Articulating a larger significance of texts like the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is therefore difficult. Yet there is much to be gleaned from comparisons with other traditions. I choose, therefore, to take up Burckhardt’s theorizing with a pinch of salt, to weigh him down, so to speak.

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<sup>3</sup> Titus Burckhardt, *Sacred Art in East and West: its Principles and Methods*, translated [from the French] by Lord Northbourne. Middlesex, Eng. Perennial Books, 1967:17.

<sup>4</sup> Burckhardt, 1967:17.

<sup>5</sup> Burckhardt, 1967:17.

<sup>6</sup> Jeffrey F. Meyer, *Peking as a Sacred City*, Taipei : Chinese Association for Folklore, 1976:5.

<sup>7</sup> Ingrid D. Rowland (transl. and commentary) Thomas Noble Howe (illustration and commentary) Michael J. Dewar (commentary), *Vitruvius: ten books on architecture*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1999.

<sup>8</sup> See discussion on this and the connection to the Etruscan religion in M. Pallottino, *The Etruscans* (revised and enlarged by Bloomington), Indiana University, 1975:143-147.

<sup>9</sup> As discussed by for example Jeffrey F. Meyer in his introduction to his book *Peking as a Sacred City* (1976).

Besides ontological theorizing, I see two more academic trends related to the problem of scope in the endeavor to articulate significance: 1) When analyzing historical developments with reference to continuity and change, including names and forms over a large geographic spread, conclusions become less valid the larger the spread. There is an increasingly weaker power to verify claims as the geographical area and the time difference grows. For example, tracing a particular change within the Vaiṣṇava tradition is a more reasonable scope of study than searching for changes in, respectively, Hindu, Indian, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan and or Indo-European traditions (if one admits the existence of Indo-European “traditions”). It is, in fact, reasonable to posit cognates between Indic divinities, Latin divinities and Old Norse Aesir, but it is not clear how to verify any hypotheses about the import of genetic links among Indo-European myths. 2) One may ask of any given society what motivates or propels particular forms and discuss the powers of society as projections of social groups (grouped by gender, class, caste, etc.). Along these lines, a pantheon of gods is taken to represent the social structure of a culture<sup>10</sup>. The first is increasingly speculative as one seeks further in time and space – cognates between Indra and Thor, Vāstupuruṣa and the chained beast of the Caucasus<sup>11</sup> – give little in terms of understanding of the particular culture or even the phenomenon researched. Though, admittedly, the connections are exciting and seem real enough, at least on the level of etymology. The second approach seems more significant. The idea that pantheon projects social structure and group tensions is profound. There is, unfortunately, hardly any data that can help us map ‘temple’ onto ‘culture’ in the case of the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*. We do not with any exactitude know what place it represents. Exactitude is required in order to verify hypothesis about the social significance of the pantheon. This dissertation, centering as it does on translation, aims to bring forth the data that is available. While the universalizing and spiritualizing approach of Burckhardt and others is untenable insofar as it never quite makes contact with actual temples situated on the ground, the situated “local study” model of research is not satisfactory insofar as we lack the contextualizing data crucial to exciting the interest of our readers. In my attempt to interpret the data of the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* I will adopt a middle course, pointing out so-called universal themes where they seem present, but not building on them. I do this because I want to keep the question of significance open without committing myself to a grand theory that is not verifiable.

The South Asian temple, through its square form, has been understood to symbolize the completed world (as opposed to the circular form, which represents the world driven onward by cosmic movement)<sup>12</sup>. Indeed the square is perhaps the most basic form for architectural construction. From the square, the grid is easily developed. Though the grid is arguably a cumbersome tool<sup>13</sup>, it has been used throughout history in multiple cultures to plan the layout of buildings and cities, and it is still used today. Ancient Roman Empire cities, such as Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber River and Timgad (ancient

<sup>10</sup> Romila Thapar, *A History of India*, Penguin Books, Middlesex, England, 1966: 112ff.

<sup>11</sup> Bruce Lincoln, *Myth, Cosmos and Society*, Harvard University Press, 1986.

<sup>12</sup> Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, Motilal Banarasidass Publ., Delhi, 1946/2007:21-22.

<sup>13</sup> Bafna, Sonit “On the Idea of the *Maṇḍala* as a Governing Device in Indian Architectural Tradition” *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 59, No. 1. (Mar., 2000), pp. 26-49, p 43. Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0037-9808%28200003%2959%3A1%3C26%3AOTIOTM%3E2.0.CO%3B2-9>

Thamugadi in Algeria, founded 100 CE), display a grid pattern with streets running north-south and east-west, as well as four gates in the surrounding city wall at the cardinal points<sup>14</sup>. In ancient China, the city of Beijing was planned according to a grid<sup>15</sup>. In South Asia, the ideal city should, according to ancient texts<sup>16</sup>, be planned on a grid. Some cities displaying grid patterns survive to this day, Jaipur being one clear example<sup>17</sup>. Some are still extant as ruins, such as Vijayanagara<sup>18</sup>. The very earliest cities in which grids are known to have been used to plan a city in South Asia are Harappa and Mohenjodaro in the Indus Valley<sup>19</sup>.

The main purpose of the grid is to keep walls, streets, etc., straight and proportional. For many ancient architectural traditions, proportion is the key to beauty. It seems probable that proportion is basic to the ‘hardwiring’ of human aesthetic sense. In ancient Greek temple design proportional rules were the most important. While the patron decided the scale, the architect applied the same rules (with some exceptions) to all sizes<sup>20</sup>. In South Asian traditions of architecture, as well as sculpture and painting, proportion is the most important element determining beauty<sup>21</sup>. What makes the ancient Indian architectural tradition unique is the number of texts that have survived to this day. No other culture in the world has such an abundance of ancient literature that includes prescriptions and directions for architecture<sup>22</sup>. In these texts, cities are generally organized so temples and palaces become the central point of the grid-like city plan, thus emphasizing the importance of these two types of structures and the power they stand for, the priestly and the royal, as well as their connection. With regard to temple construction, ancient Indian texts, written in Sanskrit, can be divided into two groups: those that focus on technical details of the construction, referred to as *śilpa śāstras*; and those whose primary concerns are the rituals used to sanctify, purify and take possession of the land for the temple, as well as for inviting the appropriate deity. The second group of texts is, to a large extent, more sectarian than the *śilpa śāstras*, and falls into categories of texts related to the various religious movements. Texts are thus subdivided into three categories (which at times overlap or are hard to differentiate): *saṃhitā* (generally *Vaiṣṇava*), *tantra* (generally *Śākta*) and *āgama* (generally *Śaiva*). The *Hayaśiṛṣa*

<sup>14</sup> John S. Kleiner *A History of Roman Art*, Thomson/Wadsworth, Victoria, Belmont, CA 2007:18 and 203ff.

<sup>15</sup> Jeffrey Meyer, *The dragons of Tiananmen: Beijing as a sacred city*, University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, S.C., 1991.

<sup>16</sup> Such as the *Mayamata*, the *Mānasāra*, the *Br̥hat Saṃhitā*, and many of the Purāṇas such as the *Agni Purāṇa* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*.

<sup>17</sup> See discussion in Vibhuti Sachdev and Giles Tillotson, *Building Jaipur: the making of an Indian city*, Reaktion Books, London, 2002.

<sup>18</sup> Vijayanagara displays the grid only in sections of the city. See further discussion in George Mitchell and John M. Fritz, *New Light on Hampi: Recent Research at Vijayanagara*, Marg Foundation, Mumbai, 2006.

<sup>19</sup> Charles Gates, *Ancient Cities: The Archaeology of Urban Life in the Ancient Near East and Egypt, Greece and Rome*, Routledge 2011:70.

<sup>20</sup> J.J. Coulton *Ancient Greek Architects at Work – Problems of Structure and Design*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1977:74

<sup>21</sup> John F. Mosteller, “The Problem of Proportion and Style in Indian Art History: Or Why All Buddhas in Fact Do Not Look Alike”, *Art Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 4, New Approaches to South Asian Art (Winter, 1990), pp. 388-394, p 389.

<sup>22</sup> Though the Chinese feng shui tradition has a number of texts (see Jeffery Meyer) they do not seem to come close to the overwhelming abundance of texts in the Hindu tradition.

*Pañcarātra*, the focus of this study, is a *saṃhitā*, clearly located within the *Vaiṣṇava* tantric tradition.

The Hindu temple is, right from the stage of planning, a center of rituals. Selection and preparation of the temple-ground is the first step in the process. Only much later is the installed image regularly worshiped. As construction goes on, various ceremonies need to be performed. As the temple is finished, auspicious parts or parts that need particular protection, such as the doors, are consecrated separately. Then the whole temple is consecrated. Consecrating the main image and inviting the deity to take possession of the image is the next central and very important ritual at the end of temple construction<sup>23</sup>.

## 1.2 Temple Hinduism

Mārkaṇḍeya said: In Kṛta-yuga the temple was not made on this earth, O king, people could see the gods before their eyes. 1

In Tretā and Dvāpara yugas, though the people saw gods before their very eyes, they made images -Pratimās and worshipped them according to the ceremony. 2

In Tretā-yuga the images of gods were installed in houses. Then in Dvāpara the sages made images in the forests. 3

O king, the siddhas always worshipped them. The sages were happy to install images (in the temple). 4

In this Kali-yuga all people do this activity of installing images. In Kṛta-yuga, jñāna (knowledge) was supreme and in Tretā Tapah - penance was supreme. 5

In Dvāpara similarly the same (Tapah) should be known as supreme, but in Kali-yuga the cities are full of temples. 6 (*Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa adhyāya* 3.93.1-6<sup>24</sup>)

The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* passage quoted above, like many other Hindu texts, gives us a traditional explanation of why temples are needed and an explanation for why the need had not existed prior to this. The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* tells us that in earlier epochs (Sanskrit *yugas*<sup>25</sup>) people did not need temples because access to god was easier, but in this degraded time of the *kali yuga* temples are needed to provide a space for contact between man and god. Verse two (quoted above) states “people saw god before their very eyes” in the *tretā* and *dvāpara yugas*<sup>26</sup>. Now in *kali*, the most degraded of ages, we need images, according to the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. This, we can assume, is because we are not able to see the gods before us otherwise, a notion commonly expressed in Purāṇic literature<sup>27</sup>. This traditional reckoning does not correlate to a

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<sup>23</sup> *Agni Purāṇa* ch. 57-60.

<sup>24</sup> Priyabala Shah, *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, Third Khaṇḍa*, Parimal Publications, Delhi, 2002:221-2.

<sup>25</sup> Yuga is the name of an 'epoch' or 'era' within a cycle of four ages. These are the *satya yuga*, the *treta yuga*, the *dvapara yuga*, and finally the *kali yuga*. The cycles repeat indefinitely. Each cycle starts with a new creation and ends with destruction.

<sup>26</sup> This we should presumably understand as Rāma (*tretā*) and Kṛṣṇa (*dvāpara*).

<sup>27</sup> Mirgandra Agrawal sees a beginning to this in what he calls the ‘sūtra’ literature by which he means mainly ritual and law literature, such as the *Gr̥hya Sūtras*. Agrawal means that the Purāṇic literature elaborates particularly on image worship and makes legends, stories and rituals available to the entire population (Mirgandra Agrawal, *Philosophy of Inspiration*, New Dawn Press, Sterling Publishers, Elgin, IL, 2005:102-106.

western timeline, however. Historically, since around the third century, temples have been a part of what we today call Hinduism<sup>28</sup>. Temples became a common feature of everyday Hindu life by the 7 - 8<sup>th</sup> centuries (or earlier in some places). The heyday of temple construction culminated during the 11-12<sup>th</sup> century when, to cite one notable example, many of the famous temples of Khajuraho were built<sup>29</sup>. Of course temples continued to be constructed and are still constructed today.

The ultimate goal within what we today call Hinduism is *mokṣa*, liberation, from *samsara*, rebirth. Most people do not spend their lives contemplating reality as a means for liberation, though some ascetics do, instead one of the ways open to ordinary people is *bhakti*, devotion. Though *bhakti* developed and still lives on outside temples, the temple cult has become an important locus of devotion within Hinduism. The temple is, in fact, the most characteristic material expression of Hinduism. While the temples and shrines of Hindu Asia are numerous, of many different shapes and sizes, and with many purposes, albeit primarily and profoundly religious in nature, they have successfully served other social, economic, and political ends as well. Discussing the period between 500-900 CE Romila Thapar notices that “there is a striking increase in the number of temples built at this time. This is unlikely to have been purely the result of a greater interest in worship. The temple would have served other functions as well”<sup>30</sup>. Thapar herself focuses particularly on the temples political function<sup>31</sup>. While I will focus on the actual construction of the temple and especially the rituals connected to construction as discussed in the *Ḥayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, situating both text and temple in a larger cultural context gives us a clearer understanding of the function of the two and thus the purpose of the text under discussion.

Following Daniel Ingalls<sup>32</sup>, Ronald Inden<sup>33</sup> as well as Richard Davis,<sup>34</sup> I will use the term ‘Temple Hinduism’ for the ideological setting and historical formation that became the dominant religious and political order in South Asia from the 7-8<sup>th</sup> centuries and approximately five hundred years following that<sup>35</sup>. Temple Hinduism consisted of a large number of schools with distinct philosophical systems, such as Pāñcarātra, to which the *Ḥayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* belongs. These schools shared both ideas, articulating how the

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<sup>28</sup> The terms “hinduism” and “hindu” are both problematic. The usage, their history and problems with definition has been extensively discussed elsewhere. See for example; Frits Staal (“The Himalayas the Fall of Religion.” *The Silk Route and the Diamond Path*, D. E. Kimburg-Salter, ed. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1982:38-51), Robert Frykenberg (“The Emergence of Modern “Hinduism” as a Concept and as an Institution: A Reappraisal with special Reference to South India.” *Hinduism Reconsidered*. G. D. Sonthheimer and H. Kulke, Manohar, Delhi, 1989:29-49.

<sup>29</sup> Susan Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India, Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*, Weather Hill, New York, 1999:467-469.

<sup>30</sup> Romila Thapar, *Early India, from the Origins to 1300*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2002:386.

<sup>31</sup> Thapar, 2002:386.

<sup>32</sup> Davis tells us that Inden coined the term but did not publish any discussion regarding it. Richard Davis, *Ritual in an Oscillating Universe*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J, 1991:6ff.

<sup>33</sup> Inden, Ronald “The Ceremony of the Great Gift (Mahādāna): Structure and Historical Context of Indian Ritual and Society.” In *Asie du Sud, Traditions et Changements*, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1979.

<sup>34</sup> Richard Davis, *Lives of Indian Images*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J, 1997:26.

<sup>35</sup> Note that the ideologies and practices that ‘Temple Hinduism’ incorporates did not vanish with the end of this period; however, they were no longer the dominating orders in Northern India.

cosmos and the world are organized, as well as practices/ rituals that enabled followers to act most efficaciously in the cosmos. Though these practices had as their primary, explicit goal the personal relationship between God and devotee, and the transforming action of his or her condition, these practices also collectively brought about social relations among people, structuring community, authority and hierarchy within the society. During this period (ca. 700-1200) “religious communities devoted to the gods Viṣṇu and Śiva had largely supplanted those loyal to older religious formations, such as that of the Vedas and the heterodox Buddhists and Jains, in elite support and institutional resources”<sup>36</sup>. “The temple was closely associated with the belief and practice of Purāṇic religions”<sup>37</sup>. Purāṇic religions promulgate *bhakti* and the worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva or the goddess. In the Purāṇic religion the temple emerge as the center of public worship (and as Thapar and others have noticed a center of economic and political power). Perhaps most noticeable during this period of Temple Hinduism is what one might call an explosion in temple construction.

While drawing upon earlier South Asian structures and traditions, such as the Vedic sacrificial system, Temple Hinduism nevertheless distinguished itself from the Vedic tradition in several fundamental aspects. Though there are clear differences, there is also continuity between the rituals of temple construction and those of Vedic sacrifice. Did ‘Vedism’ turn into ‘Hinduism’ or are they different traditions? I will argue that Temple Hinduism developed and expanded upon some ideas and rituals contained within the Vedic sacrifice but, at the same time, drew upon and responded to other traditions and changes in society.

Ronald Inden has argued that the change from Vedism to Hinduism happened in two rather sudden transformations. The first transformation is connected to the establishment of Buddhism as the dominant religion of the imperial kingdoms in South Asia. Inden argues that the second transformation occurs with the later establishment of Hinduism as the dominant religion of later Indic States<sup>38</sup>. Johannes Bronkhorst, on the other hand, argues for a slow and subtle change, though they both argue that Brāhmaṇaism and Buddhism influenced one other. Bronkhorst argues that the heartland of Buddhism was not a strong hold of Brāhmaṇaism at the time of the Buddha and that by the time of Aśoka, though the great emperor “showed respect for Brāhmaṇas..., he had no place for them in his imperial administration”<sup>39</sup>. Inden argues that Aśoka’s establishment of Buddhism as the central cult of his empire is the beginning of the change from ‘Vedism’ to ‘Hinduism’<sup>40</sup>. Perhaps the major difference between Inden’s and Bronkhorst’s theories is that Inden assumes a development from ‘Vedism’ to ‘Hinduism’ that is influenced heavily by Buddhism in sudden leaps while Bronkhorst assumes a slow change from an indigenous (non-Vedic) tradition which was influenced by Buddhism and later on by ‘Brāhmaṇaism’<sup>41</sup>. Bronkhorst uses the term ‘Brāhmaṇaism’ to discuss the new kind of Brāhmaṇaism that emerged when Brāhmaṇas no longer were supported by local kings (the kings were replaced by governors in Aśoka’s empire), and

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<sup>36</sup> Davis, 1997:26.

<sup>37</sup> Thapar, 2002:387.

<sup>38</sup> Inden, 1979:132.

<sup>39</sup> Johannes Bronkhorst, *Buddhism in the Shadow of Brahmanism*, Brill, 2011:27.

<sup>40</sup> Inden, 1979:132.

<sup>41</sup> Bronkhorst, 2011:27.



animal sacrifices were forbidden. While Bronkhorst asserts that Buddhism did not come out of Vedic Brāhmaṇism he argues that the two came in contact and that this had “profound consequences for both”<sup>42</sup>. Brāhmaṇas coped with the politically changed circumstances that arrived with the creation of the vast empire of the Mauryans in several ways. Some moved beyond their traditional areas to places where they hoped to be engaged as priests, albeit not to carry out major Vedic sacrifices<sup>43</sup>. Brāhmaṇas also became political advisors<sup>44</sup> (which they presumably were earlier as well), and performed simpler rituals for those who needed them. The primary task, however, of the “new Brāhmaṇism” was, according to Bronkhorst, to “impose its vision of society... [which] meant speaking about society as hierarchically ordered into Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras”<sup>45</sup>. This idea of society as hierarchically ordered was adopted over a long period of time, and this was not the only idea that Brāhmaṇism “sneaked in” to mainstream thought<sup>46</sup>, two others were the role of Brāhmaṇas as the “natural counselors of kings” and the accepted place of Sanskrit as the only “true and correct language” in matters concerning the state<sup>47</sup>. Here Bronkhorst makes an important point – Sanskrit emerged for the first time after the Maurya period as a political, elitist language, a spread that Bronkhorst connects to the spread of Brāhmaṇism. With Brāhmaṇism Bronkhorst means a state where the population or rulers of society “are made to accept a different vision of society, in which Brāhmaṇas are highest because they have access to the supernatural”<sup>48</sup>. Here the Vedas become important as the source of sacred, and secret knowledge which the Brāhmaṇas alone have power over and which they can use to work for the good of the kingdom, or not – a good reason to humor them<sup>49</sup>. Furthermore Bronkhorst emphasizes that Brāhmaṇism is, primarily, a social order, and only

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<sup>42</sup> Bronkhorst, 2011:28. Bronkhorst discussion of the differences between Buddhism and Brahmanism at this point are refreshing and I refer the reader to his book. In this context Bronkhorst also mentions a passage from the *Mahābhārata* (13.33.19-21) where a number of people who were originally kṣatriyas have become *śūdras* because there were no brāhmaṇas among them (2011:33). He also notes the absence of references to *varṇa* references (except to Brāhmaṇas) in Aśoka’s inscriptions as well as in evidence from southern India both of which Bronkhorst thinks point to a period where the Brāhmaṇas worldview and the Brāhmaṇas themselves did not receive the support that they aspired to (2011:32). The influences that the Buddhists and Brāhmaṇas had on each others traditions were, for example, the usage of the Sanskrit language. Bronkhorst argues that the Buddhist switch to Sanskrit as their primary literary language was because they needed to have their texts available in Sanskrit and they needed to know the language to be able to defend their interests at the royal courts, in which by the second century, Sanskrit was *lingua franca*. (2011:128-9). The reason for the need to defend their interests at court was, if I understand Bronkhorst correctly, that the Buddhists needed the support of the royal family and others in their vicinity to be able to build and maintain large monasteries, stupas, and most importantly, the *saṅga*.

<sup>43</sup> Bronkhorst notes that times have changed and Brāhminical texts records this as the Kali-yuga where *dāna* or giving is the *dharma*, sacrifice was the *dharma* of the Dvāpara-yuga (2011:38).

<sup>44</sup> They created a whole literature of advice for kings, describing in great detail how kings should behave. I would argue that texts, such as the *Agni Purāṇa* falls within this fold.

<sup>45</sup> Bronkhorst, 2011:40.

<sup>46</sup> Bronkhorst, 2011:41.

<sup>47</sup> Bronkhorst, 2011:41, Bronkhorst notes that kings commonly only accepted part of this package. Thus some might preform vedic sacrifices but not use the Sanskrit language will others did not care for vedic rituals but adopted the vision of society that the Brāhmaṇas offered (2011:42).

<sup>48</sup> Bronkhorst, 2011:50-1.

<sup>49</sup> Bronkhorst, 2011:52.

secondarily a religion<sup>50</sup>. The main difference here is the changes, while Inden talks of two sudden leaps; Bronkhorst refers to ideas that were slowly incorporated in mainstream thought. Thus, during the Mauryan Empire Buddhism blossomed and Brāhmaṇaism had to fight for its survival. This was, however, to change.

A big difference between Brāhmaṇaism and Buddhism was that the earlier had a vision of society while the latter started as a teaching of a path to freedom from rebirth<sup>51</sup>. This situation did not last long; Buddhism soon developed thoughts on society and political organization<sup>52</sup> thoughts that, in Bronkhorst words, was “a watered down version of the brāhmaṇaical vision of society and of kingship”<sup>53</sup>. Bronkhorst argues that the idea that Buddhism was “nothing but a form of Yoga, and Yoga is an aspect of Brāhmaṇaism that existed long before Buddhism”<sup>54</sup> and that together with lost political support led to the disappearance of Buddhism from the Indian subcontinent<sup>55</sup>. From Bronkhorst’s discussion it seems that one reason for the lost political support may have been that Buddhists left political counsel to Brāhmaṇas. Furthermore, in the Buddhists view of the world kings, empires and realistic political policies had no place or meaning<sup>56</sup>. Bronkhorst, thus, argues that in most of the Indian subcontinent Brāhmaṇas were not, prior to the Maurya Empire, respected and regarded as the top of the societal hierarchy and that this is the context in which Buddhism started out. Further that Brāhmaṇaism had a tradition from smaller kingdoms, of providing political counsel to the kings, a tradition that they continued and expanded upon. My essential problem with Bronkhorst idea is that he does not account for the actual strength of Buddhism for so many years. Buddhism did receive support for a long time, which, reading his book, one sees no reason for. It seems like it would be much more reasonable to support the Brāhmaṇas.

Taking a somewhat different angle to the same issue, and perhaps explaining some of the appeal that Buddhism had to the ancient kings of South Asia, Inden argues that in Buddhism the most important ritual activity is the giving of gifts (*dāna*) to monks and the *stūpa* becomes the focus of *pūjā*<sup>57</sup> in a way that Bareau<sup>58</sup> has argued anticipates

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<sup>50</sup> Bronkhorst, 2011:57.

<sup>51</sup> Bronkhorst, 2011:99.

<sup>52</sup> Bronkhorst, 2011:99, Bronkhorst notes that Buddhism was not as successful in advising kings on the governing of the state as Brahmanism (2011:100ff).

<sup>53</sup> Bronkhorst, 2011:154.

<sup>54</sup> Bronkhorst, 2011:167.

<sup>55</sup> Except the Newar Buddhism in Nepal, which is a form profoundly affected by Brahmanism (Bronkhorst, 2011:170).

<sup>56</sup> Bronkhorst, 2011:231. However, in Mahāyāna Buddhism the idea that the king could be identified with a bodhisattva developed, and with that Buddhists could become political counselors, as the position became legitimate (Bronkhorst, 2011:237). Bronkhorst assumes that it was in the royal court, in response to the Brāhmin rituals that provided magical protection, that Buddhist version of rites and spells developed (Bronkhorst, 2011:238).

<sup>57</sup> “The term *pūjā* is used to denote a ritual of worship of an idol (*mūrti*, *pratimā*) or an aniconic form of a deity as well as any other object that is considered to possess special power and to be sacred. Be it a demon (e.g. the *rākṣasī* Dhundhā during the Holikā festival), a person (e.g., a teacher on Vyāsa – [guru]*paurnimā* day, or an animal (e.g. a snake on Nāgapañcamī day), or a plant (e.g., the Banyan tree on Vaṭasāvitrī day) or an inanimate object (e.g. a book on the day of *sarasvatīpūjā* during the Devīnavarātra).” *Pūjā* also appears in many different forms (Gudrun Bühnemann, *Pūjā – A study In Smārta Ritual*, Publication of the De Nobili Research Library, Brill, Leiden, 1988).

the later worship of images in Hindu temples. Inden further points out that Buddhist texts (he does not say which) contrasted the Buddhist practice of gift giving with the Vedic sacrifice. In Buddhism gift giving is considered nonviolent, altruistic and having salvation-oriented merit as its goal, while the Vedic sacrifice is seen as destructive of life, selfish and world oriented<sup>59</sup>. The Buddhist imperial rulers on the Indian subcontinent turned the *mahādānas* of the Buddhist texts (as opposed to the greatest of the Vedic animal sacrifice – *mahāyajña*) into formal ceremonies and the central ritual activities of the state. Buddhist rulers also forbade all but vegetable sacrifices, to be performed by the conquered kings, and pointed out that *dāna* was much more meritorious (according to Buddhist literature such as *Kūṭadanta Sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*<sup>60</sup>)<sup>61</sup>. Here one might argue that the Buddhists modeled their offering or gift giving on the Vedic sacrifice giving it a similar name but adjusting it so it became acceptable and coherent with Buddhist theology. In this broad historical and ideological context the ritualists of the regional Kṣatriya rulers developed alternatives to the Vedic sacrifice. Focus shifted from the large imperial public *śrauta* (revealed or cosmoreal) rites to the *smārta* (traditional or domestic) *grhya* ritual which shows a ‘cultural-political’ shift from “the encompassing, cosmic, and central to the encompassed, parochial and peripheral”<sup>62</sup>. One might note that Inden takes his historical categories from genre divisions within Pali and Sanskrit literature. While we can readily admit, broadly speaking, that literature is a mirror of society, it also ought to be kept in mind that we have only a very partial record of the religious-political history of South Asia. It is reductionist to correlate literary sources to history without recognizing the huge gaps in the literary record. It seems like Inden is substituting literary history for history “out there”. As in all cultures, history writing in India has, till recently, been the history of the upper classes. We know next to nothing of the lives, beliefs, rituals etc., of common people throughout India’s history.

Rulers devoured their smaller neighbors and taking on more imperial proportions, turning to Buddhism (for example, Suṅga, Sātavāhana, and Gupta<sup>63</sup>), and making the *mahādāna* ceremony the central ritual activity<sup>64</sup>. While recreating the Vedic sacrifice as the paradigmatic rite for an independent regional state was, according to Inden, possible, the imperial structure favored Buddhism as the religion of legitimization. During the same period, in which this development began, as is shown in the *Mahābhārata*, regional deities, sages and heroes, etc., transformed into deities of the Vedic pantheon. These regional deities and euhemerized heroes eventually became the deities to whose icons *pūjā* was performed in temples, in much the same way as the symbol of the euhemerized Buddha was enshrined as cosmic overlord of the imperial state<sup>65</sup>. Drawing upon

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<sup>58</sup> Bareau, in Andre Barreau, Walter Schubring, and Christoph von Fuerer-Haimendorf. *Les religions de l'Inde*, Payot, Paris, 1966:79-81, 131-140.

<sup>59</sup> Inden, 1979:132.

<sup>60</sup> T W Rhys Davids, *Kūṭadanta sutta: (the wrong sacrifice and the right)*, The Wheel publication, v. no. 120, Kandy, Sri Lanka, Buddhist Publication Society, 1968.

<sup>61</sup> Inden, 1979:132.

<sup>62</sup> Inden, 1979:132-3.

<sup>63</sup> See Hasmukhlal Dhirajlal Sankalia, *The University of Nalanda*, Delhi, Oriental Publishers 1972:48-59.

<sup>64</sup> See, Rama Shankar Tripathi, *History of Kanauj to the Moslem Conquest* (Indian Book Shop, Benares, 1937:151-67) for this shift from the Vedic to the Buddhist for the last Buddhist ruler of North India – Harṣa (606-47).

<sup>65</sup> Inden, 1979:133.

Bronkhorst's ideas of the displaced Brāhmaṇas who needed new occupations after the expansion of the Mauryan Empire, one might assume that temple priests became a new mode of earning an income and this might, partly, explain the expansion of temples and texts relating to these. Originally, according to Inden, regional rulers and their ritualists focused on the daily liturgy of Hindu rites in their houses. Eventually, starting with the Guptas in the fourth century, worship was transferred to shrines made of permanent materials. Until the seventh century these structures were smaller and less lavish than the structures housing monks, where rites of the imperial Buddhist cults were performed. Like the gifts that accompanied the 'cosmoregal' form of the Vedic sacrifice, image worship was classed as a peripheral act taking place 'outside the sacrificial enclosure'<sup>66</sup>.

By the fifth century Hinduism had been established as the dominant imperial religion which transformed its relationship to, not only Buddhism, but also the Vedic tradition. After Harṣa, the last Buddhist ruler (606-47), a time of great turmoil followed in North India. This was a time when Muslim rulers and their armies conquered Sindh and put pressure on much of north and western India. After much political change most of the subcontinent came under the rule of five empires: Pratīhāra (north), Pāla (east), Rāṣṭrakuṭa (Deccan), and Paṇḍya and Pallava (south). These empires encompassed areas which expanded and contracted until the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. The rulers of these kingdoms, (save the Pālas), established forms of Hindu image worship as the central cults of their empires, and built the first truly monumental Hindu temples to demonstrate and institutionalize this shift<sup>67</sup>.

Inden argues that establishing Hindu image worship as the main religious activity in the state did not, however, mean a revival of the Vedic sacrifice. Instead the Vedic sacrifice largely ceased<sup>68</sup> in the northern part of the subcontinent<sup>69</sup>. In contrast, Bronkhorst argues, as noted above, that in the greater parts of this area Vedic religion had never been the main religion<sup>70</sup>. Inden's main argument builds on the partly on the fact that the ceremony that replaced the Vedic "cosmoregal sacrifice" is referred in the Purāṇas as "the great gift" (*mahādāna*)<sup>71</sup>. To Inden, the differences between the Vedic sacrifice and the worship in the *mahādāna* ceremony are characteristic of the difference between Vedism and the later Temple Hinduism. The changes described by Inden in broad strokes, were, obviously, subtle and complex and more variegated and contested than literary records. This is also my main critique towards Inden's theory of the role of the Vedic sacrifice and Temples in imperial India. The strokes he paints are so broad that much is left outside, including the fact that the Vedic culture did not die out.

Bronkhorst, discussing Brāhmaṇaism and the disappearance of Vedic society, tells us that "it is likely that the creation of the Nanda Empire followed by the Maurya

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<sup>66</sup> Inden, 1979:133-4.

<sup>67</sup> Inden, 1979:134.

<sup>68</sup> Inden, 1979:134.

<sup>69</sup> Staal and Hesterman have proposed that Vedic sacrifices continued in the south until the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Frits Staal, *Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar*, 2 vols. Berkeley, Asian Humanities Press, 1983, vol. 1 p. 2, Johannes C. Hesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration*, s'Gravenhage, Mouton, 1957, p. 49 ff.).

<sup>70</sup> Bronkhorst, 2011:27.

<sup>71</sup> See for example *Matsya Purāṇa* 276-89 for ritual procedures of 16 such ceremonies.

empire signaled the end of traditional Vedic society”<sup>72</sup>. Bronkhorst guesses that “none of the rulers of these two empires felt close to this [Vedic] sacrificial cult”<sup>73</sup> because they were not from the ‘Vedic heartland’. The Brāhmaṇas who performed Vedic sacrifices traveled great distances and when their services were in less demand they broadened their services to include advise of statecraft and governing as well as predicting people’s future, blessings, etc. in addition to performing the Vedic sacrifices<sup>74</sup>. Bronkhorst thus sees the change within Brāhminical Hinduism rather than an influence from Buddhism. He sees the change as a response from within the Brāhmin fold, as a fight for survival when their services as sacrificers were not in as high a demand from the royal families and other patrons. In both Bronkhorst’s and Inden’s arguments it is important that there was a period of Buddhist rulers. Both see that the Brāhminical and Buddhist traditions changed due to their meeting but while Bronkhorst argues that Buddhism had to conform to Brāhmaṇaism Inden argues that the Hindu tradition picked up the Buddhist way as a replacement for the Vedic sacrifice on a state level. The ideas presented by Inden and Bronkhorst do not necessarily speak against each other. However, personally, I find Bronkhorst’s argument more convincing; especially as Inden’s historical leaps seem a bit far-fetched (history rarely takes leaps). On the other hand, Bronkhorst makes it seem like Brāhmaṇas plotted, in a highly planned way, to infiltrated society with their ideas of hierarchy. That Brāhmaṇas seeked to convince people of their way of life was, likely true, but Bronkhorst makes it sound like a plot which had as its sole purpose to gain power, while one might assume that most Brāhmaṇas believed that their way of looking upon the world was the correct one and that seeking to explain and convince people of the right world view was the right thing to do.

While discussing Temple Hinduism, we must bear in mind that building temples, or rather, sponsoring the construction of temples, was the concern of a small elite portion of the population. For most people the temple would not be a concern until, perhaps, it was finished and people could go to seek God there. Romila Thapar articulates the significance of the temple in terms of the meeting of social classes. “The local temple was the nucleus of religious life and there the two levels of religion, the brāhminical and the devotional, met”<sup>75</sup>. According to Thapar, in the Tamil South, *bhakti* represented “the lower castes...artisans and cultivators”<sup>76</sup>. The Tamil devotional cult was in part a resistance to the Aryanization of the region. The Brāhmaṇas enjoyed royal patronage, but the cult was widely supported by the ordinary people”<sup>77</sup>. Thapar thus accepts a Marxist principle of history writing, that class struggle is the motive force of history. The significance of the Brahmanized temple ritual is that the Brāhmaṇas domesticate popular resistance (the devotional cult) by articulating it in terms of Vedic ritual and Brāhminical ideology, an ideology that legitimated the rule of royalty. In the North, Thapar writes, “the devotional cult represented the more puritanical protest of the professional classes”<sup>78</sup>. Here Thapar’s emphasis on the puritanism and the professional classes

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<sup>72</sup> Bronkhorst, 2011:30.

<sup>73</sup> Bronkhorst, 2011:30.

<sup>74</sup> Bronkhorst, 2011:31.

<sup>75</sup> Romila Thapar, *A History of India*, Penguin Books, Middlesex, England, 1966:189.

<sup>76</sup> Thapar, 1966:188.

<sup>77</sup> Thapar, 1966:188.

<sup>78</sup> Thapar, 1966:261.

invokes Max Weber’s sociological theory. “The popular cults and sects demonstrated their protest in a more startling manner such as the rites of the Kalamukhas and Kapalikas. Some of their rituals... were rooted in the outcaste sections of society”<sup>79</sup>. Thapar identifies three religious ideologies in the North – devotion, tantra and Brāhmaṇa orthodoxy – representing the professional class, the popular class and the Brāhmaṇas and royalty. Adapting Thapar’s formula, we say that texts like the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* show the ability “brāhmaṇa orthodoxy had to adjust itself to this formidable range of religious expression in order to maintain its position. This it did most successfully and the adjustment was to prove its salvation... made respectable by being included at some level in the orthodox hierarchy”<sup>80</sup>. This description, though undoubtedly reductionist in its one sided emphasis on sociological analysis and the use of ritual and theology for legitimating class rule – nevertheless describes the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* neatly. The temple is a “nucleus of religious life” where different “levels of religion” representing different social classes meet. The presence of Vedic, devotional and tantric elements in the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* reflect the presence of royal, Brāhminical, professional, popular and outcaste groups in feudal society. The devotional and tantric elements show the strength (which Thapar articulates in terms of resistance and protest) of the professional and popular classes, but the use of Sanskrit, the Brāhminical framework, and Vedic ritual show the Brāhminical class’s successful negotiation for power.

Constructing grand temples was a matter for the wealthy, which means that a text like the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* reflects a world to which most had no access. The age of Temple Hinduism was not a golden age. For, as Thapar shows, a golden age never existed – it is an utopian idea, albeit in early historical writings often used about the Gupta period. The Gupta period was selected largely because of its impressive literary works in Sanskrit and high quality of art, which coincided with what was viewed as a Brāhminical ‘renaissance’<sup>81</sup>. In addition, discussing ‘classics’ or classical period should be viewed with some suspicion. There is not a single period “when the entire subcontinent of South Asia subscribed to a single, universal, cultural form”<sup>82</sup>. The reason is obvious; the South Asia subcontinent is large with multiple languages as well as cultural and religious traditions. It is therefore problematic when scholars use Sanskrit literature to discuss history as if it was the history of a country (or a continent). Instead we might think of Sanskrit literature (as most literature) as *a* history of a specific part of the population (or social class), in a specific area, during a specific time, or (as is often the case with Sanskrit texts) as a history of an unspecified group, in an unspecified time and place. Thapar states that “the wider dimensions of historical change ranging from land relations to philosophical discourse, of which this [Sanskrit literature] was a signature, have also to be incorporated”<sup>83</sup>. Thus we need to keep in mind that the history written in the pages of literature such as the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* was intended only for a limited part of the population. In the case of the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* the audience of the text may well have been the *ācārya*, the priest who was to direct the construction of

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<sup>79</sup> Thapar, 1966:261.

<sup>80</sup> Thapar, 1966:261.

<sup>81</sup> RomilaThapar, *Early India, from the Origins to 1300*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2002:280.

<sup>82</sup> Thapar, 2002:281.

<sup>83</sup> Thapar, 2002:281.

the temple. However, the impact of the text would have be felt by all living in or visiting the area where a temple was constructed; as the temple would display the text in a visual form, following its rules of composition in terms of proportions, decorations, circumambulatory pathways, etc.<sup>84</sup>.

As mentioned, temples were not only religious centers but especially large temples developed into economic and political powers as well. Thapar notes that “Grants of land were made to religious and ritual specialists or to officers”<sup>85</sup>. While this did not produce revenue for the state, it led to improvement in rural areas. “If the land granted to Brāhmaṇas (whether ritual specialists or as administrators) was wasteland or forest, the grantee took on the role of a pioneer in introducing agriculture”<sup>86</sup>. Though some normative texts forbid agriculture to Brāhmaṇas, except in dire needs, this did not prevent Brāhmaṇas to become experts in agricultural activity<sup>87</sup>. Such proscriptions would indicate that some Brāhmaṇas were engaged in agricultural labor and that for reasons that might be hard to recover in any certainty this was not considered appropriate (the reasons are clearly rationalized by the later tradition). Land grants were at first marginal but by the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD they had expanded, gradually changing the political economy<sup>88</sup>. Even though a grant was generally not in perpetuity, the descendants of the grantee tended gradually to treat the land granted as an inheritance. While the king had the power (and right) to revoke the grant (unless otherwise stated by the original grantor) this was rarely done due to the danger of creating political opposition<sup>89</sup>. The grants of land eventually became more important than monetary donations to religious institution and made both temples and monasteries into landlords<sup>90</sup>. Brāhmaṇas, as religious beneficiaries were granted land, ostensibly in return for legitimizing and validating the dynasty, or averting a misfortune through performance of rituals, or the king earning merit<sup>91</sup>. Thapar suggests that “many of the early temples dedicated to Puranic deities are located in central India, possibly because of the proximity to forest settlements”<sup>92</sup>. “In the case of grants of villages and cultivated land, the peasants working the land were transferred together with the land. This created a category of tied peasantry whose numbers gradually grew larger”<sup>93</sup>. These peasants were not serfs they had to pay taxes to the grantee but were, generally, free to make his money as they wished<sup>94</sup>. In reality, though, one might assume that for most peasants there were few options.

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<sup>84</sup> One might argue that the people visiting the temple would, generally, not know the text utilized by the people in charge of the construction. Even if this, most likely, is true I still think one can argue that the temple would have been a completely different object of art had the Hindu tradition not developed a highly refined sence of beauty recorded in these texts and associated so strongly with ritual.

<sup>85</sup> Thapar, 2002:291.

<sup>86</sup> Thapar, 2002:291.

<sup>87</sup> Thapar, 2002:292.

<sup>88</sup> Thapar, 2002:292.

<sup>89</sup> Thapar, 2002:292-3.

<sup>90</sup> Thapar, 2002:293.

<sup>91</sup> Thapar, 2002:293.

<sup>92</sup> Thapar, 2002:294.

<sup>93</sup> Thapar, 2002:295.

<sup>94</sup> Thapar, 2002:295.

The problem with Thapar's neat model, however well it functions as a starting point for analysis, is its blindness to so many aspects of the temple that are not political or economical: theological, spatial, aesthetic, etc.

One of the most noticeable distinguishing aspects of Temple Hinduism is its focus primarily on Viṣṇu, Śiva and the goddess. While one may argue that there was not, at this time, one religion called Hinduism, I use the term Temple Hinduism to refer to a phenomenon which occurred across an ideological spectrum corresponding to earlier stages of what we today commonly label as Hinduism. While the religious communities of Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Śākta devotees did not share a daily religious life, Temple Hinduism is a common ideology that spans the two distinct religious formations. Each god, Śiva, Viṣṇu, and the goddess is viewed by his devotees as the highest deity, the overlord of cosmos. Sources depict these gods as *parameśvara* (the highest god) and *viśveśvara* (lord of everything), capable of manifesting themselves visibly in the world through *avatāras* (incarnations), *vyūhas* (emanations) or *mūrtis* (embodiments/ images). The god 'crosses over' or 'descends' in order to enter into direct relation with other divinities and lesser beings such as humans<sup>95</sup>. Typically, a text makes it clear who it recognizes as the main god, even if it mentions other gods as well. For example, Viṣṇu, in his incarnation as Hayaśīrṣa, or the horse-headed *avatāra*, is the narrator of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. Throughout the text, Viṣṇu is identified as the main god even though other gods and their iconography are described as well<sup>96</sup>.

In Vaiṣṇava texts, other gods recognize the superiority of Viṣṇu. In Śaivaite texts other gods recognize Śiva as *parameśvara*. Purāṇic literature such as the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and *Śiva Purāṇa* recount the events by which lesser gods such as Indra or Agni (important Vedic gods) realized the superiority of Viṣṇu or Śiva. Purāṇic accounts sometimes articulate a struggle or competition among several gods for supremacy, the outcome of the struggle or competition will recognize the preeminence of the one to which the Purāṇa is devoted<sup>97</sup>. Subordinate deities may be assistants, devotees or acolytes/helpers of the highest god. Occasionally they appear as aspects of the god. In *Bhagavad Gīta* (ch. 11), the gods make up Viṣṇu's body.

Relationships between the supreme godhead and humans are hierarchical in Temple Hinduism, not reciprocal as in the Vedas. In the Vedic world-view/ ideology the gods are essentially dependent on the sacrifice and the sacrifice keeps the world going. In Temple Hinduism texts promulgate a *bhakti* attitude towards god, for example one should: recognize god's superiority, be devoted and attentive, and express desire to participate in the god's exalted domain. A god is neither compelled by human devotion, nor by ritual actions (as the Vedic exegetes claimed of sacrificial ritual) but a god may

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<sup>95</sup> Richard Davis, 1991:6-7.

<sup>96</sup> Max Müller identified Hindu religiosity as henotheist because of this trait. Max Müller: *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion: As Illustrated by the Religions of India*, Originally published in 1878, republished in 1997 as *The Early Sociology of Religion, Vol 2 Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion by Max Müller*, Routledge, New York.

<sup>97</sup> Richard Davis, 1991:7. Perhaps the most famous one is the where Viṣṇu and Brahmā discover a huge pole which they decide to explore. The pole is in fact Śiva's *liṅga*. For the *lingodbhava* myth, and Vishnu and Brahmā as emanations of Śiva, see Zimmer (1946), pp. 128-129, Zimmer, Heinrich (1946). *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, First Princeton-Bollingen printing, 1972. See also Gonda (1970/1996:98ff) for a discussion on some myths relating to this topic. For the story in a Purāṇic context see for example *Skanda Purāṇa ch 1.1.6-7*.



freely choose to grant favor (*prasāda*) or grace (*anugraha*) to humans who have properly recognized and served him<sup>98</sup>. That is *do ut des*, give and be given to, versus accepting the Lordship of a deity. We can see the same movement from cultic ancient Israelite religion to Rabbinic Judaism/ early Christianity. The ancient Israelite religion practiced a version of the *do ut des* while later Rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity moved towards accepting lordship and receiving grace. Very likely the reason why early explorers in India thought that *bhakti* was a result of contact with Christianity.

Acts of divine generosity may be in the form of worldly enjoyment (*bhoga*), but God's most important gifts lead towards liberation (*mokṣa*), the highest state. *Mokṣa* is conceptualized in various ways in the different schools of Hindu thought. *Mokṣa* may be articulated, depending on the school a text promulgates, as a merging with the godhead, permanent service at the feet of the Lord, autonomous and parallel divinity, or to some other final and ultimate state. The character of liberation was one of the major points of dispute among the different schools developing during this period. For most Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas, the worship of images installed in temples was the primary way for people to interact with the god they thought of as *parameśvara*.

The attitude of *bhakti* is most visibly expressed in temple Hinduism through its temples and the rites performed in connection to these. Daily worship, or *pūjā*, has been explored by Gudrun Bühnemann in *Pūjā*<sup>99</sup>. Richard Davis discusses *Śaiva* rituals in his book *Ritual in an Oscillating Universe*. “In *pūjā*, a worshipper invokes or invites the deity into some material form, most often an image or icon visually and symbolically representing the deity and presents to him both material offerings such as food and clothing and devoted services such as the recitation of his praises, music, dance and songs”<sup>100</sup>. During this service (*upacāra*), the gods Viṣṇu and Śiva enter into various anthropomorphic and aniconic objects so that the devotees may see them and be seen by them (*darśan*)<sup>101</sup> and make their offerings<sup>102</sup>. In the rituals concerning temple construction, inviting and offering *pūjā* to the deities of the place (*vāstudevatās*) play a central role for taking possession of the temple site.

In many ways the Hindu *pūjā* continues the ritual concerns expressed in the Vedic *yajña*. Food offerings to the gods are at the center of both the rites<sup>103</sup>. Human participants must attain a state of ritual purity as well as summon the god to be present. In most cases the remainder of the food is distributed among the worshippers and/ or assembled Brāhmaṇas<sup>104</sup>. The enactment of proper relationships between humans and gods also

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<sup>98</sup> It is interesting to try to relate these two respective religious ideologies – hierarchical and reciprocal – to the social structure dominating in their respective historical period. There are important reasons for being able to identify and articulate Vedic Hinduism and Temple Hinduism, even though these terms do not name religions nor are they the tradition's own terms. They help historians and sociologists of religions to discuss broader tendencies and changes within the traditions.

<sup>99</sup> Bühnemann, 1988.

<sup>100</sup> Davis, 1991:8.

<sup>101</sup> Diana Eck *Darśan – Seeing the Divine Image in India*, Columbia University Press, 1998.

<sup>102</sup> Davis, 1991:8.

<sup>103</sup> Inden, 1979:134.

<sup>104</sup> For a discussion of the centrality of purity and food in puja see “The Food of the Gods in Chhattisgarh: Some Structural Features of Hindu Ritual” by Lawrence A. Babb, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Autumn, 1970), pp. 287-304, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3629382>

instantiates status relationships within the human community: eating *yajña*, *śiṣṭa*, the god's leftovers, establishes a Lord-servant relationship.

Several fundamental features clearly distinguish *pūjā* from the Vedic form of worship. The Vedic deities are invisible, even after they have been invoked. In *pūjā* the deities are invited to inhabit material objects (animate or inanimate). In the Vedic sacrifice, the god Agni acts as a go-between. Sacrifices are not made directly to other deities. *Pūjā*, on the other hand, is performed directly for the god, both to the highest god and to the other deities present in their own individual embodiments. The Vedic world view assumed a sharing of cosmic powers between gods and men, where sacrificial offerings made to the Vedic gods (the most elaborate of which involves animal slaughter) were considered part of a cycle of exchange between gods and men. Through repeated food offerings men offered a share of their crops and domestic animals, while the gods gave rain for the crops. There was on both sides an obligation to return the gifts<sup>105</sup>. Gifts in the perspective of Temple Hinduism, on the other hand, were far from any equal exchange. The cosmic overlord was completely independent and only gave benefits as *prasāda* (grace or favor). Thus all *pūjā* offerings as well as gifts made to *gurus*, temples, gods, etc., were not done in expectation of any immediate return gift, but because the honoring of superiors and altruistic giving were in themselves positive goods and helped the worshiper toward the ultimate goal of liberation and the penultimate goal of heaven (or some similar reward depending on tradition). Temple Hinduism thus reflects a feudal lord-vassal character different from Vedic religion.

As temple Hinduism seeks to render relations between humans and divinities more visible and direct, it also attempts to institutionalize them more permanently. Vedic public sacrifices are performed in temporary ritual settings constructed for the occasion. There are no extant remains from Vedic sacrifices because the materials, mainly brick and wood, were ephemeral. Public *pūjā* (*parārthapūjā*), on the other hand, takes place in a durable structure, built to last. These structures, or temples, are commonly made of stone, brick or sometimes wood, they are lavishly and elegantly decorated by sculptors and painters. Such a temple serves as an enduring home for the divine image(s) of the main god (and his (or her) subsidiary deities) and for the god (deities) who dwells within it (them).

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* was composed in the early stages of the Temple Hinduism period<sup>106</sup> when relatively simple early codes for temple construction, though still in the process of developing, were elaborated in more complex set of regulations. These regulations are laid out in a similar fashion in multiple texts from various places across the subcontinent. There are differences of course, determined by the particular religious affiliation of the texts' authors, regarding location as well as purpose (essentially ritual or architectural). Even so the similarities are striking, particularly in terms of structure, stress on the rituals concerning the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* (with exceptions such as the *Pādma Samhitā*) and the significance of proportion and cardinal directions.

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<sup>105</sup> See also *Bhagavad Gītā* chapter 3, the ideology of *do ut des* is exemplified.

<sup>106</sup> See chapter 4.1 below.

Davis<sup>107</sup> notes that among the early texts (5-6<sup>th</sup> century) the most noteworthy ones prescribing *pūjā* to anthropomorphic images are *Viṣṇusmṛiti* (64-5) and *Baudhāyanagr̥hyapariśiṣṭhasūtra* (2.14, 2.17). For example, according to *Viṣṇusmṛiti* 65.1 we are told (in Davis translation) “Now then, after having duly bathed, and duly washed his hands and feet, and duly sipped water, he must worship Bhagavat Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu), who is without beginning and end, before an idol or on the sacrificial ground”<sup>108</sup>. While there are physical images possibly intended for ritual use as early as in the Indus Valley Civilisation (2500-1700 BCE) and while stone and terracotta figures from the Mauryan period are plentiful, it is impossible to say when worship of religious images began. Texts giving instructions for the making, consecration and worship of Hindu images do not appear until around the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* is the most well-known early text that incorporates some temple and iconographical material. Starting in the 7-8<sup>th</sup> century the Vaiṣṇava *saṃhitās* and Śaiva *āgamas* began to appear. These texts did not seek to be part of the Vedic corpus, but rather gained their authority and legitimacy through claiming to be direct revelation of the gods. In these texts, including the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, the gods promulgate worship of images in temples as the main way through which most humans can achieve worldly and spiritual goals. While the *saṃhitā* and *āgama* canons are large and diversified, they set forth a common doctrine of Temple Hinduism.

Returning to the relationship between Brāhminical and Buddhist traditions Inden argues<sup>109</sup> that before the eighth century Brāhminical equivalents of the Buddhist *mahādāna* ceremonies were considered appendices to sacrifices such as the horse sacrifice and did not have the status of cosmoreal rituals. Instead Brāhmaṇaic equivalents of the Buddhist *mahādāna* ceremonies took place outside the sacrificial enclosure and were considered domestic. Together with Hindu image worship, these Brāhminical gift traditions were peripheral prior to the period of Temple Hinduism. Bronkhorst on the other hand argues that the Brāhminical tradition prepared the Brāhmaṇas for a life at the court better than Buddhism did for the Buddhists. At the same time Bronkhorst emphasizes Aśoka’s importance as a ruler and as one who sets the norms for an emperor in South Asia<sup>110</sup>. Thus, according to Inden, Brāhmaṇaism could not use the Vedic sacrifice to assert power, and according to Bronkhorst, in these areas it was not a question of returning to Vedism as that had never been practiced in the Mauryan homeland. Instead Brāhmaṇaism reinvented itself emphasizing social structure, Sanskrit and the role of the Brāhmin as royal advisor. In this context texts like the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, and more clearly the *Agni Purāṇa*, were composed. They are texts that, in addition to other rules, tell us why temples need to be constructed, how and by whom as well as what the gain will be for those who sponsors the project.

During the early medieval period, the temple became the dominant religious institution in South Asia and Hindu influenced Southeast Asia. Myriad temples of every size were constructed and dedicated, not only to Viṣṇu and Śiva but also to the goddess as well as other divinities regarded as lesser according to the dominant Vaiṣṇava and

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<sup>107</sup> Davis, 1991:8

<sup>108</sup> Davis, 1991:8

<sup>109</sup> Inden, 1979:134.

<sup>110</sup> Bronkhorst, 2011:27-36.

Śaiva points of view. As the permanent residence of a god in the community, the temple became much more than the location for *pūjā* offerings. The temple was, and is, the locus of a wide range of personal and social activities, both ritual and other, for example providing a stage for performing and literary arts<sup>111</sup>. Many temples were major economic institutions acting as feudal lords, employers, landholders and moneylenders. The temple was the social center of the community and was an arena in which relationships of authority and rank were constituted, contested and displayed<sup>112</sup>.

Sponsoring a temple was a central act of devotion for the rich and powerful during the ‘Temple Hinduism’ period<sup>113</sup>. Since the act of sponsoring made possible all subsequent offerings, it was considered foundational and the most efficacious ritual action. This is pointed out in many of the Purāṇas, including the *Agni Purāṇa*, which states that one who even thinks of building a temple will be free from the sins of a hundred births. The *Agni Purāṇa* goes on to explain those benefits one gains by the actual construction of a temple or shrine<sup>114</sup>. Sponsorship and endowment of temples within their domains became essential acts of rulers, just as in earlier times, offering public sacrifices had been. This was the case not only for powerful hegemonic imperial kings, but also for subordinate regional chieftains and local headmen, or for assemblies, who exercised authority at intermediate levels. Obviously, the different levels of the hierarchy had different courses of ritual action available to them. Architectural texts give directions for construction ranging from modest single-story shrines to multi-level grand structures. The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, for example, enumerates one hundred and one different temple types<sup>115</sup>.

Building a temple was also a political act. Only imperial kings could sponsor the construction of large structures. While there are non-royal dedications, albeit not the largest shrines, for example at Badami and Halebid, larger structures are generally sponsored by a member of the royal family, such as several of the temples at Khajuraho. Commonly, kings would be equated with the gods, as for example at the Lakṣmaṇa temple in Khajuraho, where, in an inscription the king Yaśovarman (CE 925-950) is equated with Viṣṇu<sup>116</sup>.

Since a temple is a place for contact with a god, as well as a social, economic and political institution, construction of large structures in particular becomes a major event. A king, a chieftain, or an assembly of important and wealthy locals, having decided that they would like to have a temple constructed, search out the people to do the

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<sup>111</sup> Arts that may, of course, have ritual elements incorporated in them as well. See Selina Thielemann, *Divine Service and the Performing Arts in India*, A.P.H. Books, New Delhi, 2002:9.

<sup>112</sup> K.V. Soundara Rajan “The Kaleidoscopic Activities of Medieval Temples in Tamilnad,” *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* 42 (1952): 87-101, Burton Stein “The Economic Function of a Medieval South Indian Temple,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 19 (1960): 163-76, Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1980. A. Appadurai and C.A. Breckenridge, “The South Indian Temple: Authority, Honour and Redistribution,” *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 10 (1976): 187-211, Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

<sup>113</sup> Temples, of course, continued to be built during later periods as well.

<sup>114</sup> *Agni Purāṇa* ch. 38

<sup>115</sup> *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, 3.86-88.

<sup>116</sup> Devangana Desai, *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho*, Franco-Indian Research Pvt Ltd, Mumbai, 1996:41.

job for them, and then step back, taking the position of *yajamāna* (patron). Sanskrit texts from the period of Temple Hinduism lay out the steps for constructing a temple. The steps are described in similar ways by the different philosophical schools and in the different parts of the subcontinent. In spite of differences, which will be discussed below, there is a general pattern that each text follows. First, one needs to locate an appropriate plot of land, which has the right type of soil, as well as surroundings. Next, the area is examined to make sure that there are no malignant spirits or objects hiding there. If there are, certain rites must be performed to remove them. Then, the space is ritually and spatially marked, and the appropriate deities invited. Only after these place-taking ceremonies are carried out can construction start. While complicated rituals, calculations and rules may not have been followed in the case of small road-side shrines, there are many indications that they were important for the construction of large, permanent temples, built as homes for the gods<sup>117</sup>.

### 1.3 Purpose

The principal aim of this study is to explore rituals connected to planning a temple according to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* (c. 8<sup>th</sup> C A.D<sup>118</sup>) is a Vaiṣṇava text that focuses on both the construction of temples and the sculpting of images, which are to be placed inside. Here we will focus on the prescriptions for consecrating the land and laying out the grid, commonly called the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. Scholars such as Meister and Kramrisch have argued for a connection between the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and the lay-out of a temple, while other scholars, including Bafna<sup>119</sup>, have argued that the usage of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is mainly to identify the *marmas*, or vital points to be avoided during construction. Again others, including Champalakshmi<sup>120</sup>, have argued that the images on the outer walls of temples display positions fixed according to the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. It seems to me possible that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, as Meister has noted<sup>121</sup>, is first of all a ritual formula, used to prepare or take possession of the land before commencing to build the temple. I will argue that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is primarily of ritual significance but that it does have certain architectural/ geometric implications for the construction of the building.

Though there are many different *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍalas* used for different purposes, the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* only presents one *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*: the *māṇḍukyamaṇḍala*. The focus on the *māṇḍukyamaṇḍala*, with its sixty-four squares, is in keeping with the ritual character of the text and in contrast to many other *śilpa* texts, such

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<sup>117</sup> See for example Meister, Michael W. "Maṇḍala and Practice in Nāgara Architecture in North India." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 99 (1979): 204- 19.

<sup>118</sup> Note that the dating of architectural and ritual texts is far from precise. The topic is further explored in chapter 4.1 below.

<sup>119</sup> Bafna, 2000.

<sup>120</sup> R. Champalakshmi, *The Hindu Temple*, Roli Books, New Delhi, 2001:12.

<sup>121</sup> Meister, Michael W. "Mandala and Practice in Nāgara Architecture in North India." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 99 (1979): 204- 19.

as the *Mayamatam*<sup>122</sup>. The use of the *māṇḍukyamaṇḍala* only is in line with the text's sole interest, how to plan and build a temple. The text is clear that the sixty-four square *maṇḍala* is what one should use for a temple. Other grids have other purposes. Our text only specifies that the grid with eighty-one squares should be used when building a house. In the 8x8 grid 44 gods are placed. Drawing the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is a ritual pre-requisite for the temple construction. Most Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva *śilpa* texts that deal with architecture include the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*<sup>123</sup>. Thus, the ritual and technical aspects of temple construction are not easily distinguished. Every stage in the building process is connected to a rite. Knowledge of the rite is essential. Without it the temple will not be a proper dwelling for the gods.<sup>124</sup> The ritual process includes the act of giving stability to the site, purification, leveling, and planning according to the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*.

The connection between ritual, consecration and construction is essential in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. It is a question of limiting and securing sacred space through ritual repetitions consisting of speech and action repeated in the *śilpa śāstras* in relationship to the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*.

Pañcarātra literature discusses four steps or phases in the construction of the temple: the *prāsāda* (temple), *pratimā* (image), *pratiṣṭhā* (installation) and *pūjā* (institution of worship performed daily and occasionally within the temple after its completion). The first three steps are discussed in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. It is hoped that this study, which discusses the preparations for the *prāsāda*, will be the first of a series of studies of this text and other Pañcarātra texts relating to temple architecture.

As the focus is a text, the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, and its description of the preparatory rituals for temple construction, it is hardly surprising that the present study is based mainly on textual sources. The chief source is the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* itself. Fourteen chapters of the text have been translated (see section 2 below). These chapters

<sup>122</sup> The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* mentions the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* with 81 squares in two verses (chapter 13.6-7) but does not elaborate on it.

<sup>123</sup> Note that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, though most popular due to its association with the two largest groups; Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, within Hinduism, is not the only pattern used for determining directions and planning temples. In Orissa the *nāgabandha* is commonly used (see Bose *Canons of Orissan Architecture* and the *Śilpa Prakāśa*. 60-61, verse 55ff) *Śāktas* employ the *Yoginī-Yantra* (*Śilpa Prakāśa* starting p 70-71 verse 90). In her introduction to the *Śilpa Prakāśa* Alice Bonner quotes the *Śilpasarīṇi* which gives an explanation for this: “*Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas, Sauras, Gaṇapatyas* consider the *Vāstupuruṣa* as the Lord of the building site, but the *Śāktas* do not consider him as such.” (Bonner, Alice and Sadāśiva Rath Śarmā, *Śilpa Prakāśa*, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and Motilal Banarasiidass, Delhi, 2005:20.) However the *Yoginī-Yantra*, which one would assume to take the place of the *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, in a *śākta* temple is not drawn before construction but rather on the foundation of the temple where the *garbhagrha* is to be placed before the building of the walls is commenced. Alice Bonner still believes that they serve similar functions. (Bonner and Śarmā (2005): p. 20.). The *Pādma Saṃhitā* is one of the few texts that does not discuss the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* (Smith, Daniel (ed.) *Pañcarātraprāsādaprasādhanam, Chapters 1-10 of the “kriyāpāda, “Pādmasaṃhitā” – A Pañcarātra Text on Temple-Building*, 1963).

<sup>124</sup> European languages carry a certain baggage associated with ritual insofar as ritual and ‘priestcraft’ are key ideas by which Protestant Europe polemicized against the Catholic church. Thus articulating the distinction between ‘ritual use’ and ‘practical use’ of the *maṇḍala*, may run the risk of importing European history of ideas somewhat foreign to Hinduism. 19<sup>th</sup> Century Orientalists often regarded Hinduism, like Rabbinic Judaism, as analogous with Roman Catholicism insofar as they characterized Hindu ritual as excessive and gross.

begin the *ādi-kāṇḍa*, the first book of our text<sup>125</sup>. The translation is based on the edition published by the Oriental Society of Bengal in 1974. This edition is based on twelve different manuscripts. In addition to the 1974 edition I have examined the edition of 1952<sup>126</sup>.

Preparatory rituals and rituals carried out during construction play an important role in Sanskrit texts on architecture and ritual. Still, scholars have largely ignored the topic. One recent study of importance is Anna Ślaczka's *Temple Consecration Rituals in Ancient India, Text and Archaeology*<sup>127</sup>. Here Ślaczka explores the laying of the first stone, consecration deposits and placing of the crowning bricks primarily in the text *Kāśyapaśilpa*. The section in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* discussed here incorporates the first two of the rituals Ślaczka studies, the laying of the first stone and the consecration deposit. By selecting a larger part of a text the rituals can be seen as part of a larger performance. Incorporating the deposits into the body of the goddess earth who is inhabited by multiple beings, we can reach a new level of understanding of the mythological background to the text. Thus, it is hoped that this study will add to the understanding of construction rituals and their function and meaning.

In addition to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* I have used a number of Purāṇic texts, *śilpa śāstras* and earlier texts, such as the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*. These have been brought into comparison in order to explain the descriptions in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* but, also to situate the text and the rituals it discusses in a historical perspective. Thus Vedic sources have also been brought into search in the hope of possibly establishing the connection to ancient rituals described in Vedic texts relating to buildings and construction.

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<sup>125</sup> See chapter 4.2.

<sup>126</sup> See chapter 4.6.

<sup>127</sup> Anna Ślaczka's *Temple Consecration Rituals in Ancient India, Text and Archaeology*, Brill's Indological Library, Vol 26, Brill, Leiden, 2007.

## 2 Previous Research

Scholars working with *śilpa* texts typically employ one of two methods, depending on their disciplinary affiliation. If the scholar is a Sanskritist working with *śilpa śāstras*, generally the work will be philological/ textual. He or she will concentrate on translating a selection of passages from one or several *śilpa śāstras* pertaining to a particular theme. Or, he or she will translate one complete *śilpa śāstra*. Several of these translations are of great value such as Dagens' *Mayamatam* and Acharya's *Mānasāra* as well as the *Īśvarasamhitā* of Varadachari, Tripathi, et. al.<sup>128</sup>.

If, on the other hand, the scholar is an art historian, Michael Meister or Devangana Desai for example, the aim is to interpret a piece of art, either a temple or a sculpture, with the help of texts. Meister and Desai deploy *śāstraic* texts to explain layout of temples and sculptures. Meister's research addresses the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and the layout of north Indian Nāgara style temples. Desai has used texts to throw light on the objects of her research at Khajuraho<sup>129</sup>. In several articles Meister argues that there is pattern underlying the plan of temples, which is connected to the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*<sup>130</sup>.

### 2.1 Previous Research Regarding the Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala

Scholars including Stella Kramrisch, Michael Meister and Sonit Bafna<sup>131</sup> have worked with the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* from various points of view. Kramrisch thought that already after the 9<sup>th</sup> century "the drawing of the Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala had become an architectural rite without necessarily coinciding with the laying out of the ground plan of the Prāsāda<sup>132</sup>. Meister has argued in many articles, contra Kramrisch, that the *maṇḍala* was indeed used for the layout of the temple in North India<sup>133</sup>. Bafna has critiqued both these views stating that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* was only used as a tool for locating the *marmas*, the weak points upon which no part of the walls should be located<sup>134</sup>. Both Meister's and Bafna's views will be explored in this thesis. I will specifically, argue that pertaining to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, there is clearly some connection between a *maṇḍala* and the layout of the temple (see further discussion chapter 10 below). The

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<sup>128</sup> See bibliography for references to these multivolume sets.

<sup>129</sup> Desai, 1996.

<sup>130</sup> For example Michael Meister, "Measure and Proportion in Hindu Temple Architecture" in *IRS* vol 10, nr 3 (Sep.1985b): pp 248-58., and Meister, Michael, "Reading Monuments and Seeing Texts." in Dallapiccola ed., *Sastric Traditions in Indian Arts*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2 vols. 1989: vol 1, pp. 167-73; II. pp. 94-108 & pls. 81- 88. Meister refers mainly the the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* as described in the *Brhat Samhitā*.

<sup>131</sup> See Bibliography.

<sup>132</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/2007:228.

<sup>133</sup> Meister, "Maṇḍala and Practice in Nāgara Architecture in North India", *JAOS*, vol 99, no 2 (Apr.-Jun., 1979): pp. 204-219.

<sup>134</sup> Bafna, 2000.



*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* does, in fact, employ the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. But whether this testimony of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* refutes Kramrisch's conclusion that *maṇḍalas* were not used in construction depends on whether the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* itself was used in construction. As with so many ancient prescriptive texts, it is unclear to what extent the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* presents ideal norms or actually instantiated past praxis.

Starting in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, scholars began producing works about the Hindu Temple in the context of academia. Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship* is an important early study<sup>135</sup>. The tradition continues in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with publications by Coomaraswamy and Kramrisch, and continues today with Desai and Meister, among others. Major publications and developments in the field can be broadly classified along two lines. The first line of inquiry asks the question *how?* Scholars interested in *how?* are technical in their approach. Their work is descriptive, occasionally comparative, and they rely mainly on fieldwork. The second approach asks the question *why?* These scholars seek to articulate why the temple is constructed the way it is. Their answers are typically philosophical and rely heavily on *śilpa śāstra*. Though not mutually exclusive the two questions are rarely asked in the same work of scholarship. The following critical survey of major and original publications will not only present a survey of research on the Hindu Temple, but it is also intended to establish a referential framework for my subsequent analysis of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. I trace the development of different interpretations. This survey will also locate scholarly contributions within broader ideological movements, both theosophical (Kramrisch) and nationalist (scholars who work with the history of Indian science model), contextualizing the academic discourse while they help us in understanding certain evaluations.

Roughly speaking, three phases in the history of research can be distinguished.

1) The first publications are characterized by their enthusiastic discovery of ancient temples and their dismay that local people have not cared for the temple sites and at times, even used stones from the temple to construct other structures, such as other temples or houses.

2) Early 20<sup>th</sup> century mystical, romantic, and idealistic philosophical endeavor. Dominated by theosophy-inspired scholar Kramrisch and perennially philosophy-inclined Coomaraswamy. Here the wonders of the Hindu temple are explored and the authors are mainly interested in understanding the temple as a representation of spiritual or philosophical ideas with a lack of historical self-consciousness.

3) Though earlier authors did at times look at *śilpa śāstras* for ideas as to how the temples may be interpreted, later authors have attempted to match temples with texts. These attempts can be subdivided into two broad groups. A) Those who, like Bose, have a nationalistic research interest. Bose, tried to find local temples that match particular local texts. B) Those who have a fieldwork based apparently disinterested approach. For example Meister who seeks confirmation in texts for what he sees in temples<sup>136</sup>. Focusing on one single text and that particular text's expression of one concept –the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* – I hope to make a scholarly contribution.

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<sup>135</sup> See for example Fergusson, James, *Tree and serpent worship: or, Illustrations of mythology and art in India in the first and fourth centuries after Christ*. London, India museum, W.H. Allen and Co, 1873.

<sup>136</sup> These phases are, perhaps obviously, somewhat overlapping or existing side by side, but division shows a general trend that one can observe in research regarding the Hindu Temple.

### 2.1.1 Colonial Beginnings

The Hindu Temple became an object of academic study in the course of the British expansion in India, which included the study and appropriation of important religious texts through editions and translations, as well as documentation, and in some cases restoration of religious monuments, such as Khajuraho. Attitudes in early research were highly patronizing. Few of these early scholars paid much attention to the *śilpa śāstras* or even the Purāṇas as they were generally thought to be corrupt and written in bad Sanskrit and thus not worthy of the careful study merited by the Vedas. Though it may be true that the language of the *śilpa śāstras* and Purāṇas does not meet the criteria of Pāṇini, and they are not as ancient as the Vedas, they do contain information relevant to the understanding of early and medieval Indian societies, and many of these texts are still in use today.

### 2.1.2 Early 20<sup>th</sup> century –Nationalisms

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century scholars began to use *śilpa śāstras* in a way that had not been done before. The texts were used mainly to understand and support ideas of what the temple represents – answering questions about the meaning of form. A.K. Coomaraswamy and Stella Kramrisch were the two most influential scholars during this period. Coomaraswamy published a number of articles discussing Indian architecture in the 1920s and later. Coomaraswamy states that any structural form can be seen as either “fulfilling a function or as expressing a meaning”<sup>137</sup>. Coomaraswamy is mainly interested in the meaning rather than the function of architecture and leaves out the technical side asking *how* it was constructed. Instead he focuses on the *why*<sup>138</sup>. “Why should these pillars either actually (as in the case of certain bamboo constructions) or virtually (as is evident if we consider the arch as a dome in cross-section) converge towards the common apex of their separated being, which is in fact their ‘key’?”<sup>139</sup> Coomaraswamy’s choice of the word “being” here translates, or transposes an architectural description into an existential- metaphysical one. The expression “being” selected programmatically from many other possible word-choices, transforming the discussion – he is moving from a language of technical architecture to an ontological-spiritual one. Perhaps he sees architecture as a parable for metaphysics. Such an interpretation, however, is problematic in a traditional Hindu context. Vedic texts generally talk of the world in homologies of macrocosm and microcosm as opposed to symbols or parables for tying earthly things to spiritual. In later Hinduism (and Christianity) the earthly may be viewed as a reiteration of the spiritual. In the development of Hinduism lack of access to Vedic ritual forces spiritual interpretation transformed into the Bhakti movement. Could being forced to create meaning from architectural forms for which we are not sure of the meaning perhaps have led people like Coomaraswamy and Kramrisch to go too far in their

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<sup>137</sup> Coomaraswamy, A.K. “The Symbolism of the Dome” pp 9-37 in Meister, Michael, ed., *Ananda K. Coomaraswamy: Essays in Architectural Theory*, New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and Oxford University Press. Reprinted from *Indian Historical Quarterly* 17, 1938 reprint1995: 1-56, p. 9.

<sup>138</sup> According to Meister in his introduction to the volume Coomaraswamy started out being interested in *how* (as in how the ancient temples and sculptures were constructed) and this is his first article where his interest lies more with *why* (as in why they were constructed that way). Meister “Introduction” pp xv-xxiii, in Meister, 1995:xv-xvi.

<sup>139</sup> Coomaraswamy, 1938/1995:9.

interpretations, seeking meaning that was, possibly, never intended to be there? Scholars who are not specialists or insiders in the realm of Hindu or Vedic religious praxis may seek refuge in etic interpretative frameworks like perennial philosophy for lack of any emic frame to articulate the significance of Hindu temple architecture.

Coomaraswamy further states that “the technical problem as such only presents itself when there has already been imagined a form to be realized in the material”<sup>140</sup>. Where the *stūpa* got its form from is not interesting for Coomaraswamy. Instead, he looks for a “common formal principle that finds expression equally in all of these and in other related constructions”<sup>141</sup>. Coomaraswamy’s idea is that “the architectural form is primarily an imagined (*dhyātam*) form”<sup>142</sup>. Coomaraswamy’s view implies that man has always tried to correlate his own constructions with cosmic or supramundane prototypes. One of his many examples is the seven-story palace that mimics the seven worlds. Coomaraswamy discusses the axis of the dome, symbolized by the finial above and a *khadira* wood driven into the floor<sup>143</sup>. Coomaraswamy’s main achievement is, in my opinion, his articulation of the theological intentionality of the architect. The dome is not merely a roof; it is shaped in a specific way for a particular reason. Unfortunately, I do not see any way to either verify or disprove the interesting thesis that the seven story palace represents the seven worlds.

Although Coomaraswamy and Stella Kramrisch met only once<sup>144</sup> their writing influenced each other<sup>145</sup> and in many ways their writings are similar. The search for underlying meaning is the most obvious shared trait<sup>146</sup>. Kramrisch “reserves her highest regard” for Coomaraswamy<sup>147</sup>. Coomaraswamy thought that “traditional cultures, of which India was the epitome, were essentially spiritual.” Thus “scholarly study of ancient cultures... was a political act, involving severe criticism of the ‘impoverished reality’ of modern society”<sup>148</sup>. Kramrisch uses the word ‘traditional’ in her writings in a way that adheres to Coomaraswamy’s notion that modernity is spiritually impoverished in comparison to the great religious traditions and civilizations of the past<sup>149</sup>. In this way it belongs to a critique of British colonialism and modernity shared by Annie Besant and M.K. Gandhi.

Together with Coomaraswamy, Stella Kramrisch may be called the founder of Hindu Temple studies. Kramrisch has been very influential in the field and any study on the Indian Temple would be incomplete without at least a look at her opus. In 1946 Stella Kramrisch published her two volumes *The Hindu Temple*, a monumental work drawing upon multiple *śāstras*. This is still *the book* on the Hindu temple, despite the many later publications with the same name. However, Kramrisch’s usage of *śilpa śāstras* (and Sanskrit texts in general) is often imprecise. She often does not tell us from which text or

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<sup>140</sup> Coomaraswamy, 1938/1995:12.

<sup>141</sup> Coomaraswamy, 1938/1995:13.

<sup>142</sup> Coomaraswamy, 1938/1995:13.

<sup>143</sup> Coomaraswamy, 1938/1995:13-4.

<sup>144</sup> Miller, Barbara Stoller ed., *Exploring India’s Sacred Art selected writings of Stella Kramrisch*, ed by Barbara Stoller Miller. University of Philadelphia Press, Philadelphia, 1983:15.

<sup>145</sup> Miller, 1983:21.

<sup>146</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/1980.

<sup>147</sup> Miller, 1983:27.

<sup>148</sup> Miller, 1983:27.

<sup>149</sup> Miller, 1983:27.

where in a particular text a quote or statement comes<sup>150</sup>. Her writing often has an inspired stream of consciousness quality to it, moving more by association than argument. Kramrisch's search for underlying sacred, symbolic and esoteric meanings behind the layout of a Hindu temple structure is evident. Her search for the esoteric shines through her writing and may have been inspired by her association with the Theosophical movement. In spite of these considerations, which may prejudice contemporary scholars against her work, her writing cannot be left unnoticed by anyone interested in the Hindu Temple. Insofar as Kramrisch founds the field of Hindu Temple studies, one must either agree her (which is what most people do) or to disagree and argue with her (like Ślaczka does on some minor points<sup>151</sup>). Like Coomaraswamy, Kramrisch questions *why* temples look the way they do. She, too, looked for principles behind layout and construction, though she searched for the answers in *śilpa* texts to a greater extent than Coomaraswamy. The ambition to answer *why?* helps us articulate the significance of Hindu Temple studies, even as it runs the risk of becoming overly rarified perennial philosophy.

In her *The Hindu Temple* Kramrisch states that she believes that the usage of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* went out of fashion by the time of the great temples<sup>152</sup>. The statement may be too strong. Rather, I would posit that the interpretation of the rules and their articulation in built form changed with time. Thus, the early temples, such as the Gupta temple in Deoghar, display a simple square form that easily adheres to a grid. More complex forms, such as the temples of Khajuraho, move beyond the simple grid but still display indebtedness to it, and – most importantly – still avoid construction over the *marma* points<sup>153</sup>.

Kramrisch's search for an origin of the temple and, in particular, the inner sanctum (the *garbhagrha*) led her to the idea that “the ‘four-cornered citadel of the gods’ of the Aśvamedha is a precursor of the square house of the god, the Hindu temple”<sup>154</sup>. Kramrisch uses mainly the *R̥g Veda* and the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* to illustrate this point. Her main focus is the walls of the *garbhagrha*, which she considers to be thick in proportion to the area of the sanctuary<sup>155</sup>. Kramrisch gets the idea of the citadel from these texts where the sacrificial enclosure is called the *devapuram*, which she translates as ‘citadel of the gods’, in contrast to the temple, which is the *devagrha*, the house of the

<sup>150</sup> For example in her usage of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* she does not tell us where in the text the information is found (Kramrisch, Stella “Patron and Practice” in Miller ed., 1983:65). In a short article called “The Four-Cornered Citadel of the Gods” Kramrisch explores the connection between the vedic altar and the temple – the main problem here is the extreme generalization mainly based on two texts, the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* and the KŚS (*Kāśyapa Śilpa Śāstra?*), while her introduction to the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* discusses a number of texts (both from the Hindu and Buddhist traditions) without any reflection on their relationship to the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* or other discussion of them. (Kramrisch, in Miller ed., 1983:263-272). In this article she also quotes without any reference at all at times (ex. p. 265).

<sup>151</sup> For example Ślaczka, 2007:13 note 9.

<sup>152</sup> Kramrisch, 1946 reprint 1980: 228.

<sup>153</sup> See more on *marma* points below.

<sup>154</sup> Kramrisch “The Four-Cornered Citadel of the Gods” in *Exploring India's Sacred Art selected writings of Stella Kramrisch*, ed by Barbara Stoler Miller. University of Philadelphia Press, Philadelphia 1983:253-262, first published in *JAOS* 75 (Jul.-Sep., 1955): 184-187, p. 252.

<sup>155</sup> Kramrisch, 1955/1983:249.

gods. Thus, the thick walls, later supplied with a roof, appear as a remnant of a fort-like structure for the gods. This roof, according to Kramrisch, is “the lid of the *garbha*”, the *śikhara* tower she identifies with the pile of firewood on the altar<sup>156</sup>. In an article called “The Four-Cornered Citadel of the Gods” Kramrisch seeks the origin of the thick walls of the *garbhagr̥ha* of the Hindu Temple<sup>157</sup>. Today the idea that the temple’s origin lies in the altar of the Vedic period is almost universally accepted. In the *Hayaśr̥ṣa Pañcarātra* it does seem as if the walls of the *garbhagr̥ha* are proportionately thick in comparison with to the sanctum itself<sup>158</sup>. Kramrisch’s focus of the inner sanctum probably resonated with her contemporaries’ enthusiastic theosophical notions of initiation and rebirth traditions in the great traditions and mystery cults of the ancient world. One can see a similar focus in the work of her friend and fellow theosophist Rudolf Steiner, father of Anthroposophy and Waldorf education.

Kramrisch noted that “The elaboration of the Vāstumaṇḍala, the square dial of all cyclical time, and its identification with the Vāstupuruṣa ... appear almost completed at the age of the *Br̥hat Saṃhitā*”<sup>159</sup>. That is to say that the idea the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* expresses was complete, but that later texts, including the *Hayaśr̥ṣa Pañcarātra*, elaborate on the rites more than the *Br̥hat Saṃhitā* does. This sort of statement, positing that a later development is contained in seed-form in an earlier one may be difficult for post-modern scholars, who tend to see tradition as the assertion of discontinuity over continuity (to paraphrase Foucault’s statement in the *Archeology of Knowledge*). I feel, on the other hand, that the older continuity and change historical narrative is of great use in articulating the history and meaning of the Hindu Temple.

To support their interpretations of symbolism of the temples, both Kramrisch and Coomaraswamy tend to cite sources which are unrepresentative, if not inapplicable to temples of various religious ideologies<sup>160</sup>. 1) For example, Kramrisch uses three Pāñcarātra texts in her work *The Hindu Temple* but she makes no obvious attempt to situate the texts historically, religiously, in terms of their particular articulation or Vaiṣṇava theology, or in terms of their literary genre. 2) She fails therefore to articulate the texts’ importance for an interpretation of the Hindu temple. 3) There is thus an ahistorical homogenizing quality to Kramrisch’s work.

### 2.1.3 Recent

The shastric tradition has much to contribute to the study of Indian Architecture. In its texts, much information to name and clarify buildings has been stored. Yet in these buildings, much evidence of actual practice also is stored that can help illuminate the evidence in texts<sup>161</sup>.

Recent scholarship on the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, which often tries to match temple to texts, is dominated by Michael Meister’s many publications. Matching temple and text

<sup>156</sup> Kramrisch, 1955/1983:251-2.

<sup>157</sup> Kramrisch, 1955/1983:249.

<sup>158</sup> The connection between the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and the Vedic fire altar will be explored at length below in chapter ten.

<sup>159</sup> Meister, 1981:312. Quote from Kramrisch 1946/1980:33.

<sup>160</sup> Daniel Smith, *The Temple-Building Activities of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in South India according to available extant Pāñcarātrāgama texts with special reference to the Pādma Tantra*. Dissertation, Yale University, 1960, unpublished manuscript.

<sup>161</sup> Meister, 1989:167.

is a difficult task. At times, this attempt does not render the desired results. Meister observes: “Through a changed constructional and aesthetic concern the usage of the *Maṇḍala* alters”<sup>162</sup>. That is to say that dealing with particular temples at particular temple sites Meister sees a change in the usage of the *maṇḍala* over time. However, he also says: “A *Vāstupuruṣa-maṇḍala* is prescribed by *Vāstuśāstras* of various ages to act as the ground for the Hindu temple. This diagram is a ritual formula not the plan of the temple”<sup>163</sup>. That is to say that while texts prescribe the *maṇḍala* to be used for the layout of a temple, in actual practice the *maṇḍala* is a ritual. Somewhat in contradiction to this Meister states (in the same article) that the purpose of the article is to “determine the relation between the *maṇḍala* and the actual practice”<sup>164</sup>. The source of the contradiction, I would argue, lies in that Meister looks not at ritual but temple plans. Even though Meister argues that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is not used to plan temples, he seeks, through field studies in North India, to prove that it is indeed a (general) plan of temples. Meister continues to explore the connection between the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and temples’ plans: “Architects in Central India in the seventh century used the sixty-four-square *maṇḍala* to develop the plan of the *Nāgara* temple”<sup>165</sup>. Supporting the statement above, Meister says that we do not know if the temples were actually constructed according to a *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* or according to architectural tradition<sup>166</sup>. In the end, Meister suggests that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* was used as an architectural tool to plan temples during a rather short period, a few centuries starting around the 7<sup>th</sup> century<sup>167</sup>. However, in another article Meister argues that the Gupta period temples (i.e., earlier than 7<sup>th</sup> century) followed the plan laid out in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*<sup>168</sup>. Meister’s research shows that the connection between the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and temples, particularly later temples, is not as clear as one could wish. By looking at the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* as well as the *Agni Purāṇa* and related texts, we will see how the connection is described. In my opinion, the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Agni Purāṇa* show that scholarly emphasis should be ritual rather than architectural. It ought to be noted, however, that the textual point of view adopted in this dissertation is different than Meister’s approach which incorporates fieldwork.

Virtually all Hindu temples from the fifth through the tenth century CE were based on a square. This plan is closely tied to the development of *Nāgara* architecture in North India<sup>169</sup>. Meister has found that in certain regions of North India temples of the seventh and eighth century conforms to the rules laid down in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*. However, in different regions the rules have been interpreted in different ways. One of Meister’s examples is the Viṣṇu temple at Deoghar, U.P. (ca. 500-525 CE). Excavations

<sup>162</sup> Meister, “*Maṇḍala* and Practice in *Nāgara* Architecture in North India”, *JAOS*, vol 99, no 2 (Apr.-Jun., 1979): pp. 204-219, p. 204.

<sup>163</sup> Meister Michael, “*Maṇḍala* and Practice in *Nāgara* Architecture in North India”, *JAOS*, vol 99, no 2 (Apr.-Jun., 1979): pp. 204-219, p. 204. It appears that Meister accepted Kramrisch’s idea. (See Kramrisch 1946/1980:33ff).

<sup>164</sup> Meister, 1979:204.

<sup>165</sup> Meister, 1979:205.

<sup>166</sup> Meister, 1979:208.

<sup>167</sup> Meister, 1979: 210.

<sup>168</sup> Meister, *Maṇḍala* and Practice in *Nāgara* Architecture in North India, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 99, No. 2, (Apr. - Jun., 1979), pp. 204- 219, p. 205.

<sup>169</sup> Meister, 1979:205.

show that the temple stands on a platform with four corner shrines. If one supposes that the shrines are located at the corners of the *maṇḍala*, then the central shrine would stand on the four central squares of the *maṇḍala* (i.e. the *Brahmasthanā*), and the ambulatory would be two squares wide. These are proportions that conform to the rules laid out in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, a roughly contemporary text<sup>170</sup>. The variations that Meister has found in the different regions show the flexibility of the architect who, though adhering to the tradition, can interpret the rules in a creative way.

Meister suggests that in temples built before the 9<sup>th</sup> century there is “some sort of an equation between the plan and Mandala [which] is valid”<sup>171</sup>. This refers mainly to proportions of *garbhagrha*, thickness and height of walls, circumambulatory passageways (if present) etc. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century measurements that suggests references to a *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* may be found in the central *prāsāda* (temple), however Meister postulates that the ritual grid was no longer used for the temple’s construction<sup>172</sup>. That is, Meister suggests that the usage of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* had been restricted to the inner sanctum and that the rest of the temple did not follow the *maṇḍala*. Meister suggests that, after the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* had mainly a ritual function and was not for actual constructional use. He sees the Sūrya temple at Umri, Madhya Pradesh (from early ninth century) as the latest of the temples to conform to these proportions<sup>173</sup>. In later temples, the sanctum increases in size relative to the walls, which throw off the proportions<sup>174</sup>. That is to say the walls no longer occupy a section of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* proportionate to the size of the sanctum<sup>175</sup>.

Meister suggests that the Pratihāra dynasty’s expansion into Central India during the ninth century may have much to do with the change of temple style in Central India<sup>176</sup>. Meister sees the ninth century as a period of experiment, where “adherence to ritual formulas was subordinated to architectural considerations”<sup>177</sup>. Here a new system is adopted where the grid of the *maṇḍala*, rather than embedded in the walls circumscribes the structure. In some Western Indian temples an ornamental *pīṭha* base forms the platform from which the temple is constructed, but the *vedibandha* (the socle or foundation base on top of the platform) is where the proportions of the *maṇḍala* remain<sup>178</sup>.

Meister claims that the grid was in use and logically placed on the floor level in early shrines<sup>179</sup> but that “the grid loses significance as a *constructional* mechanism as the

<sup>170</sup> Meister, 1979:205, see chapter 6 below for more on the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*.

<sup>171</sup> Meister, 1979:204, The earliest description of a *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is found in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (ch 53 and 56, particularly 53.55-6 and 56.10-6).

<sup>172</sup> Meister, 1979:204.

<sup>173</sup> Meister, 1979:207. Meister’s wall proportions are 2:1:2:1:2.

<sup>174</sup> Meister, 1979:207.

<sup>175</sup> Compare discussion on chapter 13 of the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* below as well as figures in appendix.

<sup>176</sup> Meister, 1979:208.

<sup>177</sup> Meister, 1979:209.

<sup>178</sup> Meister, 1979:209.

<sup>179</sup> Meister’s main examples are Teli-kd-mandir in the Gwalior fort, which dates to the first half of the eighth century CE, the group of small eighth-century shrines clustered together in a gorge near Gwalior airport at a site known as Naresar. The large temple called the "Gadar-mal" at Badoh as well as the Jarai Math at Barwasaga, the first built early in the ninth, the second by about the beginning of the tenth century.

sanctum is raised higher and higher on ornamental bases, yet it survives”<sup>180</sup>. He claims that the architect used the ratios provided by the grid to develop “an increasingly variegated wall surface”<sup>181</sup> a wall surface that was not following a strict square.

Meister sweeps over a time span from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> century as well as covering much of North India. He argues against Kramrisch’s claim that “when the great temples were built, after the ninth century and which still stand, the drawing of the Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala had become an architectural rite without necessarily coinciding with the laying out of the ground plan of the Prāsāda”<sup>182</sup>. Meister instead says that the grid was a tool, flexible in its application and that by “preserving the ritual grid the architect preserved the sanctity of the ritual altar, mimicking in his act that of the priest constructing the altar, itself the re-creation of a continuing cosmic creation”<sup>183</sup>. Meister is guessing that the transformation that the plan of the Hindu temple in north India underwent between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries “required a flexible and probably increasingly secret application of the grid’s ritually vital proportions”<sup>184</sup>. Thus the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* would have been, in later temples, a secret grid used for proportions of ritual significance only and not for planning the temple as a whole.

Sonit Bafna is highly critical of the assertion that of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is the basis for temple plans. Bafna’s main point is that we need to separate the Vāstupuruṣa from the *maṇḍala*<sup>185</sup>. Bafna argues that the most important function of the Vāstupuruṣa is to locate the *marmas*<sup>186</sup> where no construction can take place. The grid should just be seen as a useful device for the Vāstupuruṣa. Bafna also sees the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* as a late development, and gives the *Mayamatam* and the *Mānasāra* as evidence for this<sup>187</sup>. The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* developed and changed over a long period of time<sup>188</sup> and its longevity is responsible for the fact that there are different versions in different texts and traditions in various parts of the sub-continent.

While Bafna thinks that the purpose of the Vāstupuruṣa (and thus, by association, the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*) is to locate the *marmas*, Meister makes it clear that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is not so much about measurement as about proportion<sup>189</sup>. The grid establishes proportion, a precision that, with reference to the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, maintains ritual authority<sup>190</sup>. Where Bafna sees the *maṇḍala* hidden by the building, Meister thinks “it is the building that acts in place of the grid, becoming the *maṇḍala*”<sup>191</sup>.

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<sup>180</sup> Meister, “Geometry and Measure in Indian Temple Plans: Rectangular Temples” in *Artibus Asiae* Vol. 44, No. 4 (1983), pp. 266-296, Artibus Asiae Publishers <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3249613> 274.

<sup>181</sup> Meister, 1983:274.

<sup>182</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/1980:228.

<sup>183</sup> Meister, 1985: 248-58, 249, 251.

<sup>184</sup> Meister, 1985:253.

<sup>185</sup> Bafna, 2000.

<sup>186</sup> Marma is a complicated term - here it basically means a point on the ground which one should not build on. See further discussion in chapter 10 on *marmas* below.

<sup>187</sup> Bafna, 2000:46.

<sup>188</sup> Bafna, 2000:47.

<sup>189</sup> Meister, Michael "Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍalas: Planning in the Image of Man." In Gudrun Bühnemann, ed., *Maṇḍalas and Yantras in the Hindu Tradition*, Leiden: Brill, 2003:251-290.

<sup>190</sup> Meister, 2003:262.

<sup>191</sup> Meister, 2003:263.



Meister responds to Bafna's critique in a way that makes his own argument more convincing. He gives Bafna credit on some points, such as that the grid is a cumbersome tool, however, Meister does not agree that this is a reason to rule it out<sup>192</sup>. In the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* it is clear that there is some connection between the temple plan and a *maṇḍala* as well as between the *maṇḍala* and the *marmas*. While the text does not state that it is the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*<sup>193</sup> that is used, it does say that a 16 square *maṇḍala* should be used as the base for the temple. Thus the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* might support both Meister and Bafna's claims – the *marmas* are important and the *maṇḍala* is used to find these points as well as to construct a proportionate, beautiful temple.

In *śilpa śāstras* there is generally no clearly stated relationship between the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and the layout of a temple, town, house or other structures. A careful reading of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and a comparison with other texts will, however, show that there is such a connection. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Agni Purāṇa* texts give a detailed description of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and make some connection between the *maṇḍala* and the layout of the walls of the temple<sup>194</sup>. This fact strengthens both Meister's and Kramrisch's claims that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* was used to plan the temples and was not only a ritual grid.

## 2.2 Previous Research Regarding the Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra

Although the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* has never been translated or discussed as a whole, a few scholars, including Enamul Haque, Daniel Smith, Kaljan Kumar Das Gupta, Anna Ślaczka, Otto Schrader, Stella Kramrisch, Corinna Wessels-Mevissen, K.V. Soundara Rajan and Devangana Desai<sup>195</sup> have dealt with the text. Kaljan Kumar Das Gupta published two articles based on the text and wrote the introduction and iconographical notes to the second printed edition (see discussion below). Soundara Rajan published one article discussing the text<sup>196</sup>. Other scholars have discussed it in connection to other texts. Stella Kramrisch was probably the first university scholar to mention the text. She uses chapter 8 of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* in her discussion of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* in her *The Hindu Temple*. Kramrisch also published chapter 13 as an appendix to her book<sup>197</sup>. It is unfortunate that she does not actually discuss this chapter as, I will argue, it provides a scriptural basis for a connection between the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and the layout of the temple. Thus it would have been very interesting to have a detailed exegesis of it from Kramrisch's hand<sup>198</sup>. *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* chapter 13 is discussed in detail below (chapter 10).

<sup>192</sup> Meister, 2003:261-2.

<sup>193</sup> See chapter 13 of the text as well as chapter 10.10 below for further discussion.

<sup>194</sup> See below, chapters 10-11 and *Agni Purāṇa* ch 40-42 and *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, *ādikāṇḍa* ch 10-13.

<sup>195</sup> See the rest of this chapter and the bibliography for references.

<sup>196</sup> K.V. Soundara Rajan "Hayasirsha Pancharatra – Some Aspects" in *Agama and Silpa, Ananthacarya Indological Research Institute Series, No. XVI*, Bombay, ed. K.K.A. Venkatachari. 1984:29-36

<sup>197</sup> Kramrisch follows a printed edition of chapters 1-14, possibly an earlier printing of the same edition that I have. In her bibliography she states 'title page missing' and gives no further information.

<sup>198</sup> As I have already made clear, detailed exegesis of texts was not Kramrisch's strong point.

Otto Schrader discussed the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* briefly in his *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra*. He mainly uses the catalog of texts in chapter two, together with similar lists in other texts, as the basis for his discussion of the literature of the Pāñcarātras<sup>199</sup>. Schrader notes that the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* has a unique position in the textual tradition because it treats only the construction of temples and images and the rituals and worship connected to these<sup>200</sup>. Schrader's work is mostly concerned with the theology of the Pāñcarātra as opposed to the ritual praxis.

Daniel Smith utilized the printed edition and some manuscripts in his edition of the *Pādma Saṃhitā* as well as in his *A sourcebook of Vaiṣṇava iconography according to Pāñcarātrāgama texts*<sup>201</sup>. His edition of the *Pādma Saṃhitā* contains valuable comparative information in the footnotes. Smith states that the text is of immense value for study of the Hindu temple, though he himself does not recognize the value of translating the text<sup>202</sup>. Smith assumes, I think, that art historians working with Hindu temples and sculpture read Sanskrit comfortably. Since that is not the case by and large Smith's knowledge and research is lost on the majority of scholars who are not comfortable with the Sanskrit language. Smith's *A sourcebook of Vaiṣṇava iconography according to Pāñcarātrāgama texts* is, as is characteristic for most of Smith's work, a compilation of various sources. Each chapter gives a brief summary of the characteristics of the icon presented in that chapter and then Smith presents the Sanskrit text relevant to that from various sources. The *Pādma Saṃhitā* is one of the most utilized texts, but the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* (especially *ādikāṇḍa* chapters 15-32) is also frequently quoted as are other Pāñcarātra texts.

Enamul Haque used a manuscript of the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* located in the British Library in London<sup>203</sup> as a basis, together with other texts, for his volume *Bengal Sculptures – Hindu Iconography up to c. 1250 A. D.*<sup>204</sup>. This volume is based on his dissertation, which he completed at Oxford University in 1973. Haque's book is of a technical character. He compares different texts' descriptions of the making of images and iconography.

Anna Ślażcka's book *Temple Consecration Rituals in Ancient India – Text and Archaeology*<sup>205</sup> deals with three chapters of the *Kāśyapaśilpa*. She used the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, among other texts, to situate the *Kāśyapaśilpa* in a larger context. Her book focuses on the consecration deposits and she thus, naturally enough, focuses on this section of the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* as well. Her study is of immense value for gaining understanding into the conceptualization of the Hindu temple. On the basis of textual

<sup>199</sup> Schrader, Otto, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*, The Adyar Library and Research Centre, Madras, 1916/1973:5-12 and 24.

<sup>200</sup> Schrader, 1973:26.

<sup>201</sup> H Daniel Smith, K K A Venkatachari, and V Ganapathi, *A sourcebook of Vaiṣṇava iconography according to Pāñcarātrāgama texts*, Pāñcarātra Pariśodhana Pariśad, Madras, 1969:306.

<sup>202</sup> Smith, Daniel (ed.) *Pāñcarātraprāsādaprasādhanam, Chapters 1-10 of the "kriyāpāda, "Pādmasaṃhitā" – A Pañcarātra Text on Temple-Building*, 1963.

<sup>203</sup> Abhijeet Paul has kindly enquired with his friends at the British Library/ India Office Library in London for this manuscript. We are eagerly awaiting their reply. (Reference reads: India Office Library in London, MS. no. 896)

<sup>204</sup> Enamul Haque, *Bengal Sculptures – Hindu Iconography upto c. 1250 A. D.*, Bangladesh National Museum, Dhaka, 1992 (based on his dissertation from 1973).

<sup>205</sup> Ślażcka, 2007.

study Ślaçzka reconstructs the rituals, which she then confirms on the basis of archeological findings.

Kalyan Kumar Das Gupta published an article called “The Pāñcarātra tradition and Brāhmaṇical Iconography”<sup>206</sup> which discusses some aspects of the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, but mainly points out the importance of the text. Das Gupta also published a summary of chapter five of the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* in his article “Architectural Data in the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*”<sup>207</sup> Most valuable of his publications is, of course, his and Kali Kumar Dutta Sastri’s edition of the Sanskrit text. Das Gupta provided a brief introduction and some iconographical notes discussing chapters 15-32 of the text. (The edition will be discussed below in the chapter on the text.)

K.V. Soundara Rajan wrote an article called “Hayasirsha Pancharatra – Some Aspects” discussing the dating of the text in relation to the *Agni Purāṇa*, and its status as a tantra. Soundara Rajan provides a summary of some aspects of the text, such as the orientation of temples<sup>208</sup>.

Devangana Desai uses the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* as an example in several of her publications dealing with Khajuraho<sup>209</sup> for example, noting that the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* is one of the rare texts that prescribes *avatāras* on the doorjambs of Viṣṇu temples (*Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra ādi XVI.25*). She also assumes that the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* is of an eastern origin<sup>210</sup>.

The *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* has mostly been researched in a compare and contrast manner in relation to other material. Though Das Gupta published a few articles regarding the text, no one has studied larger aspects of the text, nor published any translation of the text. I begin to fill this gap through this study and translation of chapters 1-14 with a focus on the preparation of the selected site, the laying out of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and the plan and construction of the foundation according to the text.

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<sup>206</sup> Kalyan Kumar Das Gupta, “The Pāñcarātra tradition and Brahmānical Iconography” in Dallapiccola *Sastric Traditions in Indian Arts* 1989:71-92.

<sup>207</sup> Kalyan Kumar Das Gupta, “Architectural Data in the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*” 229-232 in Bandyopadhyay, Samaresh ed., *Ācārya-Vandanā: D.R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Volume*, University of Calcutta, 1984.

<sup>208</sup> K.V. Soundara Rajan “Hayasirsha Pancharatra – Some Aspects” in *Agama and Silpa, Ananthacarya Indological Research Institute Series, No. XVI*, Bombay, ed. K.K.A. Venkatachari. 1984:29-36

<sup>209</sup> Devangana Desai, *Khajuraho*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2000.

<sup>210</sup> Devangana Desai, “Textual Traditions and the Temples of Khajuraho” in H.P. Ray ed. *Archeology and text*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2010.

### 3 From Eliade to Smith

In the following chapter I will discuss several different ways of looking at sacred and ritual space, place and emplacement. My aim is to move beyond Eliade's theory in four steps: First I will offer a critique of Eliade's sacred/ profane binary; second, I will look at place as a psychic projection or psychic container; third, I will look at place as a transformational place a 'father place', and finally I will discuss place as sacred emplacement consolidating hierarchy inside and outside the sacred place. One of the important concepts I articulate below is the notion of emplacement; that sacred architecture is located on a conceptual map, related to regimes of classification and social hierarchy, in addition to characteristic physical-geography. In order to articulate the meaning of a sacred space, I will argue, one has to extend the reach of the construction into theoretical terrains. The Pāñcarātra tradition of temple construction has, at least implicitly, its own theory of sacred space; what we may call an 'insider', indigenous, or emic account of the temple. One of the remarkable characteristics of the Sanskrit tradition is its multivocality; its way of characterizing phenomena according to different philosophical regimes. To take a famous example, the *Bhagavad Gītā* adopts both the triune *sāṃkhya* language of *guṇas* or constituents (*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) as well as a dualistic mythological language opposing *deva* (god) and *asura* (demon). The Sanskrit tradition shows this interpretative flexibility synchronically in terms of its ability to offer up multiple interpretations at a single time, as well as diachronically; later texts reinterpret earlier texts according to different philosophical schools. Thus, later commentators, including Śankara, Madhva, Ramanuja and Abhinavagupta will contextualize earlier writings, like the *Bhagavad Gītā*, according to later philosophical systems. Multivocal intratextuality and intertextuality are integral aspects of Sanskrit religious literature, and the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* shows traces of both synchronic and diachronic multivocality.

In this chapter, however, I attempt to extend the reach of the Hindu temple, as set out in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, into contemporary discourses of sacred space. The concept of emplacement suggests that it is not possible for sacred architecture to enunciate its significance unless it can be related to the conceptual map of the participant-viewer. To articulate the meaning of the temple, then, the translator may act rather like a changer of currencies, adopting 'outsider' or etic accounts of sacred space in order to facilitate the reader's journey. Perhaps it makes sense to articulate the theory chapter in terms of Ludwig Wittgenstein's metaphor from the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*. It is a ladder that one throws away after one has climbed it<sup>211</sup>. Or to adopt a Buddhist simile, it is a boat one abandons after crossing the river<sup>212</sup>. Even if the point, ultimately, is to articulate the meaning of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* in terms of Pāñcarātra philosophy, that is, to emplace the Hindu temple on its appropriate emic conceptual map, theoretical reflection in contemporary idioms can help us to explore multiple possibilities for making

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<sup>211</sup> Ludwig Wittgenstein, introduction by Bertrand Russell, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, Cosimo Books, New York, 1922/2009:108.

<sup>212</sup> *Majjhima Nikāya* 1.134, in Richard Gombrich, *How Buddhism Began: The Conditioned Genesis of the Early Teachings*, Athlone Press, London, 1996:24-25.

meaning. Theory is a prop integral to the process of translating the text for a contemporary academic audience.

### 3.1 Sacred space and ritual theory

Some spaces are set apart more formally than others. These marked spaces are characterized by limited access. Often enough, the spaces most restricted by a group or by society, is that space marked for purposes of religious ritual.<sup>213</sup> A space used for religious purposes may be restricted to a particular group or a part of a group, a gender, or a class, or a set of religious specialists, such as priests. Rituals may be used to create and maintain a space deemed sacred. While a sacred space and a ritual space often overlap, this need not be the case. A sacred space, sacred, for example, because of the presence of a divinity, need not be a ritual space. A ritual space is generally considered sacred in so far as it is connected with the divine, though rituals may be carried out in a space that is not sacred but only ritually set apart. The effect, however, is often that the space is sacred. Sacred space may or may not have specific borders. On a sacred mountain the specific space may or may not be marked, and there may not have been a specific time when it became sacred (though, as discussed below sacredness needs reaffirming). Ritual space, on the other hand, is characterized by the performance of an action that marks the space, and thus, it is an apparent and, seemingly, objective space.

What is sacred is, obviously, culturally specific. Something sacred to one group of people is not necessarily sacred to another group. In the context of sacred space and temple construction, the sacred is generally connected to the divine in some form. It may be that the divine has, according to tradition, manifested itself in a particular location. Perhaps the area may have been consecrated according to particular rituals or beliefs, or perhaps an especially beautiful or meaningful spot might have, over time, come to be, for example, associated with the divine.

The way the term sacred has been used, particularly in connection with Eliade's inadequate sacred/ profane binary<sup>214</sup>, is as insufficient as the religious/ secular when discussing ancient India. The fault of "binary" thinking has been highly criticized, especially by French feminist theorists, such as Hélène Cixous<sup>215</sup>, and Luce Irigaray<sup>216</sup> both inspired by Jacques Derrida<sup>217</sup>. Binary thinking is a major shortcoming of Eliade's

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<sup>213</sup> The concept of religion, as a sphere distinct from economy, literature, etc. has a history and a cultural context. It is an etic and not an emic (insider/ traditional) category in respect to Sanskrit literature.

<sup>214</sup> Mircea Eliade, *The sacred and the profane: the nature of religion*, Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask, Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1959.

<sup>215</sup> See Hélène Cixous, "Sorties: Out and Out: Attacks/Ways Out/Forays" in Hélène Cixous and Catherine Clément, *The Newly Born Woman*, I. B. Tauris, London, 1996:71, and Hélène Cixous, Keith Cohen and Paula Cohen, "The Laugh of the Medusa", *Signs*, Vol. 1, No. 4, University of Chicago Press, (Summer, 1976), pp. 875-893, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3173239>.

<sup>216</sup> See Luce Irigaray and Carolyn Burke, "When Our Lips Speak Together", *Sings Vol. 6, No. 1, Women: Sex and Sexuality, Part 2*, University of Chicago Press, (Autumn, 1980), pp. 69-79 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3173966>, and Luce Irigaray, *This sex which is not one*, Cornell University Press, New York, 1977 (translation 1985).

<sup>217</sup> See Jacques Derrida, *Positions*, Minuit, Paris, 1972 (trans. Alan Bass, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1981), as well as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "French Feminism in an International Frame", *Yale*

work, which, though criticized, is still the dominant model taught in colleges. Eliade's theory suggests a strong contrast between the sacred and profane. However, in many societies, such as ancient (and in many cases modern) India, the lines between sacred and profane are not always so clear. Everyday life was (and often is) imbued with the sacred. Religious rituals are often part of daily life. The sacred space is not only located in the temple, but also at home, the river, and in fact all of India, may be considered sacred by some (*Bharat Mata*)<sup>218</sup>. Eliade's involvement in fascist movements before and during the war may also make his theorizing suspect<sup>219</sup>. Carlo Ginzburg has convincingly argued that there was indeed a relationship between Eliade's interpretive categories and his political attitude<sup>220</sup>. Anne Mocko has also traced Eliade's anti-communist ideas in his works<sup>221</sup>. Ginzburg concludes that

his work does not help us to understand the largely enchanted, or re-enchanted, world we live in. In order to understand religious phenomena—in fact, all historical phenomena—we need critical distance, not tautologies. ... The ambivalence [of Eliade] I mentioned in the title of my essay is part of a larger context, in which Left, Right, Enlightenment, and anti-Enlightenment clash, crisscross, and overlap on specific issues. The case I have been dealing with reminds us, in its potential developments, that the age of simple dichotomies is over<sup>222</sup>.

Eliade's political associations are disturbing and his theories simplify the world in a way that is not useful.

The lived spaces of people in ancient India and in other places and times are more complex than a binary thinking would allow. Binary thinking prevents our analysis from

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*French Studies*, No. 62, *Feminist Readings: French Texts/American Contexts*, Yale University Press, 1981, pp. 154-184, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2929898>.

<sup>218</sup> For further critique see Lindsay Jones' second chapter which is a critique of Eliade's "(in)famous model". Jones is one of those who, besides critiquing Eliade's model also mentions his political affiliations, see next note. Jones (2000): *The Hermeneutics of Sacred Architecture: Experience, Interpretation, Comparison*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, p. 35 and 349.

<sup>219</sup> See discussions in for example Peter Gay, "Witness to Fascism", *New York Review of Books* 4 October 2001. Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*, Vintage Books, 2000. Ian Strenski, *Four Theories of Myth in Twentieth-Century History: Cassirer, Eliade, Levi-Strauss and Malinowski*, University of Iowa Press, 1987, Robert Ellwood, "The Politics of Myth: A Study of C. G. Jung, Mircea Eliade, and Joseph Campbell", *Nova Religio*, 8, no. 2 (2004): 104-106. Volovici, *Nationalist Ideology and Antisemitism: The Case of Romanian Intellectuals in the 1930s*, Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1991, and Christian K. Wedemeyer and Wendy Doniger (eds), *Hermeneutics, Politics, and the History of Religions: The Contested Legacies of Joachim Wach and Mircea Eliade*, University of Oxford Press, Oxford, 2010, as well as Jonathan Z. Smith, 'The Wobbling Pivot', *Journal of Religion* 52 (1972), pp. 134-49.

<sup>220</sup> Ginzburg continues to note that the form of that relationship were far from obvious and that the reception of Eliade's work is not necessarily linked either to the context in which it was produced or its ideological implications. Carlo Ginzburg "Mircea Eliade's Ambivalent Legacy" in in Christian K. Wedemeyer and Wendy Doniger (eds), *Hermeneutics, Politics, and the History of Religions: The Contested Legacies of Joachim Wach and Mircea Eliade*, University of Oxford Press, Oxford, 2010:307-324, 308.

<sup>221</sup> Anne Mocko "Tracing the Red Thread: Anti-Communist Themes in the Work of Mircea Eliade", in Christian K. Wedemeyer and Wendy Doniger (eds), *Hermeneutics, Politics, and the History of Religions: The Contested Legacies of Joachim Wach and Mircea Eliade*, University of Oxford Press, Oxford, 2010:285-306, 285.

<sup>222</sup> Ginzburg 2010:323. See Larry E. Shiner, "Sacred Space, Profane Space, Human Space", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Oxford University Press, 1972, pp 425-436, p 434, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1460891> for a discussion on the inadequacy of the sacred – profane dichotomy in ancient Europe.

gaining the depth it could. Though humans seem to like dualities, such as sacred versus profane space, the construct lacks a nuanced reading or understanding of space as multi-dimensional. Spaces may be set apart or marked for a particular function for a particular time, or they may be ‘permanently’<sup>223</sup> marked for a specific purpose. Space is multidimensional also in the sense that time complicates space. A space marked ordinary, might temporarily become sacred for a specified period during which a sacrifice is performed (as in the *agnicayana*<sup>224</sup>). Upon the completion of that sacrifice, it reverts once again to normalcy. Space can also be set apart for a long period of time: a building, a temple for example, may be constructed, for a particular purpose. No matter how solid or seemingly permanent the material of construction (such as stone), the sacredness of the space can never be absolutely permanent, and it will eventually need to have its sacredness reaffirmed. Thus once a temple has been built and the space is marked through rituals, the space’s ritual function will need constant, in many cases daily, reinforcement for the ritual space to continue its function<sup>225</sup>. If this does not happen, the temple, due to lack of attention and upkeep, will crumble and fall. The stones the temple is made of may be used by local people for other things. And thus the beautifully carved cornerstone may be reused in later temples or houses, such as at the Nāchnā temple where parts of the Pārvaṭī temple have been used in later constructions<sup>226</sup>. (This may seem appalling to art historians and others, but to many locals the space or the temple is no longer imbued with the presence of the sacred and thus the stones are just stones. Reverence for monuments has a history and a cultural context in relation to Romanticism and modern nationalism.) Sacredness is not a natural fact, but a social fact requiring maintenance through ritual.

Building on Eliade’s idea of the sacred and profane many scholars also utilize Arnold van Gennep’s model of the threshold<sup>227</sup>. Gennep’s model asserts that there is a boundary between the profane and the sacred. The boundary is generally marked in some way, a gateway, a threshold, a fence, a step or something of a less physical but more ritual kind. Sometimes clear thresholds mark the passing from one type of space to another. For example, one will take off one’s shoes when entering a temple, indicating that this space is set apart, a ritually defined space. However, ritual activity is not

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<sup>223</sup> Permanent is here used phenomenologically, characterizing the everyday perception that buildings endure. While no human construction is permanent we may invoke a distinction between longer and shorter duration, between durable goods and ephemerality. Often people (mis)perceive durable phenomena as permanent. As this is not a dissertation on the doctrine of momentariness (see Alexander von Rospatt, *Buddhist Doctrine of Momentariness. A Survey of the Origins and Early Phase of this Doctrine up to Vasubandhu*. (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien 47). Stuttgart: Steiner. 1995.) I use permanent in a conventional sense.

<sup>224</sup> The *agnicayana* is “the piling up of [the altar] to Agni”, a Śrauta ritual of the Vedic tradition, it is considered one of the greatest Vedic rituals. It is an elaborate ritual that takes twelve days to perform. Frits Staal explored this ritual in its many aspects in his monumental work *Agni* (Staal, 1983).

<sup>225</sup> One thinks for instance of Judith Butler’s notion of “ritual repetition” in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (Routledge, London, 1990). Butler argues that gender is not a natural self-sustaining fact, but a phenomenon that demands re-creation through the ritual repetition of gendered performance.

<sup>226</sup> Joanna Williams, *The Art of Gupta India: Empire and Province*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1982:108-9. This is obviously not specific to the Hindu tradition, runestones are, for example, often found incorporated in newer buildings.

<sup>227</sup> Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1960:19.

necessarily correlated with a step from the profane to the sacred, or that the threshold is clearly marked. People in many cultures (for example South Asia<sup>228</sup>, much of Europe (excluding England), the Muslim world<sup>229</sup> and Japan<sup>230</sup>) find the idea of walking with shoes indoors offensive. (The rationale may be sanitary rather than numinous.) In the Hebrew Bible, Moses is commanded to remove his shoes in the presence of the Lord. In Sweden, guests are traditionally offered indoor slippers when entering a house. The rationale in these various cases is not the same. Taking off shoes when entering people's houses, temples or other areas, as well as other gestures, such as crossing one's chest when entering a church (though this is not the only time that people in the Catholic or Episcopal traditions cross themselves), mark a transition from one type of lived space to another type of space, a space that has been set apart for a particular purpose or function. While the step from the street into the temple is a step from the human lived space into the ritually holy space into which gods have been invited, it is not the mere facts of boundary crossing and ritual activity that make it so.

The difference between street and temple does not mean that the street is not imbued with the presence of the divine or sacred. Cities can be holy, too. Walking on the streets of a particular city, such as Varanasi, can be an act of devotion<sup>231</sup>. However, there is clearly a difference between walking into a home and stepping into a temple. The home has as its primary function sheltering the people living there (and their guests), although many homes have in them one or more 'sacred spaces'. The temple's primary function, on the other hand, is to shelter the divine. To adapt Phyllis Granoff's<sup>232</sup> articulation of the temple as a heaven on earth, walking into the temple is analogous to walking into heaven. Recreating heaven on earth, or a space appropriate for the divine to dwell in, is, according to Granoff, what temple construction is all about. Creating heaven on earth can be accomplished through such ritualized activities as dispelling malevolent spirits, offering to the deity of the place (like Vāstupuruṣa) and inviting gods<sup>233</sup>.

The contrast between the sacred, divine and spiritual on the one hand and the outer, material, on the other hand, is a dualism, similar to the sacred and profane often

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<sup>228</sup> See Emma Tarlo *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India* (University of Chicago Press, 1996) where she discusses the risk for an Indian person of adopting European clothing – “with the clothes of the European came a whole new etiquette which often conflicted with accepted Indian ideas of respectable behaviour. This was particularly clear with rituals surrounding head and footwear. Whereas Indians normally removed their shoes on entering a building, the British kept theirs on. They thought naked feet disgusting while Indians thought shoes inside the house polluting” (1996:44).

<sup>229</sup> See discussion in Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Making Muslim space in North America and Europe*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1996:68, 70.

<sup>230</sup> Tsuyoshi Kigawa in his article “The Japanese partiality towards boundaries” states that “In Japanese culture, people remove their shoes when entering houses.” The article was presented during the 4<sup>th</sup> International Space Syntax Symposium in London 17-9 June, 2003, p 1-10, p 4, and is available at <http://www.spacesyntax.org/symposia/SSS4/shortpapers-posters/Kigawa-paper.pdf>, accessed 2011-04-24.

<sup>231</sup> See Gesler and Pierce “Hindu Varanasi” *Geographical Review*, vol 90.2, April, 2000, p 222-237, Diana Eck, *Banaras, City of Light*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1998.

<sup>232</sup> Phyllis Granoff, “Heaven on Earth: Temples and Temple Cities in Medieval India”, pgs 170-193, in D. van der Meij, *India and Beyond*, Kegan Paul International, 1997.

<sup>233</sup> See chapter 10 on *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* below. It is interesting that all three of these examples – exorcising, offering and inviting – especially feature verbal performatives, language that alters reality. The privileged place of Sanskrit as a medium of ritual activity is related to its gravity, the force it carries as authority.



invoked in articulations of the meaning of temples and temple construction. Raja Ramanna<sup>234</sup> questions the notion that there is a separation between inner and outer space identified respectively with spiritual and material. He believes that this is a modern conception that has been applied to ancient thinking.<sup>235</sup> Though Ramanna does not state so explicitly, his article obviously seems to imply a critique of the ideas expressed in Eliade's *The Sacred and the Profane*, and the clear distinction Eliade articulates between these two spaces.<sup>236</sup> Ramanna notes that the Upaniṣads, for example *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 2.10 and *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 8.1.3, equate *ākāśa* (space) with the *ātman*. Brahmā is several times equated with space, and with the mind. For example:

*Brahmā* is space. The primeval one is space. Space is windy. (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 5.1.1)  
 Brahmā is the mind.... The mind itself is its abode, and space is its foundation. One should venerate it as bliss. (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 4.1.7)

As vast as the space here around us is this space within the heart, and within it are contained both the earth and the sky, both fire and wind, both the sun and the moon, both lightening and stars. What belongs here to this space around us, as well as what does not – all that is contained within it. (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 8.1.3)<sup>237</sup>

Ramanna further clarifies his understanding of space: “Sacred Spaces [should be considered] as Real Spaces and profane space as partial space i.e., specialized space.” Ramanna seems to imply that instrumental thinking compromises the integrity of a space. Ramanna states that when a sacred space is created it is “neither exclusively exterior or interior, it is both, it is us who have an ‘interior’ and an ‘exterior’ at the same time.”<sup>238</sup> He seems to be making a Kantian move here, arguing that we project human categories onto space in itself. Reading space in ‘an *advaita* way’, Ramanna mentions the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* as an example of how space transcends the categories of subjective and objective. Thus, according to Ramanna, the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* describes the concrete descent of *puruṣa* (primal Man or Reality) into a localized thing, *vāstu*.<sup>239</sup> It is surprising how gnostic Ramanna’s language is here. Space makes possible the manifestation of what he terms “Reality.” “All Reality, in as much as it is manifested, is spatial, although Space is not the whole of Reality.”<sup>240</sup> To me, this formulation, too, has a distinctly Kantian ring to it. Ramanna also discusses the *advaitic* experience of “Space”. The *advaitic* grasps the two as “non two” – one space is not without the other, because the nature of “Space” is constituted by the relationship between the two.<sup>241</sup> Thus, in the

<sup>234</sup> Raja Ramanna, “Physical Centre in the Context of All Knowledge”, in Kapila Vatsyayan ed., *Concepts of Space: Ancient and Modern*, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, 1991:3-6.

<sup>235</sup> Ramanna, 1991:10. It may be better to say it is a Hellenistic trope as it is central to Greek philosophy, the New Testament, gnostic writing, etc.

<sup>236</sup> Eliade, 1959.

<sup>237</sup> Translations: Patrick Olivelle, *Upaniṣads*, Oxford World’s Classics, Oxford University Press, New York, 1996.

<sup>238</sup> Ramanna, 1991:21.

<sup>239</sup> Ramanna, 1991:23.

<sup>240</sup> Ramanna, 1991:23.

<sup>241</sup> Ramanna, 1991:25.

inner “Space” we discover the outer, and in the outer the inner.<sup>242</sup> However, that there is a clear outside and interior represented by the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, both in terms of inside and outside the Pāñcarātra tradition but also spatially – inside and outside the sacred space consecrated to Viṣṇu. While Ramanna’s critique of the binary sacred and profane is refreshing, his short paper does not discuss what he means by “Reality”. At first glance, he seems to be referring to the world as we experience it (temporal, spatial, etc.) But it is possible that, for Ramanna, “Reality” is what I have chosen to call the sacred. Within “Reality”; Ramanna incorporates such things as the descent of Puruṣa into the *vāstu*, indicating that for him and for people to whom these rituals are essential, the descent is real. His discussion on space transcending the subjective and objective could benefit from further clarification. Ramanna’s theorizations of space attempt to provincialize western dualisms like inner/outer even though they seem to appeal to Kantian categories and gnostic myth. His work is reminiscent of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak’s<sup>243</sup> work, which highlights the ethnocentricity of hegemonic knowledges and problematizes western, modern epistemologies<sup>244</sup>. Spivak seeks to make visible the ‘real’ world through textual study. Using deconstruction as a tool, she seeks to give marginalized third world (subaltern) women a voice.<sup>245</sup> Though *advaita* Vedanta is a philosophy originating within the Brāhminical caste, it is certainly fair to assert, with Ramanna, that it and other Brāhminical philosophies are unfairly ignored by the university. Spivak, it ought to be noted, is more concerned with representing *adivāsi* (tribal) ways of knowledge.

Among theories of place and space, I observe a tension between the social-biological territorial and aggressive impulse to build, and the free, romantic, humanist notion that emphasizes man’s creative, universe creating genius. Emphasizing the social-biological, one may state that human beings are territorial animals. We define spaces particularly through the way we mark them for specific uses. We create visible and invisible boundaries, establish cultural conventions of behavior towards those boundaries, and defend our territory against unwanted intrusions.<sup>246</sup> A more romantic notion is obvious in Le Corbusier’s statement:

Architecture is the first manifestation of man creating his own universe.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>242</sup> Ramanna, 1991:26.

<sup>243</sup> Spivak draws on Derrida, whose *De la Grammatologie* she translated, and her formulations are at times hard to separate from Derrida’s.

<sup>244</sup> Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Poststructuralism, marginality, postcoloniality and value” in P. Collier and H. Geyer-Ryan (eds.) *Literary Theory Today*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1990:219-44.

<sup>245</sup> See for example Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak “Literary representations of the subaltern” in K Guha (ed.), *Subaltern Studies*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1988, and “Supplementing Marxism” in Cullenberg and Magnus (eds.), *Whither Marxism, Global Crisis in International Perspectives*, Routledge, New York, 1995:109-19.

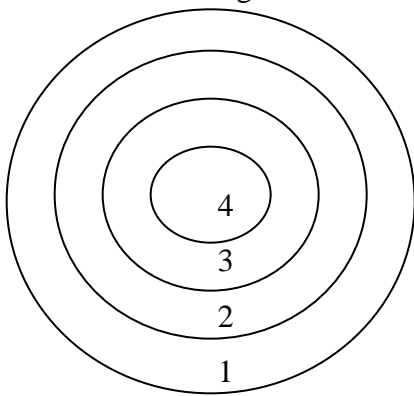
<sup>246</sup> Sanders, “Behaviorable conventions and archaeology: methods for the analysis of ancient architecture”, in S Kent (ed.) *Domestic architecture and the use of space*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990: 43-72, 49.

<sup>247</sup> Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture*, John Rodeker, London, 1931:17.

Le Corbusier, perhaps modern Europe's most famous architect, states that in creating buildings man himself seeks to create a universe that fits him. This modern romantic view is hard to reconcile with the insight into social and biological determinism.

Frits Staal is one of few to incorporate both the humanistic and the social-biological aspects in his analysis. Staal has noted that both for animals and people the construction and setting apart, of space is important. For Staal, men, just like birds (and other animals), construct and discover centers of space. Space is an "expression of our innate nature"<sup>248</sup>. Staal's formulation resonates with Ramanna's. Throughout history humans have felt a need to define these boundaries not only, or at times not even primarily, in a physical way, but also in a ritual way. Ritually marked spaces are used to set apart a specific locale for a particular purpose. Space exteriorizes or gives expression to an inner landscape, as Staal sees it. The way we use space is very much about the ideas we have about the world. Buildings are containers for psychic beings (intellectual, emotional, perceiving beings) the same degree as they house bodies and possessions. What kind of containers are we driven to construct?

Seth Kunin has, in his chapter "Sacred Place", developed a model "to understand properly the use of sacred space and place in Jewish thought and culture. He asserts that the concept must be examined on two interrelated levels: the ideological and the functional"<sup>249</sup>. This model provides a more nuanced reading of sacred spaces and their function than Eliade's binaries. With its graduated interiors, it better represents the temple than Ramanna's '*advaita*'. Kunin's ideological level exists as biblical and rabbinic textuality and is abstract, though Kunin says that it is still relevant for modern Jewish attitudes towards sacred space. The functional level Kunin sees in the structure of the synagogue and the place of the home as the replacement for the temple. Kunin shows how the world is organized in a coherent pattern – from the outside in<sup>250</sup>. Kunin looks at a



Model 1. Conception of Space

Rabbinic text called *Mishnah Kelim* where two levels of geography are combined: macrospace (the world, Israel, Jerusalem and finally the Temple) and micro space (the various areas within the temple). In a way that I would say is similar to many Hindu temples, Kunin observes that "all people can enter the Temple mount, yet as we move inward, the groups of people who are allowed to enter are progressively reduced"<sup>251</sup>. I believe that Kunin's ideas of macrospace and microspace could be transferred to the ideas of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, however, not quite as clearly as in Jewish thought. In *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* the macrospace would be – (1) the world, (2) a part of India defined as not Kāśmir, Kāmarupa, nor Kaliṅga etc., (3) areas that

<sup>248</sup> Frits Staal "The Centre of Space: Construction and Discovery" in Kapila Vatsyayan ed, *Concepts of Space: ancient and modern*, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, 1991:83-100, p. 98.

<sup>249</sup> Seth Kunin, "Sacred Place", in Holm and Bowker ed. *Sacred Place*. St. Martin's Press, New York, 1994:115.

<sup>250</sup> Kunin, 1994:117-8

<sup>251</sup> Kunin, 1994:116.

conform to the rules laid out regarding land in the *Āyāśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, and finally (4) ritually consecrated spaces. In the *Āyāśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, which is exclusively interested in the temple, ritually consecrated space is the temple, while in the *Agni Purāṇa* and many other texts on the subject, ritually consecrated space is a city or a village. In the city, one can also discern levels of sacrality or consecrated spaces. Then (1) the city, (2) the area of the city reserved for a particular group of people (the three upper castes) (3) the temple (4) the inner sanctum. Inside consecrated spaces, there are also levels and the notion of microspace could be usefully deployed to describe those<sup>252</sup>.

There are, of course, important differences between Jewish and Hindu concepts of space. These differences are especially pertinent to Kunin's reflections on the synagogue. After the Roman war on Jerusalem, the Jewish tradition has, to a large extent, developed in a minority diaspora situation. This situation has forced the Jewish tradition to negotiate space with many other traditions, perhaps leading to an idealization of the homeland Israel and a strong focus on the synagogue as the locus of religious practice. The Hindu tradition on the other hand developed in a context where most people belonged to some form of what we call Hinduism. On the other hand, the Hindu tradition has also encountered other traditions and it has during many periods in history not been the 'state religion'. Kunin's model can nevertheless help clarify that in the Hindu context, as in most other traditions, there are levels of sacredness.

Kunin's model has some weaknesses. While being less binary than Eliade's theory, it still reduces Jewish culture to equations (A is not B), an analytic move that subsumes some of the most disparate culture formations under one rubric. In addition, his model assumes something of an absolute boundary between centralized and decentralized sacred space instead of articulating the creation of spaced space as negotiations. That is, Kunin's search for underlying structural equations prevents any insights into the processual dynamics that have rendered the multicultural tradition that Judaism (like Hinduism) is today. So again, binaries, though more nuanced, are still represented as definitive. Any set of oppositions cannot do justice to a situation where a culture has developed over centuries in greatly diversified situations, an observation valid whether we are discussing the Jewish or Hindu traditions.

With its focus on ritual and space, Jonathan Z. Smith's theory, perhaps the most influential in the field, needs to be discussed. Smith's theory of ritual is characterized by its emphasis on the spatial, rendering place determinative of sacrality and emphasizing the incongruity or contrast between ritualized and nonritualized domains. A spatial theory meets the chief criterion for the work of articulating the architecture and plan of the temple using the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. Smith grants space a privileged position in ritual theory making his theory a good candidate for a discussion of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. Indeed Smith focuses so much on space in his theory of ritual that ritual is a kind of emplacement and that emplacement constitutes ritual. Smith's most sustained theorizing about ritual occurs prominently in two works, "The Bare Facts of Ritual", originally published in 1980, and *To Take Place*, published in 1987<sup>253</sup>.

<sup>252</sup> Kunin elaborates his model somewhat in his book Kunin, Seth D., *God's place in the world: sacred space and sacred place in Judaism*, Cassell, New York, 1998.

<sup>253</sup> Jonathan Z. Smith, 'The Bare Facts of Ritual', *History of Religions* 20 (1980), pp. 112–27, and Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press 1987.

In 'Bare Facts' Smith speaks of sacred places as 'focusing lenses', implying, that in ritual humans and gods are 'transparent' with respect to one another.

When one enters a temple, one enters marked-off space in which, at least in principle, nothing is accidental; everything, at least potentially, is of significance. The temple serves as a focusing lens, marking and revealing significance<sup>254</sup>.

By the use of the lens metaphor, he implicitly locates sacred space in a middle zone, with human beings on one side and the divine on the other. "A sacred place is a place of clarification (a focusing lens) where men and gods are held to be transparent to one another"<sup>255</sup>. The definition that results from Smith's argument is:

Ritual represents the creation of a controlled environment where the variables of ordinary life have been displaced precisely because they are felt to be so overwhelmingly present and powerful. Ritual is a means of performing the way things ought to be in conscious tension to the way things are in such a way that this ritualized perfection is recollected in the ordinary, uncontrolled, course of things<sup>256</sup>.

Smith characterizes ritual as an idealized, or 'perfected', domain in which nothing accidental happens and in which everything is potentially meaningful. Insofar as ritual is a kind of space, it exhibits a dialectical relationship with that less focused domain that constitutes the uncontrolled, daily life. Thus, the ritualized/ non ritualized distinction is parallel to, or superimposed with, a word/ deed distinction, implying this analogy of proportion: ritual is to word as non-ritual is to deed. Smith's definition is idealized not only in claiming that rites depict 'perfection' but in its assumptions about the recollection of that perfection. People are not always able to recall idealized ritual action outside the ritual context. Sometimes they forget the ritual paradigms that they have practiced, or they are not conscious of the dissonance between the ritual ideal and the ordinary real<sup>257</sup>.

Smith's approach shows two tendencies. The first one is to consider ritual as opposed to non-ritual, and to emphasize the lack of negotiation between the two sides. Obviously this involves binary thinking that reduces ritual to less than what it is. The second tendency (less pronounced) is that memory connects the ritualized with the non-ritualized domain. Ritual actors *remember* their ritual actions in non-ritualized space (or vice versa: they recall the chaos of non-ritualized life in the midst of ritual performance)<sup>258</sup>. What a hunt is like differs from what a hunt is *actually* like. Words about hunts are idealized whereas actual hunting deeds are messy. However, the hunter, Smith says, "has some means of overcoming this contradiction between "word and deed." This, I believe, is one major function of ritual"<sup>259</sup>. That is, for Smith, the ritual functions as a controlled representation of the world. Like Ramanna, there is a notion that the outside shows the inside and the inside shows the outside.

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<sup>254</sup> Smith 1980:113.

<sup>255</sup> Smith 1980:114.

<sup>256</sup> Smith 1980:125.

<sup>257</sup> This resonates with certain Hindu rhythms, such as *pravṛtti/ nivṛtti* and *laukika/ alaukika*.

<sup>258</sup> Smith 1980:124.

<sup>259</sup> Smith 1980:124.

Smith seems to use a mix of action and space theory. He says that the *sacra* are sacred solely because they are used in a sacred place<sup>260</sup>. Rather like theory of art that says art is whatever is in a museum (as Dadaist Marcel Duchamp and his toilet). In *To Take Place*, temple rites ground Smith's generalizations about ritual. He construes temple ritual as 'exemplary of ritual itself'<sup>261</sup>. While this is useful for my purposes here it does not mean that it is universally valid. Smith argues that within the temple 'All was system from which nothing could distract'<sup>262</sup>. For Smith, the temple was, metaphorically speaking, a map. (As Phyllis Granoff argues that the Hindu Temple is a map of heaven<sup>263</sup>.) He implies that there is a process whereby geographical sacred places give rise to non-specialized modes of emplacement, that is, to intellectual systems. He argues that places facilitate a 'precision', an abstraction, from place while at the same time maintaining the centrality of place. He goes even further to claim that there is no rift between the literal, or geographical level and the conceptual metaphoric one: 'There is no break with the dynamics of ritual itself'<sup>264</sup>.

Ritual is a relationship of difference between 'nows'—the now of everyday life and the now of ritual place; the simultaneity, but not the co-existence, of 'here' and 'there'. Here (in the world) blood is a major source of impurity; there (in ritual space) blood removes impurity. Here (in the world) water is the central agent by which impurity is transmitted; there (in ritual) washing with water carries away impurity. Neither the blood nor the water has changed; what has changed is their location. This absolute discrepancy invites thought, but cannot be thought away. One is invited to think of the potentialities of the one 'now' in terms of the other; but the one cannot become the other. Ritual *précise*s ambiguities; it neither overcomes nor relaxes them. Ritual, concerned primarily with difference, is necessarily an affair of the relative<sup>265</sup>.

For Smith, place is not only central, it is active. As he imagines it, a place is not a mere empty or passive receptacle. It is not just the context or backdrop of action but rather a force that forms actions and actors<sup>266</sup>. While he also discusses other 'actors' within ritual, such as time, none is as central or important as space. For Smith, placement is not only active; it is hierarchical: 'Place is not best conceived as a particular location . . . but rather as a social position within a hierarchical system'<sup>267</sup>. 'As such, ritual is systemic hierarchy par excellence'<sup>268</sup>. So, in Smith's view, metaphorically speaking, place is not only an "actor" but an "actor in search of power", of a superior position. (Perhaps this is why he named a chapter 'Father Place'<sup>269</sup>). Smith's idea is here reminiscent of psychoanalytic

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<sup>260</sup> Smith 1980:116.

<sup>261</sup> Smith 1987:112.

<sup>262</sup> Smith 1987:108.

<sup>263</sup> Phyllis Granoff, "Heaven on Earth: Temples and Temple Cities in Medieval India", pp. 170-193, in van der Meij, D, *India and Beyond*, Kegan Paul International, 1997:175.

<sup>264</sup> Smith 1987:109.

<sup>265</sup> Smith 1987:110.

<sup>266</sup> Smith 1987:26.

<sup>267</sup> Smith 1987:45.

<sup>268</sup> Smith 1987:110.

<sup>269</sup> Smith 1987. This chapter (chapter 2 in the book) starts out as a critique against Eliade and then seeks to go beyond that. I am not sure that Smith is successful in this endeavor. Even though he is critical to Eliade he still presents a binary model.

object-relation theory's notion that a place can be a "transformational object" a repetition of the maternal environment<sup>270</sup>.

In 2008, 20 years since it had first been published, several scholars wrote reviews of Smith's influential book *To Take Place*. Here I will gesture toward the critique of two scholars. Steven Weitzman<sup>271</sup> published a review of *To Take Place* in 2008. Ronald L. Grimmes critiques *To Take Place* as well as Smith's main article on the topic "The Bare Facts of Ritual" (which Weitzman mentions as well)<sup>272</sup>. Weitzman's critique of Smith's theory emphasizes two points:

- Smith dwells a lot on time – which he does not articulate so as to make his meaning transparent.
- Smith uses a language which assumes a "sharp and impermeable boundary between the sacred and ordinary life, between the Temple and the outside world, between ritual and history"<sup>273</sup>.

Weitzman does not say that Smith's theory is outdated but that highlighting these facts points at the challenge of "how to explore the touch of the real on sacred space, the ways it is wired into history, without obscuring the ways it is defined in opposition to history"<sup>274</sup>. Ramanna's 'advaita' theory also emphasizes, adopting Weitzman's felicitous phrase, "the touch of the real on sacred space". Though for Ramanna sacred space better embodies the real than instrumentalized functional spaces which 'we secularized and moderns' might characterize as 'the real world' as opposed to some sacred 'escape'. While Weitzman's review, as it is a review, does not offer a development or an alternative, Grimmes seeks in his article to point out weaknesses in Smith's theory and suggest how to work with these challenges.

Grimmes himself has published numerous works on ritual. While Smith focuses on space Grimmes focuses on action. He says "to me, it seems obvious that ritual is a kind of action, that it inevitably occurs in a specific place, and that such places vary in their importance to the rites they ground"<sup>275</sup>. His critique of Smith is fourfold:

1) Smith speaks of an ideal. "Rites, then, may be ineffective in inscribing images of sufficient strength to persist in imagination and memory. So perhaps part of Smith's definition should read this way: 'Ritualized perfection *ought to be* recollected in the ordinary, uncontrolled, course of things'. This way of putting the matter would make it clear that he is defining ritual ideally"<sup>276</sup>. Smith's way of speaking of ritual as an ideal is, of course, problematic. The ideal is that people would perform the ritual in a particular way and then reflect and remember the ritual in their daily life. Hindu texts, such as the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* admit that, while there is an ideal or normative way of performing

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<sup>270</sup> See Christopher Bollas, *The Shadow of the Object: Psychoanalysis of the Unthought known*, Columbia University Press, 1989.

<sup>271</sup> Steven Weitzman, "Review: Reopening the Gates of J. Z. Smith's Temple: To Take Place in the Light of New Historicism" *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 76, No. 3 (Sep., 2008) (pp. 766-773), available online at <http://jaar.oxfordjournals.org/content/76/3/766.full>.

<sup>272</sup> Ronald L. Grimmes "Jonathan Z. Smith's Theory of Ritual Space" in *Religion* (1999) 29, 261–273, Article No. reli.1998.0162, available online at <http://www.idealibrary.com>, 261.

<sup>273</sup> Weitzman, 2008, no pg.nrs.

<sup>274</sup> Weitzman, 2008, no pg.nrs.

<sup>275</sup> Ronald L. Grimmes "Jonathan Z. Smith's Theory of Ritual Space" in *Religion* (1999) 29, 261–273, Article No. reli.1998.0162, available online at <http://www.idealibrary.com>, 261.

<sup>276</sup> Grimmes 1998:263.

the rituals, such as orientation of the door to a building, it is not always the case that people achieve it, people make mistakes even in such important matters. One indication of the text's admitting this fact is that ritual texts provide remedies for mistakes made in the ritual performance<sup>277</sup>.

2) Smith talks of ritual as if it was always religious. "He [Smith] seems to assume an equation between ritual and one kind of ritual: religious, or sacred, ritual."<sup>278</sup> Obviously not all ritual is religious or sacred. One might think of, for example, children's bedtime rituals, opening rituals for a new museum, or dating rituals among teenagers.

3) An over-emphasis on space. While "Smith speaks of 'place' rather than 'sacred space' to differentiate himself rhetorically from phenomenologists such as Eliade and to evoke the more specifically social meanings of 'place', spatiality and placement remain determinative of Smith's conception of ritual. Space is treated not simply as one dimension of ritual but as the fundamental dimension. Ritual action does not make space sacred; rather, placement renders actions sacred. Whereas Eliade construes the center as sacred to religion, Smith renders placement central, thus privileged, to ritual.<sup>279</sup> Clearly this focus on space is problematic. While in temple rituals and rituals connected to temple construction space is essential – it is the very ground for the rituals to be performed and they cannot be performed elsewhere – in other contexts the place is insignificant.

4) Grimmes view is that there *is* a break between intellectual order and spatial order and that interpreters, not places, make the move from geography to mental classification. Smith implies the existence of a smooth and necessary connection between intellectual and social order on the one hand and ritual on the other. However well such a claim may seem to represent temple ritual, Grimmes see no reason to conclude that this move is definitive of ritual everywhere. Smith, Grimmes believes, is right in maintaining that ritual relies on ordinary activities, and intellectual activity must certainly be on the list of ordinary activities. Grimmes does not claim that ritual action and intellectual activity are fundamentally or necessarily opposed, but does maintain, however, that they may be; that there is often a difference. Intellectual systems are not necessarily co-extensive with ritual systems, no matter how much they may overlap. Smith says that 'ritual . . . provides an occasion for reflection'. Grimmes would say '*may* provide', because it is also true that some ritualists and some ritual traditions discourage reflection.<sup>280</sup> Grimmes says that "Ritual, claims Smith ([Smith] echoing, I suspect, Ricoeur on myth), gives rise to thought. . . [Smith] claims that the incongruence between (non ritualistic) blood that pollutes and (ritualistic) blood that purifies drives one's thinking. Such a move is not impossible, but is it necessary?" Grimmes states that it is not necessarily so that ritual makes people think. He is very contemporary in his refusal of deterministic social science meta-narratives. Grimmes further points out that Smith's writing shifts rapidly from performances, which are specific and located in space and time, to systems which are abstract. The logic takes us from literal, geographical places to metaphorical, conceptual space. The connection is seamless only if we do not notice the shift he makes from the geographical to the metaphorical.<sup>281</sup> Grimmes criticism is good, but Smith's formulation

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<sup>277</sup> See *Ḥayaśīṣa Pañcarātra* 5.11 in the translation chapter 7 below.

<sup>278</sup> Grimmes 1998:263.

<sup>279</sup> Grimmes 1998:264.

<sup>280</sup> Grimmes 1998:265.

<sup>281</sup> Grimmes 1998:265-6.



does seem to fit brāhminical speculation, which is, admittedly, unusually abstract, thorough, intertextual, and full of correspondences. On the other hand, a lot of brāhminical ritual is oriented toward the body, which is a moveable place, unlike a temple, river or mountain.

Grimmes agrees with Smith in some of his statements but qualifies them.

Smith writes, ‘the *sacra* are sacred solely because they are used in a sacred place; there is no inherent difference between a sacred vessel and an ordinary one’. I agree that any vessel<sup>282</sup> can be sacralized. In my view sacralization is more typically a function of use. One possible use of *sacra* is to demarcate place, but it is possible to deploy *sacra* outside of sacred places<sup>283</sup>.

I agree with Grimmes here. Body rituals, like *nyāsa*<sup>284</sup>, can be performed outside sacred places, for instance. We know which places are sacred and which are not by observing what is enacted or not enacted in them. Sacrality becomes evident in *how* people act. To be sure, ritualists cannot escape place—they act somewhere, not everywhere—but this fact alone does not imply that space is *the* constitutive ritual component<sup>285</sup>. Thus the Hindu temple is a sacred space but only as long as rituals are carried on in the space. When rituals stop and the temple construction starts to fall apart it is no longer a sacred space. Left handed tantric Hinduism gives many good examples of the sacralization of the abject object, which backs up the notion that any object can be sacralized.

Grimmes he suggests that ritual is multidimensional. While I agree with this statement his table of ritual components can only be seen as an example. For sacred places he only lists shrines and sanctuaries, there must of course be many more. Grimmes tells us that surely, it is true that space *can* direct attention, but just as surely it may not. It may serve as mere backdrop or practical necessity. Low-church Protestant rites, for instance, de-emphasize space. Worship can happen anywhere: a home, a school, a restaurant<sup>286</sup>.

Drawing on Grimmes, we might characterize a multidimensional view of ritual<sup>287</sup> emphasizing space relatively more because that is the aspect of ritual that I am interested in here:

1. Not all ritual is religious. Sacred performance is a subcategory of ritual.
2. Between ritual and non-ritualistic domains there is congruity as well as incongruity. One should attend to both, inferring proportions from the feel of actual practice.
3. Space is not more determinative than other components of ritual, such as actions, objects and times. When interpreting a ritual the relations among components is important and one should not assume that one is definitive.
4. In some ritual traditions, space acts. In others, space is ignored or even transcended. Thus the importance of space is culture- or religion-specific, or may vary within one tradition.

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<sup>282</sup> Like any object, space, and so on can be sacralized.

<sup>283</sup> Grimmes 1998:266.

<sup>284</sup> The term *nyāsa* refers to mental appropriation or assignment of various parts of the body to a god/goddess or deities.

<sup>285</sup> Grimmes 1998:266.

<sup>286</sup> Grimmes 1998:267.

<sup>287</sup> Inspired by Grimmes 1998.

## 5. Grimmes suggests that we

- i) Use the term 'place' literally, that is, for a specific geographical location;
- ii) Use 'space' when we mean that which is empty like a receptacle;
- iii) Use 'emplacement' when we refer to location on a conceptual map, classificatory grid, or social hierarchy<sup>288</sup>.

Thus, when discussing the Hindu temple and the way it is described in a text the term emplacement should be used. The term 'place' may be used for the specific geographical location of a temple. "Emplacement may, metaphorically, extend the 'reach' of a place, but it does not transcend that place and is not superior to it. Places and schemes of emplacement may either consolidate or criticize hierarchy. They do not necessarily reinforce or reflect it"<sup>289</sup>. Grimmes may be right in denying that the hierarchy-making function of emplacement is universally monovocal, but, as Brian Smith shows in *Classifying the Universe*, Brāhminical textuality is thoroughly hierarchical and ideological<sup>290</sup>. Emplacement in the context of the Hindu temple refers not only to the physical structure but also the concept imbedded in the building, as well as places it within a social hierarchy. Perhaps we could call it sacred emplacement.

### 3.2 Applying Sacred Space Theory to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*

In the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* the largest space approved of is a space defined as not Kacchadeśa, Kāverī, Koṅkaṇa, Kāmarūpa, Kaliṅga, Kāñchī, Kāśmīra, Kośala and Mahārāṣṭra, areas from which brāhmaṇas who officiate in consecration ceremonies may not come (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra ādikāṇḍa* 3.3-4). Within this exclusive space one can search for places that correspond to the particulars specified in the text for a temple setting. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* was, clearly, not conscious of "India" as modern geographers know it. The term "India" is never used here. It is clear from the text that the country the text approves of lies somewhere in the north central/ north east of what we today call India (see discussion on the text ch. 4.1 below). In his paper "Epic Journeys: Travel by Land, Sea and Air in the Literature of Ancient India", Robert P. Goldman has discussed the various ways traveling is depicted in Sanskrit literature. Here Goldman indicates that place one should not travel outside, as defined by Manu:

The area between the Himalayas (in the North) and the Vindhya mountains (in the South) and lies to the east of the Sarasvatī River and west of the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā River is known as the 'Middle Country' (*madhyadeśa*). The wise know the land that lies between the eastern and the western oceans and between the aforementioned mountain ranges as the 'Land of the Āryans' (*āryavārta*). This land, the natural range of the black antelope, whose skin is used in various rituals, alone is said to be as fit for sacrifice. What lies beyond it is the land of the barbarians. People of the higher social classes (the 'twice-born' *dvijātayah*) should make

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<sup>288</sup> Grimmes 1998:267-8.

<sup>289</sup> Grimmes, 1998:268.

<sup>290</sup> Brian Smith, *Classifying the universe: ancient Indian varṇa system and the origins of caste*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1994.

strenuous efforts to live there. Those of the servant class, under pressure of making a living, may live anywhere.<sup>291</sup>

Though the definition in the *Manusmṛti* and the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* are not the same, they suggest a similar idea, and delineate approximately the same area. The common idea is that living and acting outside this area is not in accordance with the divine prescriptions for *yajña* sacrifices and that the inability to properly perform Vedic *yajña* will negatively affect your connection with the gods. The *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* (1.2.14-16) prescribes purifications for Brāhmaṇas who have traveled to certain regions, such as Avanti and Kalinga<sup>292</sup>. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* also expresses a concern with Brāhmaṇas coming from outside this middle country, indicating that one ought not only not travel outside but also that, one also ought not to mix with people from other areas, at least not in a ritually significant way. Texts, such as the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, themselves discuss problems with the rituals and occasionally suggest remedies if there is a problem<sup>293</sup>. Thus the Sanskrit tradition (like the Rabbinic tradition) is definitely a contemplative tradition that thinks through its rituals. Smith and Kunin's remarks fit Brāhminical theory better than Grimes' qualifications. In the brāhminical tradition spatial organization is reflected in subjective experience. It is a tradition of abundant correlations and correspondences.

The setting of the temple is essential. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, and other texts, elaborate on such natural features as slopes, plants, water sources, etc., with regard to the selection of a plot for construction. The surrounding landscape is essential in judging the layout of a city. The landscape is the very reason for the city to be where it is. Ann Irvine Steinsapir emphasizes the role that the surrounding geography plays in human experience<sup>294</sup>. Landscape is not a passive backdrop for human activity but an active component that is negotiated by human beings, included in their experience and reshaped by them<sup>295</sup>. Exploring sacred spaces is one way to examine these experiences and the relationship between nature and architecture. Ritual traditions may also be a way to transmit important information about site selection, city planning, house construction, etc. from one generation to the next. Looking at the sanctuary dedicated to Zeus Baetocaece, Steinsapir sees how the temple faces certain natural phenomena (a spring that comes up to the surface only a few months a year) and incorporates a living, holy rock<sup>296</sup>. She also notices that the location, in a deep mountain valley, difficult to access, adds to the feeling

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<sup>291</sup> *Manusmṛti* 2.22-4 (translation by Robert Goldman, in "Epic Journeys: Travel by Land, Sea and Air in the Literature of Ancient India", invited talk at a conference on travel in antiquity held at the University of Pennsylvania in March, 2007:2.)

<sup>292</sup> See also Pandurang Vaman Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra (ancient and mediaval religious and civil law in India)*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1930-1962, vol II, pg 11ff, especially 19-18.

<sup>293</sup> Such as if one places the door in the wrong direction so that the deity will look away from the city rather than towards it one can paint a picture of the god facing the city (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, 5.12).

<sup>294</sup> Steinsapir, Ann Irvine, "Landscape and the Sacred: The Sanctuary Dedicated to Holy, Heavenly Zeus Baetocaece", *Near Eastern Archaeology*, The American Schools of Oriental Research, Vol. 62, No. 3, Sep., 1999, pp. 182-194. See also, Steinsapir, Ann Irvine, *Rural Sanctuaries in Roman Syria – the Creation of a Sacred Landscape* BAR International Series 1431, Hadrian Books, London, 2005.

<sup>295</sup> Steinsapir, 1999:182, she refers to Alcock, Osborde, Edlund, de Polignac and Tilley.

<sup>296</sup> Steinsapir, 1999:187-8.

of holiness experienced by the sanctuary's visitors/ pilgrims<sup>297</sup>. In the case of the Hindu temples, though many are urban, they are still often located in the vicinity of impressive or aesthetically pleasing natural phenomena such as rivers, hills, or mountains. All of which are considered *tīrthas* – 'crossing over' places – by the tradition. In the Hindu context, geographical importance is expressed in texts such as the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* by the emphasis put on the location of a temple; access to water, particular plants, quality of soil and the direction of slopes. Ritual prescription, one could argue, is a way of theorizing and theologizing space and the human experience. From the text, it is obvious that the believing Pañcarātrin thinks that the divine ought to inhabit a beautiful building. Rules guide the selection of the space and construction of the temple for the god. On the other hand, there are no rules specifying that Viṣṇu's temple should be inaccessible. The point seems to be to enable participation rather than to create logistic challenge.

One essential feature of sacred space is direction, primarily the cardinal directions. Lindsay Jones discusses architecture as orientation i.e., the importance generally placed on orientation of a building in architecture<sup>298</sup>. Jones stresses the importance of balancing the commonalities and uniqueness of various architectures. This means that his model points at "middle-range abstractions" by which he articulates characteristics that are neither universal attributes nor wholly unique. Instead middle range abstractions point at a range of types or classes, "a set of ritual-architectural priorities" that inform us about the way religious architectures are designed, constructed and experienced<sup>299</sup>.

Jones discusses "architecture as orientation" as follows: "At its most basic, orientation involves finding, both literally and metaphorically, one's place in the world, or in the case of sacred architecture, actually *constructing* one's place in the world"<sup>300</sup>. Anyone working with Hindu temple architectural texts knows how important orientation is. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* spends a chapter discussing the ways to determine the direction of the temple and the placement of the door<sup>301</sup>. The emphasis on orientation and proportion is not surprising in an architectural text as it is essential to the planning of a Hindu temple, since this ensures that the gods are favorably impressed. This is a trait common to many other cultures, Jones gives examples from Orthodox icons to Maya sites in Mesoamerica<sup>302</sup>. It is well known that Jews pray in the orientation of Jerusalem and Moslems face Mecca.

Jones stresses the use and knowledge of the rules of orientation and proportion<sup>303</sup>. He thinks that rules in the *śilpa śāstras* were probably only known by a select few. Jones calls this the "highly idealized protocols of ritual-architectural apprehension, which correspond primarily with the initial intentions and expectations of designers and only imperfectly, if at all, to subsequent, ... experiences of multivocal religious

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<sup>297</sup> Steinsapir, 1999:192.

<sup>298</sup> Jones, *The Hermeneutics of Sacred Architecture: Experience, Interpretation, Comparison*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2000:35.

<sup>299</sup> Jones, 2000:5.

<sup>300</sup> Jones, 2000:26.

<sup>301</sup> See chapter 7 Translation below.

<sup>302</sup> Jones, 2000: ch 9

<sup>303</sup> Jones, 2000:64.

architecture”<sup>304</sup>. That is, architectural orientation is part of the perfection of architecture meant for divine and not popular consumption. As the *śilpa śāstra* texts were written in Sanskrit, a language that, by the time of the composition of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* was only understood by the elite, it is likely that the prescriptions preserved in it were only intended for a selected audience, presumably to be utilized in the context of a guru student relationship and later on as a guide to memory for an *ācārya*.

Sacred as well as ritual space has many different dimensions that need to be taken into account. Many spaces are more or less sacred, and some spaces are not sacred. Features of the surrounding landscape add to the sacrality of a space. Particular directions are auspicious and need to be taken into account for any construction where the gods will be invited. Making a space and place is how people indicate the presence of the divine.

### 3.3 Space and Place-making – Signs in the Landscape

The idea of emplacement asserts that temples not only involve physical placement in a particular landscape, but also ideological situatedness on a conceptual map, classificatory grid and social hierarchy.

The architectonic code incorporates the entire set of place making orderings whereby individuals construct and communicate a conceptual world through the use of palpable distinction in formation addressed to the visual channel, to be decoded spatio-kinetically over time. The proper scope of architectonics has come to be the entire range of such orderings, including all manners of *space and place-making* activities realized both artifactually and somatically-realized, in other words, through indirect or direct bodily instrumentality<sup>305</sup>.

In an architectonic perspective space and objects of all kinds, rooms, buildings, furniture, trees, mountains in the distance all carry meaning, and may all be used as signs and be part of an ‘architectonic code’. The ‘architectonic code’, Donald Preziosi argues, is a system of relationships manifested in material formations, the medium of the code is usually made up of “mosaic shapes, relative sizes color, textures and materials”<sup>306</sup>. Thus no matter what the structure is made of, bamboo, stone, mud, ice, or positioned people<sup>307</sup>, if it is permanent or temporal, the geometric and material distinctions are intended to provide meaning in a culture-specific and code-specific way<sup>308</sup>. Thus when people plan and construct a building (or any structure) the material they use will be subject to constraints, which are “primarily semiotic and culture-specific”. Moreover Preziosi argues that these constraints lead people to use only a selected portion of the potential resources of an ecological sphere<sup>309</sup>. Thus the construction of the Hindu temple is not

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<sup>304</sup> Jones, 2000:64.

<sup>305</sup> Preziosi, Donald, *Architecture, Language, and Meaning: The Origins of the Built World and its Semiotic Organization*, Mouton Publishers, The Hague, Published in a Series called Approaches to Semiotics vol 49 Ed. committee Sebeok, Posner and Rey 1979:4, my italics.

<sup>306</sup> Preziosi, 1979:4.

<sup>307</sup> That is a very impermanent form of structure where people, placing themselves in specific positions, make up the structure.

<sup>308</sup> Preziosi, 1979:4.

<sup>309</sup> Preziosi, 1979:5.

only the abode of the god, it is a symbol on a larger scale of the connection between the divine and man, between the three worlds and also of the divine and man defeating the ghosts and other evil beings<sup>310</sup>. Through the process of place making, which involves purification of the ground and the construction of a temple, the space is set apart from this world proper and becomes a place where communication with the other world is possible in a direct and tangible way; prayers, offerings and *prasāda*<sup>311</sup>.

Just as the materials people use in their constructions are defined locally, the symbolic meanings displayed in buildings such as the Hindu temple are also meaningful primarily to those sharing the cultural code. This is not to say that symbols lack meaning to people from a different cultural area but the meaning may be different, less forceful, and may have to be learnt. On the other hand, certain rhythms or patterns may be more or less universal such as perfect proportions. Meister<sup>312</sup> uses American Philosopher Charles Peirce's categories of semiotics to discuss the relationship between the object, the symbol and the interpreter, for example a mountain, a temple (as a symbol of the mountain) and the worshiper (as an interpreter). Meister follows Peirce in saying that the description of the temple as a mountain is only of "indexical" value because the mountain has a system of meaning in its own right, which is shared by the temple but not defined by it. Thus the mountain does not need the temple for its definition but the temple, on the other hand, needs the mountain for its definition and is hence connected to the same symbolically. Meister continues to argue that the temple thus is connected to the earth and the altar by being different 'visions' of the same underlying reality, that of the "original sacrifice in Hindu myth of origin"<sup>313</sup>. Meister also argues that the Temple should be seen as a palace for the gods. Hence, the various decorations (he is particularly referring to the *śikhara*) "signal 'palace' symbolically, and stand as an 'altar/temple' iconically"<sup>314</sup>. In *śilpa* texts the temple is, commonly, equated or identified with a mountain or a palace, or both<sup>315</sup>. Moreover, the temple may be easily understood to be an extension of the Vedic altar, albeit larger and more permanently interiorized. It is as an extension of the Vedic altar or as a larger version of the altar contained inside. The metonymy or synecdoche makes the identification of the temple with the altar, that is to say the temple structure, in particular the *śikhara*, stands for much more, including the Vedic altar. The temple/ altar/ mountain/ palace is the place where deities are invoked, invited and presented with offerings. The area is a *tīrtha* where gods cross down to man.

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<sup>310</sup> From an etic 'outsider' perspective, the Hindu temple is bound to be a symbol for the connection between the gods and human and for the defeat of malevolent beings, from an emic 'insider' perspective it is not a symbol but reality. Just as the Jerusalem temple functioned as a symbol for gentile Christians – they were outsiders and not part of the ordered social fabric of which the Jerusalem temple was a part. They saw the temple's place in the code, but did not acutally experience its reality within the texture of Jewish experience in Judea.

<sup>311</sup> Food offered to the deity and then eaten by the devotee.

<sup>312</sup> Meister: "De- and Re-Constructing the Indian Temple", *Art Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 4, *New Approaches to South Asian Art*. (Winter, 1990), pp. 395-400. Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0004-3249%28199024%2949%3A4%3C395%3ADARTIT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-J>

<sup>313</sup> Meister, 1990:397.

<sup>314</sup> Meister, 1990:398. Meister calls the process symbolic substitution.

<sup>315</sup> Such as *Agni Purāna*.

The [Hindu] temple is at once the notion of God, the dwelling of God, the body of God, and the holy act of man utilizing tangible substance to realize all these abstract ideas.<sup>316</sup>

Reconceptualized, one might say that the Hindu temple is a meeting place on multiple levels, physical, cognitive, social, ideological, ecological, as it stands for all these things; temple, altar, mountain, palace and even the body of god.

The Hindu temple is not static; once built the temple is not always the same entity. Additions may be constructed, commonly *maṇḍapas* of various kinds (or in South India, *gopuras*), and the usage of the temple may also change over time. Meister asserts that this poses a challenge to the modern scholar who needs to “de-construct” the temple in order to gain access to the redefinition of symbols and usage, which has been going on<sup>317</sup>. The plan of the temple represents, or is, the reality it is meant to represent. For the worshiper the temple gains meaning through the symbols it alludes to, symbols, which for the worshiper are what they represent. Meister says that “the temple could both be, and stand for, its meaning”<sup>318</sup>. To take the mountain as an example— the temple could be the mountain, have the qualities of a mountain (high, lofty, with many peaks) at the same time it stands for the meaning of the mountain. (If we follow Granoff<sup>319</sup>, mount Meru as the beginning of heaven, the abode of the gods, or in the case of Śiva, Kailāsa, his mountain home in the Himalayas.) Thus, in this context, a symbol is not just symbolizing something else, it *is* something else. When the temple construction is finished, all the decorations done, the sculptures in their places and all the mantras said then the building has become the home, body, etc., of a god or goddess. This last formulation resonates with Austin’s notion of performative speech-acts and shows the insufficiency of ‘symbolism’ as a method of interpreting the Hindu temple<sup>320</sup>.

In our analysis of the preparation for and the construction of Hindu temple as performative actions for place-making and ritually setting apart space, we retain considerations of the temple’s function and symbolic value. The Hindu temple (particularly the north Indian temple) is built to resemble and stand for a mountain as well as a palace. At the same time, it is a temple and an altar. In some views, such as that presented by the *Agni Purāna* (61.19, quote below), the temple is a representation of the god or even a more abstract symbolical and mystical religious diagram. The mountain is a symbolic apparition, seen in the distance when one approaches the temple. This vision may be cross-cultural. ‘The holy mountain’ may be one of the most basic religious ideas in the world, and we find holy mountains all over the world, including, Mount Sinai, in the Sinai Desert, and Giron (Kiruna) in Northern Sweden (though these two are not reduplicated in buildings). From ancient times the peoples of South Asia have regarded the Himalayas and other mountains, as well as other natural features such as rivers, as

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<sup>316</sup> Nelson I. Wu, *Chinese and Indian Architecture*, Series: The Great ages of world architecture. Prentice-Hall International, London 1963:21 .

<sup>317</sup> Meister, 1990:395.

<sup>318</sup> Meister, 1990:395. Charles Sanders Peirce, “Logic and Semiotics the Theory of Signs”, in Bucher ed., *Philosophical Writings of Peirce*, Dover Publications, New York 1955:98-119.

<sup>319</sup> Granoff, Phyllis “Heaven on Earth: Temples and Temple Cities in Medieval India”, pp. 170-193, in van der Meij, D, *India and Beyond*, Kegan Paul International, 1997:175.

<sup>320</sup> Austin, *How To Do Things With Words*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1962. See further discussion in chapter 3.5 below.

holy or identified with a particular god or goddess: Śiva lives on mount Kailāsa, while the river Gaṅgā is a goddess. Some of the main temple types are named after mountains; for example, Meru, Mandana and Kailāsa<sup>321</sup>. The forms vary, but the intention and effect is essentially the same. One clear example is the eleventh century Viśvanātha temple in Khajuraho; the temple with its pavilions resembles a mountain range.

The term *śikhara*<sup>322</sup> refers to the superstructure of the main part of the temple over the *garbhagrha* (inner sanctum<sup>323</sup>). “[I]n the fully evolved Hindu temple north of the river Kṛṣṇa it [the *śikhara*] is the most conspicuous, indispensable part of the exterior of the Prāsāda”<sup>324</sup>. Approaching a north Indian *śikhara* style temple, the image of a mountain is definitely what comes to mind, particularly when the temples are set in a landscape of mountains and hills, like the Śiva temple at Jagatsukh in Himachal Pradesh<sup>325</sup>.

The *garbhagrha*, can be understood to further reinforce the identification between the mountain and the temple. Walking into the temple involves leaving the light of the sun behind and entering an often very dark inner sanctum. “Within it [the temple] and below the superstructure is the Garbagraha, the ‘womb of the house’ a small chamber, square, in the majority of preserved temples, and dark as a cave in a mountain”<sup>326</sup>. In many temples this means that the image within is barely visible. Sometimes ingenious placement of windows lets light come from behind (as around the Liṅga in the Śiva cave at Elephanta) but the effect of the cave is still sensible. From light to darkness, the worshiper walks into the mountain home of the god.

Phyllis Granoff argues that “the temple itself has no unique cosmic symbolism, but it is the city and palace of the god, and that its special visual features follow from that observation”<sup>327</sup>. This contradicts authors such as Kramrisch who think that there is a cosmic symbolism behind the layout and design of a Hindu temple<sup>328</sup>. Granoff has turned to Puranic stories and their descriptions of abodes of deities to bridge what she<sup>329</sup> calls an unbridgeable gap between the temple, its visual complexity, and the various rituals

<sup>321</sup> Kramrisch, Stella, 1976, first published in 1946:161, mentioned in texts such as the *Brhat Saṃhitā* and *Matsya Purāna*.

<sup>322</sup> The common Sanskrit name for the superstructure is *śikhara*. According to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Agni Purāna* the *śikhara* (mentioned in a few verses) should be decorated with four lines upwards, a lion should be constructed in the middle and the *kalaśa* should be placed on the top platform called *vedī*. (*Agni Purāna* ch 42 verse 15-19, *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 13.18.) Stella Kramrisch observed, “There is no equivalent term in Western architecture to fit the high shape of the Hindu temple, its superstructure.”

Kramrisch, 1976:161.

<sup>323</sup> See below for discussion on the meaning of this term.

<sup>324</sup> Kramrisch, 1976:180. In south Indian temple style *śikhara* is used to name “the domeshaped roof of the small crowning miniature temple only...”

<sup>325</sup> It is noteworthy to point out that it is virtually impossible to find pictures of temples with their surroundings. Most photos only cover the temple, and possible other temples around it, but hardly any photographs show larger surroundings and the general setting of the temple. (One exception seems to be Buddhist monasteries situated in mountains, which frequently are photographed at a distance, probably to invoke their renunciatory, world-rejecting character).

<sup>326</sup> Kramrisch, 1976:162.

<sup>327</sup> Granoff, 1983:170-193.

<sup>328</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/2007:63.

<sup>329</sup> ‘and others’ (which Granoff calls specialists of ritual texts).



associated with the temple in the Āgamas and Tantras<sup>330</sup>. Granoff refers to Helène Brunner's<sup>331</sup> article in which Brunner emphasizes the disparity between the rituals for consecrating the temple, as well as the worshipping of the main image in the sanctum, and the actual sculptural layout of the temple. Brunner notes that none of the deities placed at various parts of the temple according to the consecration ritual were actually there in the sculptural scheme. Neither does the ritual of the main deity help to explain the various sculptures along the wall. The rituals performed in the temple do not connect the images in any way, the rituals for consecrating *mūrtis*, are all performed as if they lacked a temple context<sup>332</sup>. Granoff says “the gap between the rituals and the actual temple suggests that the priestly regulation of temple ritual was in fact later than and foreign to the original temple worship”<sup>333</sup>. The priests, schooled in *śrauta* rituals, would have imposed rituals in the Vedic language that they knew, where the mystical meanings of the fire altar are explained.<sup>334</sup> It is possible that here Granoff suggests that temples are an extra-Vedic, indigenous phenomenon, perhaps linked to Harappan culture, though she does not say so explicitly. Here Granoff draws upon Brunner and Colas<sup>335</sup>, who both suggest that rituals of installation may be late accretions to temple worship. Granoff's understanding, while stimulating, is not entirely convincing. While the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* is not clear regarding installation rituals, the text mentions other rituals. That the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* merely mentions some rituals does not mean that other rituals were not performed. The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, which is one of our earliest *śilpa śāstras*, describes elaborate rituals and preparations for temple construction, including the installation of images and “induction of Deities into images”<sup>336</sup>. Thus I find that Granoff's argument, though interesting, lacks in analysis. It is possible that rituals came as an afterthought to the temple construction but it seems to me that this is not likely. In a culture that is developing from temporary sacred spaces towards more permanent ones it seems likely that the rituals used to create the temporary sacred would be carried over to creating the permanent. Just as the gods were invited to the temporary Vedic sacrifice so too they would be invited to the temple. Since the temple was a more permanent construction and developed into a home for the god it is natural that the god was invited on a more permanent basis as well. “...Images of [the] divinity are ‘lifeless’ until ceremonies of installation are performed. Thereafter the image *is* the deity, *not* merely a symbol of it.”<sup>337</sup> In the same way the temple is ‘lifeless’ until all the consecration rituals

<sup>330</sup> Granoff, 1983:170-171.

<sup>331</sup> Hélène Brunner, “L’image divine dans le culte āgamique de Śiva” in Andre Padoux (ed.), *L’image divine; culte et méditation dans l’hindouisme*, Éditions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris, France, 1990:9-29

<sup>332</sup> Granoff, 1983:71.

<sup>333</sup> Granoff, 1983:172.

<sup>334</sup> Granoff, 1983:172.

<sup>335</sup> Brunner, 1990:9-29, and Gerard Colas “Le dévot, le prêtre et l’image vishnouite en Inde méridionale”, in Andre Padoux (ed.), *L’image divine : culte et méditation dans l’hindouisme*, Paris : Ed. du CNRS, pp ; 99-114.

<sup>336</sup> *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, edited and translated by Priyabala Shah Volume 3, Parimal Publications, 2005. The installation rituals are described in Chapter VIII Ad. 94-108 “Spiritual Significance of Avahana” 225-287.

<sup>337</sup> James J. Preston, “Creation of the Sacred Image: Apotheosis and Destruction in Hinduism”, in Waghorne and Cutler (eds.), *Gods of Flesh Gods of Stone, the Embodiment of Divinity in India*, pgs. 9-30

have been performed, the finial placed on top of the *śikhara* and the image within installed. On the other hand, it seems reasonable to assume extra Vedic, indigenous influence on the Hindu temple, even if we cannot specify the character of that influence. Particularly if one accepts Bronkhorst's argument that the Vedic tradition never had a great influence in what became the heartland of Buddhism, an area that roughly corresponds to the area where temples first appeared<sup>338</sup>.

Granoff's argument starts with the relatively late Purāṇic text, The *Ekamra Purāṇa*, celebrating the temple site of Bhubaneswar. The text says, in Granoff's translation "Know that this holy place is heaven on earth."<sup>339</sup> Unlike earlier scholars who focused on the temple as the world-mountain Meru, Granoff understands Meru, and thus temples representing Meru, as the locus of heaven. That is Meru is understood, not as a cosmic symbol, but rather as heaven, the home of the gods<sup>340</sup>. This shift might seem insignificant but whether we see Mount Meru as the center of the universe or as the home of the gods is significant for the understanding of the temple as a symbol for the mountain. Is the temple the center of the universe? If so, what does that mean for its sculptural scheme and layout? Or, is it the home of the god to which the particular temple is dedicated?

Looking at different Purāṇas and their descriptions of the homes of various gods, Granoff sees some striking correspondences between the textual descriptions and the actual temples. As the temple walls are filled with all sorts of beings – plants, animals, heavenly damsels, sages, couples, gods, and incarnations of gods – so is heaven full of life of every kind<sup>341</sup>. In heaven there is no old age or sickness, everybody is a young man accompanied by his wife. Granoff speculates that this may be why we see amorous couples upon some temple structures<sup>342</sup>. Obvious examples are the temples at Khajuraho and the erotic sculptures on the walls of the temples, possibly illustrating the descriptions of the sexual activities going on in heaven. Devangana Desai, who has studied the temples of Khajuraho extensively, has, however, entirely different ideas about the meaning of the erotic art on the temple walls. Desai's main argument is that the erotic carvings have multiple layers of meaning. On the surface they are for the delight of the common people while on a hidden tantric level walls display various *maṇḍalas* and *yantras* utilized for meditation by initiated devotees<sup>343</sup>. Granoff's ideas regarding the erotic art on temple walls strikes me as speculative in juxtaposition with Desai's. However, it does not mean that Granoff is wrong. Indeed both of these understandings of the erotic art and the art in general on temple walls may be correct. The temple was and is, after all, the meeting place of many different individuals, and different people enjoy, understand and use the temple in different ways. There are also multiple cultural

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Anima Publications, 1985: 9, also Lawrence Babb, *The Divine Hierarchy*, Columbia University Press, 1975:184.

<sup>338</sup> See further discussion in chapter 1.2 above.

<sup>339</sup> Granoff, 1983:175, *Ekamra Purāṇa* 2.11.40b

<sup>340</sup> Granoff, 1983:175.

<sup>341</sup> Granoff, 1983:176.

<sup>342</sup> Granoff, 1983:178.

<sup>343</sup> Desai, 1996, and Devangana Desai *Erotic sculpture of India: a socio-cultural study*, Tata McGraw-Hill Pub. Co., 1975.

influences negotiating meaning in the temple: Vedic, post-vedic, and extra-vedic. Granoff's Purāṇic reading by no means excludes Desai's tantric reading, and vice versa.

Rivers are important as boundary markers in Purāṇic heavens: the heavens that Granoff discusses are either bordered by the ocean, by rivers or by both. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, the river of every god's heaven is a form of Gaṅgā, and sacred topography is surrounded by a river.<sup>344</sup> This then may explain why we see Gaṅgā and Yamunā at the entrance to so many temples. Granoff suggests that, rather than guardian deities, they are a natural part of the topography of heaven. Her theory also explains the presence of the nine planets on the door lintels of many medieval temples. Like the rivers, the planets were seen as guardians. More significantly, however, in the Purāṇas the nine planets circle heaven and hence are markers telling us that we have entered the land of the gods<sup>345</sup>. The way rivers and the planets mark the passage from the outside to the inside of the temple may be seen as an example of Genep's idea of the threshold. While the passage from the outside of the temple to the inside is marked, it does not mean that the ground outside is not considered sacred. As discussed earlier, the levels of sacrality gradually become more 'intense' the closer one gets to the inner sanctum. Granoff also notes that the central palace in heaven floats in the sky. Granoff cites a Jain monk Ramacadragani's description of a Jain temple:

And the crowds of people who were constantly coming from afar to see the temple thought in truth that they had reached heaven. For the temple indeed seemed to float in space, as the rays of light coming from its radiant walls made of moonstone spread out in every direction, concealing from view the temple's solid foundation on earth<sup>346</sup>.

It is easy to think of the temples in, for example, Khajuraho, which are raised on high platforms, perhaps these platforms do emphasize the Purāṇic vision of the temple floating in the sky.

Granoff does not expect correspondence between the Purāṇic descriptions of heaven and the temples. The Purāṇas themselves exhibit a wide range of descriptions. She does, however, suggest that the temple city, or even the individual temples were seen as heavens on earth. From bottom to top, the temple's panels may describe the regions of heaven, through which one must pass before entering the inner sanctum or *antaḥpuram* where the god or goddess lives<sup>347</sup>. Granoff also questions the common translation of *garbhagrha* as womb-chamber. She suggests that it was a common word for the bedroom of a king inside the *antaḥpura* and, hence, the term may aptly name the room of the god<sup>348</sup>. Apte translates *garbhagrha* as 'inner apartment' of a house. That the world for inner apartment of people's buildings would have transferred, or been used, for the same area of the house of the gods seem reasonable. Philip Wagoner strengthens Granoff's argument by his discussion of the Virūpākṣa temple in the Royal Centre in Vijayanagara.

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<sup>344</sup> Granoff, 1983:182.

<sup>345</sup> Granoff, 1983:184.

<sup>346</sup> Granoff, 1983:182.

<sup>347</sup> Granoff, 1983:184.

<sup>348</sup> Granoff, 1983: 185.

Wagoner describes the temple layout as private, it resembles a residential palace<sup>349</sup>. Clearly in both cases the term *garbhagr̥ha* refers to the inner or most central focus of the structure, but one can still not escape the fact that the basic meaning of *garbha* is a word that indicates the locus of [female] reproduction and that it is intentionally used because of this connotation. The basic meanings of the term *garbha* is womb, inside and fetus, thus strongly connected to the reproduction, particularly the female. The consecration deposit, placed under the *garbhagr̥ha* is also called *garbha*. That these two, the object of the consecration deposit and the space of the ‘inner sanctum’ are indicated by the same term and also both have a strong fertility/ production association makes it impossible to not consider the literal translation of the term in the same time as the connection to the palace and mountain is also there. Thus it seems like there is a connection between the dark, mysterious womb which is capable of creation and the dark, mysterious cave which may be the home of a god and the *garbhagr̥ha*.

Similarly Granoff argues that the *śikharas* of palaces, just like those of temples, were adorned with *kalāsas* and *amalakas*<sup>350</sup>. Granoff thinks that these similarities are why many rituals applicable to temple building are also prescribed in city building<sup>351</sup>. Moreover, if we see temple cities as heavens on earth, then no two temples, in the same location, would be dedicated to the same deity, which is, in fact, what Granoff has observed in medieval temple cities. According to Granoff, researchers ought to try and establish if there is any pattern in the temples that indicates that one particular deity was at the center of the hierarchy<sup>352</sup>. While I find Granoff’s argument compelling, I would like to know what she says about, for example, the cave temple at Ellora, where all the icons in the cave show various aspects of Śiva<sup>353</sup>. There are also places where several temples are dedicated to the same deity. In Un, (West Nimar District in Madhya Pradesh), for example, there are eight Śiva temples. Krishna Deva discusses these temples in his article on *Bhūmija* temples<sup>354</sup>. While he does not mention their dates, he does mention that the *Bhūmija* style of *śikhara* is a medieval, mainly 10-12<sup>th</sup> century feature<sup>355</sup>. Krishna Deva does not mention the temples’ relative proximity to one another. Khajuraho, a city Granoff herself gives as an example, has several temples dedicated to Viṣṇu and a few to Śiva. The same examination ought to be performed in the case of individual temples. To me it seems that Granoff reduces the temple to one symbol – that of the mountain or heavenly home of the gods. Instead I understand the temple as a place that has multiple levels of meaning, where *yantras*, *maṇḍalas*, sculptures, proportions, beauty, sacredness, religious experience etc. can all be what an individual experiences or sees when visiting a temple. Just as different textualities (*Purāṇa*, *śilpa śāstra*, *itihāsa*, *Veda*) address different audiences, the temple speaks differently to different people.

<sup>349</sup> Wagoner, Philip, “Early Sangama Architecture” in Fritz and Michell ed. *New light on Hampi*, Marg, Vol 53, No 1, September 2001, Mumbai, p. 23.

<sup>350</sup> Granoff, 1983:185.

<sup>351</sup> I assume that Granoff means prescribed by texts and not necessarily actual usage.

<sup>352</sup> Granoff, 1983:187.

<sup>353</sup> There are a few shrines in the courtyard. I do not know which deity they are dedicated to. Perhaps they would confirm her theory.

<sup>354</sup> Krishna Deva, “*Bhūmija* temples”, in Pramod Chandra ed. *Studies in Indian temple Architecture*, American Institute of Indian Studies, New Delhi, 1975 p 90-113 Un is discussed on pages 99-100.

<sup>355</sup> Krishna Deva, 1975:94.

Scholars have taken for granted the idea that the arrangement of sculptures on temples was fixed. Hence, on a particular temple there would be a logic behind the placement of the sculptures, a logic prescribed in texts. The problem with the thesis is the absence of any text to match any particular temple. It is possible that (at least) some texts were composed to reflect some real (or imagined) temples. Granoff became suspicious when she read a manual of iconography that stated that “one could put god x in place y or indeed one could put god a, b, or c there”<sup>356</sup>. The flexibility was great and did not match the idea that a symbolic pattern is created on the basis of the position of particular images. However, that formula matches the flexible Purāṇic descriptions of heaven where few deities have fixed places. Rivers must be at the borders, the temple doors, and the main deity has to be at the center, both the inner center and at times at the top of the temple.<sup>357</sup> The *Ḥayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is fairly specific regarding the placement of deities, but at the same time there are certainly spaces on the walls that could be filled by deities or decorations of various kinds not mentioned in the text. It is not uncommon to read that decorations or proportions should be done according to rules of beauty. For example in *Ḥayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 13.5:

The breadth on the molding [of the base] at the top should be made equal (or match) the superstructure. Or it could also to be made with twice [the size of the *maṇḍapa*] and as conforming to beauty.

The instructions here gives an option for the size of the molding depending on what is beautiful. I interpret this to mean the designer has artistic license. Granoff emphasizes this flexibility with an aspect of Purāṇic accounts of heaven. These two interpretations are not mutually exclusive.

Taking Granoff’s argument together with the identification of the temple and mountain, I see a double symbol in the construction of a temple. First, the temple with its *śikhara* looks like a mountain in the distance, reminding us of Meru, the center of the universe and the beginning of heaven. Secondly, if Granoff is right, medieval worshippers were reminded of a palace. Of course, a god must live in a grand palace. Hence, the connection between the king and the god would be emphasized through similarity in architecture<sup>358</sup>.

Granoff never came across any stories about temples, temple-worship and the merits of temple-worship that described the temple or deity as an aid in meditation. She therefore rules out the ritual handbooks and Upaniṣads as “primary clues to deciphering the meaning of the temple”<sup>359</sup>. Together with Brunner, Granoff questions the idea that the other deities depicted on a temple are mere representations of “an inner subtle deity, of some larger cosmogonic process”<sup>360</sup>. Granoff is critiquing Kramrisch here. I disagree

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<sup>356</sup> Granoff does not tell us which ‘manual of iconography’. Granoff, 1983:193.

<sup>357</sup> Granoff, 1983:189.

<sup>358</sup> Pollock (among others) discusses the relationship between the king and the divine in two articles: Sheldon Pollock, “The Divine King in the Indian Epic”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 104, No. 3 (Jul. - Sep., 1984), pp. 505-528, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/601658>, and Sheldon Pollock, “Ramayana and Political Imagination in India” *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (May, 1993), pp. 261-297, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2059648>.

<sup>359</sup> Granoff, 1983:173.

<sup>360</sup> Granoff, 1983:173.

with her finding, however. In the *Agni Purāṇa* (chapter 61) we are told to meditate on the temple as the body of god. While the *Agni Purāṇa* probably belongs to the texts that Granoff rules out, it shows the close connection between the god and the temple. In the *Agni Purāṇa*'s prescription, the temple is in fact an aid/ prop for meditation.

Granoff's understanding of the temple as a representation of heaven may fruitfully be connected to Goldman's idea of the epic cities as representations of a fantasy<sup>361</sup>. Heaven is, after all an imaginary world and hence the temple becomes a representation of an imagination. In his article "A city of the Heart: Epic Mathurā and the Indian Imagination," R. P. Goldman points out that Mathurā, though such an important city, is almost wholly described in a generic-conventionalized fashion<sup>362</sup>. There are a wide variety of Sanskrit genres that illuminate the Hindu temple phenomenon. Goldman's article shows that *itihāsa* and *kāvya* inform the phenomenon. Granoff emphasizes Purāṇa while Desai emphasizes tantra. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* has its particular insight into the temple (flexibility, invoking Vedic, upaniṣadic, *bhakti* and tantric norms). The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*'s hybridity is probably a good representation of the hybrid character of the Hindu temple.

### 3.4 Temple as Cosmic Order

One of the most important stages in the construction of a Hindu temple is to locate the cardinal points, a symbolic emplacement of the temple in the center of the universe. The cardinal points are indicative of the temple at the center of the universe, and, as the temple is connected to the mountain also connected to the idea of Mount Meru as the world mountain, but also to the palace at the center of heaven – thus the temple can be seen as representing cosmic order. While there is some validity in Eliade's *axis mundi*, the cosmic order represented in construction, it is essential to note that this clearly only explains one level of meaning of the Hindu temple<sup>363</sup>. As Jones states, while the architecture does "articulate a cosmological conviction for generalized unity and cosmic wholeness... we have to appreciate that such cosmic articulations are virtually always the *beginning* of an architectural event's significance rather than a sum of its total significance"<sup>364</sup>. Thus, the way the Hindu temple is aligned with the directions, creates a center of the universe. The cosmic order is represented in the temple through its layout. This layout is represented during the initial stages of construction. Jones' theory explains aspects of the beginning of the temple building project and enables easy comparison with other cultures, but it does not give us more than that.

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<sup>361</sup> Robert P. Goldman "A city of the Heart: Epic Mathura and the Indian Imagination" *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 106, No. 3 (Jul. - Sep., 1986), pp. 471-483, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/602106>, p. 483.

<sup>362</sup> Goldman, 1986:478.

<sup>363</sup> Thus returning to a major critique of the usage of Eliade's theory – as an all explaining one, see also Jones, 2000: chapter 14.

<sup>364</sup> Jones, 2000:44.

The architectural creation of an aura of cosmological correspondence is the strategy (actually one among several strategies) that lures – or allures – participants and spectators away from their status as spoilsports and into the ritual game. Homologized architecture engenders trust and respect, and thereby opens people to the kind of receptivity, or suspension of disbelief, that is requisite to transactions of meaning and transformative experiences of architecture<sup>365</sup>.

This quote captures the participatory character of the Temple building ritual<sup>366</sup>. The construction of the temple, in addition to providing a home for the gods, being symbolically connected to the universe and so on, also provides a place where people become part of what is going on inside instead of just standing on the side or even outside<sup>367</sup>. Jones' beautiful assertion that homology, symbol-making, opens the mind up to a receptive state, a suspension of disbelief, can also help us interpret the place of symbol-interpretation in etic accounts of the Hindu Temple. Discussing phenomena such as architecture in terms of symbols enables the scholar to shift gears from his native ideological code to a foreign country's code. Eventually, the scholar, more or less at home in the Sanskrit, symbolic way of speaking, which is a facilitator of border-crossing, may find this unsatisfactory. This is, in fact, my experience.

The Hindu temple can be seen, at the same time, as architecture representing the body of the god, the abode of the god and an abstract representation of god's attributes. That the temple is an abode of the god is clear, in the temple god reveals himself/ herself to man and contact between man and god is brought about. At the same time, the temple is often described as the body of the god, and the *Agni Purāṇa* tells us to meditate on the temple as the body of god (ch. 61). Michell has noted that "the temple is not only a place of worship but also an object of worship. The divinity that is revealed within the sanctuary may also be revealed in the very fabric of the temple itself"<sup>368</sup>. That notion is clearly represented in the *Agni Purāṇa* (61.19):

Listen to me:

The temple is the visible embodiment of Vāsudeva<sup>369</sup>. (*Agni Purāṇa* 61.19<sup>370</sup>).

The *Agni Purāṇa* also tells us a number of different ways in which the temple corresponds to a body – such as the elements (61.20) or body parts with a focus on the head (61.23-5).

Thus Hari appears incarnate because there is a temple. (*Agni Purāṇa* 61.25<sup>371</sup>).

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<sup>365</sup> Jones, 2000:46.

<sup>366</sup> See for example *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 12.41.

<sup>367</sup> In chapter 10 below this discussion will continue more specifically discussing the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*.

<sup>368</sup> George Michell, *The Hindu Temple: an introduction to its meaning and forms*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1977/1994:64.

<sup>369</sup> Vāsudeva is another name for Viṣṇu.

<sup>370</sup> *prāsādo vāsudevasya mūrtirūpo nibodha me// Agni Purāṇa* 61.19cd

<sup>371</sup> *Evam eṣa hariḥ sakṣāt prāsādatvena samsthitaḥ// Agni Purāṇa* 61.26, lit., because of temple-ness.

It is clear that, for the *Agni Purāṇa*, the temple is the body of the god (above 61.19) and also a palace.

Just as [one constructs a building] for kings in the same way [one should build] for the gods (*Agni Purāṇa* 65.3-4<sup>372</sup>).

Meister argues that the temple is also a representation of the abstract ‘supreme reality’ that is *Brāhmaṇa*<sup>373</sup>. He agrees with Kramrisch’s notion that the temple provides an architectonic manifestation of ultimate reality or of the ‘essence’ – “it is the form of Consciousness itself”<sup>374</sup>. Thus Meister, along with Kramrisch, is, in a way, arguing against Granoff, who does not see any universal supreme reality in the temple or any other symbolism, but just a representation of heaven on earth. The temple, with layout conforming to the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, can also be seen as representing the body of the Vāstupuruṣa. Narayanan’s assertion that “the Śrīvaiṣṇava community believes that the Lord is present on this earth in a temple in the same manner as he is in heaven”<sup>375</sup> supports Granoff’s idea that the temple is heaven on earth. Narayanan argues that it is “the nature of Viṣṇu’s manifestation in the temple, the permanent descent of the deity as an image (*arcā avatāra*) which makes possible the ascent of man to heaven, the celestial realm of Viṣṇu known as *vaikuṅṭha*<sup>376</sup>. This formulation strikes me as rather gnostic and reminiscent of Ramanna (which is ironic considering Ramanna’s attempt to decenter western spatial theorizing).

Meister has also argued that the temple, as elaborated by brāhminical architects-ideologists, became a symbol of much of what Hinduism stands for, incorporating in its form axis, altar, fortress, palace and time<sup>377</sup>. It seems to me that the temple as a representation of the abode of the God and heaven does not contradict the symbolical value of the temple as a representation of the ultimate reality or a body, the universe or a mystical *maṇḍala*. These different views may all be seen within the temple, which is a participatory event and which has a locus in which, outside of which, and about which various reactions from differing populations are generated.

### 3.5 Behind the Words of Ancient Texts

The syntax of non-verbal ‘language’ must be a great deal simpler than that of spoken or written language.<sup>378</sup>

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<sup>372</sup> *yathā rājñām tathā aneṣām pūrvādyās ca dhvajādayah// Agni Purāṇa* 65.4ab

<sup>373</sup> Meister “Temple: Hindu Temples”, in Mircea Eliade ed. *Encyclopedia of Religion*, Macmillan, New York, 1986, vol. 14: 368–73, 370.

<sup>374</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/2007, vol. 2:360.

<sup>375</sup> Vasudha Narayanan, “Arcāvatāra: On Earth as He is in Heaven, pgs. 53-66, in Waghorne and Cutler (eds.), *Gods of Flesh Gods of Stone, the Embodiment of Divinity in India*, pgs. 9-30 Anima Publications, 1985:53.

<sup>376</sup> Narayanan, 1985:53.

<sup>377</sup> Meister, “On the development of a morphology for a symbolic architecture.” 1985:50.

<sup>378</sup> Edmund Leach *Culture and Communication: the logic by which symbols are connected* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1976 reprint 1981:11.



One way of searching for the meaning behind words is to keep in mind the actions behind those words. In his *How To Do Things With Words*<sup>379</sup> J. L. Austin criticizes theory based on “the assumption of philosophers that the business of a statement can only be to describe some state of affairs or to state some fact, which it must do truly or falsely”<sup>380</sup>. “Scholars working within the academic field of Indian Philosophy are victims of the descriptive fallacy... Historians of Philosophy often assume that philosophical texts chiefly offer up metaphysical systems purporting to describe the way the world really is. The Sanskritist’s (and Hellenist’s) philological training emphasizes attention to the grammar and syntax of a text. The focus on grammar contributes to his or her emphasis on locution – what the text means – at the expense of recognizing the illocutionary forces of the text (what the text does by way of conventional acts including cursing, blessing, commanding, forbidding, etc.) and the perlocutionary forces (what sort of effect, or affect, it brings about, including quitting home and going to live in the forest, feeling consternation or mental peace, etc.)”<sup>381</sup>. Working with *śilpa śāstra* texts one recognizes that installing, inviting, commanding, etc., are performative speech acts. When intoned, mantras invite a deity. In the context of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, the ritual actions provide a (tangible) frame for the sacred space. Though the literal meaning of the text is certainly important, the next step is to recognize what the text does. Austin’s notion of the performative shifts the focus from traditional philology towards questions concerning the actions discussed in the text.

Discussing the Propylaea gate of the Akropolis, Donald Preziosi notes that “This *theatron* does not simply render the subject a passive spectator on a tier of seats. Indeed, it is the obverse of the Greek theater, articulating the visual environment in such a way as to make the Subject the site where meaning is produced and ideology enacted. The gaze and perspective of the subject here ‘measures’ all things”<sup>382</sup>. Preziosi argues that the Propylaea is a place where the participant becomes part of a political (democratic), ideological, sacral, religious drama<sup>383</sup>. In a similar way, entering a Hindu temple one becomes part of the drama played out there in all its complexity<sup>384</sup>. The utterances performed at the temple have an illocutionary force. They exorcise, fulfill obligations, satisfy debts, sanctify, elevate, demean, welcome, spurn, transfer prosperity, coronate, etc.

In the Hindu temple the notion of *darśana* is similar to Preziosi’s thoughts of gaze in the Greek setting. The notion of *darśana* – where the devotee sees god and is seen by god – creates a space where the devotee interacts with god. At the same time, the temple

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<sup>379</sup> Austin, *How To Do Things With Words*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1962.

<sup>380</sup> Austin, 1962:1.

<sup>381</sup> Raddock, Robert “Sanskrit Commentary as Exhortation” Paper presented at Townsend Center for the Humanities, U.C. Berkeley, Fall 2008.

<sup>382</sup> Donald Preziosi *Rethinking Art History, Meditations on a Coy Science*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1989:178.

<sup>383</sup> Donald Preziosi, 1989:178.

<sup>384</sup> Similarly, entering or just passing by a construction site one may become part of a drama (unless, rules such as those laid out in the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* are followed in which case the spectators are carefully selected, non-believers, nāstikas, are chased away. See Part 3, translation, *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* chapter 5, below).

is a space which is not evenly accessible to all, thus confirming society's social structure. This also makes the temple a site for political power – the temple is the place where political power is confirmed (as in installations of new kings). The temple is also used to show authority and hegemony, as when a new king builds a new temple. Temples have also, throughout the history of South Asia, had a significant economic function, as landholders, moneylenders, feudal lords, and employers, made visible when one visits the temple and sees its riches. Gaze in the temple becomes so much more than the relationship between god and man – it is also, perhaps even primarily, a place where human relationships are confirmed. Darśana extends, legitimizes, and caps the illocutionary force of ritual temple speech. For those allowed in the presence of the deity it is probably the peak experience of the temple visit, its *telos*. For those denied intimacy with the deity, its absence is probably a mark of abject status within the social hierarchy.

Following Derrida, I acknowledge that “The text is not the book; it is not confined in a volume, itself confined to the library. It does not suspend reference – to history, to the world, to reality...”<sup>385</sup>. While the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is written down, the context of the text is a world of history, practices, beliefs, politics, social rules etc. The text is lived out in ritual performances and more or less permanently embodied in the temples and figures constructed according to its prescriptions.

Thus the text overruns all the limits assigned to it so far (not submerging or drowning them in an undifferentiated homogeneity, but rather making them more complex, dividing and multiplying strokes and lines) – all the limits, everything that was set up in opposition to writing (speech, life, the world, the real, history ... every field of reference – to body or mind, to conscious or unconscious, politics, economics, and so forth)<sup>386</sup>.

Both the text and the temple are larger than they seem at first. They step out of the boundaries by which both emic and etic theorists define them. While both the text and the temple might be thought of as symbolic or representative, as having historical, political, economical, or social functions, their effects exceed anyone category and may be looked at from many different points of view.

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<sup>385</sup> Derrida J. *Limited Inc*, trans. S Weber, Evanston, IL, Northwestern University Press, 1988: 137.

<sup>386</sup> Derrida J. *Spurs: Nietzsche's Styles/Eperons: Les Styles de Nietzsche*, Trans. B. Harlow, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1979:84-4.

## Part 2 *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and its context

### 4 *The Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*

#### 4.1 Hayaśīrṣa – the god of knowledge

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is named after Viṣṇu's *avatāra* Hayaśīrṣa. As the name of the text indicates, it belongs to the Pañcarātra tradition.<sup>387</sup> Viṣṇu's horse-headed *avatāra* Hayaśīrṣa was widely adored by the Vaiṣṇavas. The *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṃśa*, *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, *Jayākhyā Saṃhitā*, *Ahīrbudhnyā Saṃhitā*, and the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* know his story. Hayaśīrṣa's position among the Pañcarātras was that of a minor deity: the *Sātvata* and *Pauṣkara Saṃhitās* describe Hayagrīva in the third category of Nārāyaṇa's emanations. On the other hand, Hayaśīrṣa gives his name to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, where the story of the Hayaśīrṣa *avatāra* of Viṣṇu is used to introduce Hayaśīrṣa as the narrator of the text<sup>388</sup>. Other texts narrate the story of Hayaśīrṣa near their commencement, notably the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (1.15) where it is, however, possible that the episode functions as an explanation of the earth's origin. Hayaśīrṣa's placement at the beginning of a *śāstra* comes from his connection to knowledge<sup>389</sup>. Hayaśīrṣa rescues the Vedas from the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha and returns them to Brahmā. Brahmā then questions Hayaśīrṣa concerning the ancient Pañcarātra, which lays down rituals of temple construction. It is clear that Hayaśīrṣa is seen as a god of learning (*Vāgīśvara*) and that, in the Pañcarātra tradition of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, he serves a similar role to that of Sarasvatī, taking on attributes commonly given to her. And so, while in other texts, such as the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the story of Hayaśīrṣa is of little importance to the text as a whole, in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* this particular form of Viṣṇu is placed at the beginning of the text because of his connection to knowledge, and in particular the Vedas. And thus, one of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*'s priorities is to emphasize a connection with the Vedas, while simultaneously affirming that this knowledge ultimately comes from Viṣṇu, as Brahmā arises out from his navel. In addition, the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* emphasizes that knowledge of Pañcarātra texts is ultimately more important than the Vedas, a point stressed later on in the text<sup>390</sup>.

In chapter 25 of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* we are given an iconographical description of the Hayaśīrṣa *avatāra* of Viṣṇu here called by his synonymous epithet Aśvavakra "the horse-headed one"<sup>391</sup>. Aśvavakra carries the attributes of Viṣṇu: mace (*gadā*) and discus (*cakra*) in his right hands, and a conch (*śaṅkha*) or a manuscript of the

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<sup>387</sup> On the Pañcarātra tradition see chapter 5 below.

<sup>388</sup> *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 1.1.

<sup>389</sup> Desai has noted that Hayaśīrṣa is seen as the god of knowledge in Khajuraho (Desai, 1996:115-7).

<sup>390</sup> One has to be careful of this sort of formulation, however, as it risks confounding an etic, Indological understanding of the Veda versus the historically later Pañcarātra knowledge with native or emic understandings of the same texts and terms.

<sup>391</sup> *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 25.24-25. The *ādikāṇḍa* chapter 25 of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is summarized and quoted in chapter 49 of the *Agni Purāṇa*.

Veda (*vedapāṇi*) in his left. In his second left hand he carries a manuscript, which is indicative of his rescue of the Vedas. Āsvavaktra's left leg is placed on Śeṣa, while his right leg is on a tortoise. A later Tantric text, the *Tantrasāra*<sup>392</sup>, tells us that Hayagrīva, "the horse-necked one", holds a book, a discus, a conch and makes the gesture of teaching. This *mudrā*, along with the book, highlights Hayaśīrṣa's connection to knowledge.

Chapter 25 of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* also describes six other forms of Viṣṇu besides Hayaśīrṣa: Trailokyamohana, Viśvarūpa, Jalaśāyin, Hari-Saṃkara, Varāha and Nṛsiṃha. These incarnations are recognizable, but none are major forms associated with significant followers. In fact, the insignificant number of Hayaśīrṣa sculptures found in South Asia may indicate that he did not play a major role as an independent god. In spite of the seeming marginality of Hayaśīrṣa, apart from our text, Hayaśīrṣa's story sets the tone for the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and frames this particular elaboration of *śāstra*<sup>393</sup>.

At the northern side of the Lakṣmaṇa (Vaikuṅṭha) temple in Khajuraho there is a sculpture of Hayagrīva (Hayaśīrṣa) in a niche. This image is placed in the north as indicated by the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. In other Vaiṣṇava contexts, Nṛhasiṃha is located there. Unfortunately Hayagrīva's two left arms are broken. It seems like the upper left arm might have carried a *chakra*. We do not know if the lower left arm held a *śaṅkha* or a manuscript. In his upper right arm, Hayagrīva holds a mace and his lower right arm shows a gesture of giving a boon (*varada mudrā*). The horse head clearly identifies at whom we are looking. The deity is surrounded by several attendants, both female and male: on his left, Cakrapuruṣa; Gadādevī on his right (i.e., personalifications of his 'attributes'). Hayaśīrṣa's connection to knowledge is further suggested through his placement near the Sarasvatī image at the Lakṣmaṇa temple.

Devangana Desai tells us that there is another Hayagrīva image on the Vāmana temple in Khajuraho (1050-75), again in the north<sup>394</sup>. This one is seated. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* tells us that Hayagrīva can be depicted either standing or seated, holding the same attributes regardless<sup>395</sup>. Again, two of the arms are broken. The two left arms, which are intact, hold *cakra* and *śaṅkha*, respectively<sup>396</sup>.

While Hayaśīrṣa images are not found in abundance in northern India, there are enough to suggest a tradition where Hayaśīrṣa was of some importance, though as noted,

<sup>392</sup> See Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa and Pratapaditya Pal, *Hindu Religion and Iconology According to the Tantrasāra, The Tantric Tradition, Vol 1*, Vichitra Press, Los Angeles 1981.

<sup>393</sup> In the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (3.80) Hayagrīva (or Aśvaśira) is described as Viṣṇu with immeasurable strength, a form of Saṃkarṣaṇa, learned, and with distinct characteristics. He should have eight hands: four should hold the common emblems for Viṣṇu: conch, disc, mace and lotus; the other four hands should be placed on the personified *Vedas*. In addition, Hayagrīva should be supported by the goddess earth, have the head of a horse, wear blue garments and smile.

<sup>394</sup> A photo of the sculpture of Hayaśīrṣa at the Lakṣmaṇa temple - north *bhadra*, Khajuraho, Chhatarpur, Madhya Pradesh, (an inscription on the temple is dated to 954) can be found at the American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi, website:

[http://dsal.uchicago.edu/images/aiis/aiis\\_search.html?depth=Get+Details&id=76592](http://dsal.uchicago.edu/images/aiis/aiis_search.html?depth=Get+Details&id=76592).

<sup>395</sup> *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* here uses the term Āsvavaktra for Hayaśīrṣa, who should also be flanked by his two consorts, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī. (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 25.24-25)

<sup>396</sup> Devangana Desai "Hayagrīva at Khajuraho" in, R.T. Vyas (chief editor), *Studies in Jaina art and iconography and allied subjects in honor of Dr. U.P. Shah*, Oriental Studies, New Delhi, Abhinav Publications, 1995, pp. 87-91. There is a picture of the standing image in her article, I am yet to locate an image of the sitting one.

probably not as an independent god. Most of the images – I have located 20 so far – are from Madhya Pradesh, with a few from Western India. Since my assumption is that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is from northeastern India (possibly Bengal<sup>397</sup>), I was on special lookout for images from that area. I have not, however, found any yet.

While discussing the possible correlation between a text (in this case the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*) and temples or sculptures, a note of caution is necessary. Banerjea puts it this way “Many indeed are the early and late mediaeval Brāhminical images the iconographic features of which completely tally with the descriptions of the same types of divinities in particular texts; but there are numerous other images whose features sometimes can only be partially explained, or at other times cannot at all be accounted for, with the help of known iconographical literature”<sup>398</sup>. As with all normative or norm-creating literature in Sanskrit, it is up to scholars to interpret – to speculate about the relationship between intra-textual prescription and extra-textual practice in pre-modern India. Still we may note that the images of Hayaśīrṣa at Khajuraho are placed in accordance with the prescriptions in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. Thus, one is seated and one standing. Furthermore the iconography of these sculptures does not agree with the description in the important iconographical text the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (3.80), but with the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*.

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is a text that mainly deals with temple construction focusing on the rituals involved in the process. The structure of the text is similar to many other architectural texts or *śilpa śāstras*. After first discussing the qualifications of the *ācārya*, *sthapati* and other particulars of the project, the text goes on to describe the ideal site for a temple, auspicious times to commence construction and tests of the soil (*bhūparīkṣa*). Next, it dives into a discussion of the layout of the temple proper, its proportions and surrounding buildings. What sets the text apart, besides its being the only *Pañcarātra* text that deals exclusively with *śilpa śāstra*, the science of architecture<sup>399</sup>, is that it starts with the story of Hayaśīrṣa – the horse-headed *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. This is clearly where the text obtains its name: the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. But why is this particular *avatāra* of Viṣṇu so important for a *śāstra*?

Within both Śivaism and Viṣṇuism there was apparently felt a need to develop an aspect of God as the protector of wisdom and learning. Thus Śiva manifests himself as Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Viṣṇu as the horse-headed Hayagrīva<sup>400</sup>.

While the deities serve a similar function, their history, appearance and mythological context differ significantly.

As noted the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is by no means the only text that deals with Viṣṇu’s *avatāra* Hayaśīrṣa. While the accounts differ in the various texts, the story as described in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is as follows: While Nārāyaṇa sleeps on the

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<sup>397</sup> Assuming that the text is from the Bengal area is mainly based on the fact that the manuscripts found are from this area (and one additional one from Orissa). For a more detailed discussion see chapter 4.2, “Dating and placing the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*” below.

<sup>398</sup> Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1956:32.

<sup>399</sup> While *śilpa śāstra* can involve many other arts as well, such as fine painting, this is not dealt with in detail in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*.

<sup>400</sup> In Georg von Simon’s foreword (pgs. not numbered) to D. Sridhara Babu, *Hayagrīva the Horse-headed Deity in Indian Culture*, Sri Venkateswara University, Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati, 1990.

cosmic waters, a lotus sprouts from his navel. Brahmā, sitting atop that lotus, recites the Vedas in all the different ways, and, in doing so, becomes exhausted. A drop of sweat falls from him and splits in two. From the sweat, the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha come into being. They take the Veda from Brahmā. Brahmā then wakes Nārāyaṇa and tells him what happened. Nārāyaṇa promptly puts on a horse head – and thus becomes Hayaśīrṣa, the horse headed one – and restores the Vedas to Brahmā<sup>401</sup>.

This story does not give us any indication as to why Hayaśīrṣa needs a horse head. It does establish Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa as the highest god who protects the world, who protects Brahmā, and who restores the Vedas. Thus, the story establishes a connection between Viṣṇu and the Vedas. The story further indicates that, while the Vedic texts are good and important, the intense study of the text without connection to the highest god, which here is of course Viṣṇu, produces something demonic – here shown in the drop of sweat that turns into a demon<sup>402</sup>.

Babu has explored the background of the Horse-headed form of Viṣṇu in his book *Hayagrīva the Horse-headed deity in Indian Culture*<sup>403</sup>. Babu connects *Hayagrīva* with Viṣṇu, identified by the Brāhmaṇas with sacrifice or *yajña* itself, as well as with the sun. He attempts to explain the connection between *Hayagrīva* and wisdom and learning – the horse-head is the sun, symbolizing illumination, the destroyer of darkness and ignorance<sup>404</sup>. Babu seems to be drawing on the opening of the *Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad* in his interpretation, where, however, the horse-head is dawn. It is unclear to me, however, to what extent early Upaniṣadic motives are informing the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. While the *jñāna*-orientation of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is *vedantic* (*upaniṣadic*), the text belongs to a highly ritualistic, tantric phase of (early) Vaiṣṇava religion. The equation horse-head equals sun equals enlightenment may be too vague and general to aid our attempts at interpretation.

At the conclusion of the first chapter of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, after Brahmā receives the Vedas back from Hayaśīrṣa, he asks Hayaśīrṣa:

What is the extent of the Pañcarātra previously explained by you?  
How do those desiring liberation make a temple for you, O God? 1.25

And what is the rule for the protectors of the *mūrti* of the *ācārya*?  
And [what is] the regulation for a sacrifice to the *vāstu*?

<sup>401</sup> See translation below, chapter 7.8-23, for the complete story.

<sup>402</sup> As I see it adopting the *guṇa*-language of the *Bhagavadgītā*, one might say that Brahmā's exertion with Vedic study seems to be *rajasic*, not *sattvic*. Thus Brahmā could be seen as representing the Brāhmaṇas in society whose intense study of the Vedas brings them, not closer to knowledge of god, but further away: it produces a demonic trait within them. The manner of study (*śram*) alienates the character Brahmā from the revelation (*śruti*) that he is studying. Such an interpretation is logical if one considers the placement of the text in history: the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* might have been composed at a time when the Pañcarātra tradition was developing from a tradition with anti-Vedic tendencies, to one embracing Vedic ritual but not at the cost of *bhakti*, devotion to Viṣṇu (see further discussion of the history of the tradition in chapter 5.2 below). The myth of Madhu and Kaiṭabha's appropriation of the Vedas, and Hayaśīrṣa's restoration of them to Brahmā, thus places Vedic study in a Vaiṣṇava context. It criticizes non-Vaiṣṇava Vedic study as demonic, but valorizes *bhakti* oriented Vedic recitation.

<sup>403</sup> D Sridhara Babu, *Hayagrīva: the horse-headed deity in Indian culture*, Sri Venkatesvara oriental series, 21. Tirupati : Sri Venkateswara University, Oriental Research Institute, 1990.

<sup>404</sup> Babu, 1990:21.

And [what is] the rule for the giving of *arghya*? 1.26

The *śāstra* proper, by which I mean the parts that deal with architecture and related topics, begins in chapter two. The introductory chapter (1) is a narrative framing device. Hayaśīrṣa is the narrator throughout the rest of the text (as he is in the portion of the *Agni Purāna* that is borrowed from the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*).

Thus there are essentially two reasons for Hayaśīrṣa's prominent role in this particular text. The first reason is that, in the developed Pāñcarātra pantheon, Hayaśīrṣa plays the part more familiarly filled by Sarasvatī, the goddess of Learning, in other Hindu traditions<sup>405</sup>. Hayaśīrṣa's placement at the beginning of the text is akin to the more typical invocations and hymns to the goddess of learning. Sanjukta Gupta has, in similar fashion, shown how Viṣaksena takes the place of the divine protector. In temple art Viṣaksena is often placed at the entrance to temples<sup>406</sup>.

In our text, Hayaśīrṣa is the source of Pāñcarātra knowledge, which is, the introductory story tells us, the Vedas, reappropriated from the demons by Nārāyaṇa. Brahmā asks him to tell about the Pāñcarātra, just as he has done earlier (in an earlier time). Brahmā's questions make it clear that Pāñcarātra knowledge, here, is essentially knowledge concerned with temple construction and rituals. It is the kind of knowledge that will enable one to reach *mokṣa*, liberation, the aim of the individual *yajamāna* sponsoring the construction of the temple. It is important that the *ācārya*'s understanding is correct. The connection with Hayaśīrṣa – the god of learning – assures this. The introductory story makes it clear that Nārāyaṇa, incarnated as Hayaśīrṣa, is taking the place hitherto occupied by Brahmā as revealer of the Vedas. As in other Vaiṣṇava texts, Viṣṇu's avatar Hayaśīrṣa takes a place higher than Brahmā in the divine hierarchy.

The second reason for Hayaśīrṣa's prominent role in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is his rescue of and strong association with the Veda<sup>407</sup>. This reason is also connected with

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<sup>405</sup> It should be noted that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is by no means the only text in which Hayaśīrṣa is identified as a god of knowledge, in the *Garuḍa Purāna* (chapters 34-35) there is an account of the worship of Hayaśīrṣa where his mantra (*om soum kṣoum śirṣe namaḥ*) is said to give all sorts of learning. In the *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam* (5.18.1) Hayaśīrṣa is mentioned as very dear to his devotees and his association with knowledge is again emphasized:

The Blessed Śuka said: the one called Bhadrāśravā, the son of Dharmarāja, who is the ruler of the dynasty known [and also] the residents in the land Bhadrāśva-varṣa [worship] directly the supreme god Vāsudeva in his dear form, he who is the director of dharma, who is known as Hayaśīrṣa, fixed in the topmost trance. Coming near they worship him chanting.  
*śrī-śuka uvāca, tathā ca bhadrāśravā nāma dharmasutas tat-kula-patayaḥ puruṣā  
bhadrāśva-varṣe sāksād bhagavato vāsudevasya priyāṃ tanuṃ dharmamayīm  
hayaśīrṣābhīdhānāṃ paramēṇa samādhinā sannidhāpyedam abhigrhṇanta upadhāvanti/*

<sup>406</sup> Gupta, Sanjukta "Viṣaksena the Divine Protector" p 75-89 in *Wineer Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens und Archiv für Indische Philosophie*, band XX, Brill, Leiden, 1976:75.

<sup>407</sup> Viṣṇu is often associated with the Vedas, even when he is not in his Hayaśīrṣa *avatāra*. The *Īśvara Saṃhitā* tells us that the Ekāyana Veda, the source of all Vedas, originated from Vāsudeva and existed in the earliest age as the root of all other Vedas, which were introduced later and are thus called Vikāra Vedas. As people became more and more worldly due to these Vikāra Vedas, Vāsudeva withdrew the Ekāyana Veda and only let selected individuals see it (Sana, Sanatsujāti, Sanaka, Sannandana, Sanatkumāra, Kapila and Sanātana) who were all called *ekāntins*. Other sages (Marīci, Atri, Āṅgīrasa, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vasiṣṭha and Svayambhuva) had learnt the Ekāyana from Nārāyaṇa and wrote the Pāñcarātra literature based on these (other sages wrote the various Dharma Śāstra based on the same text). (Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy, Volume I-III*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1940/2009:21) This makes it

learning but on a different level. While early Pāñcarātra traditions were essentially anti-Vedic<sup>408</sup>, the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is clearly concerned with establishing a strong connection to the Vedas. It states, with regards to the *ācārya*,:

Even if he knows the methods in the *tantras* for [constructing] temples he should not be one who has not reached the far shore of the Veda and *aṅga* texts. He should avoid with great care the non-believer even if omniscient as well. (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, 3.14)

One should not, however, choose an *ācārya* on the basis of Vedic learning at the expense of specifically Pāñcarātra knowledge.

The *brāhmaṇa* of all the *varṇas* is the one who is learned in *Pañcarātra*. (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 2.13ab)

He who is learned in the *Pañcarātra* [texts], who is a knower of the truth of the established view, even without all the auspicious marks, he is distinguished as an *ācārya*. 8 (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 4.8)

Here the auspicious marks previously mentioned, refer to personal characteristics such as knowing truth, and being respected<sup>409</sup>. It is rather intriguing and characteristic that the knowledge of the Pāñcarātra texts would take precedence over any other knowledge. Just as Brahmā resorts to Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa to reclaim the Vedas from Madhu and Kaiṭabha, the *ācārya* must resort to Pāñcarātra traditions in order to transmit the Veda and Vedāṅgas authoratively.

A certain enmity towards Śaiva sects, as well as a statement that knowledge of the Vedas alone is not enough, is evident in the text:

Even if he is a *brāhmaṇa*, one who knows words and sentences, and logical proofs, and is completely conversant with the Vedas, if he is delighted by the *paśuśāstras* he is not an *ācārya* and not a teacher (*deśika*). (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 3.15<sup>410</sup>)

Vedic verses are used in some of the rituals during construction. While the Vedic knowledge is not the *principal* knowledge here, it is clear that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is a text composed in a period when Vedic knowledge was gaining importance in the Pāñcarātra sect<sup>411</sup>. Placing the story of Hayaśīrṣa at the very beginning of the text sets up

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quite clear that the textual tradition within the Pāñcarātras is concerned with the connection to the Vedas as well as the connection between Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa and the Vedas. Grounding the Vedas in Nārāyaṇa and explaining that the knowledge became hidden from the masses gives the tradition a certain sacred and secret authority. (There is a version of the story in the *Jayākhya Saṃhitā* as well.)

<sup>408</sup> See chapter 5.

<sup>409</sup> See translation of *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, chapter 4 below.

<sup>410</sup> These are presumably the texts of the Pāsupatas, a Śaiva sect. See further discussion in the note to the translation in chapter 7 below.

<sup>411</sup> Viṣṇu's role as the protector or upholder of the Vedas may be traced to his identification with Yajña (sacrifice) in later Vedic literature. In the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (7.5-6, also *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 4-9 and *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* 5.1) it is Yajña whose head is cut off by the string of his bow. The identification of Yajña with Viṣṇu thus naturally meant that the horse-headed form was also transferred to Viṣṇu; in the *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Śānti Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* Viṣṇu is eulogized as both Yajña and Hayaśīra



a frame with a clear reverence for the Vedic tradition, though not an uncontested devotion to it. The Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra sect is critical of non-Vaiṣṇava Vedic learning. But the ideology of Pāñcarātra is not that of devotional *bhakti*. There is a clear predominance of *vidyā* (knowledge) over devotion and other principles of relation between humans and the divine. While rituals play an important role, the role of knowledge of the underlying patterns is emphasized throughout the text. Pāñcarātra share the emphasis on *jñāna* and *mokṣa* with Vedānta and Śaiva *tantra*. Thus, while the ritual of laying out the foundation of the temple is clearly one of the most important rituals in our text, it has to be done by a person who understands the Pāñcarātra and Vedic traditions, someone who is thus able to make intellectual connections, understanding the principles behind the ritual (though the text does not make these underlying principles explicit). The hierarchy of *vidyā* is made clear in the text; knowledge of Pāñcarātra texts is the most important knowledge that an *ācārya* can have, and that next follows Vedic knowledge. The text also mentions that the *ācārya* must have knowledge of the *śilpa śāstras* (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 3.14), though that knowledge is not emphasized in the same manner as that of Pāñcarātra and Vedic knowledge nor is it enough. Again, it is the Pāñcarātra sort of *śilpa śāstra* with which the *ācārya* should be conversant. The emphasis on *vidyā* is characteristic of a pre-*bhakti* stage, *bhakti* being a stage in the development of the Vaiṣṇava religion in which devotion is more important than esoteric knowledge. While the construction of temples to the gods is the focus of our text, and the rituals later to be carried out in the temple are mentioned, knowledge and initiation into the Pāñcarātra sect is what ultimately gives release from rebirth. For the *yajamāna*, the sponsor of the temple construction, the result is heaven both for himself and his family in many generations. Dwelling in Viṣṇu's heaven (*loka*) will in later *bhakti* traditions become an ultimate goal; here it is not as lofty a goal as the release (*mokṣa*) that comes from knowledge. The soteriology of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is thus descended from the *mokṣa*-oriented *Brahmāvidyā* of the Upaniṣads. It is a cousin, so to speak, of the *mokṣa* and *vidyā*-oriented streams within the *advaita-vedānta*, Śaiva and Buddhist traditions. There is not much emphasis, however, in experiencing, cataloguing and valorizing the variety of feelings associated with devotion (*śṛṅgāra rasa* etc.) that are typically associated with *bhakti*.

#### *Variant retellings of the Hayaśīrṣa narrative*

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(*Mahābhārata* 12.325.4). Further Yajña obtained his horse head from the Aśvins – associated with the sun and the rays which in turn symbolizes knowledge and the celestial horse Dadhikrā (*Dadhi-krā* is the name of a divine horse, personification of the morning Sun, addressed in the *Ṛgveda*, (ṚV 4.38-40, ṚV 7.44, ṚV 3.20, ṚV 10.101.), a form of the Sun, is equated with Viṣṇu in the *Śathapata Brāhmaṇa* (11.39.29). Thus it is not surprising that Viṣṇu in latter Vaiṣṇava tradition continues to be connected to the Vedic tradition and in extension with learning and knowledge and as mentioned earlier the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* credits him with the expounding of Pañcarātra *vidyā*. The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (3.7) speaks of Hayaśīrṣa as a form of Saṅkarṣaṇa, a version of Viṣṇu, who is also associated with knowledge. (Jaiswal, Suvira, *Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism from 200 BC to AD 500*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1981:55).

In texts other than the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* the myth of the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha occurs with three principal variations: (1) The story may be part of a creation myth (possibly the oldest version is found in *Mahābhārata* 6.63, again at *Mahābhārata* 12.200.8-16). (2) The demons may obtain a boon from Viṣṇu that he will be the one to kill them (MBH 3.194); upon death, the demons are released from their condition as demons and from the world of rebirth. This scenario suggests a notion of *bhakti* – even *dveṣa bhakti* – where any contact with the divine, even as an enemy renders release. (3) Finally, the story may emphasize Hayaśīrṣa’s connection to the Vedas as at *Mahābhārata* (MBH 12.12.127) where Hayaśīrṣa’s particular association with the Vedas is based on his being a reciter of the texts. In regard to this last scenario, we may say that Hayaśīrṣa is not only revered as a guardian of the tradition, but also as a knower of the tradition. In the light of this version, the appearance of Hayaśīrṣa reinforces a notion that the myth articulates the *vidyā* orientation of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*.

A different tradition exemplified by another *Mahābhārata* episode (1.65.30) speaks of Aśvaśiras (that is Hayaśīrṣa) as a demon killed by Viṣṇu in his Matsya *avatāra*. This is a curious variation in the story, a change that is repeated in the *Matsya Purāṇa* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*<sup>412</sup>.

In the first chapter of the *Matsya Purāṇa* the narrative is concerned primarily with the rescue of Manu from the flood of dissolution at the end of an eon. One significant detail in this context is the fish’s declaration that when the flood is over, he will promote the Vedas. The account in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is basically the same as that of the *Matsya Purāṇa* but with an additional introduction and conclusion. In the introduction, we are told that long ago – at the end of a *kalpa* and at the start of the flood of dissolution – Brahmā lay down and went to sleep. From his mouth the Vedas slipped out and were carried off by a demon named Hayagrīva (i.e. Hayaśīrṣa). The lord Hari (Viṣṇu) – knowing the demon’s behavior – took on the form of a fish. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* then continues the same account of the rescue of Manu that is found in the *Matsya Purāṇa*. The account ends with Viṣṇu in his fish form Matsya slaying the demon Hayagrīva and restoring the Vedas to now wakeful Brahmā. Here Matsya replaces Hayaśīrṣa and the demon Hayagrīva replaces Madhu and Kaiṭabha.

What underlying motives were responsible for this double substitution of Matsya for Hayaśīrṣa and Hayagrīva for Madhu and Kaiṭabha? Wendy Doniger (O’Flaherty)<sup>413</sup> suggests the generally negative symbolism of the mare, with connotations of eroticism without fertility, in a post-Vedic era when, as she puts it, “the cult of asceticism reared its ugly head”. She further suggests that the connotations of the mare as a “dangerous seductress begin[s] to pollute the reputation of the stallion” as well. Doniger further writes that “in order to rescue Viṣṇu from his equine role when it becomes a negative one, the Paurāṇika draws upon an already available avatar: the fish who rescues the Vedas from the doomsday flood... So the fish who was the enemy of the doomsday mare now becomes the fish who is the enemy of the demonic underwater horse”<sup>414</sup>. While it is

<sup>412</sup> See further discussion in Cheever Mackenzie Brown, *The triumph of the goddess: the canonical models and theological visions of the Devī-Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1990:35ff.

<sup>413</sup> Wendy Doniger, *Women, Androgynes, and Other Mythical Beasts*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1980:223-4.

<sup>414</sup> Doniger, 1980:223.

clear that Doniger sees repressed male sexuality as a motive force driving the historical development of Hindu myth, it is less clear how to verify her reading of the texts or how to apply her findings to any further study of Hayaśīrṣa. It is odd that Doniger addresses her psychoanalytic-structuralist interpretation of Indian myth to the question of why a myth changed over time. Psychoanalytic interpretation seems more appropriate to synchronic material than diachronic, evolutionary metanarratives. In any case, the methodological difficulties of applying psychoanalytic insight to anonymous traditions are well known.

A more sober explanation for the substitution of Brahmā for Viṣṇu is offered by Mackenzie Brown who suggests that the notion that Viṣṇu falls asleep on the cosmic waters must have seemed embarrassing to later narrators of the myth<sup>415</sup>. This explanation for Matsya chasing Hayaśīrṣa seems plausible. It cannot in any way be verified, however. A common explanatory paradigm adopted to rationalize character substitutions and other changes in Indian myths is the lost prestige of a god over time.

One might speculate for instance, that the later renderings of the myth reflect the increase of Viṣṇu's prestige over time. To save Viṣṇu the embarrassment of falling asleep, he instead takes the form of the sporting fish and Brahmā, whose prestige has waned, falls asleep<sup>416</sup>. The choice of the Matsya *avatāra* as the substitution for Hayaśīrṣa was clearly facilitated by their mutual association with the promulgation and protection of the Vedas. Why Hayaśīrṣa becomes a demonic figure is not explained however,

The demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, who Hayaśīrṣa kills, are frequently – both in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and other texts (several times in the *Bhagāvata Purāṇa* (7.9.37), as well as in the epics<sup>417</sup>) – equated with *tamas* (darkness) and *rajas* (energy). Thus Viṣṇu dispels darkness and restores light and knowledge. Thus the *guṇa*-teaching interacts with the *vidyā*-orientation of the text. One may be reminded of the many-sided teaching of the *Bhagavad Gītā* where *guṇa*-explanations sit side by side with a more pervasive *jñāna*-orientation.

## 4.2 Dating and placing the Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra.

Dating early South Asian texts is extremely difficult. This is especially so with Sanskrit texts in general, and *śilpa śāstras* in particular. There are exceptions to this rule, as Śāstrī<sup>418</sup> and Malaya<sup>419</sup> have discussed. The *Samarāṅgana Sūtradhāra* and the *Tantrasamuccaya* are texts written or compiled by individuals whom we can place in history. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is, as it states itself, something of a 'compendium'

<sup>415</sup> Brown, 1990:38.

<sup>416</sup> Brown, 1990:38.

<sup>417</sup> *Rāmāyāṇa* 7.55:9–12; 7.61:25–29 and *Mahābhārata* 12.335.

<sup>418</sup> Śāstrī, Introduction in *Samarāṅgana-sūtradhāra of Mahārājadhīrāja Bhoja, the Parmāra ruler of Dhāra*. Originally edited by Mahāmahopīdhya T. Gaṇapatiśāstrī. Revised and edited by Vasudeva Saran Agrawala. [2d rev. ed.], Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1966. Gaekwad's oriental series, no. 25, 2d ed.1945:iii.

<sup>419</sup> N. V. Mallaya, *Studies in Sanskrit texts on temple architecture, with special reference to Tantrasamuccaya*, Annamalai University Chidambaram, India, 1949:ii-iii.

gathering material from previous sources, which the text lists in chapter two<sup>420</sup>. Some scholars have attempted to establish a date for the text.

### *The Relationship to Other Texts*

The oldest known manuscript of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is from the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>421</sup>. Other manuscripts are also available, most of which are from Bengal (see chapter on manuscripts below).

The most common way to date a text is place it in relationship to other texts. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* must be older than the *Agni Purāṇa* since the latter borrowed large sections from the former<sup>422</sup>. The *Agni Purāṇa* is usually dated to the late 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>423</sup>. That would give us an approximate latest date for the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. The tantric material incorporated in the text in combination with the Brāhmaṇical iconography shows that it is a late tantric text (as early tantric streams were non-Brāhmaṇical and anti-Vedic<sup>424</sup>). A good analogue for the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is, therefore, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, another tantric text that incorporates brāhminical iconography and Vedic rituals. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* is usually dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> century<sup>425</sup>.

Lists of important texts similar to the one found in chapter two of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, are found in the *Mantrakaumudī* composed in the second decade of 16<sup>th</sup> C. A.D. by the Maithila scholar Devanātha Tarkapañcānana<sup>426</sup>. Raghunandana cites a long passage from the second part of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* in his *Maṭha-pratiṣṭhā-tattva*, stating that it was transcribed from an ancient copy in ‘bifurcated’ letters originally procured by king Ballāsenā and then came to Raghunandana’s hands<sup>427</sup>. King Ballāsenā, or Vallāsenā, ruled in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, according to Chowdhury between 1160-1178, and according to Majumdar between 1158-1179<sup>428</sup>. As noted above, the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is also quoted extensively in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, a 17<sup>th</sup> century compendium on Viṣṇu worship by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa.

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<sup>420</sup> 2.2-2.10

<sup>421</sup> Dated 1453 Śakābda (1531 A. D.) Das Gupta, 1989:73. It is in the Biblioteque Nationale, Paris.

<sup>422</sup> See discussion in chapter on the relationship between the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and *Agni Purāṇa*.

<sup>423</sup> See discussion below in chapter on the relationship between the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and *Agni Purāṇa*.

<sup>424</sup> Rajendra Chandra Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic records on Hindu rites and customs*, Dacca University reprint by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1940/1975:203.

<sup>425</sup> See chapter on the relationship between the *Viṣṇudharmottara purāṇa* and *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*.

<sup>426</sup> Dines Ch. Bhattacharya “Foreword”, in Bhuban Mohan Sānkhyatīrtha ed. *The Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcharātra (an ancient treatise on architecture and consecration of images) Vol I, Ādikāṇḍa, paṭalāḥ 1-14*, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, East Bengal, 1952.

<sup>427</sup> “iti Ballāsenā-devāhrta-dvikhaṇḍāyapaṭalāḥ”, quoted in the foreword to the first printed edition of the text, “Foreword” by Dinnes Ch. Bhattacharya, in Bhuban Mohan Sānkhyatīrtha ed. *The Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcharātra (an ancient treatise on architecture and consecration of images) Vol I, Ādikāṇḍa, paṭalāḥ 1-14*, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, East Bengal, 1952.

<sup>428</sup> Abdul Momin Chowdhury, *Dynastic history of Bengal 750-1200 A.D.* Asiatic Society of Pakistan publications ; 21. Daka, 1967:220, 279 and Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, *The history of Bengal / 1 Hindu period*, B.R. Publications, 2003:210-233 esp. 231, 223-243, esp. 242.

## Earlier Scholarship

Daniel Smith thinks that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* originated in the North, though he does not give any reasons for this assumption. He is not any more precise on the issue of dating the text. He says “there are many clues in it [the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*] which suggest an early date; yet other details indicate that, albeit written early, it passed through the hands of late redactors.”<sup>429</sup> Smith also mentions that one can find quotations in texts datable to the 12<sup>th</sup> through the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries from a text referred to as *Hayagrīvasaṃhitā*, for example in Vedānta Deśika’s opening chapter of the *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*. However, the quotes are so brief that it is hard to trace them to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* unambiguously. Smith feels certain that the text cannot be as old as is mentioned in the ‘preface’ to the printed edition (i.e. “800 A.D.”<sup>430</sup>). He mentions that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is not listed in any canonical texts besides its own, and the ones that are derived from it. Smith’s example of a derivative text is the *Agni Purāṇa*<sup>431</sup>. Ramachandra S. K. Rao has a similar discussion and mentions that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is also in the *Viṣṇu Saṃhitā*’s list of *Pāñcarātra* texts as number 44 of 141 texts<sup>432</sup>.

In an article called “The Pāñcarātra tradition and Brāhmaṇical iconography” Das Gupta discusses the date of one chapter (*ādikāṇḍa* 22) of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, which deals with the manifestations of Viṣṇu and their characteristics. He assigns this chapter to sometime before the 9<sup>th</sup> century, that is he agrees with Dines Chandra Bhattacharya who wrote the introduction to the 1952 edition of the text<sup>433</sup>. Das Gupta bases his assumption mainly on *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra ādikāṇḍa* 22.2, which states that Ādimūrti Vāsudeva creates Saṃkarṣaṇa, who in turn creates Pradyumna and the latter in turn Aniruddha<sup>434</sup>. The text further confines itself to 12 of the 24 *vyūhas*. These two facts, according to Das Gupta, indicate an early stage in the development of the *vyūhas*, which, by the time of the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa* and the *Caturvarga Cintāmaṇi*, are enumerated as 24. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* refers only to the *caturvyūha* forms (3.xliv.11-12, 3.lxxxv.43-45). Das Gupta concludes “the chapter (*ādikāṇḍa* 22)

<sup>429</sup> Daniel Smith, *The Smith Āgama collection: Sanskrit books and manuscripts relating to Pañcarātra studies: a descriptive catalog*, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y., 1978:166.

<sup>430</sup> Bhattacharya, 1952.

<sup>431</sup> Smith, 1978:166. Smith does not give any other examples.

<sup>432</sup> Ramachandra S. K. Rao, *Āgama-Kośa Vol IV, Pāñcharātrāgama*, Bangalore : Kalpatharu Research Academy, 1989:168.

<sup>433</sup> Das Gupta, “The Pāñcarātra tradition and Brahmāṇical iconography” in Dallapiccola *Shastric Traditions in Indian Art* 1989:76.

<sup>434</sup> Das Gupta and the 1976 edition reads

*ādimūrtir vāsudevaḥ saṃkarṣaṇam athāpi ca/*

*saṃkarṣaṇo ’tha pradyumnaḥ so ’niruddham athāsrjat//HP 22.2 (Das Gupta, 1989:76)*

Whereas the 1952 edition reads

*ādimūrtir vāsudevaḥ saṃkarṣaṇamathāpi ca/*

*caturmūrtiḥ param prokta ekaiko bhidyate tridhā// HP 22.2*

The second line of Das Gupta’s verse is given as a variant of manuscript B and C in the 1952 edition.

embodying these descriptions were composed before the appearance of the group of *caturviṃśati mūrti*-s which are described in the aforesaid works [*Agni Purāna*, *Devatāmūrti prakaraṇa* and *Caturvarga Cintamāni*]<sup>435</sup>. In the critical edition of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, Sastri assigns it to the 6<sup>th</sup> century but states that it continued to grow during the 7<sup>th</sup> century. He bases this assumption on various details within the text's description of sculptures<sup>436</sup>. In the same volume, Das Gupta explains that “the text gives the features of some of the deities that belong to the earlier periods side by side with some of them belonging to later periods”. To the earlier period he assigns the treatment of the *vyūhas*, which, as mentioned above, are only twelve in our text<sup>437</sup>.

The *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* takes a large portion of its section on temple construction and sculpting from the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. The *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* is a ritual compilation (*nibandha*) written around 1534. The author was Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin (1501 – 1586), a Brāhmaṇa from Sri Rangam in modern Tamil Nadu. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin was one of the “Six Gosvamins of Vrindavana”, the group of learned and ascetic followers of Caitanya (1486 – 1533) that gave the Gaudiya Vaiṣṇava *sampradāya* its theological basis<sup>438</sup>. Thus the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* must have been authoritative by the time Gosvāmin wrote his work. The authority of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* at the time of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* is independently confirmed by the fact that the text is also, as will be established in further detail below, quoted and summarized in the *Agni Purāna*.

Winternitz states that the text is “a very important treatise on Vaiṣṇava Architecture and consecration of images ... tentatively assumed to have been written in about 800 A.D.”<sup>439</sup>. He does not mention any reason for that dating.

Raghunath Purushottam Kulkarni has used the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* as a basis for comparison in his book *Prāsāda Maṇḍana of Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana*. He dates the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* to the fourth century AD. Though he does not discuss the reason for this he has a note referring to chapter 8 verses 18-30 of the text. These are the verses that describe the location of deities in the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. The date may be attributed to Kulkarni's nationalist agenda in so far as he is trying to establish an early dating of architectural science for India.

Corinna Wessels-Mevissen in her book *The Gods of the Directions* states, “The *Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra* is a religious text which probably dates from c. 800. A.D”. She bases this assumption on the description of the *lokeśas* (directional guardians) found in the *ādikāṇḍa paṭala* 28. Wessels-Mevissen asserts that, “ it [the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*]

<sup>435</sup> Das Gupta, 1989:75-76.

<sup>436</sup> Sastri ed., 1976:vii.

<sup>437</sup> Das Gupta in Sastri ed., 1976:146-7.

<sup>438</sup> Broo Māns R., “The Early Morning Rites According to the Hari-Bhakti-Vilasa” in *Chakra*, University of Lund, 2005. The term “ritual compilation” is from Teun Goudriaan (Goudriaan and Gupta, *Hindu Tantric and Sakta literature*, O. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1981: 141–142) and indicates texts that are Tantric works of known authorship which present material on ritual ceremonies, usually in the form of quotations from older authorities. Also Broo, Māns *As Good as God – the Guru in Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism*, Åbo Akademi University Press, Åbo, 2003:20-21. For a discussion of the authorship of the text see Dāsa, Bhr̥gumuni: *Dearest to Viṣṇu. Ekādaśī and Dvādaśī According to the Hari-Bhakti-Vilāsa*. Absolute Truth Press, Borgā, 2001:xii-xvi.

<sup>439</sup> Moriz Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature, Part 1 Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, (originally published in German: *Geschichte der indischen litteratur*, 1909, translated by Shilavati Ketkar and revised by the author) 1967/ 2008:614.

does not mention the respective directions, as is generally the case in the early texts<sup>440</sup>. With regard to the *lokeśas*, the text is similar to the Purāṇas except for two facts: the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* depicts Īśāna as four-armed, while all other *lokeśas* are two armed; the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* gives Nairṛta's vehicle (*vāhana*) as a bear. Wessels-Mevissen considers both these facts to be extremely important and rare variations within the tradition of iconography. Wessels-Mevissen further states that the bear may explain some "peculiar forms of Nairṛta's vehicle in Central India"<sup>441</sup>.

Mukherji, in his *A Study of Vaiṣṇavism in Ancient and Medieval Bengal*, feels certain that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* (and some other *Pāñcarātra* texts) are post-Gupta, by which he understands approximately the 9<sup>th</sup> century CE<sup>442</sup>. However, he does not state the reason for this view. (Besides his lack of evidence, the 9<sup>th</sup> century CE is quite late to call post-Gupta). Sanjukta Gupta thinks that it is unlikely that any of the *Pāñcarātra* scriptures are older than the fifth century CE<sup>443</sup>.

On the basis of existing scholarship, the widest window for compilation of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is c. 500-1600. The general scholarly consensus, however, is that the text was produced around the 800 CE. This date makes good sense to me, though it bears mentioning that dating early Indian texts is often compared to 'a house of cards'. There are relatively few events or lives in ancient Indian chronology that are confirmed by extra Indian sources.

### *Speculations on date*

There are a few things in the text that could possibly help us date the text. The *pradakṣina* (circumambulatory) path, mentioned in chapter 13 v. 1-4, may also be used to help establish a date and locale for the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. Though not elaborated upon in the text, it is a feature that was clearly required by the temple plan. Thus we can be certain that the text was produced at a time when circumambulatory paths were constructed around temples and that this pathway should have walls. It is not clear from the text if the circumambulatory should have a roof or not. Unfortunately few temples survive from the area where the text was most likely in use or originated (Bengal). However, if we look at north central in addition to northeast India we get the impression that *pradakṣina* pathways were optional. For example at Khajuraho, all temples have space for someone to circumambulate but the circumambulatory pathway is part of the architectural structure only in some temples.

*Pradakṣina* pathways are known from at least as early as Nāchnā. In Nāchnā a Śiva shrine, known as the Pārvatā Temple, "originally comprised a cella surrounded by a *pradakṣina patha* or passage for circumambulation. To include a passage of this kind does not seem a startling innovation for circumambulation had long been the basic Indian

<sup>440</sup> Corinna Wessels-Mevissen, *The Gods of the Directions in Ancient India: Origin and Early Development in Art and Literature (until c. 1000 A.D.)*, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin, 2001:17.

<sup>441</sup> Wessels-Mevissen, 2001:17, 100.

<sup>442</sup> Mukherji S. C., *A Study of Vaiṣṇavism in Ancient and Medieval Bengal, up to the Advent of Caitanya: Based on Archaeological & Literary Data*, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1966:26.

<sup>443</sup> Gupta, 1983:69.

pattern for worship”<sup>444</sup>. To include a circumambulatory pathway in the plan of a temple is in later texts called the *sandhara* type of temples and in medieval temples becomes so common one might call it standard. For dating and placing the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* the reference to *pradakṣina* pathways tells us that by the time the text was written the *sandhara* type of temple was probably fairly common.

Gonda notes that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* enumerates the northern regions of India and mentions the *nāgarī* script, but does not mention the southern regions or south Indian scripts<sup>445</sup>. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* forbids *brāhmaṇas* from Kacchadeśa, Kāverī, Koṅkaṇa, Kāmarūpa, Kaliṅga, Kāñchī, Kāsmīra, Kośala<sup>446</sup> and Mahārāṣṭra from officiating in consecration (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra ādikāṇḍa* 3.3-4). Mishra refers to an identical list in the *Pīṅgalamata*. Mishra also notes that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* says that the manuscripts of the *Pañcarātras*, the *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata*, etc. should be transcribed in the *Nāgara* and *Śāradā* scripts. Mishra found this in chapter 31 of the *saṅkarṣaṇa kāṇḍa*<sup>447</sup>. In the light of the discussion of these two scripts Mishra dates the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* to the first half of the tenth century<sup>448</sup>.

The *Nāgara* script is not included in the eighteen scripts referred to by Jain *sūtras*<sup>449</sup>, nor the sixty-four scripts enumerated by the *Lalitavistara*<sup>450</sup>. The first inscription in *Nāgara* script is dated to CE 754<sup>451</sup>. The earliest epigraphic reference to *Nāgara* script occurs in a Hoysala inscription of CE 1290, where the same salary is prescribed for a teacher of any Veda, as for one who makes the boys read the *Nāgara*, *Kannaḍa*, the *Tigula* (Tamil) or the *Ārya* scripts<sup>452</sup>. Bühler thinks that ‘northern *Nāgarī* was in use at least since the beginning of the eighth century, and that in the eleventh century the script became paramount in nearly all the districts north of the Narmadā’<sup>453</sup>. Richard Salomon, on the other hand, concludes, based on inscriptional evidence, that *Nāgarī* ‘achieved its standard form’ by about 1000 CE and then became essentially a national script of India for writing Sanskrit<sup>454</sup>. The *Śāradā* script was not popular in *Kāsmīrā* until the eighth century and the earliest epigraph in the script is from approximately the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Salomon also dates the *Śāradā* script to around 1000 A.D and notes that it was important both as an epigraphic and literary script in medieval times. Though he also notes that “several Sanskrit inscriptions in *Śāradā* script from the Śāhī period (eighth-ninth centuries) have also been found in Afghanistan”<sup>455</sup>. Since the two scripts in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* were both well-established not much earlier than 1000 CE, we can assume that our text is not much earlier than that. In his book *The*

<sup>444</sup> Williams, 1982:105-6.

<sup>445</sup> Gonda, 1977:55.

<sup>446</sup> There is obviously something about the letter K here – though I do not know what that might be, see further discussion in note to *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra ādikāṇḍa* 3.3-4.

<sup>447</sup> Mishra did not actually state this but Bathacarya says so in his intro to the *ādikāṇḍa*

<sup>448</sup> Bambahadur Mishra, *Polity in the Agni Purāṇa*, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1965:12.

<sup>449</sup> Pandey, Raj Bali *Indian Palaeography*, Motilal Banarasidass, Varanasi, 1957:52.

<sup>450</sup> *Lalitavistara* in *Biblioteca Indica Series* chapter 10 p. 143, quoted in Pandey, 1957:52.

<sup>451</sup> Barnett L.D *Antiquities of India*, London, 1913:226.

<sup>452</sup> Mishra, 1965:11.

<sup>453</sup> G Bühler, *Indian Paleography*, Indian Studies Past and Present, Calcutta, 1904/1980.

<sup>454</sup> Salomon, *Indian epigraphy : a guide to the study of inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the other Indo-Aryan languages*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1998: 41.

<sup>455</sup> Salomon, 1998:41.



*Development of Nāgarī Script*, Arvind Kumar Singh notes that Al-Beruni, who visited India c. CE 1030, mentions “Nāgara-a” script as used in the Mālava country<sup>456</sup>. Though he notes that the term *Nāgarī* appears in *śilpa śāstras* from the 10-11<sup>th</sup> century, he does not specify which ones. He also notes that the term *Nāgarī* appears in Jain commentaries by Malayagiri and Hemachandra from the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>457</sup>. He concludes that though the term *Nāgarī* is not found earlier than the 10-11<sup>th</sup> century CE, the discussion is “futile” “because such words are recorded in works long after getting currency among the people”<sup>458</sup>. His whole discussion points to the problematic circularity of dates in general Sanskrit scholarship.

Singh looks at inscriptions from all over northern India in order to find the origin of the *Nāgarī* script and a time when it was definitely formed. This he finds in a plate from Bharat Kala Bhavan by Harirāja (A.D 983), which he thinks contains “the earliest dated record of Nāgarī” as it is consistently close to the modern *Nāgarī*<sup>459</sup>. This plate, together with several other inscriptions, gives Singh reason to see a strong development of *Nāgarī* during the period of the Pratihāras of north-central India<sup>460</sup>. Thus, the note on the scripts in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* seems to indicate that the text was not compiled much earlier than the 10<sup>th</sup> century, though it is always possible that the reference to *Nāgarī* is a latter addition to the text.

To conclude the discussion on the date of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* I will summarize the discussion in three parts. First, the discussion on script indicates that the text was produced shortly before the 10<sup>th</sup> century. This also agrees with the date of the *Agni Purāṇa*, which borrowed extensively from the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. Thus the latter must be older than the former, that is before the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>461</sup>. Second the scholarly consensus points to 800 CE. Third, to establish a lower limit for the date I have looked at the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* as well as some ‘internal evidence’. As our text has, possibly, borrowed sections from the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, it must be younger than that text, that is 7<sup>th</sup> century. The ideas of *vyūhas* discussed by Das Gupta and the *lokeśas* discussed by Wessels-Mevissen both argue for an earlier rather than later date. Thus the 8-9<sup>th</sup> century seems to be an acceptable working hypothesis, the reference to the scripts may suggest a date later, rather than earlier in that period.

### *Place of Origin*

Trying to find the place of origin for the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is easier than dating it. First, all the extant manuscripts have been found in Bengal and Orissa<sup>462</sup>. The only complete manuscript is from Orissa. The Sena King Ballāsenā, mentioned above, ruled in

<sup>456</sup> Arvind Kumar Singh, *The Development of Nāgarī Script*, Parimal Publications, Delhi, 1991:20.

<sup>457</sup> Singh, 1991:20, 22.

<sup>458</sup> Singh, 1991:22.

<sup>459</sup> Singh, 1991: 78, 82.

<sup>460</sup> Singh, 1991: 76-78.

<sup>461</sup> See further discussion in chapter 6.3 below.

<sup>462</sup> See discussion on the manuscripts below in chapter 4.6.

Bengal<sup>463</sup>. On the other hand, the plants and trees mentioned in the texts are standard (north) Indian auspicious or inauspicious ones<sup>464</sup> and thus give no additional information on the actual area besides confirming the north Indian origin of the text. The discussion regarding the *śikhara* at the end of the text is also rather vague and gives little idea of its style. The *kalaśa* is a typical north Indian superstructure finial. As mentioned above, the scripts discussed in the text are north Indian, and the regions excluded<sup>465</sup> are those surrounding central parts of North India<sup>466</sup>. Thus we can assume that the text is of a north Indian origin and most likely was compiled in Northeast India, probably Bengal or Orissa.

### 4.3 The structure of the Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, consisting of some 6500 *ślokas*, is divided into four *kāṇḍas*; the *ādi*, *saṃkarṣaṇa*, *liṅga* and *saura*<sup>467</sup>, which are then subdivided into *paṭalas* or chapters. The *kāṇḍas* vary in size numbering 42, 39, 20 and 43 *paṭalas* respectively<sup>468</sup>. The *ādi-kāṇḍa* focuses on temple building, making of icons and their respective consecration. The selection presented in this dissertation deals with *paṭalas* one to fourteen of the *ādi-kāṇḍa*. The first *paṭala* of the *ādikāṇḍa* gives an account of the Hayaśīrṣa *avatāra* of Viṣṇu – thus explaining the name of the text. The second *paṭala* lists the Pāñcarātra literature and the characteristics of the *ācārya* (teacher), a topic that continues into the third and fourth *paṭalas*. The following *paṭalas* (5-14) deal with preparatory rituals for temples including taking possession of land. They give some guidance to the proportions of a temple. Thus, the selection presented here focuses on the preparation of the temple ground and ends when the text switches topics transitioning from actual temple construction to sculpture. The middle section of the *ādi-kāṇḍa* (*paṭalas* 15-31) elaborates the construction of icons, including how to find the right material and how to set up a sculptor’s workshop. The later section (*paṭalas* 32-44) deals with rites connected to the later stages of temple construction, including placing the flag on the top of the temple’s *śikhara* (1.44.56-7) as the final act declaring that the temple is completed.

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is similar to Purāṇic texts in its narrative style, mixing myth and dialogue. Hayagrīva is the narrator in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. Hayagrīva and Hayaśīrṣa refer to the same *avatāra* of Viṣṇu<sup>469</sup>. Tradition relates the term *grīvā* “neck”

<sup>463</sup> Susan Huntington, *Leaves from the Bodhi tree: the art of Pāla India (8th-12th centuries) and its international legacy*, Dayton Art Institute in association with the University of Washington Press, 1990.

<sup>464</sup> See discussions on individual trees and plants in the footnotes to the translation.

<sup>465</sup> See above. The *Agni Purāṇa* 39.6f has a similar account “only a brāhmin of Madhyadeśa and such places should officiate in and perform the consecration ceremony...” Gonda explains Madhyadeśa as “the land between the Himālaya and the Vindhya, the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumnā and the place where the Sarasvatī river disappears.” Jan Gonda *Medieval Religious Literature in Sanskrit*, Harrassowitz, Weisbaden, 1977:56 n121.

<sup>466</sup> Gonda, 1977:55, Gonda refers to *Samkarṣaṇa kāṇḍa* 31; 1, 3, 1ff. I have not seen this *kāṇḍa* yet.

<sup>467</sup> Smith, 1978:165.

<sup>468</sup> Smith, 1969:306.

<sup>469</sup> See chapter 4.1 above.

to the verbal root  $\sqrt{g\bar{r}}$ , which encompasses verbs of invocation and address. The terms Hayagrīva, ‘horse-necked’, and Hayaśīrṣa, ‘horse-headed’ as well as Aśvavaktra “the horse-headed”, point to the articulation or teaching function of Viṣṇu as revealer, where ‘head’ and ‘neck’ are metonyms for mouth and throat respectively. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is one of the *vāstuśāstras* that names Viṣṇu as the originator of the science of Vāstu. The *Matsya Purāṇa* and the chapters in the *Agni Purāṇa* that come from the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*<sup>470</sup> also attribute *vāstuśāstra* to Viṣṇu. The majority of the *Vāstuśāstras*, such as the *Mayamatam*, *Kāśyapaśilpa*, *Mānasāra* and the later section of the *Agni Purāṇa* name the god Śiva as the source, either directly as the narrator, or else naming Śiva as an important transmitter of *śāstra* he was told by another deity<sup>471</sup>. Bhṛgu is the preceptor in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* (*ādikāṇḍa* 1.3-4). The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* tells us that Bhṛgu obtained the science of architecture from Mahēśvara (Śiva), who received it from Brahmā, who received it from Viṣṇu as Hayaśīrṣa (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 1.1.1-7).

#### 4.4 The Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra’s sources

In the second chapter *Viṣṇu* gives a long catalogue of texts, indicating that they were used in composing the present text. Some of the texts were unavailable while others are commonly known texts, such as the *Mahābhārata*. These texts can be divided into four groups (though some texts fit more than one group<sup>472</sup>): Tantras (such as the *Śrīpraśna tantra*), Pāñcarātra texts (such as the *Jayākhyā Saṃhitā*), texts with a significant portion of *śilpa śāstra* material (such as *Pauṣkara Saṃhitā*), and one group of texts that I have not been able to identify.

The list of texts according to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* (25 texts):

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (1) <i>Hayaśīrṣa</i>                             | (14) <i>Nārāyaṇīya</i> <sup>473</sup>  |
| (2) <i>Trailokyamohana tantra</i> <sup>474</sup> | (15) <i>Jñānārṇava</i> <sup>475</sup>  |
| (3) <i>Vaibhava</i> <sup>476</sup>               | (16) <i>Svāyambhuva</i> <sup>477</sup> |

<sup>470</sup> See discussion in chapter 6.3 below.

<sup>471</sup> Kramrisch 1946:424.

<sup>472</sup> These groupings are only suggestions as I have not been able to identify or see many of these texts. This is especially true for the texts called *tantras* by the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*.

<sup>473</sup> The *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata*. See Minoru Hara Reinhold Grünendahl, Angelika Malinar, Thomas Oberlies and Peter Schreiner, “Nārāyaṇīya-Studien” in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 43, no. 2 (2000): 155-161.

<sup>474</sup> *Trailokyamohana* seems to refer to a particular type of *cakra*. I have not been able to locate a text with this title.

<sup>475</sup> *Jñānārṇava* – This work falls into the Śrī Vidyā class of tantras and is a relatively brief and comparatively straightforward example of the genre. *Jñānārṇava* means Ocean of Knowledge. There is a transcription of this text in Sanskrit now at the Muktabodha Project (<http://www.muktabodhalib.org/SECURE/MALAVIYA/JNANARNAVATANTRA/JnanarnavaTantraHK.txt>). Consisting of 26 *pāṭalas* (chapters), the *Jñānārṇava* amplifies information relating to the Śrī Vidyā tradition in other works of the school. No date has, as far as I know, been assigned to it. The text focuses mainly on inner worship, rather than the external rituals (*bahīryaga*). (Smith, 1963).

<sup>476</sup> *Vaibhava* – This general title is part of the title of many works. For example *Śrī Bhaktivinoda vāṇī vaibhava*, or *Yatirāja-vaibhava of Āndhrapūrṇa* (*Vaṭuka Nambi*).

(4) *Pauṣkara*<sup>478</sup>

(5) *Nārādīya tantra*<sup>480</sup>

(6) *Prāhrāda*<sup>482</sup>

(7) *Gārgyagālava*<sup>484</sup>

(8) *Śrīpraśna tantra*<sup>486</sup>

(9) *Śāṇḍila tantra*<sup>488</sup>

(10) *Īśvarasaṃhitā*<sup>490</sup>

(17) *Kāpila*<sup>479</sup>

(18) *Vihagendra*<sup>481</sup>

(19) *Ātreya*<sup>483</sup>

(20) *Nārasimhākhyā*<sup>485</sup>

(21) *Ānandākhyā*<sup>487</sup>

(22) *Ārūṇa*<sup>489</sup>

(23) *Baudhānaya*<sup>491</sup>

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<sup>477</sup> Might refer to the Laws of Manu as the first Manu is called Svāyambhuva.

<sup>478</sup> *Pauṣkara* – Presumably the *Pauṣkara saṃhitā*. It is one of the ‘three gems’ of the *Pāñcarātra* corpus. According to Daniel Smith it is probably one of the most ancient works of the canon. (Smith 1963:189). Chapters 42-43 contain information relevant to temple construction. (Smith 1963:189). The text has been published twice: Yatiraja Sampathkumara, *Sree Poushkarasamhitā: one of three gems in Pancharatra*, Bangalore, 1934 and P. P. Āpte, *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*, Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati, 1991 republished 2006.

<sup>479</sup> *Kāpila* - There is a famous Tamil saint with this name, but it seems highly unlikely that this reference would be to his work.

<sup>480</sup> *Nārādīya tantra* – Possibly the same text that Smith refers to as the *Nārādīyasaṃhitā*, (MGOML R 2503, *grantha* script on paper, Adyar 10. K. 4, *devanāgarī* script on paper, Tirupati No. 3858, *grantha* script on paper, and other manuscripts in Madras, Mysore and elsewhere.) This is a detailed work on temple-building in 31 chapters (Smith 1963: 187). As far as I know this text has not been published (there is a different text with the same name that does not deal with temple-building).

<sup>481</sup> *Vihagendra Saṃhitā* – published as *Śrīsudarśanaśatakam : sāṅvayahindībhāṣānuvādasahitam, tathā Vihagendrasaṃhitāntargatam Sudarśanakavacam* by Gaṅgāviṣṇu Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa Prakāśana (Kalyāṇa, Bambaī, 1990) is philosophical in character (see Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol III, Motilal Banarsidass, 2000, first edition 1922 by Cambridge, pgs 57ff).

<sup>482</sup> *Prāhrāda* or *Prāhlāda* is a name of the young boy of many Purāṇic stories who worshipped Viṣṇu despite his father, Hiranyakāśipu’s attempts to stop him. Viṣṇu as the Nṛhasimha *avatara* killed Hiranyakāśipu. Though I have located a few of texts with *Prāhrāda/ Prāhlāda* in the title none seem relevant for this study.

<sup>483</sup> *Ātreya* refers to the decendants of Atri. I have not found any relevant text with this name.

<sup>484</sup> *Gārgyagālava* – Gārgya – descendant of Garga – a sage, the son of Brahmā according to Apte. Name of a sage, a pupil of Viśvāmitra, also according to Apte. I have not found any texts with this name.

<sup>485</sup> *Nārasimhākhyā* – I have not found any references to this work (except in lists similar to that in the Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra).

<sup>486</sup> Possibly the *Śrīpraśna saṃhitā*. This work, in 54 chapters, is closely associated with the worship in the temple at Kumbakonam. It contains several chapters relevant to temple construction. (Smith 1963: 190). The *Śrīpraśna Saṃhitā* has been published in a critical edition in the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha Series nr 12 by Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati in 1969, it was edited by Seetha Padmanabhan, earlier published by Maṅgavilāsa Press, Kumbakonam, 1904, *grantha* script.

<sup>487</sup> *Ānandākhyā* – I have not found any references to this work.

<sup>488</sup> *Śāṇḍila* – from *śandila* – according to Apte – a sage. Śāṇḍila, is one of the seven great sages, the father of Aṅgiras and the grandfather of Agni. I have not found any text with this title.

<sup>489</sup> There seems to be a number of works called *Ārūṇa Saṃhitā*, but those I have seen all deal with *vyōtīṣa*.

<sup>490</sup> *Īśvarasaṃhitā*, a work of 25 chapters, according to Smith closely associated with the worship at the temple in Melkoṭe, and perhaps dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Traditionally associated with the *Sāttvatasāṃhitā* of the ‘three gems’. Several chapters, particularly 9, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20 and 23 contain information relevant to temple building activities. (Smith 1963:186). Published by Sudarśana Press Conjeevaram, 1923, *devanāgarī* script, also Sadvidyā Press, Mysore 1890, Telugu script, recently published again: The text has been translated and edited as *Īśvarasaṃhitā; critically edited and translated in five volumes* Em E Lakṣmītātācārya; V Varadachari; Gaya Charan Tripathi; Alāśingabhaṭṭa and published by the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts (in association with Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 2009) in their *Kalāmūlaśāstra* series (*Kalāmūlaśāstra granthamālā*) volumes 42-46.

- (11) *Satyokta tantra*<sup>492</sup>  
 (12) *Vaśiṣṭha*<sup>493</sup>  
 (13) *Śainaka*<sup>495</sup>

- (24) *Vaidhāyana tantra*  
 (25) *Vaiśvāvatarita*<sup>494</sup>

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* further mentions:

That great tantra which establishes the eight syllables<sup>496</sup>. The *purāṇas* that are associated with tantras: the one spoken by Śiva, the one revealed by Viṣṇu, the one that originates from Padma (Brahmā), and the Varāha Purāṇa and others. (2.8).

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 's list goes on to mention

The general *saṃhitās* of the Bhāgavatas, the *saṃhitā* spoken by Vyāsa (*Mahābhārata*) and other great *saṃhitās* as well. (2.9).

From verse 2.10 we learn that the author/ redactor of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* utilized earlier sources – such as the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, which may have been the primary source for parts of the text<sup>497</sup>. Thus, it is clear that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is a compilation of earlier texts. However, this does not make it a less valuable text. First, many of the texts that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* uses are inaccessible, or unavailable at this time. Thus, the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* gives us information from these texts that we otherwise would not obtain. Second, the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is a well-organized, generally clear text that, though it utilizes material from other sources, does not have the character of a text put together in an un-thoughtful manner. Rather the text gives, in many cases, more precise information than many other texts dealing with temple construction rituals. Third, it gives us an insight into the view of medieval northeast Indian temple construction rituals, not only its technicalities, but also to some degree its purpose. In fact the redaction or inclusion of older texts into the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is an integral aspect of its authority and its mode of creative authorship. Original genius, so central to Romantic and modern notions of authorship, has no place in the genre of *śilpa śāstra* or the tradition of Pāñcarātra. The redacted character of the text is an integral aspect, a kind of authorizing gesture, for its assertion that it transmits authentic revelation from Viṣṇu.

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<sup>491</sup> Possibly the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, which is a Late Vedic text dealing with the solemn rituals of the Taittirīya school of the Black Yajurveda. The text was, likely, composed in eastern Uttar Pradesh during the late Brahmana period. It was first published in 1904-23 by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, (edited by Willem Caland and translated by C.G. Kashikar). (W. Caland. *Über das rituelle sūtra des Baudhāyana*. Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1903, Dandekar, R. N. and C. G. Kashikar, *Śrautakośa*. Poona 1958, C.G. Kashikar, *The Baudhayana Śrautasūtra*, New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts; Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2003.)

<sup>492</sup> I have only found this term in other lists of Pāñcarātra works.

<sup>493</sup> Possibly the *Vaśiṣṭha Saṃhitā* a work published by Kaivalyadhama S.M.Y.M. Samiti, Pune, 2005,

<sup>494</sup> I have only found the last two terms in other lists of Pāñcarātra works.

<sup>495</sup> Śainaka seems to refer to a sage, though I have not found a work with the title.

<sup>496</sup> *Oṃ Namō Nārāyaṇāya*.

<sup>497</sup> See discussion in chapter 6.2 on *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* below.

## 4.5 Audience

One who desires to gain merit by means of [constructing] a temple for my image ought to search for an *ācārya* who is endowed with [the following] characteristics. (*Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* 2.11)

While architects clearly followed the rules laid down in texts, such as the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, it is not certain that the texts were written for, or even by, them. George Michell states that the texts that make up the *vāstu śāstra* are more likely “the theoretical writings of theologians, the learned Brāhmaṇas, than manuals of architectural and artistic practice.”<sup>498</sup> The *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, which clearly focuses on ritual, and only discusses architectural features that are of ritual significance (such as proportion, the inner sanctum and doors) provides strong evidence for Michell’s statement. Michell continues, saying that the *śilpa śāstras* “true function” is “as a collection of rules that attempts to facilitate the translation of theological concepts into architectural form.”<sup>499</sup> At first glance, this sounds like Coomaraswamy, who attempts to articulate the spiritual truths symbolized by architectural forms. Michell’s formulation, however, isolates three movements: theological concept, *śāstra* and architectural form. The notion of theological concept in Michell is better grounded in the Hindu tradition than Coomaraswamy’s eternal ideas. So too, Coomaraswamy moves directly from architectural form to theosophical idea, while Michell stresses the intermediary of ritual and rule, which is central to the genre of *śilpa śāstra* and better articulates the process of temple construction. Coomaraswamy writes “Art [in India and elsewhere, and especially hieratic art] is by definition essentially conventional (*saṃketita*)... Conventionality [in art] has nothing to do with calculated simplification... or with degeneration from representation.”<sup>500</sup> That is, though art follows rules this does not imply that the art is degenerated – it is a form of art different from what we think of as modern art where breaking with tradition, innovation and individuality are features that are highly praised. In the architectural tradition in which the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* was composed certain rules were not optional – proportion was (and is still) seen as an essence of beauty. In fact without the right proportions the gods would not settle in the temple or sculpture. Thus while, as we shall see later (chapter flexibility below), the artist or architect had a fairly large amount of freedom, certain rules needed to be followed. At the same time certain traditions were carried on without texts, as part of the artists’ tradition. On the other hand Meister tells us that “Such ‘scientific’ texts [*śāstras*] were written as much to provide a ritual validation for the construction of temples – as part of a received body of sacred knowledge as give guidance to masons or sculptors.”<sup>501</sup> Michell’s thesis that rules are an intermediate step facilitating the translation of theology into architectural form is rather different than Meister’s statement that *śāstra* justifies temple construction. These two

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<sup>498</sup> George Michell, *The Hindu Temple*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1977/1994:78.

<sup>499</sup> Michell, 1994:78.

<sup>500</sup> Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *The Transformation of Nature in Art*, originally published by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, republished by South Asia Books, 1934/1994:24-25.,

<sup>501</sup> Michael Meister, “De- and Re-Constructing the Indian Temple”, *Art Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 4, *New Approaches to South Asian Art*. (Winter, 1990), pp. 395-400. Stable URL:

[http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0004-](http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0004-3249%28199024%2949%3A4%3C395%3ADARTIT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-J)

[3249%28199024%2949%3A4%3C395%3ADARTIT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-J](http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0004-3249%28199024%2949%3A4%3C395%3ADARTIT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-J), p 395

metanarratives articulating the role of *śilpa śāstra*, though contradictory, need not be mutually exclusive.

Kramrisch states that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* “is a metaphysical plan of the temple”, but that “this does not imply an identity of the actual plan of the temple with the *maṇḍala*.”<sup>502</sup> Meister (as noted above in the chapter on previous research) on the other hand challenges this view by comparing the drawing of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* with the actual layout of real temples. His conclusion is that the *maṇḍala* did provide the architect with a very practical, yet flexible, tool a “proportioning diagram” or “sacred device” which allowed variability within a tradition displaying strong continuity over some ten centuries of temple construction. Thus, Meister argues that “by preserving the ritual grid, the architect preserved the sanctity of the ritual altar, mimicking in his act that of the priest constructing the altar, itself the re-creation of a continuing cosmic creation.”<sup>503</sup> This view resonates with that of Coomaraswamy, who stresses the importance of meticulous compliance with the canons of Indian image-making: “images made as directed, with all their members complete, are attractive and merit-yielding; those [made] otherwise are destructive of life and ever increase sorrow”<sup>504</sup>. A statement that is close to what many *śilpa śāstras* say. Thus an image or a construction must be kept within certain limits in order to convey beauty, give merit and be attractive to the god for whom it is intended. The idea of beauty as something that has rules – proportion being the most significant – is not restricted to architecture in the Indian tradition. Beauty is connected to *rasa* the indigenous theory of aesthetics and the theory of *rasa* (essence or taste) plays a significant role in all kinds of arts; performing arts, literary as well as visual arts<sup>505</sup>. The *śilpa śāstras* prescribe ritually informed architecture that conforms to the tradition. At the same time, they leave plenty of room for development of the art and as well as for the artist’s creativity.

Jones has noticed that there are three sorts of claims to the authority of standardized architectural stipulations: 1. that “there are certain universally applicable rhythms and proportions,” seen in nature and mathematics and replicated in architecture; 2. that god decreed certain ritual-architectural prescriptions, which should be followed in architectural design; 3. prestigious ancestors have established patterns that ought to be replicated in architecture. As Jones notes these categories are not mutually exclusive.<sup>506</sup> It is clear that they all apply to the construction of the Hindu temple. Proportions, rhythm and alignment with the directions all fall within the first stipulation, while many *śilpa śāstras* such as the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* fall within the second. Again others, *śāstras* emphasize the third type depending on who supposedly composed them. While the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* narrator is a god, Viṣṇu in his form as Hayaśīrṣa, other texts, such

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<sup>502</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/2007:1.37, note 58 and p. 228.

<sup>503</sup> Meister “Measurement and Proportion in Hindu Temple Architecture” *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews*, Volume 10, Number 3, September 1985, pp. 248-258(11), online access <http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/maney/isr/1985/00000010/00000003/art00011>, 249-51.

<sup>504</sup> Coomaraswamy, 1934/1994:114.

<sup>505</sup> For more on the theory of *rasa* see for example J. L. Masson and M. V. Patwardhan, *Aesthetic rapture; the rasādhyāya of the Nāṭyaśāstra*, Poona, Deccan College, Postgraduate and Research Institute, 1970. Vidhya Dehejia has a short introduction to *rasa* in chapter one of her book *Indian Art*, Phaidon Press, London, 1997 reprint 2010.

<sup>506</sup> Jones, 2000:48.

as the *Samarāṅgana Sūtradhāra* attributed to Bhubhojan Deva, have a human as the composer.

That texts, such as the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Agni Purāṇa*, mainly focus on the ritual confirmation of the structure rather than specific architectural details beyond proportioning, stems from the fact that they are intended as ritual manuals more actual *śilpa śāstra*, per se. The text deals with actual architectural details in a vague fashion. The focus on the other hand, narrows on ritually significant moments in the construction. In the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Agni Purāṇa* there is more text actually devoted to consecration and other rituals than actual descriptions of construction.<sup>507</sup> The quantity of rituals described gives the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Agni Purāṇa* a very different appearance than *śilpa śāstra* texts, such as the *Mānasāra* and the *Mayamatam*. These texts contain very detailed measurements, proportions, etc. but are virtually silent about rituals. The one ritual *śilpa śāstras* do discuss in any length is the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. This fact has caused scholars to propose that the *maṇḍala* has a vernacular origin, i.e. that it is part of the architectural tradition rather than the brāhminical<sup>508</sup>. There are two categories of texts serving different purposes *śilpa śāstra* and ritual manual. It is possible to argue that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* would fall in the *makara* category to which Ślāczka assigns the *Kaśyapa Śilpa*<sup>509</sup>. Ślāczka argues that the *Kaśyapa Śilpa* falls within both categories of ritual and *śilpa śāstra*. While the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, on the one hand, provides information mainly on ritual, it also provides details with regards to the layout of a temple, thickness of walls, height, number of pillars in *maṇḍapas* and their relative location to the *garbhagrha*. On the other hand, it provides little detail with regards to embellishments besides the doorframe. While the text does discuss the features of gods and goddesses to be carved (or painted) it generally says little about their placement, and occasionally the text is satisfied by merely mentioning their names, such as in the chapter on *yoginis*<sup>510</sup>.

Texts, such as the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Agni Purāṇa*, were composed to emphasize the importance of the temple consecration rituals. These texts were not written for someone whose main interest is the actual making of temples, sculptures and the like. It was composed to make sure people know the basics, the fruits of certain actions, such as making temples. For example, the author/ compiler of the *Agni Purāṇa* says (in chapter 38) that just thinking of building a temple frees one from the sins of 100 births. Perhaps, rather than being written by/ for *śilpins* it is written for the priests, those who need to know about rituals; those who need the basic knowledge of temples, sculptures,

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<sup>507</sup> See Appendix 4 for 'table of contents' of the rest of the first *paṭala* of *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*.

<sup>508</sup> See, for example, Michael Meister, "Early Architecture and Its Transformations: New Evidence for Vernacular Origins for the Indian Temple." (In *The Temple in South Asia*, ed. Adam Hardy (vol. 2, proceedings of the 18th conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists), London: British Association for South Asian Studies, The British Academy, 2007:1-19).

<sup>509</sup> Ślāczka, 2007:11.

<sup>510</sup> *Pañcarātra* texts should, traditionally, have four parts: *jñāna* (knowledge), *yoga*, (concentration); *kriyā* (making), and *caryā* (doing) (Schrader 1916/1973:23). However, the only text that conforms to this pattern is the *Pādma Saṃhitā*. Most of the later *Samhitās* deal only with *kriyā* and *caryā*. The word *kriyā* means action, work, deed, etc. *Kriyā*, in the *Samhitās*, covers ritualistic actions beginning with ploughing and ending with consecration. (V. Varadachari and G.C. Tripathi, *Īśvarasaṃhitā*, vol 1 Introduction, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, 2009:144) Thus, The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* also be called a work dealing with (mainly) *kriyā*.



and their placement. This, I would argue, is the point of the rest of the *Agni Purāṇa*, in which, ritually important points of all possible aspects of life are included such as grammar, meter, bathing rituals, rituals for kings etc. It is also possible that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is written for the *yajamāna* since several chapters in the beginning discuss the qualifications of the *ācārya*; providing a checklist for someone who wants to build a temple to ensure success. Other portions of the text resemble a checklist rather than actual descriptions. For example, the descriptions of deities often are mere enumerations of what they should hold in their hands.

Within the complex system of proportioning based on the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* there is still a great deal of license in which way the artist/ architect may use his creativity in order to plan the temple. Probably, only a small elite set of specialists had even a rudimentary command of these operative abstract principles. Meister particularly emphasizes the secrecy, which he said increased over time, associated with the knowledge of ritual grids. Meister documents the extreme care with which a Hindu architect would select only a few disciples who would be taught the principles behind the architecture they had created<sup>511</sup>. Meister relates this phenomenon to contemporary times. Indeed “few people are cognizant of the logic behind the architectural forms in which they live their daily lives; fewer still explicitly understand the subtleties of the structures in which they worship”<sup>512</sup>. Meister’s point is no doubt correct. Thus, on the one hand, before the advent of printed literature and general education, pre-modern systems of education, including ancient Hindu ones, were based on family, caste and guild-like groups. One learned by apprenticeship. On the other hand, and not unrelated to the phenomenon of guild secrecy, the *mokṣa*-oriented *jñāna*-s, from Upaniṣadic times to tantric sects, valorize and reward esoteric, specialist knowledge. Modern professional societies certainly share aspects of specialist knowledge and charisma with pre-modern guilds and castes.

If these standards of ‘correct’ proportioning and orientation are, generally, secret (or at least a highly privileged) knowledge, how do the majority of people, uneducated, and not participating in the rituals before and during construction, experience these architectural conventions? Is the adherence to the tradition of importance to them? And how do, if they do, these conventions affect their religious experience? Historically verifiable answers to these questions are, obviously, impossible. However, seeking to generalize, Alberti has noted that perfectly proportioned architecture (or art) engenders a nearly magical, certainly transrational sense of realization and fulfillment. No preparatory training, cultural cultivation or taste is required. According to Alberti to stand in front of the rightly proportioned (the beautiful) works of art automatically effects a profound transformation in that spectator and “contributes to the honest pleasure of the mind”<sup>513</sup>. This is a statement that seems to resonate with traditional Hindu artistic ideology. Right proportions are of central importance and it is what is emphasized in all manuals of art.

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<sup>511</sup> Michael Meister “Measurement and Proportion in Hindu Temple Architecture” *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews*, VOL. 10, NO.3, 1985,

<http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/maney/isr/1985/00000010/00000003/art00011>

<sup>512</sup> Jones, 2000:2.59.

<sup>513</sup> Alberti cited in David Freedberg *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1989. 44-47 Compare also Umberto Eco, *The Aesthetics of Thomas Aquinas*, transl. Hugh Bredin Cambridge Mass, Harvard University Press, 1988:85.

Indeed creating the right proportions may be the main purpose of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. This is a critical aspect setting *śilpa śāstra* apart from other brāhminical texts. The spatial fact of creating architecture – and particularly the phenomenon of proportion – interacts with mythological, theological, sociological, pictorial and narrative motives familiar from other genres of Sanskrit literature.

The *śilpa* texts constantly remind the reader (hearer) that adherence to the rules are of critical importance to the welfare of the community. There is the inducement (*phala śruti*) that the person who builds a temple will gain heaven, commonly not only for himself but for all his family in many generations. The benefit may also, more generally, encompass the entire cosmos. In addition the poor person who builds a small shrine will gain as much as a rich person who constructs a grand temple (*Agni Purāṇa* chapter 38.1-21<sup>514</sup>). The gods also will be made happy by this perfectly proportioned temple. Only through construction of this perfectly proportioned temple will the gods be enticed to take up residence and, thus, make their presence manifest – thus affording the devotees direct access to the divine powers<sup>515</sup>. The ritual architectural logic found in *śilpa śāstras* is not unlike (in a morphological sense) that of the Orthodox Christian art, which stresses that God transmits divine grace only through iconographic and architectural forms that demonstrate meticulous conformity to conventionalized standards<sup>516</sup>. The usage of grids are also supposed to help guard the temple<sup>517</sup>.

Thus, texts such as the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* simultaneously provide ritual validation for the temple construction and preserve a sacred and (more or less) secret knowledge regarding proportion and alignment, which can be appreciated after the fact by devotees lacking esoteric knowledge.

#### 4.6 Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra – manuscripts.

The translation is based on the edited edition published by the Oriental Society of Bengal in 1974. This edition is based on twelve different manuscripts. The 1974 edition is edited by Kali Kumar Dutta Shastri and has iconographical notes by Kalyan Kumar Das Gupta<sup>518</sup>. In addition to the 1974 edition I have examined the edition of 1952. The 1952

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<sup>514</sup> The *Agni Purāṇa* also tells us that the person who hoards his money and does not spend them is ignorant and fettered even when alive (38.22-6).

<sup>515</sup> Michael Meister “Measurement and Proportion in Hindu Temple Architecture” *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews*, VOL. 10, NO.3, 1985: 249, 256,

<http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/maney/isr/1985/00000010/00000003/art00011>

<sup>516</sup> See Margaret E. Kenna, Icons in Theory and Practice: An Orthodox Christian Example, *History of Religions*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (May, 1985), pp. 345-368,

The University of Chicago Press, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1062307>

<sup>517</sup> Michael Meister “Measurement and Proportion in Hindu Temple Architecture” *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews*, VOL. 10, NO.3, 1985:249, 256,

<http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/maney/isr/1985/00000010/00000003/art00011>

<sup>518</sup> Kali Kumar Dutta Shastri, ed., iconographical notes by Kalyan Kumar Das Gupta, *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra, ādi-kāṇḍa*, Bibliotheca Indica – A Collection of Oriental Works, The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1975/6.

edition was edited by Bhuban Mohan Sānkhyathīrtha, with a foreword by Dines Chandra Bhattacharya and Introduction by Kshitis Ch. Sarkar<sup>519</sup>.

The two published texts used as a basis for the translation utilize a total of twelve manuscripts. The variants are minor (mainly spelling mistakes, missing *anusvāra*, and different case endings). In most cases these variants create no (or minimal) difference in meaning. The second printed edition, published in 1975/6, is a critical edition which uses all the known manuscripts. Both publications contain only the *ādi kāṇḍa*. The other three *kāṇḍas* are supposed to be published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I have not been able to locate this publication.

The following is a list of the manuscripts used in the published texts.

1. The Varendra Research Society has three manuscripts (which are labeled A, B and C in both editions), on which their edition of the first *kāṇḍa* was based (ed. by Bhuban Mohan Sānkhyathīrtha). The variants supplied in footnotes are minor, mainly they are obvious mistakes in one or two manuscripts. (Generally A gives the better reading, and B and C have more mistakes.) There are a few instances where one of the manuscripts (A) omits half of a verse. The Varendra Research Society was closed in 1963 – the main people left East Pakistan after partition.
2. The only complete manuscript is in Oriya script and located in the Adyar library, Madras (now Chennai)<sup>520</sup>. Daniel Smith used the Adyar Library manuscript as well as the published book from the Varendra Research Society for his monograph *Vaiṣṇava Iconography* (1969)<sup>521</sup>. Das Gupta has produced a *nāgarī* copy of the Adyar library manuscript. This copy is owned by the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. The Swaminarayan Aksharpath in Gujarat has published a *Catalogue of Pañcarātra Saṃhitā*, edited by Sadhu Parampurushdas (Navya Vyakaranacharya) and Sadhu Shrutiprakashdas (Vidyāvaridhi Sarvadarshanacharya). They claim that “the manuscript of Hayaśīrṣa Saṃhitā at the Adyar Library does not pertain to Pāñcarātra, but it is about mantra śāstra”. (2002:76). However, they do list a Hayagrīva tantra manuscript in the Adyar Library<sup>522</sup>.
3. The oldest manuscript of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* dated 1453 *Śakābda*, (that is 1531 CE). The manuscript is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris<sup>523</sup>. This is Bibl. Nationale Manuscript No. 848. A photo copy is held by the Asiatic Society of Bengal ASB. Ms. No. V.A. 6. (13390). It is a palm-leaf manuscript in Bengali script. It contains *ādi* and *saṃkarṣaṇa kāṇḍas* in 126 folios, (manuscript D in the critical edition)<sup>524</sup>.

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<sup>519</sup> Bhuban Mohan Sānkhyathīrtha, with a foreword by Dines Chandra Bhattacharya and and Introduction by Kshitis Ch. Sarkar, *The Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra (an ancient treatise on architecture and consecration of images)*, vol 1, *ādikāṇḍa, paṭalaḥ* 1-14, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi (East Bengal), 1952.

<sup>520</sup> According to Smith this manuscript is ALR ms. 36.A.1 (D/p).

<sup>521</sup> Smith, 1969:306.

<sup>522</sup> According to them 26.E.11, shelf no 71400, Grantha on leaf, fol 5+14.

<sup>523</sup> In an article from 1989, Das Gupta mentions that he is planning to edit and publish the text but I have not been able to locate it. Das Gupta, “The Pāñcarātra tradition and Brahmānical iconography” in Dallapiccola *Shastric Traditions in Indian Art* 1989:73 note 6.

<sup>524</sup> Sastri, 1975/6:vii.

4. Calcutta Sanskrit College Manuscript, No Tantra 1531. A paper manuscript in old Bengali script, 117 folios, incomplete and worn out. The manuscript gives the *ādikāṇḍa*, (with a reading close to that of abcd above) and ends abruptly, close to the end of *Avabhṛtasnānapāṭala* of the *Samkarṣaṇakāṇḍa*. It gives the *Narasimhavidyāpāṭala* separated from the *Narasimhapraṭiṣṭhāpāṭala*, though it is not a separate *pāṭala*. It omits the *Kūpavāpīpratiṣṭhāpāṭala*. (E in the critical edition)<sup>525</sup>.
5. Sanskrit College, Calcutta, No. Tantra 158. Also an incomplete and worn out paper manuscript in Bengali script. It contains 54 folios. It contains the whole of the *ādikāṇḍa* and the *saṃkarṣaṇakāṇḍa* up to the *caturmukhasthāpanapāṭala*. At the end there are two folios containing different matters. (F in the critical edition)<sup>526</sup>.
6. Sanskrit College Manuscript no. Tantra, 1549. It contains 37 stray folios, mostly from the *ādikāṇḍa*. Folios marked 60-90 are intact and consecutive. Others are mutilated and worn out. It seems to have some portions from manuscript F (above) wrongly separated. It ends with a note “*Śrīcandramādhavanyāyavāgīśasya pustīyam*”<sup>527</sup>.
7. Three manuscripts belong to the private library of the Late Bhuvanamohana Sāṃkhyatīrtha, inherited by Sri Haripada Kavyatīrtha, who has prepared a press copy of the *Samkarṣaṇakāṇḍa*. (I have not been able to locate a publication of it yet). All are paper manuscripts in Bengali script (labeled H, I and J in the critical edition)<sup>528</sup>.
8. Adyar Library Ms. No. TR 567-1, vol. I and II. copied by one Jagannātha Mahīśura in 1851 CE It is complete in all four *kāṇḍas* of the work. A copy, in *nāgarī* script, is owned by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, ASB. No. III. H. 444-447, containing 842 pages in all. (Labeled K in the critical edition).<sup>529</sup>
9. This manuscript, labeled L in the critical edition, is similar to that of the Adyar manuscripts but the order of the *pāṭalas* vary widely. The manuscript has 145 pages and gives whole of the *saurakāṇḍa* in 40 *pāṭalas*. The manuscript is dated to Śaka 1574 (i.e. 1652 CE). The manuscript originally belonged to Śrī Manomohana Devaśarmā of the Ishapsahi Pargana and now belongs to Pandit Manindra Mohan Chowdhury of Malda, West Bengal.<sup>530</sup>

In the introduction to the critical edition, Kali Kumar Dutta Sastri mentions that they have found four additional manuscripts (besides the twelve included in the 1976 edition). One of which contains the *ādikāṇḍa*. While he writes that the results from studying this will be an appendix to the book, there is no such appendix. He does not say anything further, except that the manuscript is incomplete<sup>531</sup>.

<sup>525</sup> Sastri, 1975/6:vii-viii.

<sup>526</sup> Sastri, 1975/6:p viii.

<sup>527</sup> Sastri, 1975/6:p viii.

<sup>528</sup> Sastri, 1975/6:viii.

<sup>529</sup> Sastri, 1975/6:viii.

<sup>530</sup> Sastri, 1975/6:viii-ix.

<sup>531</sup> Sastri notes that four more manuscripts were found of the work, two with the *Samkarṣaṇa kāṇḍa* (incomplete) one of the *ādikāṇḍa* (incomplete) and one of the *Śrīvivāhapāṭala* (a chapter of the *Samkarṣaṇakāṇḍa*), complete (Sastri, 1975/6:ix).

In addition to the above, I have found a reference to a manuscript in the India Office Library in London (MS. no. 896), which Enamul Haque used in his book “Bengal Sculptures – Hindu Iconography up to c. 1250 A. D.”<sup>532</sup>.

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<sup>532</sup> Bangladesh National Museum, Dhaka, 1992 (based on Haque’s dissertation from 1973).

## 5 The Pāñcarātra Tradition

The Pāñcarātra tradition, the Vaiṣṇava Tantric tradition within which the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* was produced, is the oldest surviving Viṣṇuite tradition. Sanjukta Gupta states that “The influence of its tenets on later Viṣṇuism has undoubtedly been great, but has never been thoroughly explored. Despite change ... the ritual worship described in the old Pāñcarātra texts is still performed today in many of the famous temples in southern India and in some in the north”<sup>533</sup>. The change or development of ritual practice could certainly be studied through extant texts, but with the exception of Gupta’s own article on initiation<sup>534</sup> I have not found much scholarship on this subject. Rituals have continually developed and changed and we must assume that only certain versions were ever canonized in the literature. There was never a singular origin of Pāñcarātra praxis. The Pāñcarātra sect developed from one open to all regardless of caste, sex, etc., which required *tantric* initiation. It developed into a sect favoring public temple rituals, upholding Brāhmaṇas but excluding the lower cast (*śūdras*) from rituals as well as from temples, and including *Vedic* traditions. While contemporary researchers may feel attracted to the early, non-brāhminized/ non-Sanskritized<sup>535</sup> tantric sects, there seems to be no emic (insider) basis for describing the process of Sanskritization as corruption. The focus in this chapter is on the Pāñcarātra theology and philosophy as well as the development of the sect from a private or secret *tantric* centered towards a public temple centered one. This brief account of the philosophical ideas will focus on what is important for the understanding of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. These include the idea of *vyūhas* (manifestations) of *Vāsudeva* and the importance of *śakti*. The chapter ends with a discussion of Pāñcarātra literature and situates the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* within the *Pāñcarātra* tradition<sup>536</sup>.

When Otto Schrader published his *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnyā Saṃhitā* in 1916, he thought that his book would be a ‘provisional foundation’ for ‘future students of this unexplored field’<sup>537</sup>. He probably did not think it would take long before the field was explored in more than a few articles. Marion Rastelli states, in the beginning of her first book, that the Pāñcarātra is under-researched:

Die religiöse Tradition des Pāñcarātra, ihre historische Entwicklung, ihre Philosophie und ihr System von rituellen Handlungen ist von der wissenschaftlichen Forschung erst wenig erschlossen. Was heute über sie bekannt ist, ist hauptsächlich von der Studie der Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā durch F.O. Schrader und des Lakṣmītantra, das durch eine Übersetzung von

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<sup>533</sup> Sanjukta Gupta, *Lakṣmī Tantra, A Pāñcarātra Text*, Brill, Leiden, republished by Motilall Banarasidass 1972/2003:xv.

<sup>534</sup> Gupta, Sanjukta “The Changing Pattern of Pāñcarātra Initiation. A Case Study in the Reinterpretation of Ritual”, in Kloppenborg, Ria ed. *Selected Studies on Ritual in the Indian Religions*, Brill, Leiden 1983:69-91.

<sup>535</sup> Sanskritize is a term coined by Mysore Narasimhachar Srinivas in his *Social Change in Modern India*, (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1966) and *Religion among the Coorgs of South India*, (Asia Pub. House, New York, 1965, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003).

<sup>536</sup> As this is a brief account the interested reader is advised to search further information in the literature utilized, which is mentioned in the footnotes.

<sup>537</sup> Schrader, 1916/1973:1.

S. Gupta leichter zugänglich wurde, bestimmt nur kleine Studien befassen sich auch mit Abschnitten aus anderen Saṃhitās<sup>538</sup>.

Since Rastelli wrote this a few new studies have been published, mainly by Rastelli and Oberhammer (both in Vienna) and Goudriaan and Gupta (respectively, in Holland and England).

## 5.1 The Name Pāñcarātra

Space, wind, fire, water and earth, these are called *rātris*, for they are the non-sentient elements, and which are predominated by darkness. (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 4.2 ).

Space, wind, fire, water and earth, these are the *pañcaratras*, which are the non-sentient things surpassed by darkness, which are abandoned by *pañcaratrinis*. (*Agni Purāṇa* 39.7cd-8ab<sup>539</sup>).

The two verses, from the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Agni Purāṇa* respectively, initiate us into the question of what the name *Pāñcarātra* means and how it is used in the texts. Several scholars, such as van Buitenen<sup>540</sup>, Banerjea<sup>541</sup>, Raghavan<sup>542</sup>, Smith<sup>543</sup>, Matsubara<sup>544</sup> and Neevel<sup>545</sup> have discussed the origin and meaning of the name ‘Pāñcarātra’. Clearly the name has developed from a term that at some point had an intention to name, or point to some phenomenon. The meaning now is unclear, or lost. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* verse above clearly suggests that the *rātra* refers to the elements: space, wind, fire and earth. The *Agni Purāṇa* associates the name *pañcarātra* with the same catalogue. The derivative *pāñcarātra* could then be taken to mean the texts where such an enumeration is expanded upon, the soteriological practice which aims to transcend the five *tamasic* elements, or the *saṅga* (fellowship) dedicated to knowing and transcending these five *tamasic* elements. The quotations implicit divide reality into sentient and insentient. The mention of *tamas* invokes the three *gunas*: *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. Thus, the enumeration of five elements occurs in dialogue with other ways of enumerating and valorizing phenomena, familiar to Vedantā and Sāṃkhya and other

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<sup>538</sup> Rastelli, *Philosophisch-theologische Grundanschauungen der Jayākhyasaṃhitā: mit einer Darstellung des täglichen Rituals*, Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, Nr. 33., Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 1999:23.

<sup>539</sup> *ākaśavāyutejāmbubhūretāḥ pañcarātrayaḥ// acaītanīyāstomodrikṭāḥ pañcarātrivivarjitāḥ// Agni Purāṇa* 39.7cd-8ab

<sup>540</sup> J. A. B van Buitenen, “The name ‘Pāñcarātra’”. *History of Religions* I.2, Chicago, 1962:291-9.

<sup>541</sup> Banerjea, J. N., *Paurāṇic and Tāntric Religion (early Phase)*, Calcutta University Press, Calcutta, 1966.

<sup>542</sup> V. Raghavan, “The Name Pāñcarātra: With an Analysis of the Sanatcumāra-Saṃhitā in Manuscript”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 85, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1965), pp. 73-79, American Oriental Society, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/597707>

<sup>543</sup> Smith, Daniel “A typological survey of definitions: the name ‘Pāñcarātra’ – utilizing texts of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās” in *Journal of Oriental Research*, 34-35, Madras, 1973:102-127.

<sup>544</sup> Mitsunori Matsubara, *Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās and early Vaiṣṇava Theology with a Translation and Critical Notes from Chapters on Theology in the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*. Motilal Banarasidass Publishers, Delhi, 1994.

<sup>545</sup> Walter G. Neevel, Jr., *Yāmuna’s Vedānta and Pāñcarātra: Integrating the Classical and the Popular*, Harvard Dissertations in Religion, Scholars Press, Missoula, Montana, 1977.

texts, including the *Bhagavad Gītā*, relate diagnostic schema to each other in order to present a path to *mokṣa*. The *Gītā*, for instance, relates the opposites *daivic/ asuric* to the three *gunas*: *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. Tamoguṇa is regularly depicted as dark and is associated with sleep. Thus, *rātra* suggests ‘predominated by *tamas*’.

Van Buitenen quotes Vijñāneśvara’s *Mitākṣara* dealing (among other topics) with the residence of a *sannyāsi*. Vijñāneśvara cites Kāṇva:

He should stay for one night in a village and for five nights in a city.  
For the rainy season or at other times in rain he should stay for four months.<sup>546</sup>

Van Buitenen’s conclusion is that a Pāñcarātrika was originally an ‘itinerant religious recluse, who followed the characteristic five-night rule, by which he was bound to move out of town after every five nights to stay a night in a village’<sup>547</sup>. Thus van Buitenen thinks that originally the Pāñcarātrika had nothing to do with doctrine but at some point, in regions with strong Vaiṣṇava centers, the term Pāñcarātrika came to denote a devotee of Nārāyaṇa or Kṛṣṇa. Eventually thus the name Pāñcarātrika became a synonym for a devotee of Nārāyaṇa or Kṛṣṇa. Then when the Pāñcarātra rule was no longer used the term became re-analyzed as one who follows the Pāñcarātra system<sup>548</sup>.

Banerjea also deals with the problem of the name Pāñcarātra. He does not come up with a conclusion that he finds convincing, though he likes the explanation of the term *pāñca* as coming from the five-fold nature of Vāsudeva (*para*, *vyūha*, *vibhava*, *antaryāmin* and *arcā*), but cannot explain the second part of the word, *rātra* satisfactorily<sup>549</sup>. Thus Banerjea leaves the question as to what the word Pāñcarātra means open. Furthermore there is no indication that the term Pāñcarātra has ever been used to indicate the five-fold nature of Vāsudeva.

V. Raghavan concludes that the name is based on blocks of teaching that were once delivered in nightly discourses to particular sages. The sections are preserved in the *Sanatkumāra-saṃhitā* as ‘rātras’. They were named after five ‘sages’ – Śiva, Brahmā, Indra, Ṛṣi<sup>550</sup> and Brahmṇaṣpati. The sections attest to a division and tradition in the school’s development that came to be the most highly regarded and helped to determine the epithet for the school itself<sup>551</sup>.

Smith concludes that the problem of the meaning of the term Pāñcarātra is as vexing to Western Indologists as it is to the followers of the sect itself. Furthermore he states that the explanations that Indologists have come up with have “little or nothing to do with the way the term is understood and used today by Pāñcarātrins”<sup>552</sup> and that the practitioners find the academic explanations beside the point<sup>553</sup>. Smith gives two ways in

<sup>546</sup> *ekarātram vased grāme nagare rātripañcakam/ varṣābhyo ’nyatra varṣāsu māsāṃs tu caturo vaset//* Quoted (without translation) in van Buitenen, 1962:299.

<sup>547</sup> Van Buitenen, 1962:299.

<sup>548</sup> Van Buitenen, 1962:299.

<sup>549</sup> Banerjea, 1966:42 and 34.

<sup>550</sup> Presumably one of the sages is called Ṛṣi, which just means sage, but otherwise there are only four sages.

<sup>551</sup> Raghavan, 1965:79

<sup>552</sup> Smith, 1973:116.

<sup>553</sup> Smith, 1973:116.



which the practitioners generally understand the term Pāñcarātra. The first one traces it to five *gotras* who were the original devotees of Viṣṇu. The second one is a theological explanation understanding *pañca* to refer to the Lord's five modes of being and *rātra* to mean 'give', thus implying that the Pāñcarātra system teaches about the five modes of God's self-giving<sup>554</sup>.

Matsubara's take on the word Pāñcarātra is different from those of the other scholars. Matsubara has searched out all the passages where the word occurs<sup>555</sup> and then tried to explain the term from those occurrences. He says, "Strangely, and quite unexpectedly, the usage shows the word never indicated the name of a sect"<sup>556</sup>. He shows how the word Pāñcarātra instead has been used for a sacred text (called an *upaniṣad*, *tantra*, *saṃhitā*, *āgama*, or *śāstra*) and a system (*jñānam*) or type of ritualism as revealed in scriptures<sup>557</sup>. Thus the people following that system were referred to by various compounds such as *pāñcarātra-vit*, *-priya*, *-viśārada*, *-vicakṣana*, and *-parāyaṇa* or by the derivatives *pāñcarātrika* and *pañcarātrin*<sup>558</sup>.

Neevel agrees with Matsubara's conclusion that the word Pāñcarātra means the system or doctrine revealed in the Pāñcarātra texts. Thus Neevel uses the term Pañcarātra to refer to the sacred revelation or the scriptures (*āgamas*, *tantras* etc.), in which the revelation is contained, and the derivative Pāñcarātra to refer to the system or tradition based on that revelation<sup>559</sup>. Neevel then analyses what he calls the locus classicus of the Pāñcarātrika use of the term Pañcarātra as the name of a sacred revelation (*Mahābhārata* 12.321.27-326.97, 100-101). Neevel thinks that it is clear from this passage that the term Pañcarātra is the title of an *upaniṣad* or a dialogue between Nārāyaṇa and Nārada. He also thinks that *pañca* must refer to the five elements (as it is the only set of five presented in this passage) and *rātra* to mean night in the sense of dissolution – and thus the term would mean "the dissolution of the five physical elements" and be a symbolic image for the attainment of *mokṣa* and union with Nārāyaṇa through the knowledge revealed in the text<sup>560</sup>. As we noted above, the *Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra* and the *Agni Purāṇa* seems to take the term *rātra* and Pañcarātra to refer to the elements and the predominance of *tamoguna*. Neevel's explanation of the meaning of the term does shed light on the verse from our text and the verse from the *Agni Purāṇa*. But while the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* tells us that sky, wind, fire and earth are called *rātras*, and the *Agni Purāṇa* states that they are called *pañcaratra*, they do not seem to associate *rātra* with dissolution or emancipation.

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* itself uses the term Pañcarātra to name a system of thought, "ancient Pañcarātra", which Viṣṇu tells to Brahmā (1.4, 6, 25, and 2.1). However the term *pañcarātraviśāradaḥ*, "the one who is learned in Pañcarātra" (2.13, and 4.8), does not show the lengthening of the *ā* that Nevel discussed (as mentioned above). In the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Agni Purāṇa*, the term Pañcarātra refers to the elements. It seems possible that Nevel is right in his assumption that *rātra* was a

<sup>554</sup> Smith, 1973:116.

<sup>555</sup> It seems like he used the places Smith quotes in his article, discussed above.

<sup>556</sup> Matsubara, 1994:6.

<sup>557</sup> Matsubara, 1994:7.

<sup>558</sup> Matsubara, 1994:10.

<sup>559</sup> Neevel, 1977:8.

<sup>560</sup> Neevel, 1977:9-10.

metaphor for *mokṣa* – the highest goal. However, in the quotations *rātra* seems to be taken as an allusion to *tamoguna*. The term is suggestive and each of the aforementioned scholars adds to our understanding of ‘*pāñcarātra*’.

## 5.2 Pāñcarātra history

He should be a worshipper of the same deity<sup>561</sup>. He should avoid food from *śūdras*. When it is not [possible to] obtain a *brāhmaṇa*, a *kṣatriya* can [be the authority] for *vaiśyas* and *śūdras*. 15<sup>562</sup>

When not obtaining a *kṣatriya*, a *vaiśya* can be arranged for the *śūdras*. But not at any time is a *śūdra* allowed to be an *ācārya*. 16 (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 2.15-16)

The early Pāñcarātra sect was apparently open to all regardless of gender and social status. Thus, both women and, from a Sanskrit view-point, low-caste people (*śūdras*) were initiated into the group. As the quote from the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* above shows this characteristic of the sect did not survive sanskritization. What we call openness was highly criticized by other brāhminical groups. To explore how other brāhminical or sanskritized groups viewed the Pāñcarātra movement, Dasgupta examines Purāṇic material. According to Dasgupta, the *Kūrma Purāṇa* tells us that the following sects were equated with the Pañcarātrins:

[Followers of] the Kāpāla<sup>563</sup>Gāruda, Śākta, the Bhairava, from the east to the west (*pūrva-pāścimaṃ*), the Pañcarātra and Pāśupata [and] the other by thousands [are all equated] (*Kūrma Purāṇa* ch. 15 or 16)<sup>564</sup>.

Dasgupta tells us that the *Kūrma Purāṇa* says the “great sinners”, the Pañcarātrins, were produced as a result of killing cows in some other birth and that they were absolutely non-Vedic, and that the literature of Śāktas, Śaivas and Pañcarātrins was revealed for the delusion of mankind<sup>565</sup>. From this it is clear that the Pāñcarātras were viewed as heterodox, non-normative, non-Brāhminical, and degraded.

Dasgupta also cites the *Skanda Purāṇa*:

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<sup>561</sup> Presumably this means the same deity as that of the *yajamāna*.

<sup>562</sup> *Hari Bakta Vilāsa* 19.97

<sup>563</sup> A Śaivaite sect (left handed order) characterised carrying skulls of men in the form of garlands and eating and drinking from them. (Apte)

<sup>564</sup> My translation, Dasgupta does not provide a translation. I have not found this verse in the *Kūrma Purāṇa* editions that I have looked at. Dasgupta used a manuscript which might explain why the verse is not in the printed editions I have. I have followed Dasgupta’s interpretation of the verse in my translation. *kāpālaṃ gāruḍaṃ śāktaṃ, bhairavaṃ pūrva-pāścimaṃ, pañca-rātraṃ, pāśupataṃ tathānyāni sahasraśaḥ. // (Kūrma Purāṇa ch 15 or 16?)*

Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy, Volume III*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1940/2009:19

<sup>565</sup> Dasgupta, 1968: vol II, 18.

The multitude initiated in the Pañcarātras and the Kāpālas and also the Kākamukhas and the Śāktas are .....<sup>566</sup>

Dasgupta further notes that the Pañcarātras are “strongly denounced” in the *Vaśiṣṭha Saṃhitā*, *Śāmba Purāṇa*, *Sūta Saṃhitā* as “great sinners and absolutely non-Vedic”<sup>567</sup>. Further he notes that the *Āśvalāyana Smṛti* says that no one but an outcaste would accept the marks recommended by the Pañcarātras because they initiate even women and *śūdras*<sup>568</sup>. From the point of view of the brāhminical critics the Pāñcarātras were abominable.

At the time of their composition, many texts from the various sects who saw *Viṣṇu* as the highest god were not grouped under a common term, like Vaiṣṇava, as we are used to grouping them. Banerjea asserts that the *Pādma Tantra* says (in Banerjea’s translation): “*Sūri, Suhṛit, Bhāgavata, Sātvata, Pañcakālavit, Ekāntika, Tanmaya* and *Pāñcarātrika* are different designations of this Bhakti cult”<sup>569</sup>. Banerjea also points out that the term *Vaiṣṇava* is absent<sup>570</sup>. And in fact, in light of the discussion of Pāñcarātras as despised by other groups, brāhminical groups would probably have been rather upset if they had been bunched together with the Pāñcarātras as Vaiṣṇava.

Early Pāñcarātras would have been in opposition to many other groups in society, in particular those adhering to Vedic tradition and the differentiation between castes. The later Pāñcarātras developed into a more mainstream, orthodox sect with rituals carried out by Brāhmin priests in official ceremonies in temples; ceremonies to which *śūdras* (and possibly women?) were not invited. Brāhmaṇaization was not absolute, however. Gonda notes that, according to the Viṣṇuite Pāñcarātras, a casteless Viṣṇuite ranks higher than a non-Viṣṇuite Brāhmin<sup>571</sup>. From a sect open to all, without differentiation by sex or social class, the *Pāñcarātra* developed into a group whose highest grade of membership was open only to the highest caste. Accommodating Vedic orthodoxy, the tradition, with its theology of self-surrender to god and more public ritualism, is now known as *Srī-Vaiṣṇava*<sup>572</sup>. While Gonda is no doubt correct in asserting that devotion to Viṣṇu is considered more salvific than cast markings, a *sūdra* is not allowed to reach the highest level within the Pāñcarātra sect (*Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* 2.15-16). However, it seems like all Pāñcarātrins may participate in rituals not open to those outside the sect<sup>573</sup>. As the myth of Madhu and Kaiṭabha shows, Veda without devotion to Viṣṇu was considered

<sup>566</sup> *pañcarātre ca kāpāle, tathā kālamukeḥ pi ca/*

*śākte ca dīkṣitā yūyaṃ bhaveta brāhmaṇādhamāḥ//* (without translation, and no chapter or verse nrs, Surendranath Dasgupta says it is quoted from Bhaṭṭogḥī Dīkṣita in his *Tattva-kaustubha*, MS. p. 4, Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy, Volume III*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1940/2009:19).

<sup>567</sup> Dasgupta, 1968: vol II, 19.

<sup>568</sup> Dasgupta, 1968: vol II, 20.

<sup>569</sup> Banerjea, 1966:18. He cites the Sanskrit as:

*sūrisuhṛit bhāgavatas sāttvataḥ pañcakālavit/*

*ekāntikas tanmayaścha pāñcarātrikaityapi/* (*Pādma Tantra*, no versnumbers provided).

Banerjea implies (or possibly carries over from another verse) the “different designations of this Bhakti cult”.

<sup>570</sup> Banerjea, 1966:18.

<sup>571</sup> Gonda, 1996:93.

<sup>572</sup> Gupta, 1983:70.

<sup>573</sup> See 5.1-3 in the translation below.

rajasic by the tradition. Thus, Gonda's assertion that a low caste Vaiṣṇava is better off than a non-Vaiṣṇava brāhmaṇa is born out of statements in texts such as the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. The ultimate importance of devotion to Viṣṇu is also emphasized in the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

Hazra traces the earliest document of the Pāñcarātras to the Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata* (xii.335-51). There we are told that seven *citra-sikhaṇḍin ṛṣis* proclaimed, on Mount Meru, a *śāstra* that was *saṃmita* (like) the four Vedas (*Mahābhārata* xii.335.27b-29a). It is essential that the text state that this *śāstra* was for the people (*Mahābhārata* xii.335.29a, 39). Hazra says that we do not know if any Pāñcarātra work was actually ascribed to the seven *citra-sikhaṇḍin ṛṣis*. However, the reference to making the scripture, meant for commoners, "conform to the four Vedas, is important in that it implies the originally non-Vedic, if not also anti-Vedic, character of the ideas and practices of the Pāñcarātra system"<sup>574</sup>. Hazra thus seems to assume a pre-*Mahābhārata* Pāñcarātra tradition which was originally 'non-Vedic'. Traditionally, one of the purposes ascribed to the *Mahābhārata* is to transmit the Vedas in a form that common people could understand and have access to. This is not an anti-Vedic tradition however. I do not agree that a *Mahābhārata* conforming to the Vedas suggests that the Pāñcarātrins were anti-Vedic. To conform means to match or play by the rules, that is to go along with the Vedas. Yāmuna speaks of the Pāñcarātra texts as containing a brief summary of the teachings of the Vedas for the easy and immediate use of those devotees who cannot devote time to study the vast Vedic literature<sup>575</sup>. While Yāmuna is much later than the *Mahābhārata* his writing does not necessarily indicate anti Vedic ideas. One might suppose, instead, that the Pāñcarātra sect operates on a different level of society – seeking to guide those who are not given a space within the Vedic tradition. Gonda agrees, saying "[t]he ritual of the very numerous Kṛṣṇaites has likewise developed from Pāñcarātra origin, which in its turn, though adopting many non-Vedic elements, had not severed its connections with the Vedic rites"<sup>576</sup>. That is, as we shall see in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, while Vedic rites are not the primary focus of the ritual life of a Pāñcarātrin, Vedic mantras and materials are employed in the rituals. There is criticism of non-Pāñcarātra Vedicism, but no hostility to Brāhmaṇas or the Vedas as such.

Closely related to the attitude toward the Vedas is the text's attitude toward Brāhmaṇas. The *Mahābhārata* says, "Know, O saintly king, the Sāṃkhya, the Yoga, the Pāñcarātra, the Vedas and the Pāśupata as knowledges holding different views"<sup>577</sup>. Early Vaiṣṇavism (as well as Śaivism) was, most probably, non-Brāhminical, since Vaiṣṇavas did not identify the Brāhmaṇa as the top of the social ladder just because of his birth<sup>578</sup>. Vaiṣṇavas were originally rather radical group, which initiated all people on more equal footing. This does not mean that the Pāñcarātra were not influenced by Brāhminical ideas. On the contrary, there were those who, though Viṣṇu or Śiva worshippers, still looked upon the Vedas as an authority, followed *smṛti* rules and paid attention to the *varnāśramadharmā*. Other groups valorized non-Brāhmaṇaical ideas and practices. The

<sup>574</sup> R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic records on Hindu rites and customs*, Motilall Banarasidass, Delhi, 1940/1975:198.

<sup>575</sup> Dasgupta, 1968: vol II, 18.

<sup>576</sup> Gonda, 1970:81.

<sup>577</sup> *Mahābhārata* xii.349.1 and 64.

<sup>578</sup> That is the late Vedic view depicted in the Puruṣa Sūkta, and mocked in the Buddhist Pāli Canon.

*Jayākhya Saṃhitā* divides the Pāñcarātra Vaiṣṇavas into several groups according to *saṃnyāsa*, their attachment to the sect and method of Viṣṇu worship<sup>579</sup>. Thus, the Pāñcarātra tradition was early on divided into multiple groups whose beliefs and practices differed. We have no reason to look for singular origin of the sect.

Sanjukta Gupta<sup>580</sup> has traced the change in the initiation patterns in the Pāñcarātra sect. Initially, according to Gupta, though it was restricted to initiate people, anyone, regardless of gender and social background could become initiated<sup>581</sup>. Gupta discusses the initiation rite as described in early Pāñcarātra texts: specifically the *Jayākhya*, *Paṅṣkara* and the *Śrīpraśna Saṃhitā*. She shows how these three texts, though emphasizing salvation and renunciation as goals, still retain the tantric view that religious practice (*sādhanā*) leads to worldly benefits (*bhoga*) and occult powers (*siddhi*). When the Pāñcarātra changes and public worship in temples become more prominent the texts idealize the goal of salvation (*mokṣa*) and *bhoga* and *siddhi* are seen as byproducts. Finally, the *sādhaka*, a category which originally indicated the final initiation, slowly disappeared from the sect. With the rise of the *bhakti* ideology, “the very idea of what the *sādhaka* was originally supposed to do [became] heretical, for man could no longer aspire to become identical with God”<sup>582</sup>. Gupta shows how the Pāñcarātra went from a sect restricted to those initiated, secret, and tantric, to one with public rituals, *bhakti* ideology and singling out of Brāhmaṇas. In other words, the group developed from a sect, despised by the surrounding society for their strange ideas, to a church of more mainstream ideas.

Most scholars, such as Schrader and Dasgupta, indicate that the *Pāñcarātras* are now only found in south India<sup>583</sup>. Judging from the spread of Pāñcarātra texts, the Pāñcarātras originated in Bengal (with likely influence from Kaśmīr), or the area around there, then became popular in Orissa, and finally spread south<sup>584</sup>. Again, the assumption of singular origin, favored by generations of Indologists, is now out of favor and we should probably assume multiple origins for the movement.

### 5.3 Pāñcarātra literature

In the world the sages contemplated the exposition of the [following] twenty five texts one by one. The *Hayaśirṣa* is said to be the foremost of the collected *tantras*. (*Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* 2.2)

The Pāñcarātra tradition produced a ‘voluminous and important religious literature’. Generally known as *saṃhitās*, they also include the *Lakṣmī Tantra*. “They tend to concentrate on cosmogonic and theological speculation and, above all, on ritual matter, especially temple construction and temple worship”<sup>585</sup>. A number of Pāñcarātra texts have been edited<sup>586</sup> but very few translated or discussed at any length<sup>587</sup>.

<sup>579</sup> Hazra, 1940/1975:203.

<sup>580</sup> Gupta, 1983:69-91.

<sup>581</sup> Gupta, 1983:69-70.

<sup>582</sup> Gupta, 1983:88-9.

<sup>583</sup> See for example Dasgupta, 1989:73 and Schrader, 1916/1973:18.

<sup>584</sup> Schrader, 1916/1973:18.

<sup>585</sup> Goudriaan and Gupta, *Hindu Tantric and Sakta literature*, O. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1981:105.

<sup>586</sup> For a detailed bibliography see Venkatachari K.K.A., *Pāñcarātra Nūl Viḷakkam*, Madras, 1967.

The earliest document of the Pāñcarātra tradition is considered to be the *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata* (xii.335-351)<sup>588</sup>. The most important texts of the tradition are the so-called *ratnatraya*, ‘triple gem’ – the *Jayākhya*<sup>589</sup>, *Sātvata*<sup>590</sup> and the *Pauṣkara Saṃhitā*<sup>591</sup>. Other important texts are the *Pārameśvara Saṃhitā*<sup>592</sup>, and the *Parama Saṃhitā*<sup>593</sup>. Besides the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* there are a few other Pāñcarātra texts that deal with temple construction, particularly the *Pādma Saṃhitā*. While the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is unique in its emphatic devotion to temple construction, image making and their associated rituals, other texts provide additional information. Another aspect that makes the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* unique is its north Indian origin. Most other Pāñcarātra texts that deal with temple architecture, the *Pādma Saṃhitā* being the most detailed, are of a south Indian origin.

Sanjukta Gupta thinks that it is unlikely that any of the Pāñcarātra scriptures are older than the fifth century CE. Gupta also mentions that these texts are all in Sanskrit, which means that there is an attempt to Sanskritize their subject matter. “The term ‘Sanskritize’ refers, of course, to more than language; it refers to an attempt to conform to the Brāhminical norms of Hindu civilization. Brāhmaṇas are the guardians of the Veda, the sole source of religious authority, and of Sanskrit, the language of the Veda”<sup>594</sup>. Thus the orientation of the Pāñcarātra toward mainstream, Brāhminical sects started early on, signified by the composition of texts in Sanskrit<sup>595</sup>. Sanskrit composition probably

<sup>587</sup> See bibliography for examples.

<sup>588</sup> Most scholars see the Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata* as the first textual evidence of the *ekānta* idea (See for example Bhandarkar, 1983:6ff, Gupta, 1983:69, and Schrader, 1916/1973:61 ff.). The *ekānta* - idea was a basis from which the Pāñcarātra tradition developed. The *ekānta* concept was the beginning of a religion of devotion. Though the Pāñcarātra does have a devotional side, the *Bhagavad Gītā*, as a section of the *Mahābhārata*, is not as essential as one might believe to the development of the sect. The Pāñcarātras do not have any of the “Gopāla- Kṛṣṇa elements”. Instead the emphasis lies on Vāsudeva and the four *vyūhas* (Bhandarkar, 1983:54).

<sup>589</sup> Rastelli has looked at the philosophy and theology as well as the rituals of the *Jayākhya* (Rastelli, 1999).

<sup>590</sup> Alaśiṅgabhaṭṭa, Sudhākara Mālavīya, *Pāñcarātrāgamāntargatā Sātvatasamhitā* : *Alaśiṅgabhaṭṭaciracitabhāṣya atha ca "Sudhā"-Hindīvyākhyopetā*, Caukhambā-Saṃskṛta-granthamālā, 125, Caukhambā Saṃskṛta Sīrīja Aphisa, Aparam ca prāptisthānam Caukhambā Kṛṣṇadāsa Akādāmī, Vārāṇasī, 2007

<sup>591</sup> The *Pauṣkara Saṃhitā* has, as far as I know, been published twice: Yatiraja Sampathkumara, *Sree Poushkara Saṃhitā : one of three gems in Pancharatra*, Bangalore, 1934 and P. P. Āpte, *Pauṣkarasamhitā*, Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati, 1991 republished 2006.

<sup>592</sup> Marion Rastelli, *Die Tradition des Pāñcarātra im Spiegel der Pārameśvarasamhitā*, Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, Nr. 51, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 2006.

<sup>593</sup> Marzenna Czerniak-Drozdowicz ”The Āsana According to the Pārameśvarasamhitā or a Method of Writing a Saṃhitā”, in Gerhard Oberhammer and Marion Rastelli, *Studies in Hinduism. III, Pāñcarātra and Viśiṣṭādvaitavedānta*, Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, Nr. 40, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 2002 and Marzenna Czerniak-Drozdowicz , Pāñcarātra scripture in the process of change – a study of the *Paramasamhitā*, Publications of the de Nobili Research Library, v. 31, Wien, 2003.

<sup>594</sup> Gupta, 1983:69.

<sup>595</sup> For the development of Sanskrit and Sanskritization see Sheldon I Pollock, *The language of the gods in the world of men: Sanskrit, culture, and power in premodern India*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2006, especially pg 39 where Pollock discusses the development of “cosmopolitan Sanskrit” and pg 514 where he discusses Sanskritization. It is important to be critical and note that only the fact that the texts were written in Sanskrit does not mean that the whole Brāhminical tradition was integrated into the

occurred along with Pāñcarātra's evolution from a sect focused on initiation to Brāhminical tradition within a larger Hindu cult where temple rituals are in the center of the tradition. While initiation would have included learning, the Brāhmaṇas, one may speculate, would have an interest in composing in Sanskrit, the knowledge of which they dominated. Transmission of the 'text' in Sanskrit ensured brāhminical control, and raised the status of the cult.

The *Sātvata Saṃhitā* (which is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*) tells us that Bhagavān promulgates the Pāñcarātra Śāstra at the request of Saṃkarṣaṇa on the behalf of the sages. The *Sātvata Saṃhitā*'s twenty-five chapters are devoted mainly to worship of Nārāyaṇa in his four Vyūha manifestations (*vibhava-devatā*), dress, ornaments, and other types of worship and installation of images<sup>596</sup>. The *Īśvara Saṃhitā* tells us that the *Ekāyana Veda*, the source of all Vedas, originated from Vāsudeva and existed in the earliest age as the root of all other Vedas, which were introduced later and are thus called *Vikāra Vedas*. As people became more and more worldly, resorting to these later *Vikāra Vedas*, Vāsudeva withdrew the *Ekāyana Veda* and only let selected individuals see it (Sana, Sanatsujāti, Sanaka, Sannandana, Sanatkumāra, Kapila and Sanātana) who were all called *ekāntins*. Other sages (Marīci, Atri, Āngirasa, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vasiṣṭha and Svayambhuva) learned the *Ekāyana Veda* from Nārāyaṇa and wrote the Pāñcarātra literature based on these (other sages wrote the various *Dharma Śāstra* based on the same text)<sup>597</sup>. This makes it quite clear that the textual tradition within the Pāñcarātras are concerned with the connection to the Vedas as well as the connection between Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa and the Vedas. Identifying the origin of the Vedas in Nārāyaṇa, and explaining that the knowledge became hidden from the masses, gives the tradition a certain sacred and secret authority. What we call Vedas, are according to Pāñcarātra, inferior to the original Veda, the Pāñcarātra itself. Thus the *Sātvata*, *Paṣkara* and *Jayākhyā* and other similar Saṃhitās we are told were written by Saṃkarṣaṇa in accordance with the fundamental tenets of the *Ekāyana Veda* (which was almost lost in later stages). The texts that are solely based on the *Ekāyana Veda* as taught by Nārāyaṇa are called *Sāttvika Śāstras*. The *śāstras* that are partly based on Nārāyaṇa's teachings and partly due to the contribution of the sages themselves are called the *Rājasa Śāstra*, while those that are entirely from human composition are called *Tāmasa Śāstra*. The *Rājasa Śāstra* is, in turn, divided into two kinds: the Pāñcarātra and Vaikhānasa texts<sup>598</sup>. Knowledge is, thus, categorized according to the three *guṇas*.

The *Sātvata*, *Paṣkara* and *Jayākhyā* as the oldest were also the most authoritative<sup>599</sup>, the *Sātvata* being considered the best as it is a dialogue between the Lord and Saṃkarṣaṇa<sup>600</sup>. The Philosophy of the Pāñcarātra literature is mainly found in the

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Pāñcarātra tradition. The sect became part of mainstream Hinduism gradually. Non-hindu groups, including Buddhists and Jains, also composed texts in Sanskrit. See also Srinivas, 1965, 1966 and *Caste in Modern India: And other essays* (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1962, especially p. 48ff). Srinivas uses the term to refer to a process whereby people of lower castes collectively try to adopt upper caste practices and beliefs to acquire higher status. Sanskritization historically usually occurred in groups that enjoyed political and economic power but were not ranked high in ritually.

<sup>596</sup> Dasgupta, 1968:21.

<sup>597</sup> Dasgupta, 1968:21.

<sup>598</sup> Dasgupta, 1968:21.

<sup>599</sup> See discussion in Rastelli, 1999:27, The *Jayākhyā Saṃhitā* is usually dated to 600-850.

<sup>600</sup> Dasgupta, 1968:22.

*Jayākhya*, *Ahīrbudhnya*, *Viṣṇu*, *Vihagendra*, *Parama*, and *Paṣkara Saṃhitās*. Of these the *Jayākhya*, and *Ahīrbudhnya* are the most important<sup>601</sup>.

In contrast to the general view of the Pāñcarātra, where ritual plays a central role, the *Jayākhya Saṃhitā* starts out with the view that merely by performance of the sacrifices, giving gifts, studying Vedas and penance one cannot attain heaven or liberation from bondage. Until we know the ultimate reality (*para-tattva*) which is all-pervasive, eternal, self-realized, pure consciousness, but which through its own will can take form, there is no hope of salvation. The ultimate reality resides in our hearts and is devoid of any qualities (*nirguṇa*), though it lies hidden by the qualities (*guṇaguhya*) and is without any name (*anāmaka*)<sup>602</sup>. The *Jayākhya* emphasizes that liberating knowledge, found in the *śāstras* originating from Viṣṇu, can only be taught by a teacher. Thus the teacher is the first, and primary, means of attainment of the ultimate reality through the instructions of the scriptures<sup>603</sup>. As in most South Asian *mokṣa* traditions, the guru is very important.

In the *Ahīrbudhnya Saṃhitā*, Ahīrbudhnya says that after intense penance he received true knowledge from Saṃkarṣaṇa, and that this true knowledge was the science of Sudarśana, which is the support of all things in the world<sup>604</sup>. In accordance with the *Jayākhya Saṃhitā*, the *Ahīrbudhnya Saṃhitā* tells us that the ultimate reality is beginningless, endless, an eternal reality, devoid of name and form, beyond speech and mind, an omnipotent whole, which is absolutely changeless<sup>605</sup>.

The *Lakṣmī Tantra* is dated to the 9-12<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of quotes in commentaries<sup>606</sup>. Gupta states, “The reason why I have chosen to translate the text of the *Lakṣmī Tantra* is because its philosophical pronouncements incorporate many of the sect’s earlier traditions”<sup>607</sup>. The *Lakṣmī Tantra* is different than most other Pāñcarātra texts because of its almost exclusive treatment of the “Viṣṇuite mother goddess Lakṣmī, the Śakti of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa.” The text not only glorifies Lakṣmī, but also women in general as beings created in the cherished form of Lakṣmī, and it advocates their worship.<sup>608</sup> The *Lakṣmī Tantra*’s treatment of philosophy is different than that of other Pāñcarātra texts. Above all it seeks to establish *śakti* as the supreme principle.

By the time the Pāñcarātra texts were composed, anti-Vedic tendencies were less prominent in the sect, or at least did not play a prominent role in the texts. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* incorporates many Vedic mantras and requires the *ācārya* to know the Vedas, though knowledge of the Pāñcarātra literature is more important (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 3.15, 4.8). Also, as mentioned earlier; composing texts in Sanskrit can suggest a desire to incorporate one tradition within the Brāhminical and Vedic tradition, though the

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<sup>601</sup> Schrader, 1916 /1973:3.

<sup>602</sup> Dasgupta, 1968:22-3.

<sup>603</sup> Dasgupta, 1968:23.

<sup>604</sup> *sudarśanasvarūpaṃ tat procyamānaṃ mayā śṛṇu/*

*śrute yatrā ’khilādhāre saṃśayās te na santi vai//* (*Ahīrbudhnya Saṃhitā* 3.2.5) Quoted in Dasgupta (1968:23) but not translated.

<sup>605</sup> Dasgupta, 1968:34.

<sup>606</sup> Gupta, 1972:xx-xxi.

<sup>607</sup> Gupta, 1972:xv.

<sup>608</sup> Gupta, 1972:xvi.



existence of Buddhist and Jain texts in Sanskrit shows that this is not a rule without exceptions.

The Pāñcarātra literature was regarded by many writers (non Pāñcarātrins) as having an extra-Vedic origin. Among the Pāñcarātras (later Śrīvaiṣṇavas) this literature was considered equally authoritative as the Vedas. Along with the Sāṃkhya and Yoga, it was regarded as an accessory literature to the Vedas<sup>609</sup>. Sometimes the Pāñcarātra is regarded as the root of the Vedas, and sometimes the Vedas are regarded as the root of the Pāñcarātras. Dasgupta notes that Venkaṭanātha quotes a passage from Vyāsa in which Pāñcarātra is regarded as the root of the Vedas<sup>610</sup>. He quotes also another passage in which the Vedas are regarded as the root of the Pāñcarātras<sup>611</sup>. In another passage he speaks of the Pāñcarātras as the alternative to the Vedas.<sup>612</sup> Thus, in at least some groups, the authority of Pāñcarātra texts was considered equal to the Vedas.

Within the textual tradition of the Pāñcarātra sect, the connection to the Vedas is repeatedly emphasized. While the texts themselves center upon rituals that, at first glance, seem to have their origin some distance from the Vedic rituals (for example the installation and worship of images seem far from Vedic fire sacrifices), there are several rituals or part of rituals that have a Vedic origin and indicate an incorporation of Vedic ideas and practices into the Pāñcarātra theology.

## 5.4 Pāñcarātra doctrine

Then, without doubt, he becomes like lord Viṣṇu, the *paramātmā*. (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 4.4)

Although the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* does not contribute as much to Pāñcarātra theology and cosmology as other texts it is clear that it considers Viṣṇu to be the highest god, and that one should not associate oneself with anyone who does not believe in him. A brief account of some general trends will aid in the understanding of the philosophical background of the text. During the period known as Temple Hinduism<sup>613</sup>, the gods, mainly Viṣṇu and Śiva but also the Goddess (Śakti), had two primary modes of being described in the Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva and Śakta texts respectively. Following Davis<sup>614</sup>, I will call these modes ‘transcendent and immanent’. Earlier Vedic and Upaniṣadic literature often sought to place the absolute, highest one outside all worldly limitation as being beyond such things as form, time and space. As Temple Hinduism developed, followers of Viṣṇu, Śiva and the Goddess used the Vedic and Upaniṣadic vocabulary to discuss their respective gods as the highest one. However, they also insisted on the god’s

<sup>609</sup> According to Dasgupta Venkaṭanātha quoting Vyāsa says:

*idaṃmaho-paniṣodaṃ catur-veda-samanvitaṃ*

*sāṃkhya-yoga-ktāntena pañca-rātrānuśabdītam*. (*Seśvara-Mīmāṃsā* p 19) Quoted, but not translated, in Dasgupta, 1968: vol II, 18.

<sup>610</sup> *mahato veda-vṛkṣasta mūla-bhūto mahān ayam*

<sup>611</sup> *śrutimūlaṃ idaṃ tantraṃ pramāṇa-kalpa-sūtravat*

<sup>612</sup> *alābhe veda-mantrāṇāṃ pañca-rātro-dītena vā*. Quoted, but not translated, in Dasgupta, 1968: vol II,

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<sup>613</sup> See chapter 1.2.

<sup>614</sup> Davis, 1997:27.

physicality and worldliness. In the *Bhagavad Gītā* Kṛṣṇa tells us that Viṣṇu is “born in every age for the protection of the virtuous, the destruction of the wicked, and to secure the establishment of righteousness” (4.8). That is, god clearly cares for his worshippers and he will take on a human form to assist those who are dear to him and to maintain the universe. The step from taking on an embodied form (*avatāra*) to being permanently installed in another physical form (*mūrti*) is not that far. Much of the Pāñcarātra literature deals with rituals connected to temple construction, image making, worship of images, initiation and bathing. A few works provide an insight into the doctrine of the sect; most notably the *Ahīrbudhnyā*, the *Jayākhya* and the *Pauṣkara Saṃhitās*. In addition, the *Viṣṇu*, *Vihagendra*, and *Parama Saṃhitās* give some information with regard to the philosophy of the sect<sup>615</sup>. The Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra provides less insight into the doctrine, apart from what is connected to the making of temples and sculpting of icons.

The Pāñcarātras do not have a unified coherent theology. Rastelli tells us that “Sie weisen in vierlie Hinsichten unterschiedliche Tendenzen auf, was durch unterschiedliche Entstehungsorte und – zeiten und den dort gegeben äußeren Einflüssen begründet werden kann”<sup>616</sup>. Rastelli says that it is not possible, from the current state of research, to say anything about “*einer* Lehre oder *einer* Philosophie des Pāñcarātra”. Instead she thinks that it is necessary to look at each *saṃhitā* and discuss its particular teachings<sup>617</sup>. That each *saṃhitā* has its own teaching is in keeping with the notion that the Pāñcarātra tradition is really several traditions<sup>618</sup>.

However, there are several common family characteristics or resemblances that unite a group of texts, practices, temples and sculptures and, of course, practitioners under the rubric Pāñcarātra. Gonda upholds the *vyūha* doctrine as the most distinctive part of the early Pāñcarātra theology<sup>619</sup>. The essence of the *vyūha* doctrine is that the highest being has a fourfold form. The four *vyūhas* of the highest god are Saṃkarṣana, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. The highest god is Vāsudeva and may be called by all the four names<sup>620</sup>. Gonda, rather breathlessly, thinks that:

This *Vyūha* doctrine may indeed be considered another attempt at maintaining the fundamental monotheistic starting-point whilst incorporating a number of adorable manifestations and doubles of God, and at assigning to them positions and functions in a systematic explanation of the universe and its origin, an attempt at conceiving God as the unaffected and unchanging One who nevertheless is the cause of all change – for God and his *vyūhas* are identical – an attempt also at harmonizing theology with mythology and elements of evolutionist philosophy<sup>621</sup>.

While Gonda’s choice of the words “another attempt” strikes me as somewhat condescending, I think he is essentially correct, so far as explanation goes<sup>622</sup>. Viṣṇu has

<sup>615</sup> Quoted in Dasgupta, 1968: vol II, 24.

<sup>616</sup> Rastelli, 1999:23.

<sup>617</sup> Rastelli, 1999:23.

<sup>618</sup> See end of chapter 5.2 for discussion on the many types of Pāñcarātra movements.

<sup>619</sup> Gonda, 1970:49.

<sup>620</sup> Gonda, 1970:51-2 and Rastelli, 1999:53.

<sup>621</sup> Gonda, 1970:49-50.

<sup>622</sup> One might compare the development of Christian Theology, which originated in Israelite traditions that identified YHWH as singular, identified Christ as a second divine person in later NT writings like John (*sarx egento* - he became flesh), and settled on a Trinitarian doctrine (father, son, spirit) at the Nicean council.

multiple functions and can do many things, and thus Viṣṇu has many aspects as well. Each *vyūha* is important due to his two activities; creation/ maintenance of the universe and assisting his devotees, who are dear to him<sup>623</sup>. Chapter 22 of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* delineates the *vyūha* aspects of Viṣṇu. The *vyūhas* developed from four, in earlier texts, to twenty-eight, in later texts. As discussed above in the chapter on dating the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* describes twelve *vyūha* forms: Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Govinda, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Vāmana, Trivikrama, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha and Dāmodara<sup>624</sup>.

The Pāñcarātra idea of *vyūhas* faded into the background when the epic *avatāras* came to enjoy more general popularity among the Vaiṣṇavas. However, cosmology was still of interest to the Pāñcarātras, and Rāmaṇuja and the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas accepted it. “Out of affection for those who resort to Him, the Highest Brāhmaṇa called Vāsudeva out of his own free will exists in fourfold form in order to become (more easily) accessible to them”<sup>625</sup>. Rāmaṇuja, however, does not use the term *vyūhas* to explain the evolution of the universe<sup>626</sup>. Rāmaṇuja does, however, say that Vāsudeva is the Para-Brāhmaṇa that assumes the forms called *vyūhas* out of tenderness to his devotees and for the purpose of worship. By worshiping the *avatāras* and the *vyūhas* one attains the ‘subtle’ called Vāsudeva, which is the highest Brāhmaṇa<sup>627</sup>. Thus, important for the Pāñcarātra tradition is its version of monotheism *ekāntabhāva* (devotion to the one), recommendation of image worship and the use of Vedic and other mantras, as well as the teaching that final emancipation may be reached by entering Vāsudeva, Aniruddha, Pradyumna and Saṃkarṣaṇa<sup>628</sup>. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* describes the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu in *paṭala* 23. Worshippers of Viṣṇu combined an assertion of absolute status for their respective *avatāra* of Viṣṇu with a theism centered on personal, engaged divinities that physically appeared and acted in the world.

## 5.5 Pāñcarātra and the tantric tradition

*The established origin variously being made up of Veda and Tantra. (Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā 6.9)*<sup>629</sup>

The Pāñcarātra shows Vedic as well as tāntric characteristics and believes in the esoteric nature of mantras<sup>630</sup>. Mantra is of course, a name for the Veda. Tantric mantra, however, is esoteric or arcane in the sense that related syllables often have no literal or syntactic meaning. The illocutionary force of the text does not depend on its sense<sup>631</sup>. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* utilizes a number of mantras at every important step in the temple construction, though few are given in their entirety in the text. Whether the *Hayaśīrṣa*

<sup>623</sup> Gonda, 1970:5. – has a list of the activities and the ethics.

<sup>624</sup> Compare *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3.85.

<sup>625</sup> Rāmaṇuja Śrī-Bhāṣya 2.2.41 quoted by Gonda, 1970:55.

<sup>626</sup> Gonda, 1970:168 note 296.

<sup>627</sup> Gonda, 1970:55.

<sup>628</sup> Gonda, 1970:168, note 316 also Hazra, 1940/1975:216.

<sup>629</sup> *vedatantramayodbhūtanānāprasavaśālinī* (Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā VI.9) Quoted in Dasgupta, 1968:57.

<sup>630</sup> Dasgupta, 1968:57.

<sup>631</sup> As Aghenanda Bharati argues in his *The Tantric Tradition*, (Red Wheel Weiser, 1975).

*Pañcarātra* is a tantric text or not may, of course, be discussed, but the text identifies itself (indirectly) as a tantra (5.3) when it says to not give the tantras to the heretics. Gonda notes that it was the Pāñcarātrins who, among the Viṣṇuites, adopted yoga techniques and tantric elements<sup>632</sup>.

The term ‘*Vaiṣṇavatantra*’ is sometimes used to describe literature from the Pāñcarātra tradition<sup>633</sup>. “The decision at what point a text or a sect begins to be called ‘Tantric’ is difficult. The traditions of the relevant groups sometimes contradict each other. For instance the Pāñcarātrins – the followers of ‘Tantric Vaiṣṇavism’ – decline to be called Tantrics because they do not want to be considered worshippers of the Mother Goddess”<sup>634</sup>. Goudriaan does say that the Pāñcarātra texts contain tantric elements but he seems reluctant to term them as tantric and does not deal with the Pāñcarātra texts in his *Hindu tantric and Śākta literature*<sup>635</sup>. What exactly is tantric seems hard to agree upon<sup>636</sup>. Gupta states that the Pāñcarātras were originally a tantric sect developed in a more orthodox direction<sup>637</sup>. She sees initiation, the goal of being one with god, and rites leading to occult powers as some of the things that show that the Pāñcarātras were a tantric sect<sup>638</sup>. Thus, the move from a non-Brahminical, charismatic group where initiation was required, to a Brahminical movement with the public temple rituals, went hand in hand with the development from tantric to Vedic.

Hazra presents a somewhat different view where he states that from the beginning of the fifth c. CE if not earlier, the *vaiṣṇavas* were influenced by tantrism<sup>639</sup>. Hazra calls this a ‘dangerous influence’ on ideas and practices<sup>640</sup> mainly resulting in a belief in magic powers of spells, mantras and rites<sup>641</sup>. Hazra believes that the Purāṇas have gone through the hands of various editors. He also believes that he has identified the sectarian leaning of the sections and that he is able to identify them<sup>642</sup>. Beside the *Agni Purāṇa*<sup>643</sup> Hazra identifies the *Viṣṇu*<sup>644</sup>, the *Kūrma*<sup>645</sup>, and the *Varāha*<sup>646</sup> Purāṇas as essentially Pāñcarātra texts. Hazra clearly does not like the tantric influences in Pāñcarātra. He thinks that sections in the texts that show tantric influences, such as spells, a ‘magic’ belief in mantras, etc. are late corruptions. Indian nationalist academic discourse was predicated on a historical narrative valorizing the Vedas and Upaniṣads, disparaging the Purāṇas and tantra, and, implicitly, asserting that Indian independence would lead to a renaissance of

<sup>632</sup> Jan Gonda, *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism, Jordan lectures in comparative religion*, University of London, The Athlone Press, republished by Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1970/1996:77.

<sup>633</sup> Goudriaan, 1981:105.

<sup>634</sup> Goudriaan, Teun “Introduction” in Gupta, Hoens and Goudriaan, *Hindu Tantrism*, Brill, Leiden, 1979.

<sup>635</sup> Goudriaan, 1981:1, 8.

<sup>636</sup> See David White *Tantra in Practice*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2000:4-9.

<sup>637</sup> Gupta, 1983:69-70.

<sup>638</sup> Gupta, 1983:70, 88-9.

<sup>639</sup> Rajendra Chandra Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic records on Hindu rites and customs*, Dacca University reprint by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1940/1975:218.

<sup>640</sup> Hazra, 1940/1975:218.

<sup>641</sup> Hazra, 1940/1975:220.

<sup>642</sup> Hazra, 1940/1975:225.

<sup>643</sup> Hazra, 1940/1975:139.

<sup>644</sup> Hazra, 1940/1975:19.

<sup>645</sup> Hazra, 1940/1975:21 and 58, 63. Though Hazra believes that the *Kūrma Purāṇa* was first a *Pāñcarātra* text and then reworked by the *Pāśupatas*.

<sup>646</sup> Hazra, 1940/1975:97.

spiritual creativity and freedom. Hazra's judgement of tantra seems to belong to this now passé line of nationalist history writing.

Gupta states that "The tantric rituals are not easily defined and tantric ritualism 'comprises a conglomerate of rites drawn freely from Vedic and other concurrent religious traditions'"<sup>647</sup>. In order to classify a tantric tradition it is important to know the *paramparā*, or teacher's lineage, and the rituals they follow<sup>648</sup>. Thus, if a tradition is tantric or not essentially depends on the rituals followed and the teachers named within the tradition. With regard to the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* there is little that makes it stand out as specifically tantric. The only indication is that the text assumes a belief in mantras. Mantras are mainly used to dispel malignant beings in order to prepare the space for the invitation (also done with mantras) of beneficent beings or gods. The *vāstupuruṣa-maṇḍala* plays a significant role in the preparation and planning of the site. One could possibly call this kind of preparatory ritual, including the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, tantric as it is supposed to ensure prosperity, happiness, etc. for those living in the house<sup>649</sup>. On the other hand, if one decides to call all protective activity or all rituals that incorporate mantras tantric, then a huge variety of Hindu rituals are tantric.

## 5.6 Ritual in the Pāñcarātra tradition.

In the *Pāñcarātra* tradition ritual plays a significant role. It is so prominent that a majority of the literature on the Pāñcarātra tradition centers on ritual in various forms. In fact, many of the Pāñcarātra texts are mainly ritual manuals. Membership in the early Pāñcarātra group was achieved by initiation, *dīkṣā*. In the early Pāñcarātra tradition "membership was open to both sexes and all social classes"<sup>650</sup>. The initiate's aim was to realize his true identity with his (personal) God and to divinize himself through a combination of esoteric rituals and yogic meditation. Devotion was also important (a characteristic, Gupta points out, is specific to Vaiṣṇavas) since God had in his power to reward his devotees and punish the wicked. The esoteric and mystical rites receded as the tradition developed more public rites. At the same time, the highest grade of membership became restricted to Brāhmaṇas<sup>651</sup>. Thus the early Pāñcarātra was equally open to all. The latter, though open in such a way that it did not require initiation for participation in temple rituals, was much more restricted since *sūdras* were not welcome to view or participate in the temple rituals.

Visualization plays a prominent role in meditation in the *Sātvata*, *Jayākhya* and *Pauṣkara Saṃhitās*<sup>652</sup>. Particular attention is paid to iconography and mantras. At the

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<sup>647</sup> Gupta, Sanjukta "Modes of Worship and Meditation." in Gupta, Sanjukta, Dirk Jan Hoens and Teun Goudriaan, *Hindu Tantrism Handbuch Der Orientalistik, Zweite Abteilung Indien, Vierter Band Religionen, Zweiter Abschnitt Hindu Tantrism*, Brill, Leiden, 1979:121-2.

<sup>648</sup> Gupta et al., 1979:122.

<sup>649</sup> See further discussion in chapter 10.

<sup>650</sup> Gupta, 1983:70.

<sup>651</sup> Gupta, 1983:70.

<sup>652</sup> Gupta, Sanjukta "Yoga and Antaryāga in Pāñcarātra" in Goudriaan, Teun ed., *Ritual and speculation in early tantrism : studies in honour of Andre Padoux*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1992: 175-208.

different stages of initiation, the disciple visualizes the deity in increasingly complex forms<sup>653</sup>. In these stages the guru is the guide, and, as mentioned earlier, the guru is extremely important in the tradition.

The use of the *maṇḍala* as a ritual device is discussed in many of the Pāñcarātra texts, such as the ‘*ratna-traya*’ and the *Lakṣmī Tantra*. The *Pauṣkara Saṃhitā* may be the oldest of the Pāñcarātra texts that deal with temple construction and the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*<sup>654</sup>. Apte notes that, according to the *Pauṣkara Saṃhitā*, *maṇḍala* worship was not only part of the temple ritual but had an independent existence as a ‘sacrificial institution (*yajña*)’<sup>655</sup>. Different *maṇḍalas* were used in the initiation to various grades of progress in the Pāñcarātra sect. The rules in the *Pauṣkara Saṃhitā* for the preparation of the ground, including plowing, sowing seeds and leveling before drawing *maṇḍalas*<sup>656</sup>, are similar to those found elsewhere in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, *Mānasāra*, etc.

Before drawing a *maṇḍala*, the practitioner must determine a suitable place and prepare it. The *Pauṣkara-Saṃhitā* is, to a great part, devoted to the construction of *maṇḍalas*. Places suitable for the construction of *maṇḍalas* are similar to those for temples. These places should be pleasant and, in general, are considered sacred<sup>657</sup>. It is important that the chosen place is without faults, or else the worship will not bring the desired fruit. The description in the *Pauṣkara Saṃhitā* of the faultless place is very similar to the description of the ideal place for temple construction; characterized by the right plants, soft grass, fragrant, supplied with water, etc.<sup>658</sup>. This is not surprising considering that the temple is, as we shall see (in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* at least) is based on the plan of a *maṇḍala*. The *maṇḍala* is the first sacred object that one constructs on the site. Thus the treatment of *maṇḍalas* for worship would naturally be similar to the treatment of a *maṇḍala*, not only used for worship, but also used as the basis for the layout of the temple (in which one later will conduct worship)<sup>659</sup>.

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<sup>653</sup> Gupta, 1992:197-8. It would be interesting to look into if these forms correspond to anything that is described in architectural/ iconographical texts. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* deals with iconography in *kaṇḍas* two and three none of which are published yet.

<sup>654</sup> Prabhakar P. Apte and Shreenivas G. Supekar “Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala in the Pauṣkarasaṃhitā and Bṛhat-Saṃhitā – a Comparative Study” in *Agama and Silpa, Ananthacarya Indological Research Institute Series, No. XVI*, Bombay, ed. K.K.A. Venkatachari. 1984 p 132-148.

<sup>655</sup> Apte “The Scheme of maṇḍala-Diagrams and vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala in the Vaiṣṇava Āgama: Structure, Colors, Rituals and Architectural Aspects” in *Vaiṣṇavism in Indian Arts and Culture* ed by Parimoo, Books and Books, New Delhi, 1987:127-149, 129. Though the title of Apte’s article says *Vaiṣṇava* he restricted himself to three of the *Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās*; the *Sāttvata*, the *Pauṣkara* and the *Jayākhya*, though he mainly quotes the *Pauṣkara Saṃhitā*.

<sup>656</sup> The section that deals with the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* (Apte (1987): p. 141-149.) is mainly based on Kramrisch’s discussion of the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* in her *The Hindu Temple*. Thus Apte’s article does not give any new information regarding the usage of *maṇḍalas* in Pāñcarātra texts. His article, however, confirms my notion that the preparation of the ground before drawing the *maṇḍala* is similar in most texts.

<sup>657</sup> Rastelli “The Use of Mandalas and Yantras in the Pāñcarātra Tradition” in Gudrun Bühnemann, *Maṇḍalas and Yantras in the Hindu Tradition*, Brill, Leiden, 2003:119-151, p. 120. *Pauṣkara Saṃhitā* elaborates on the sacred places in the following sections: 1.2.4-24, 34.11-2, 36.238-9. see Rastelli 2000a p 120ff for a translation of this passage.

<sup>658</sup> Rastelli, 2003:120.

<sup>659</sup> For further discussion on the specific requirements and soil tests see chapter Preparations.

In some of the *Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās* (this changed over time) the *maṇḍala* was an important step in initiation, so important that a person who had undergone the first initiation (the *samayin*) was called ‘one who has seen a *maṇḍala*’ (*maṇḍaladr̥ṣṭa*)<sup>660</sup>. Part of the initiation was, thus, to see and understand this *maṇḍala*, the implication is also that the *maṇḍala* is secret. In a similar fashion, The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* makes it clear that the information provided, including the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, must not be revealed to anyone outside the tradition (5.1).

The *maṇḍala* is a place where the deity and his various aspects (and in the case of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* other spirits) are made present. One invites them by means of mantras. Thus the *maṇḍala* is a powerful device and merely looking at it has an effect<sup>661</sup>. Like the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, as will be discussed below, the *maṇḍalas* in the *Paṇḍara Saṃhitā* are considered to be the deity’s body. Thus the *maṇḍala*’s parts are the parts of the body of the deity. “Since the body’s constituents, i.e., principles (*tattva*) arising from the primary matter (*prakṛti*), also constitute the universe, the *maṇḍala* is also a representation of the universe”<sup>662</sup>. Both the *Sātvata Saṃhitā* (11.32c-36) and the *Īśvara Saṃhitā* (11.161c-165) as well as the *Viṣṇu Saṃhitā* (6.44c-45, 9.58c-76b) equate the *maṇḍala* with the universe like a body<sup>663</sup>. The body represented in the *maṇḍala* is not unique to the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. Instead, it is one instance of a general phenomenon where *maṇḍalas* represent *jñāna*, liberating principles. Initiation is generally required to gain *jñāna* understanding of these *maṇḍalas*. It ought to be noted that *jñāna* ‘understanding’ is not wholly cognitive or speculative. Ritual performance is integral to ‘understanding’. This is rather different than the modern European idea of purely theoretical knowledge (in spite of the fact that *jñāna* and knowledge are cognates). As Desai has suggested in connection to the famous erotic sculptures (and other sculptures as well) of Khajuraho<sup>664</sup>, there are several aspects of the construction of a temple or the sculpting of an image. It may be enjoyed or understood on multiple levels. While the initiated sees the connection between the sacred, the universe, the body and meditates on the unity of all, the general public is delighted by the beauty of the sculptures and becomes happy from being in the presence of god. Many texts discuss gods accessibility - how humans may approach god if he has no form. In the *Parama Saṃhitā* Brahmā asks Viṣṇu this essential question. Viṣṇu’s answer is that, for most humans, images are the most accessible way to reach Viṣṇu<sup>665</sup>. Thus the tradition acknowledges that for a human it might be difficult to understand and to communicate with an abstract god and that seeing god in an image makes communication and devotion easier.

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<sup>660</sup> Rastelli, 2003:131.

<sup>661</sup> Rastelli, 2003:139.

<sup>662</sup> Rastelli, 2003:139.

<sup>663</sup> Rastelli, 2003:139.

<sup>664</sup> Desai, 1996.

<sup>665</sup> Davis 1997:30, *Parama Saṃhitā* 3.1-2 and 8.12-14.

## 6 The relationship between the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and other texts.

Whatever else was recited by the sages [this text] has recourse to, and the portion [relating to] the temple etc., all that, *Viṣṇu* told. (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 2.10)

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* was not composed in a literary vacuum; it borrowed extensively from earlier texts (as noted above in chapter 4.4). After the text was composed, it went through the hands of different redactors who might have added or subtracted verses or sections. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* was also a source for other composers or compilers. Below is an examination of the relationship between the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and some other texts. Details concerning borrowing will be noted in the footnotes to the translation. This chapter serves as a specific background to the main texts utilized and an analysis of the relationship of various texts to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*.

### 6.1 The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*

The *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, generally regarded as the oldest of the texts providing insight into art and architecture, is usually assigned to the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>666</sup>. The *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* was first edited and translated as *Varāhamihira's Bṛhat Jātaka, with an English translation and copious explanatory notes and examples*, by V. Subrahmaṇya Śāstrī, in 1929<sup>667</sup>. The text was again edited and translated in 1947 by M. Ramakrishna Bhatt; he revised and published it again in 1981<sup>668</sup>.

While only chapters 53-56 of the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* deal with architecture, they are frequently used in scholarly works dealing with the Hindu temple. This is primarily because the text is of an early date, seems to have been fairly widely distributed and is, and has been for a long time, available in translation. Two chapters, chapter 53, which deals with preparations for construction, and chapter 56, which deals with the fruits of building temples and the location of temples and proportions as well as different types of temples, are of interest here. (Chapter 54 deals with water springs or wells, 55 with trees). The text, though not as detailed as later texts, has a structure that is similar to the later texts and describes the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* in detail<sup>669</sup>.

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<sup>666</sup> Amithabha Bhattacharyya, *A Pageant of Indian Culture: Art and Archaeology*, Vol 1, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1995:145, Kramrisch 1946/2007:140, M. K. Dhavalikar "Ganeśa: Myth and Reality" in Robert, L. Brown, *Ganesh: Studies of an Asian God*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1991: 45-69, p. 50, Susmista Pandey, *Birth of Bhakti in Indian Religions and Art*, Indian History and Culture Society, Books and Books, 1982: 194. This note also gives a sort of survey of the kind of literature that deals with the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* – the text is popular amongst art historians, as it has been available in English translation since 1929.

<sup>667</sup> V. Subrahmaṇya Śāstrī, *Varāhamihira's Bṛhat jataka, with an English translation and copious explanatory notes and examples*, Government Branch press, Mysore, 1929.

<sup>668</sup> M. Ramakrishna Bhat, *Varāhamihira's Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, two volumes, Motilal Banarasidass, the edition has been republished several times, first in 1947, most recently in 1997.

<sup>669</sup> See chapter 10.



While there is nothing that indicates a direct borrowing from the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* both texts follow a similar structure. However, most *śilpa śāstra* texts, particularly texts of a North Indian origin, follow the same structure. One might think that later compiler follows the structure of the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*; however, there is logic behind the structure of the *śilpa* texts: they follow the phases in preparation of the land and construction of the temple. Many texts, such as the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* and the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, pay particular attention to the same sections. What stands out is the focus on preparatory aspects such as the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. This focus shows the importance of foundational work. When the foundation is stable, both in a material and spiritual way, the text seems to assume that the rest will go well.

## 6.2 The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*.

The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* may be the earliest of the Purāṇas that deal extensively with art and architecture. Parul Dave Mukherji gives the date of the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* as “generally fixed between 500 A.D to 900 A.D., corresponding roughly to what is considered to be the classical period in Indian art”<sup>670</sup>. The text contains several parts dealing with various types of art, including painting and architecture. Its most famous part is the *Citrasūtra*, translated by Stella Kramrisch already in 1924<sup>671</sup> and most recently by Parul Dave Mukherji<sup>672</sup>. The *Citrasūtra* section covers painting in a more detailed way than seen anywhere else in the Sanskrit literature. However, the section that deals with sculpture and temple architecture, the *Pratimālakṣaṇa*, is not as detailed as the *Citrasūtra*. In her introductory volume to the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* Priyabala Shah<sup>673</sup> conjectures that “It may be that whatever has been said in *Citrasūtra* about the technique, is to be taken holding good with regard to Pratimā-making, of course with necessary modifications.” Shah substantiates her claim with a quote from the text that states (Ad. 43. 31-32) that “sculpting is to be done like *citra* (painting)”<sup>674</sup>. That the text does not repeat certain facts such as proportions or poses for deities is logical and makes the text more concise. The section on temple construction, however, logically, is not dependent on the *citrasūtra*.

While the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* does not deal with painting the two texts have

<sup>670</sup> Parul Dave Mukherji, *The Citrasūtra of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. Motilal Banarasiidass Publishers, Delhi, 2001:xxi. Like most other Purāṇa texts the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* is not easy to date. Shah discusses the issue of dating the text in the introduction to the first volume of the translation as well as in the introduction to the third volume which comprises the *Citrasūtra* (Shah, 1958-61/1998: vol 1, p. xx and vol.3, p. 1-20). Kramrisch argues that while the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* cannot be earlier than the 2nd half of the 4th century CE, the chapters of the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* that deal with painting must have been compiled in the 7th century CE (Stella Kramrisch, *The Vishnudharmottara Part III: A Treatise On Indian Painting And Image-Making*. Second Revised and Enlarged Edition, Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1928:5).

<sup>671</sup> Stella Kramrisch, *The Vishnudharmottaram (Part 3): a treatise on Indian painting*, Calcutta University Press, 1924.

<sup>672</sup> Mukherji, 2001.

<sup>673</sup> The section on architecture in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* has been translated by Shah, who as also edited and written an elaborate introduction to the text.

<sup>674</sup> Shah, 1958-61/1998: vol II, 138.

several similarities. Like the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* upholds Viṣṇu as the supreme divinity. The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, to a greater extent than the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, dwells on such things as justifications for worshipping the deity in an image. In *adhyāya* 46 Vajra says: “Puruṣa, the supreme soul is described by you as void of all qualities of sense such as *rūpa*, *gandha*, *rasa*, *śabda* and *sparsa*, so how can he have any image?”<sup>675</sup> The answer provides a sort of religio- philosophical basis for the representation of the supreme divinity through material form<sup>676</sup>.

The *vikṛti* is understood to be his manifested form. The entire world knows him [that *puruṣa*]. Worship and meditation [of the supreme being] is possible only when he is endowed with form.

And that manifested god himself is to be worshiped according to prescription. For the imperceptible way is obtained [only] with difficulty by embodied beings.

That form, which is manifested by that blessed one of his own free will, the gods now worship among his manifestations.

For this reason worship of [his] manifest form is prescribed. And his form is possessed of cause. Please listen to that from me as it has been explained. (*Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* 3.46.3-6<sup>677</sup>).

That is, in essence, the text tells us that it is only possible to worship god in a manifest form, and he will manifest himself in the sculpted or painted image that follows the rules laid down in the *śilpa śāstras*. Thus the text also explains why the rules of *śilpa śāstra* are so important. The gods find certain proportions, environments, colors, etc., beautiful, and they will manifest in places that are beautiful.

It is possible that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* borrowed the story of the *Hayaśīrṣa avatāra* of Viṣṇu from the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. The two texts have several verses, which are identical (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 1, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 1.1). However, the section dealing with temple architecture and ritual in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* is brief, and lacks much of the details provided in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. While the two texts follow a similar structure<sup>678</sup>, the only clear borrowing is the initial story of Madhu

<sup>675</sup> 3.46.01ab/*rūpagandharasair hīnaḥ śabdasparsāvivarjitah/*  
3.46.01cd/*puruṣas tu tvayā proktas tasya rūpam idaṃ katham//*  
Sanskrit text from: *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, Volume 3, chapters 1-118 (chaps. 119 -355: vdhp3.ven, separately available) digitalized by Mizue Sugita October 20, 1998 based on the edition of Shah, Priyabala (ed), *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa, Third Khaṇḍa*, Vol. 1, Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 130, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1958, my translation, my translation.

<sup>676</sup> Shah, 1994:139.

<sup>677</sup> *sākārā vikṛtir jñeyā tasya sarvaṃ jagat smṛtam /*  
*pūjādhyānādikaṃ kartuṃ sākārasyaiva śakyate // 3.46.03*  
*svatas tu devaḥ sākāraḥ pūjanīyo yathāvidhi /*  
*avyaktā hi gatir duhkhaṃ dehabhṛdbhir avāpyate // 3.46.04*  
*ato bhagavatānena svecchayā yat pradarśitam /*  
*prādurbhāveṣv athākāraṃ tad arcanti divaukasaḥ // 3.46.05*  
*etasmāt kāraṇāt pūjā sākārasya vidhīyate /*  
*hetumac ca tadākāraṃtan me nigadataḥ śṛṇu // 3.46.06*

Sanskrit text from: *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, Volume 3, chapters 1-118 digitalized by Mizue Sugita October 20, 1998 based on the edition of Shah, 1958, my translation.

<sup>678</sup> As mentioned earlier, in chapter 6.1 above with regards to the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, this is a structure followed by many *śilpa* texts.

and Kaiṭabha and it is, of course, possible that both texts obtained the story from another source<sup>679</sup>.

In the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (3.86-8) it is Mārkaṇḍeya who instructs king Vajra in the science of architecture. Mārkaṇḍeya is the one who according to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* got the science from Bhṛgu, who got it from Maheśvara, who received from Brahmā, who, in turn, obtained it from Viṣṇu in his *Hayaśīrṣa avatāra*. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* gives us an introductory story where Maheśvara asks Bhṛgu about the *Hayaśīrṣa avatāra* of Viṣṇu (1.1-3ab). Bhṛgu answers (3cb-5) and tells what Maheśvara asked (6-7) Brahmā, and Brahmā answers (8-29) by telling the story of Madhu and Kaiṭabha and continues by telling about temple construction and worship. The text proper starts in chapter two with *Hayaśīrṣa* as the narrator. The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, on the other hand, has the story of Madhu and Kaiṭabha much earlier in the text (ch. 1) with a significant portion of material not related to architecture and art in-between. For most of the text Maheśvara is the narrator.

Like the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* incorporates many rituals and ceremonies in the sections on sculpture and temple construction. The rituals similar to those of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, which describe the preparations for the temple, are found in *adhyāyas* 94-95 of the third *kāṇḍa*, while *adhyāyas* 96-100 describe selection of material and installation of images. *Adhyāyas* 86-92 gives a survey of materials used for temple construction and some of the processes used such as plastering.

The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* enumerates one hundred temple types (*adhyāya* 86-87) in contrast to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* which really only seems to know two kinds, the one constructed according to the *yajamāna*'s measurements and the one constructed according to the measurements of the image to be installed within the temple (chapters 7 and 34).

The Vāstupuruṣa (or Vāstudeva as the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* calls him) plays a similar role in this text, as he does in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. *Adhyāya* 88 starts with the statement “a temple should have sixty-four *padas*”. It is not clear, but likely, that this refers to the sixty-four square *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*.

The chapters discussing construction materials in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* are more detailed than the corresponding chapters in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, which focus on stones (*śīlā*) and only mention wood, clay and rocks (*giri*) as alternatives (chapter 15)<sup>680</sup>. This indicates that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* was composed in an area where stone was the primary construction material. This detail is not necessarily in agreement with our hypothetical Bengal area origin – except if we assume that the text is

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<sup>679</sup> See also discussion in note to verse 1.7 of the translation.

<sup>680</sup> The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (*adhyāya* 95) gives the myth of the Vāstupuruṣa (see discussion in the chapter 10 below) and discusses the layout of the *maṇḍala*. The *devatā-nyāsa* is mentioned, and one is told to do the *devatā-nyāsa* ritual according to the ‘*vāstu vidyā*’ as well as worship of Vāstudeva, the *maṇḍala* and the *vāstudevagaṇas*. (94.14-19). *Adhyāya* 95 describes the Mahādbhūta (great being), who arose to destroy the three worlds, and then goes on to describe the plan of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, the search for possible *śalyas* and some inauspicious characteristics of soil, such as bad smell.

While the *sūtra-nyāsa* (the laying out of the string, 94.21-2) is discussed it is not as detailed as the account of the same event in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. *Adhyāya* 93.25-end is similar to chapter five of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. *Adhyāya* 89 discusses types of trees to be used for construction, where, when and how to obtain them, *adhyāya* 90 and 91 discusses stones and bricks respectively while 92 discusses spread of the plaster (*vajralepa*).

only discussing where to get the material for sculptures. The Bengal area had mainly temples constructed in brick – which is why we have very few surviving temples from Bengal albeit many sculptures as these were made in stone.

It thus seems likely that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* in fact is not dependent on the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāna*, at least not as completely as the Madhu and Kaiṭabha story first indicates, and, as noted, the story of Madhu and Kaiṭabha may have been obtained by both works from a third source.

### 6.3 The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Agni Purāna*.

The *Agni Purāna*, one of the major Purānas (or Mahāpurānas), contains descriptions and details of various topics including, the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, in particular long summaries of the adventures of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. Other sections deal with ritual, sculpture, architecture, cosmology, astrology, law, grammar, meter and medicine etc. The text contains 383 chapters (slight variations in different editions) out of which chapters 21-106 deal with architecture and related topics, i.e. a fairly substantial portion.

The text was edited by Rajendralal Mitra in the 1870s (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1870-1879, 3 volumes; Bibliotheca Indica, 65, 1-3) and again edited and published by Ānandāśrama Press, (Poona) in 1900. An English translation was published in two volumes by Manmatha Nath Dutt in 1903-4. (References here are to the Anandaśram Press edition, except for references to Dutt's translation).

The *Agni Purāna*'s chapters on *śilpa śāstra* are can be divided in two sections one consisting of chapters 31-70 and the other of 71-106. The former primarily consists of borrowed quotes or summaries of the material found in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. Just like the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, the *Agni Purāna* is a ritual text, albeit a ritual text with a larger scope, incorporating almost any kind of ritual that one could possibly want to perform in a lifetime and all one need to know to do so, including astrology do determine the correct time, grammar and meter for correct recitation as well as mythological background and sculptural rules.

In the notes to the translation of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* the numbers of the corresponding verses in the *Agni Purāna* are provided. The large number of identical verses as well as summaries show the dependence of the *Agni Purāna* on the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. Here follows a discussion on the reason for assuming that the *Agni Purāna* borrowed from the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and not the other way around. The comparison begins with the date of the *Agni Purāna* and a short review of research regarding the text and then moves on to a comparison between the two texts in question.

#### *Date and place of the Agni Purāna*

As the date of the *Agni Purāna* is of importance to the dating of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, it will be discussed here in more depth than the other texts treated in this chapter.

The *Agni Purāṇa* is part of a list quoted by al-Bīrūnī (CE 973-1048), a list he obtained from the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.<sup>681</sup> This would give a certain date than which the *Purāṇa* cannot be younger. Kane also shows that the *Agni Purāṇa* is quoted in several *Dharma śāstras*<sup>682</sup>. Rocher thinks that the *Agni Purāṇa* was probably compiled in Bihar or Bengal<sup>683</sup> though he does not propose a date.

Kane thinks that the *Agni Purāṇa* was composed in the period 900 – 1050 CE<sup>684</sup> or around 900<sup>685</sup>. Winternitz states “to which age this remarkable encyclopedia or its separate parts belong, it is impossible to say”<sup>686</sup>. Others have tried to date sections of the text and not uncommonly extended that dating to the whole text. S.K. De dates the poetic section to later than the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century<sup>687</sup>. Haraprasad Shastri suggests 800-900 CE for the chapters on metrics<sup>688</sup>. Hazra assigns *Agni Purāṇa* to the 9<sup>th</sup> century because “tantric elements began to be absorbed appreciably by the Purāṇas not earlier than about 800 a.d.”<sup>689</sup>. Gyani thinks that the text grew “to its extant form... from as early as 700 or 800 to as late as 1000 or 1100”<sup>690</sup>.

Mishra points out that chapters 21-30 are imbued with the Pāñcharātra ideals for worship of Vāsudeva, Saṃkaṣṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Nāvayaṇa<sup>691</sup>. Mishra also notes that parts of the *Agni Purāṇa* are summarizing the first two *kāṇḍas* of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*<sup>692</sup>. He assigns the chapters on architecture and iconography to the 10<sup>th</sup> century mainly based on the contents of the chapters on the sixty-four Yoginīs (ch. 52)<sup>693</sup>. Mishra bases his assumption on H. D. Bhattacharya’s discussion of the number of Yoginīs, which he says rose from seven or eight to sixty-four in the early medieval period. This chapter on the sixty-four Yoginīs is, essentially, just a list of names. It is the number of Yoginīs, rather than their description, that is significant for the dating. Dating the complete text, or even the section on *śilpa śāstra*, on this chapter seems a bit farfetched; the passage could easily have been inserted at a later time. Mishra says that the first shrine dedicated to the Yoginīs was the one to the sixty-four *yoginīs* at Bherāghāta, built by Yavarājadeva I (ruled CE 915-947) of the late Kalachuri dynasty, somewhat later temples to the Yoginīs were built in Khajarah, Ranipur-Jural,

<sup>681</sup> Rocher, *A history of Indian Literature, vol. 2 fasc. 3, Purāṇas*, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1986: 31.

<sup>682</sup> See Rocher, 1986:1.3.5.

<sup>683</sup> Rocher, 1986:41.

<sup>684</sup> P.V. Kane *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1971:3-10.

<sup>685</sup> P.V. Kane, *A History of Dharmasāstra*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1930:Vol. 1, p. 172.

<sup>686</sup> Winternitz, 1967:497.

<sup>687</sup> S.K. De, *History of Indian Poetics*, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1960:99.

<sup>688</sup> Shastri, Haraprasad, *A descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the government collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol 5 Purāṇa Manuscripts, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1928:cli.

<sup>689</sup> Hazra, 1940/1975:38.

<sup>690</sup> Gyani S.D., *Agni Purāṇa. A study*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies 42, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Office, Varanasi, 1964:288.

<sup>691</sup> Mishra B. B., *Polity in the Agni Purāṇa*, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1965:11.

<sup>692</sup> Most likely Mishra did not have access to the rest of the *Hayaśīrṣa* as he does not discuss the second half of the work.

<sup>693</sup> Mishra, 1965:12.

Coimbatore and Kalahandi<sup>694</sup>. Mishra furthers his argument by stating that the *Yoginī Tantra* is assigned to the tenth century which thus, he thinks, could support the statement that the *śilpa śāstra* portion of the *Agni Purāṇa* also belongs to that century<sup>695</sup>: a claim that is unsupported and without much substance. Thus, keeping al-Bīrūnī in mind, the 10<sup>th</sup> century seems to be the latest date, and probably not much earlier than that for the section on architecture, considering the large amount of borrowings from the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, which we will look into below.

Rocher summarizes two opinions about the *Agni Purāṇa*: Farquhar (1920) thought that the *Agni Purāṇa* was a “smārta document composed for the use of the *Bhāgavatas*”<sup>696</sup>; Hazra (1940), on the other hand, thought it was a work of the *Pāñcarātras*<sup>697</sup>. It is not uncommon to believe that the *Agni Purāṇa* has no sectarian leaning<sup>698</sup>. Rocher himself is neutral on this question. To me it is clear that the text has a Vaiṣṇava focus, not only do the beginning chapters, which focuses on Viṣṇu’s *avatāras*, suggest this, but also the section on *śilpa śāstra*, which, like the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, focuses on the construction of a temple for Viṣṇu. Most other rituals are also Viṣṇu centered. However, there are, rituals focusing on other deities, as well as descriptions of how to sculpt other deities, nevertheless, these are generally not dwelled upon in such detail as those concerning Viṣṇu.

Guy Petterson has argued that one of the main obstacles in the study of Purāṇas is that they are generally thought of as encyclopedic. This view, together with the lack of clarity on the religious and philosophical orientation of the texts, has apparently helped to stifle interest in or detailed study of the *Agni Purāṇa*. Petterson convincingly argues that the narrative structure of the *Agni Purāṇa* can be divided into three units discussing Viṣṇu’s progressive manifestation<sup>699</sup>, which he argues has a ritual function<sup>700</sup>. As I have suggested earlier, I agree with Petterson: the *Agni Purāṇa* is a ritual manual and this explains its narrative structure as well as the topics it presents.

With regard to the possible origin of the text, the *Agni Purāṇa* (39.10) specifies that the placement of temples discussed is valid for Kurukṣetra, Gaya and other places on the banks of rivers. This indicates that, not only may the text have its origin in this area (that is central north India), but it also emphasizes the importance of rivers for worship. In addition the text devotes several chapters to the *tīrthas* Gaṅgā (110), as well as the confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā Prayāga (111), Kāśī (Banārasi, 112), Narmadā (113) and Gayā (114-117) while only two short chapters entitled *Bhāratavarṣavarṇanam* (118) and *Mahādīpādīvarṇanam* (119) mentions some other of the sacred places by name; Godāvarī, Bhīmarathī, Kṛṣṇā, etc., most of which are rivers. The same chapter notes that

<sup>694</sup> Mishra 1965:12, citing R.C. Majumdar, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1984:341-2.

<sup>695</sup> Mishra, 1965:12.

<sup>696</sup> Rocher, 1986:22.

<sup>697</sup> Rocher, 1986:22.

<sup>698</sup> See, for example, Rājendrālala Mitra ed., *Agni Purāṇa: a collection of Hindu mythology and traditions*, Bibliotheca Indica, work no. 65, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1873-1879:xxxvi.

<sup>699</sup> Guy Petterson, *Time, knowledge and narrative in the Agni Purāṇa*, unpublished dissertation, Latrobe University, Australia, 1997:2.

<sup>700</sup> Petterson, 1997:40.

the countries Kurupāñcāla and Madyadeśa are located in the west (*paścime*, 118.8)<sup>701</sup>.

S.K. De observes that the manuscripts available for the *Agni Purāṇa* are mainly in Devanagari or Bengali scripts, south Indian manuscripts are rare, while none are known in Kaśmiri and Nepali scripts<sup>702</sup>. Hazra bases his assumption that the *Agni Purāṇa* originated in eastern India on the fact that that outside Bengal and Orissa the work gained recognition from scholars much later, in fact, it took a few decades before the text was referred to by any writer in Western or Southern India<sup>703</sup>. B. B. Mishra thinks that the first place of compilation of the *Agni Purāṇa* could only be speculated upon but that its final redaction took place somewhere in Northeast India, near the Gaṅgā and the city Gayā, which had attained prominence under the Pālas, as the text gives three rather long chapters on the importance of Gayā and the procedure for Gayā-śrāddha.<sup>704</sup> Juthika Maitra notes that the iconography of Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava (a composite form of Sūrya and Śiva) is discussed in chapters 300-301 of the *Agni Purāṇa*, though the verses are corrupt. Maitra thinks that the description is close to the Bengali sculptures of this deity. In the same way iconographic prescriptions for the goddess Lalitā correspond to images from Bengal and Orissa.<sup>705</sup> To further analyze the origin of the text, Maitra notes the mention of some specifically west Bengal rites, for example, the *śatrubalī* (185.13-14) where Maitra argues that one verse has been copied from the *Devī Purāṇa* (22.16), a Bengali text, and the *bhelokhī* (ch 143.3) for a type of magic (modern Bengali *bhelokhī/ bhelki*)<sup>706</sup>. To conclude, all the scholarly writing I have examined points to an East Indian origin for the *Agni Purāṇa*.

### *The Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra and the Agni Purāṇa*

As already mentioned, the *Agni Purāṇa* borrowed extensively from the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* in its chapters on *śilpa śāstra*. (Chapters 21-106 of the *Agni Purāṇa* deal primarily with architecture, sculpture and related rituals.) Here we will compare the corresponding material in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* with the *Agni Purāṇa* to make this point clear.

Though scholars have noticed that there is a similarity between the two texts, no one has explored this further. Banerjea noticed that the *Agni Purāṇa* admits that it has borrowed extensively from the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*<sup>707</sup>. Banerjea is, thus, convinced

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<sup>701</sup> This suggests that the *Agni Purāṇa* probably has its origin in north Indian, probably north-central or north-eastern.

<sup>702</sup> S.K. De, *Pālakāpya*, in Bimala Churn Law, ed. D.R. Bhandarkar Volume, Indian Research Institute, 1940:73-74, p. 74.

<sup>703</sup> R.C. Hazra “Studies in the genuine Āgneyapurāṇa *alias* Vahnipurāṇa”, *Our Heritage*, 1953:I,209-245, and II, 232-3.

<sup>704</sup> B.B. Mishra *Polity in the Agni Purāṇa*, Calcutta, 1965:25-6

<sup>705</sup> Juthika Maitra, “Eastern Indian origin of the Agni-Purana” in Debala Mitra and Gouriswar Bhattacharya (eds.) *Studies in Art and Archaeology of Bihar and Bengal*, Satguru, Delhi, 1989 1989:322-23.

<sup>706</sup> Maitra, 1989:323.

<sup>707</sup> Banerjea. *The Development of Hindu Iconography*. University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1956:21, also p. 27. He gives the following quote to support this:

*hayaśīrṣaḥ pratiṣṭhārhaṃ devānāṃ brahmaṇe 'bravūt/*

that the *Agni Purāṇa* draws on the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* for its *śilpa śāstra* material. He states that a “comparison of the chapters on *bhūparigaha* in connection with the *pratiṣṭhā* ceremony and the other chapters on ... *prāsādalakṣanam*, *pratimālakṣanam*, etc., of the *Agnipurāṇa* with the similar chapters in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* fully shows that the compiler of this section of the *Agnipurāṇa* condensed much that was in the latter work”<sup>708</sup>. Tehsildar Singh, in his article “*Agni Purāṇa* on Temple Architecture”, notices that the first 18 verses of chapter 42 in the *Agni Purāṇa* are the same as those of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra paṭala* 13. He simply states that it is probable that the former borrowed from the latter<sup>709</sup>. Ślaçzka also thinks that *Agni Purāṇa* is a repetition of *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*<sup>710</sup>. Schrader notes that the list of texts in the *Agni Purāṇa* “must have been copied” from the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* list.<sup>711</sup> Enamule Haque also notes that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Agni Purāṇa* are very similar in their descriptions of Vāsudeva<sup>712</sup>. No scholar has proposed the opposite: that it is possible that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* borrowed from the *Agni Purāṇa*. There are two main reasons for this. First the *Agni Purāṇa* mentions, and, as will be discussed below, acknowledges its indebtedness to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* but not the other way around. Second the *Agni Purāṇa*’s account is at best concise but generally fragmentary and imprecise. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, though not clear at all times, leaves only details to doubt.

The *Agni Purāṇa* itself states, in the last verse of chapter 38, that: “Hayagrīva told Brahmā about the proper images for the gods”<sup>713</sup>. Chapter 39 starts the section on *śilpa śāstra* in the *Agni Purāṇa*. The reference to Hayagrīva, or Hayaśīrṣa (both terms are names of Viṣṇu’s horse-headed *avatāra*), telling about images of gods to Brahmā could be taken as a reference to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* where the story of Hayagrīva is told in the beginning of the text and where he is seen as the source of the knowledge of architecture and sculpture. Furthermore the *Agni Purāṇa* places the *Hayaśīrṣa*

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*hayaśīrṣaṃ tantram ādyaṃ tantram trailokyamohanam*// 39.2 (Banerjea, 1956:21.)

However, verse 39.2 in the Ānananda Āśrama press edition reads:

*vyastāni munibhirloke pañcaviṃśatisaṃkhyayā/*

*hayaśīrṣaṃ tantram ādhyāṃ tantram trailokyamohanam*//

Gretil (Asiatic Society of Bengal Version, 1870-1879) reads:

*vyastāni munibhirloke pañcaviṃśatisaṃkhyayā / 2ab*

*hayaśīrṣaṃ tantram ādyaṃ tantram trailokyamohanam // 2cd*

(<http://fiindolo.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil.htm>)

That is the second line is the same while the first one is almost identical to the Ānananda Āśrama 38.51 (quoted below). The first line of the Ānananda Āśrama edition is identical to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 2.2 ab, the second line of that verse reads:

*ādyaṃ samastatantrāṇāṃ hayaśīrṣaṃ prakīrtitam*//

<sup>708</sup> Banerjea, 1956: 20-21.

<sup>709</sup> Tehsildar Singh, “*Agni Purāṇa* on Temple architecture”, 176-190, in *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, ed by Girish Chandra Ojha, Vishveshvaranand Vishva Bandhu Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies, Panjab University, Hoshiarpur, India, June- December, 1985:180.

<sup>710</sup> Ślaçzka, 2007:193 note 23.

<sup>711</sup> Schrader, 1916/1973:24.

<sup>712</sup> See Enamul Haque, *Bengal Sculptures – Hindu Iconography upto c. 1250 A. D.*, Bangladesh National Museum, Dhaka, (based on his dissertation from 1973)1992:45.

<sup>713</sup> *Hayagrīvaḥ pratiṣṭhārhaṃ devānāṃ brahmaṇe ’bravīt/ Agni Purāṇa* 38.51. This line is almost the same as in Banerjea, quoted on the previous page.



*Pañcarātra* first in its list of *pāñcarātra* texts (39.2). The list is almost identical to the list found in the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, with some of the verses identical<sup>714</sup>.

The *Agni Purāṇa*'s chapters on ritual, worship, Iconography and Architecture (chapters 21-106) can be divided into four sections according to the narrator:

- 1) Nārada is the chief interlocutor (ch 21-30)
- 2) Agni is the interlocutor (31-8)
- 3) Hayagrīva and Bhagavān are the interlocutors, (31-70)
- 4) Īśvara (Śiva) speaks to Skanda about the worship of Śiva, Śiva, Śaktī, Sūrya, the *gaṇas* (as Śiva's followers) and other members of Śiva's family. (71-106)

Section three where Hayagrīva speaks to Bhagavān makes up the main portion concerning temple construction and image modeling in the *Agni Purāṇa*. This section (chapters 31-70) consists of quotes or summaries from the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*. For example, *Agni Purāṇa* chapter 39 partly quotes, and partly summary of *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra ādi kāṇḍa* chapters 2-7, while chapter 40 of the *Agni Purāṇa* summarizes chapters 8-9 from the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*<sup>715</sup>. The *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* is generally easier to read because the text simply makes more sense. *Agni Purāṇa* chapter 39 contains several lists. One enumerates the various Pāñcarātra texts. One discusses from which part of India a Brāhmin conducting a ritual may be. The last one discusses the construction of a gnomon<sup>716</sup>. The latter is not actually clear in the *Agni Purāṇa* as the text only provides a number of measurements without explanation. However, the verses discussing measurement at the end of chapter 39 are identical to the verses in chapter 7 of the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* discussing the gnomon and its construction<sup>717</sup>.

There are some instances where the two texts differ. Generally the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* provides details that the *Agni Purāṇa* omits, as in the case of the gnomon. At first impression the two texts differ in their discussion of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*<sup>718</sup>. As already mentioned the *maṇḍala* described in the *Agni Purāṇa*<sup>719</sup> chapter 40 is a summary of *paṭala* nr 8-9 of the *ādikāṇḍa* in the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*. In the *Agni Purāṇa* (chapter 40) and the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* (*ādikāṇḍa paṭala* nr 8-9) the general layout is the same but there are minor differences in names of gods and things to offer to them<sup>720</sup>.

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<sup>714</sup> See translation footnotes for specific verse comparison.

<sup>715</sup> See notes to translation of the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* for specific verse comparisons.

<sup>716</sup> I have decided to use the word gnomon for *śaṅku* even though there are at least three alternatives in the Greek that may correspond to the measuring stick/rod to which the word *śaṅku* refers. The Greek *metron* refers to "an instrument of measuring", "measuring rod" (Matthew 7.2, Revelation 21.15). *Metron* is a cognate with the Sanskrit  $\sqrt{ma}$  – to measure. The Greek word *kanōn* means "straight rod" or "rule, standard" (Walter Baverās Greek-English lexicon of the NT, University of Chicago Press, 1979:403). Finally the Greek *gnōmōn* (from *gi-gnōskō*, cognate with the Sanskrit  $\sqrt{jñā}$  – to know) translated as Carpenter's rule in Liddell Scott's Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon (Oxford 1997:167).

<sup>717</sup> See further Mishra "Bihar in the Agni Purāṇa", *JBR*, 40, 1954:1-7 and Hazra, 1940/1975.

<sup>718</sup> Compare also discussion in the section on *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. See appendix for the drawings of the *maṇḍalas*.

<sup>719</sup> Note that the *Agni Purāṇa* also describes the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* in chapter 93. This chapter will be taken into consideration in the chapter below discussing the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, though not here because the chapter is, most likely, not from the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*.

<sup>720</sup> For a comparison of the offerings see appendix 3.

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* contains a longer list of deities that yields a more symmetrical plan. While in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* all sides of the diagram look the same, the diagram in the *Agni Purāṇa* has fewer deities on some sides. The omission in the *Agni Purāṇa* may have happened at some point during the compilation or transmission of the text. Some deities mentioned, such as Yādamsāmpati in *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and Varuṇa in the *Agni Purāṇa* are simply different names for the same deity. Though it is clear that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* described in the *Agni Purāṇa* is intended to follow the same plan as the one described in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* several deities are missing and a few get offerings but no name.

On the eastern side of the *maṇḍala* both text have the same deities, let it be with different names for some, such as Sureśa (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*) and Mahendra (*Agni Purāṇa*)<sup>721</sup>. The other discrepancy is that while the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* gives Satya two squares, which works nicely in the diagram, *Agni Purāṇa* tells us to give Satya half of a square (*ardhapada*), which does not work well at all as it would leave one and a half empty squares. The inconsistency of the *Agni Purāṇa* compared to the completeness of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* indicates that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* has the correct reading.

The southern side of the *maṇḍala*, as presented in the *Agni Purāṇa*, should have eight deities but has only six, one of which has no name but receives an offering (southwest corner). This makes drawing the southern side less than elegant as it does not mirror the other sides and leaves an empty space even if we assign two squares to two of these deities. Between Vithata and Dharmeśa we would have expected a deity (perhaps Gṛhākṣa as in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*). After the Gandharva we would like two deities – one whose offerings, as already mentioned, are specified. In the combination of the two chapters (8-9) from the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, containing placement of and offerings to the deities respectively, the *Agni Purāṇa* lost some information. The complete plan is not possible to construct according to the *Agni Purāṇa* chapter as we have it. This may be due to scribal errors. It seems likely that a verse or two is missing somewhere between verse 4 and 7 of the *Agni Purāṇa* (chapter 40) naming the three missing deities and the offerings to two of them (as we know what to offer to the third).

The western side is again similar to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* in the *Agni Purāṇa* but one deity Śoṣa is missing and for Sūgrīva and Puṣpadanta the number of squares is somewhat unclear. The northern edge is identical besides name variants, if one ignores that the *Agni Purāṇa* tells us to give one and a half *pādas* to Diti when there is only space for half. Furthermore the *Agni Purāṇa* has missed the deity in the northern four squares right above the Brahmā-sthāna. Thus it seems like the *Agni Purāṇa* based itself on the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* but either scribes made mistakes or the original was not so concerned with how this ritual was carried out, as one cannot construct an accurate *maṇḍala* from the *Agni Purāṇa*.

Thus we understand the *Agni Purāṇa*, to be a ritual manual, rather than a *śilpa śāstra*, an encyclopedia or anything else. This explains its focus on ritually significant portions of architecture, such as preparation of the selected site and the laying of the first stone, each of which is discussed in a chapter. Structurally important sections, such as the ones discussing the walls, are mentioned in just a few verses. However, the inaccuracies

<sup>721</sup> See illustration in appendix 2.

that have crept into the text makes it obvious that the text could not be used as the primary source for temple consecration rituals – perhaps it was composed for the education of others, not necessarily the main *ācārya* but possibly the *yajamāna* or other relevant persons that may need this information but perhaps were not concerned with the precise details.

In comparison to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, the *Agni Purāṇa* gives a somewhat confused and disorganized impression. However, what is important to ask at this point is for what reason or purpose was the text composed. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is clearly a treaty on rituals connected to architecture and sculpture. It does not deal with anything that does not have a direct usage for architecture or sculpture. The *Agni Purāṇa*, on the other hand, only discusses architecture and sculpture in a larger context. This context is ritual. Rather than being a mixture of various things randomly put together into some sort of encyclopedia, the *Agni Purāṇa* is a treaty of ritual. In every section of the book there are rituals that needs explaining. The first chapters of the *Agni Purāṇa* give short accounts of the various *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, as well as retelling of the *Rāmāyāna* and the *Mahābhārata*. The lineage of the solar and lunar race as well as the creation is described. This is done to give a reminder of the historical context and the mythological background to many rituals. This is also a common way to begin a Purāṇa for a number of reasons, such as to provide it with an authoritative context<sup>722</sup>. The first ritual described appears in chapter 21. Here rituals concerning the deities Viṣṇu and Śiva exemplify how the rituals should be performed, for other deities there variations to these rituals mentioned. Following this until chapter 37 the *Agni Purāṇa* only deals with rites, oblations, mantras, *mūdras*, initiations, sacrifices etc. In chapter 38 the section on *śilpa śāstra* starts. However, as seen from the example of chapter 40 it is intermixed with rituals. Only the main points of sculptures are given, in some cases, as in chapter 52 where the *yoginīs* are described, there is not much more than their names given. Even the *alaṅkara* section (chapters 328-335) can easily be fitted into the context of ritual – meter, pronunciation, grammar etc. is very important for recitation of mantras, and such usage in a ritual context.

The *Agni Purāṇa*, a compilation of texts, has utilized the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* for a large portion of its section on art and architecture. This does not mean that the *Agni Purāṇa* is not worth studying. In fact, it is a valuable source for many studies, in particular ritual studies. While careful study of the text shows its inconsistencies, that it leaves out information and that the text is at times confusing, the text still is part of a tradition that regards it as a sacred work. What is left out may be equally interesting as what is in the text. Could the inconsistency in the description of the *vāstupruṣamaṇḍala* found in the *Agni Purāṇa* as discussed above be due to an increasing desire to keep the *maṇḍala* secret, or is it just due to scribal error?

#### 6.4 The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* in relationship to the Purāṇic corpus

The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* and the *Agni Purāṇa* are the Purāṇic texts that contain the most information on sculpture and architecture. Besides these two there are other Purāṇas

<sup>722</sup> See for example Rocher, 1986:83.

which concern themselves with temple construction. Of particular interest here are the *Matsya Purāṇa* and the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*. Both these texts have small sections on architecture although they both contain information that supplements that found in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*.

### *Matsya Purāṇa*

The *Matsya Purāṇa* has been translated into English only a handful of times, the most recent translation was done by an anonymous board of scholars, the Sanskrit text was edited by K.L. Joshi and it was published in two volumes in 2007<sup>723</sup>. Dating of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, as with most Purāṇas, and indeed most ancient Sanskrit literature, is difficult. It is clear that the text developed over a rather long period. The ranges presented by various scholars differ greatly, for example Ramachandra Dikshitar suggests 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE to 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE while Kantawala suggests the 4<sup>th</sup> century to 1250 CE<sup>724</sup>.

Like the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Matsya Purāṇa* contains material ranging from myth to ritual. The *Matsya Purāṇa* only devotes 19 out of its 291 chapters to temple construction and iconography<sup>725</sup>. The *Matsya Purāṇa* dwells on the evil omens associated with improper construction to a larger extent than the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, and most other texts examined, indicating an interest or concern in these omens. Many of the omens seem to be things that may occur frequently, such unearthing of coal (256.21) or a conch (256.22), which respectively will show that the owner will become mad or that the wife will turn loose.

The offerings to the *pāda* deities are similar to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* that is while the gods are given things like sugar, butter, rice and flowers, the *rākṣasas* are given

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<sup>723</sup> Kanhaiyālāla Joṣī (Joshi), *Matsya mahāpurāṇa: an exhaustive introduction, Sanskrit text, English translation, scholarly notes and index of verses*, Parimal Sanskrit series, no. 93, Parimal Publications, 2007. A list of earlier publications can be found in Rocher (1986:196).

<sup>724</sup> Dikshitar (1951-55:1, xxiv) and Kantawala (1964:8) both cited in Rocher (1986:199).

<sup>725</sup> The first of these chapters (252) discusses the myth of the Vāstupuruṣa (see chapter 10 below). The second is a traditional account of the selection of a site and text of the same as well as the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and the gods to place within it (253). It is a little unusual that the *Matsya Purāṇa* both gives instructions on how to place the deities in the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala pāda* by *pāda* and then according to their placement on the body of the Vāstupuruṣa. This might be to ensure that it is all done correctly and that none of the deities are placed in the wrong direction. The following two chapters deal with different kinds of buildings, not restricted to temples but also dealing with personal dwellings and palaces. Chapter 256 returns to site examination and discusses the *śalya* (see chapter 10 below). The following chapter (257) discusses the types of trees that are appropriate for building. As the text does not mention any stone or brick at this point one might assume that these were not used, which begs the question as to where this text might have been in use, or perhaps type of wood was more important, though that does not seem to be the case in other texts.

Chapter 258 is devoted to the measurements of images, first with the examples of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī and then some general measurements divided into categories depending on use, at home or in a temple, as well as material the image is molded out of. The rest of the chapter is devoted to rather detailed descriptions of the images relative measurements, such as the size of the eyes and length of nose. Chapter 259 is devoted to images of Śiva and the following two chapters to other deities and chapter 262 discusses the pedestals for the images while chapter 263 is devoted to the *liṅga*. In chapter 264-5 the *Matsya Purāṇa* turns to consecration of the images including the temporary mandapa used for the ceremony and chapter 266 describes the installation and 267 the bathing of the idol. In chapter 268 the *Matsya Purāṇa* returns to the Vāstupuruṣa and the offerings to the *pāda* deities.

blood, bones and flesh. However there is nothing that indicates a borrowing between the two texts.

### *Garuḍa Purāṇa*

While the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* only devotes two chapters (46-47) to temple construction these are of a similar structure to those of the other texts examined and the first of the chapters mainly deals with the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*.

Like many of the Purāṇas the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* has been edited and translated a number of times. The first English translation of the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* was done by M.N. Dutt and the preface by M. N. Dutta is dated to 1908. *Garuḍa Purāṇa* was reedited and published again, with an introduction by Pusendra Kumar<sup>726</sup>. The first part of the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* has been retranslated by Jagdish Lal Shastri and published in Motilal Banarasidass's Purāṇa series in 2005. Rocher notes that the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* is similar to the *Agni Purāṇa*, and perhaps even "modeled after it" and consequently more recent<sup>727</sup> the date is otherwise generally set around the 10-11<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>728</sup>. Meyer has compared the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* with the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* and concluded that the former is a conversion of the later into the *anuṣṭubh* meter (from the original *āryā* and other meters)<sup>729</sup>.

While the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is a ritual constructional text focusing only on temple construction, the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* is more general in its scope and includes a section on planning a large home consisting of multiple houses.

Besides a discussion of how to locate the cardinal directions the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* provides a scanty account of the building project. The text does, however, mention the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* (46.4-13). The account is standard, and similar to that given in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, but does not discuss the offerings. The intended audience for the account in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* could not have been an architect or anyone involved in the craft as the account is too brief to give any information that they would not have memorized. It cannot really be for the *ācārya* either as the account again does not give anywhere close to enough information. It seems to me that this is clearly written with a potential *yajamāna* in mind, who would be interested to know some essential points but not all the details and who would be extra tempted by specific types of information, such as if you place your door in a certain direction all will be well for you and your family<sup>730</sup>.

The relationship between the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the Purāṇas examined above is not clear, though it is clear that they are all from a closely related tradition. Similarities may stem from the texts all originating in the North Indian *śilpa śāstra* tradition. A few examples will illustrate. The *Agni Purāṇa* (chapter 42) discusses general plan of the temple, plan with reference to the idol, as well as (chapter 104) names, classes, shapes, and description of forty-five kinds of temples. The *Garuḍa*

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<sup>726</sup> Manmatha Nath Dutt, Pushpendra Kumar, *Śrīgaruḍamahāpurāṇam, the Garuḍa Mahāpurāṇam*, Eastern Book Linkers, Delhi, 2006.

<sup>727</sup> Rocher (1986:175) here refers to Hazra (1940:144).

<sup>728</sup> Rocher, 1986:147.

<sup>729</sup> Meyer (1929) in Rocher, 1986:176.

<sup>730</sup> See quotes and further discussion in chapters 9.2 and 10.5 below.

*Purāṇa* (chapter 47) has the exact same general plan, shapes, classes and forty-five types of temples, though the wording is not identical. While the *Matsya Purāṇa* gives a similar general plan, it only gives twenty types of buildings, though structured and classified in a similar way. The *Bhaviśya Purāṇa* (chapter 130) and the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (56) describe types of buildings in almost the same way, with the same twenty categories<sup>731</sup>.

## 6.5 The Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra in relationship to other Pāñcarātra texts on Temple construction

There are, besides the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* a number of Pāñcarātra texts that elaborates on temple construction, sculpture and the rituals connected therewith. There is little published and even less translated<sup>732</sup>. Here follows a survey based on Smith's discussion of the texts as well as an analysis of the texts that were available to me.

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is unique among Pāñcarātra texts in that it only discusses temple construction, sculpture and the rituals connected with these while in other texts the *śilpa śāstra* material tends to make up a relatively small portion. Besides the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* the most important text on temple architecture is the *Pādma Saṃhitā*.

Daniel Smith edited and published the *Pāñcarātraprāsādaprasādhanam* (ch1-10), which makes up the *kriyāpāda* of the *Pādma Saṃhitā*. Smith also discussed this text in his dissertation *The Temple-Building Activities of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in South India according to available extant Pāñcarātrāgama texts with special reference to the Pādma Tantra*<sup>733</sup>. Though Smith spends much time with the *Pādma Tantra* (or *Pādma Saṃhitā* as it is also called)<sup>734</sup> he does not translate the text nor does he discuss the age of the text.

Though it is also a Pāñcarātra text the *Pādma Saṃhitā* has a different approach to temple construction. Most notable is the complete lack of any references to the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. This is not due to the text's South Indian origin, as the *Mayamatam*, also a south Indian text, discusses the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* in detail. Possibly the *Pādma Saṃhitā* may be from a different part of south India, though I have not seen anything that may indicate this. The *Pādma Saṃhitā* does, however, have a similar treatment of the initial stages of temple construction (these will be discussed in the chapters following the translation)<sup>735</sup>.

The following are the Pāñcarātra texts that seem to be of interest for studies of temple architecture. Most of these Pāñcarātra texts are hard to obtain and I hope to find the ones I do not have a copy of yet and thus continue the study of the Pāñcarātra temple tradition.

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<sup>731</sup> See Acharya under "Prāsāda" for a lists of more texts (North Indian as well) concerning the temple plan (1946:vol. 7).

<sup>732</sup> I hope to obtain and study these texts in a future project.

<sup>733</sup> Smith, 1960.

<sup>734</sup> I will use the title *Pādma Saṃhitā* as it is the title that the text is more commonly known under.

<sup>735</sup> The *Pādma Saṃhitā* I hope will be my next translation project following a completion of the translation of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*.

*Aniruddha Saṃhitā* (published by Iyengar, Mysore 1956) chapters 10,11 and 31 have some material on temple building<sup>736</sup>. The text was published in Mysore by A. Sreenivasa Iyengar (1956) under the title *Śrī Pāñcarātrāgame: Divyasamhitāntargatā : Śrī Aniruddhasamhitā*. The text has, to the best of my knowledge, never been translated. Available online through the Center for Research Libraries (call number OCLC NO: 54118050).

*The Īśvara Saṃhitā* has been published twice (Sudarśana Press Conjeevaram, 1923 and Sadvidyā Press, Mysore, 1890<sup>737</sup>). Chapter 9,13-14, 16, 19, 20 and 23 contain detailed descriptions of temple construction. The *Īśvarasamhitā* is generally associated with the *Sātvatasamhitā*.<sup>738</sup> The text has been translated and edited as *Īśvarasamhitā; critically edited and translated* in five volumes by E. E. Laksmittantacarya, V Varadachari, Gaya Charan Tripathi and Alasingabhatta and published by the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts<sup>739</sup> in their *Kalāmūlaśāstra series, Kalāmūlaśāstra-granthamālā*.

The *Kapīñjala Saṃhitā* has been published once (K.C. Press Cuddhahpeh, 1896, in Telugu Script). Smith says that the *Kapīñjalasamhitā* is comparable to the *Pādmasamhitā* though less detailed. Chapters 6-10, 12, 13, 15 and 26 contain information about *śilpa śāstra*<sup>740</sup>. In Sanskrit (Telugu script); introduction in Telugu.

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Saṃhitā* (manuscript in the Adyar library, Mysore, Śrīraṅgam and Tirupati, published as *Mārkaṇḍeya Saṃhitā* by Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams, Tirupati, 1984) is mainly interested in temple worship, prerequisites for the temple, preparation of images, and pūjā. Smith assumes that the text is “late” (which he does not define) as the text has not been cited by “any of the classical authors of the school”<sup>741</sup>.

The *Nārādīya Saṃhitā* (manuscript in Adyar and Tirupati Libraries) is not the same as the *Nārādīyapañcarātra*. Chapters 14-18 are important for temple building. The text has been published as *Nārādīya Saṃhitā* by the Rāṣṭriyasamskṛtavidhyāpīṭham, Tirupati, 2002 (Possibly a reprint of the edition edited by Raghava Prasad Chaudhary, Tirupati, Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyāpeetha, series no 15, 1971). The focus of the text, as many Pāñcarātra texts, is on such topics as worship, the structure of worship, paraphernalia, personnel, place of worship, etc. The text also has several chapters on *śilpa śāstra*, starting with several chapters on image making and continuing with a section on temple architecture (starting in chapter 14). These chapters follow a structure similar to that of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, though not as detailed. The name Nārada is a popular title for Pāñcarātra texts and several different manuscripts have been found with the same title, thus it is not clear if this text is the one referred to by such authorities within the tradition as Vedānta Deśika<sup>742</sup>.

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<sup>736</sup> Smith, 1963:185.

<sup>737</sup> Smith, 1963:186.

<sup>738</sup> Smith, 1963:186.

<sup>739</sup> E. E. Laksmittantacarya, V Varadachari, Gaya Charan Tripathi and Alasingabhatta, *Īśvarasamhitā; critically edited and translated in five volumes, Kalāmūlaśāstra series, Kalāmūlaśāstra-granthamālā*, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts in association with Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 2009.

<sup>740</sup> Smith, 1963:187.

<sup>741</sup> Smith, 1978:97.

<sup>742</sup> Smith, 1963:187-8.

The *Pārameśvara Saṃhitā* is important for the practice and understanding of the temple at Śrīraṅgam. The text was published in 1953 by S.R. Vijayaraghava Iyengar (Srirangam). The *Pārameśvara Saṃhitā* is the subject of one of Marion Rastelli's books: *Die Tradition des Pāñcarātra im Spiegel der Pārameśvarasaṃhitā*<sup>743</sup>.

The *Śrīpraśna Saṃhitā* published by Maṅgavilāsa Press (Kumbakkonam, 1904, in Grantha Script) is for Kumbakkonam what the *Pārameśvara Saṃhitā* is for Śrīraṅgam. Chapters five through ten contain relevant information of temple construction.<sup>744</sup> The *Śrīpraśna Saṃhitā* has been published in a critical edition in the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyāpeetha Series nr 12 by Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyāpeetha, Tirupati in 1969, it was edited by Seetha Padmanabhan<sup>745</sup>.

The sheer number of this type of texts<sup>746</sup> makes it clear that the Pāñcarātra tradition places great importance on temple worship and temple construction.

## 6.6 The Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra and the Hari Bhakti Vilāsa

Of particular importance to the study of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, which clearly considers the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* an authoritative text. As discussed above (in chapter 4.2) the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* is a ritual compilation (*nibandha*) written around 1534. The author was Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin (1501 – 1586), a Brāhmaṇa from Sri Rangam in modern Tamil Nadu. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin was one of the “Six Gosvamins of Vrindavana”, the group of learned and ascetic followers of Caitanya (1486 – 1533) that gave the Gaudiya Vaiṣṇava *saṃpradāya* its theological basis<sup>747</sup>. The *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa* has, to my knowledge, only been translated once by Bhūmipati Dāsa<sup>748</sup> and edited by Purnaprajña Dāsa. All my references are to this edition.

<sup>743</sup> Rastelli, 2006.

<sup>744</sup> Smith, 1963:190.

<sup>745</sup> While the *The Paramapurūṣasaṃhitā* (ed. by Sītārāmāchārya, published by Literary Pride of India no 4 *kri.ś.* 1798 [sic]) is a Pañcarātra work on temple architecture this work deals mainly with the administration of the temple once worship has been established. Chapters 2, 3 and 5 outline the qualifications and duties of those who are to be hired by the *yajamāna* to direct the *pūjā* routines and to oversee the administrative details of the temple (Smith, 1963:188-9). *The Pārameśvarasaṃhitā* has also been published once (Śrī Vilasam Press, Śrīraṅgam, 1953). Though this text does not contain much descriptive or analytical architectural material it demonstrates the application of general building rules to a specific place – the Śrīraṅgam temple, and would thus be of value for a more specific discussion on this particular temple.

<sup>746</sup> I hope to be able to obtain and translate many of these texts for future project as that would give additional knowledge of the Pāñcarātra tradition and its temple building practices. The transition from a cult with initiation and private rituals to a public temple centered sect is also a topic I hope to pursue in the future.

<sup>747</sup> Måns R. Broo, “The Early Morning Rites According to the Hari-Bhakti-Vilasa” in *Chakra*, University of Lund, 2005. The term “ritual compilation” is from Goudriaan (1981: 141–142) and indicates texts that are Tantric works of known authorship which present material on ritual ceremonies, usually in the form of quotations from older authorities. Also Måns R. Broo, *As Good as God – the Guru in Gaudīya Vaiṣṇavism*, Åbo Akademi University Press, Åbo, 2003:20-21. For a discussion of the authorship of the text see Bhṛgumuni Dāsa, *Dearest to Viṣṇu. Ekādaśī and Dvādaśī According to the Hari-Bhakti-Vilāsa*. Absolute Truth Press, Borgå, 2001:xii-xvi.

<sup>748</sup> *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa* by Sanātana Gosvāmī, translated by Bhūmipati Dāsa, edited by Purnaprajña Dāsa, Rasbiharilal & Sons, Vrindavan, 2005.



The *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa* is a compendium of rituals with regards to most every aspect of life. The *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa* discusses the rituals connected to temple construction in *vilāsas* (parts) 18-20 of. Here the compiler has quoted large sections from the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, rearranging them together with large portions from primarily the *Matsya* and *Devī Purāṇas*. It is clear that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is the main text for the compiler and that the other texts are used to substantiate, give alternatives or fill in where the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is vague or provides no information. For example, the reading in the *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa*<sup>749</sup> follows the reading of manuscript A in the two printed editions closely, with only a few differences (which may be typos in the printed edition of the *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa*). It should be noted here to that the translation of the *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa* done by Bhūmipati Dāsa at times is unclear, full of mistakes and omits phrases, and at times inserts or implies things that the text does not say. For example *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa* 20.179 and *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 9.20-21 reads

*tato bhūta gaṇānān tu rākṣasānām surottama/  
piśācānām gaṇānān tu balir deyas tu kāmikaḥ/  
etān vā pūjayet sarvvān kuśapuspākṣatair budhaḥ//*

Translation (20.179) in the *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa* reads:

O foremost of demigods, a yajamāna who is filled with material desires should offer gifts to the ghosts, demons, and hobgoblins as well. If the yajamāna is without material desires, being a pure devotee of Lord Viṣṇu, he should worship all these demigods with offerings of *kuśa* grass, flowers and rice paddy<sup>750</sup>.

My translation of the identical passage in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*:

Thus the *bali* should be given to the hosts of Bhūtas, Rākṣasas and Piśācas as desired, O Best of Gods. (9.20)

Or the wise could worship these with *kuśa*-grass, flowers and unhusked grain. (9.21)

The commentary to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 9.21 (from 1952) quoting the *Matsya Purāṇa*, indicates that *etān* refers to all of the offerings mentioned earlier<sup>751</sup>. That is if one cannot get hold of one of the recommended substances then one may replace it with *kuśa* grass, etc. (See further discussion in chapter 10.5 below). The obvious interpolation is the subordinate clause in the second sentence, which has no support in the Sanskrit text. Neither the first nor the second line of the verse tells about the *yajamāna* or material desires. The translator implied this from *etān*. This *etān* could perhaps refer to the *yajamāna* but it seems more likely that this would refer to the above-mentioned gods as *etān* could be either masculine plural (*yajamāna*?) and *etām* would be feminine singular accusative: her)<sup>752</sup>. The commentary to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* states the offerings

<sup>749</sup> *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa*, 2005.

<sup>750</sup> *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa*, 2005.

<sup>751</sup> *Matsyapurāṇe tu hayaśīrṣīyakraṁeṇa balibhedamāmidhāy "pāyasaṁ vāpi dātavyaṁ khañānā sarvataḥ kramāt/ namaskāreṇa mantreṇa prāṇavādyena sarvataḥ//"* (242), Commentary to the 1952 edition by Sāṅkhyatīrtha, pm56.

<sup>752</sup> The *devanāgarī* text does not distinguish between *n* and *m*.

could be substituted if one cannot find the appropriate ingredient. This is also supported by the *Matsya Purāṇa*<sup>753</sup>, which states that *payasam* can be used as a substitute<sup>754</sup>.

The English translator of the *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa* seems to be interpolating Vaiṣṇava theology into this text. Theology that was later than the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, but prior to the *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa*. Ramanuja, composing more than 200 years after the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, articulates how the performance of Vedic-injoined *kāmya karma* can be consistent with a disinterested, *mokṣa* oriented, Vaiṣṇava practice. It is important to keep the later developed Vaiṣṇava exegesis of Vedānta separate from this rather earlier Vaiṣṇava articulation of the construction. There are significant differences in terms of dating, locale, genre and audience.

The *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa*, though an important work for Vaiṣṇava sects, has not been the focus of much scholarly attention<sup>755</sup>, possibly due to its status as an obvious compilation and its relatively young age. Still the essential copying of large portions of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* into the *Agni Purāṇa* and the *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa* may explain the earlier texts backgrounded existence. While the *Agni Purāṇa* often summarizes the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, the *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa* quotes large portions, supplemented with sections from other texts on the same topics. (In the translation the corresponding verses are found in the footnotes.) The significant portions that have been borrowed and juxtaposed to other texts on the same topics in the *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa* can be used almost as a commentary where the compiler has selected passages that he found to be the most valid. For example while *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa* quotes the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* with regards to the layout of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, it quotes the *Matsya Purāṇa* for the details of the offerings to the deities. The differences between the two texts are not that great, but it makes for some slight confusion as some deities are different, the *Matsya Purāṇa* mentions that Kūrma should be given milk cake but the quote from the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* offers no space for Kūrma. It is clear that the reason for choosing the account on offerings from the *Matsya Purāṇa* rather than from the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is that the *Matsya Purāṇa* (with a few exceptions of meat, cooked and raw) keeps to vegetarian offerings, while the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* has numerous bloody offerings (see chapter 9 of the translation). The chapter (9) is quoted in its entirety in *Hari bhakti vilāsa* 20.161-181.

It is thus clear that the *Agni Purāṇa* and the *Hari Bhakta Vilāsa* borrowed extensively from the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. Possibly these extensive borrowings into two popular and widely dissented texts is the explanation for the fact that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* has largely been forgotten. It has been much more difficult to establish from where the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* might have borrowed its material even though the text itself gives a long list of sources (see chapter 4.4 above). These texts, when identifiable, have often been hard to find and for those that have been available to me it has not been obvious what the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* might have borrowed from these texts.

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<sup>753</sup> See note to verse 9.21 below.

<sup>754</sup> Commentary from 1952 to verse 9.21.

<sup>755</sup> The only one I have located working on the *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa* is Måns Broo in Åbo, Finland, see bibliography for references.

## Part 3 Translation

### *A note regarding the translation*

My translation is based on the Sanskrit text edited by Kali Kumar Dutta Shastri and published by the Asiatic Society in the Bibliotheca Indica series in 1976<sup>756</sup>. I have also utilized the 1952 edition edited and commented on by Bhuban Mohan Sāṅkyaṭīrtha and published by the Varendra Research Society<sup>757</sup>. I have aimed at accuracy in my translation. At times accuracy has gone before style. At times I have preferred to keep the Sanskrit term in the text with a footnote rather than have a cumbersome English sentence to translate one word. When explanations are needed they are supplied in footnotes. At times brackets give an explanation of a name. Terms are explained in a footnote at that instance. In other instances I have not given full credit to the Sanskrit syntax. This has been noted in the footnotes. I also have not always translated the same word the same way every time. As words are affected by the context in which they are used, I have used alternative meanings when and as the sense required. For example the verb *nyas* may indicate a simple placement of an object or it may designate the more ritually significant installment or deposit of an object or deity. Despite care, some irregularities may still persist in transcriptions of Sanskrit words. These are unintentional.

In the footnotes to the translation the following abbreviations will be used:

Agni – Agni Purāṇa

VdP – *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*

HBV – *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa*

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<sup>756</sup> Kali Kumar Dutta Shastri ed, *Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra (ādi-kāṇḍa) Bibliotheca Indica*, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1976. See chapter ‘manuscripts’ for a discussion of these editions.

<sup>757</sup> Bhubhan Mohan Sāṅkyaṭīrtha, *the Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* (an ancient treatise on architecture and consecration of images), vol 1 *ādikāṇḍa paṭalāḥ* 1-14, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, East Bengal, 1952.

## 7 Translation of chapter 1-14 of the Ādikāṇḍa of the Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra

Chapter One – The Madhu and Kaiṭabha episode.

The first kāṇḍa.

The first paṭala.

[The śāstrāvātāra<sup>758</sup>.]

Homage to Viḡhneśvāra.

Mārkaṇḍeya said:

For what reason did the mighty Viṣṇu previously become manifest as Hayaśīrāḡ<sup>759</sup> and what was the reason that the Lord of the Gods assumed a radiant body? 1

The mighty Lord of the World, Nārāyaṇa, previously [assumed] the form of Hayaśīrṣa. What you heard, Sir, was explained by the Supreme God<sup>760</sup>. 2<sup>761</sup>

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<sup>758</sup> Śāstrāvātārah, lit., "the descent of the śāstra [scripture or text]."

<sup>759</sup> Hayaśīrāḡ, Hayaśīrṣa and Hayagrīva are all names for the same horse-headed incarnation of Viṣṇu; *haya* means horse and *śīrāḡ*, *śīrṣa*, head and *grīva*, neck, respectively.

Hayaśīrṣa was widely adored by the Vaiṣṇavas. The two epics (*Rāmāyana* Ki, 41, 22.1 DCS and, for example, *Mahābhārata* 12, 25, 29.2, DCS,) as well as the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (II.7.11) mention him. Gupta thinks that his position among the Pañcarātras was not important, in so far as the *Sātvata* and *Pauṣkara Saṃhitās* describe Hayagrīva in the third category of Narayaṇa's emanations (e-mail communication, Jan. 24, 2010). However, the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* describes Hayagrīva's *pūjā* in an elaborate way. Lakṣmaṇa Deśika mentions, in his *Śāradātilakam*, that Hayagrīva is an incarnation prior to Viṣṇu's Matsya incarnation. In the *Devī-bhāgavata Purāṇa* there is an elaborate account of Hayagrīva (1.5.98ff). Gupta also stated (in an e-mail) "To my mind Hayagrīva can be a parallel deity to Brahmā who is the Vedas and close to Śabda Brahmān. He also is the sacrifice itself. He is the creator and as such comes close to the cycle of gods belonging to Samkarsana the supreme vidya" (e-mail communication, Jan 24, 2010). In Vedic mythology the story of how Viṣṇu lost his head and received a horse head as a replacement is mentioned (see chapter 4.1).

Gopinatha Rao has noted that the god Hayagrīva is looked upon within the Pañcarātra tradition as the god of learning and that his function is similar to that attributed to the goddess Sarasvatī in 'mainstream' Hinduism (Rao, Gopinatha *Hindu Iconography*, vol 1, part 1, Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1971:260-1). Sanjukta Gupta has shown how the early Vaiṣṇava tradition devised several Vaiṣṇava counterparts to other deities (such as Hayaśīrṣa, the god of learning) in order to make the Viṣṇu cult and pantheon complete. This process of assimilation basically conforms to other similar patterns of assimilation – (sometimes called syncretism) of multiple deities into one found among other Hindu sects. (Gupta, 1976, p. 75-89, p 75). Thus Hayaśīrṣa's placement at the beginning of a śāstra is explained by his connection to knowledge.

The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* devotes one whole chapter to the worship of Hayagrīva employing, for example, mantras, a *maṇḍala* and breathing exercises. (*The Garuḍa Mahāpurāṇa* Sanskrit text with English Translation by M.N. Dutt) The *Mahābhārata* may contain the earliest recorded versions of the story, mentioning it four times (6.63, 12.200.8-16, 3.194, 12.335). See further discussion in chapter 4.1.

<sup>760</sup> "Explained" *uktam*, lit., "spoken".

Since I am asking, please tell me about the original Pañcarātra<sup>762</sup>.

*Bhṛgu* said:

Listen dear, I will tell you about the ancient Pañcarātra. 3

Since you, who, having made homage to the horse-headed one<sup>763</sup>, are a devotee of Keśava<sup>764</sup>, you are worthy to hear the ancient Pañcarātra. 4

Formerly, it is told, Virūpākṣa-Maheśvara<sup>765</sup> with Gaurī<sup>766</sup> questioned the four-faced one<sup>767</sup> who was staying in the above of Vairāja<sup>768</sup>. 5

Maheśvara said:

Mighty Lord Hayaśīrṣāḥ– who was the slayer of Madhu and Kaiṭabha – when he was in the cosmic ocean – was asked by you [*Bhṛgu*] about the Pañcarātra. (6), O Intelligent one, please tell me of the four Vedas, which were consigned, all of that at great length, O four-faced one.<sup>769</sup>

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<sup>761</sup> This verse, as well as several others, articulates the Pāñcārātra focus on Viṣṇu as the highest deity – see further in chapter 5 above.

<sup>762</sup> The Pāñcārātra tradition intimately ties the Hayaśīrṣa incarnation of Viṣṇu, who is literally credited as the original source of the tradition, to itself.

<sup>763</sup> *Saptiśīrṣam*, lit., “he who has a head which is like the head of a horse”, or “who has the head of a horse”.

<sup>764</sup> Viṣṇu

<sup>765</sup> Śiva

<sup>766</sup> Pārvatī

<sup>767</sup> Brahmā

<sup>768</sup> The abode of Vairāj (Brahmā).

<sup>769</sup> The story of Madhu and Kaiṭabha appears in many Pañcarātra texts, including the *Jayākya Saṃhitā*, it is also in the *Mahābhārata* as well as in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the Vālmiki *Rāmāyaṇa*. The development of the story has been traced by Andreas Bock in his “Die Madhu-Kaiṭhabha-Episode und ihre Bearbeitung in der - Anonymliteratur des Pāñcārātra” (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. 137, 1987:78-109, available online <http://menadoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/dmg/periodical/titleinfo/150417?lang=de>). Bock traces the development of the story from what he sees as its first appearance in the *Mahābhārata* till its later development in various Pāñcārātra sources. The story appears in the following texts:

- I. *Mahābhārata* 6.63
- II. *Mahābhārata* 200.8-16
- III. *Harivaṃśa* 42.14-33
- IV. *Mahābhārata* 3.194
- V. *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* 1.15
- VI. *Mahābhārata* 12.335
- VII. *Jayākya Saṃhitā* ch 2
- VIII. *Ahīrbudhnya Saṃhitā* Adhyaya 41
- IX. *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 1.1

With regards to the version told in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* Bock sees it as directly dependent on the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* 1.15, *The Mahābhārata* 12. 335, *Jayākya Saṃhitā* 2 and *Ahīrbudhnya Saṃhitā* 41 (Bock, 1987: 208). The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* has several verses in common with the *Viṣṇudharmottara*

Brahmā said:

Please listen to what happened then in the cosmic ocean when, long ago, the cosmic ocean was impossible to perceive, all that moved was immobile, was destroyed, as well as when the sun, the moon, the planets and the wind were destroyed, while the God Janārdana slept having approached [his] couch Śeṣa<sup>770</sup>. 8-9<sup>771</sup>

Located in the middle of the ocean, resorting to the couch Śeṣa, the mighty lord Nārāyaṇa, the primordial god of old, slept. 10

He destroyed all the worlds and went under the influence of *yoganīdrā*<sup>772</sup>. The divine splendor in the body of that lord, who was sleeping, was magnificent. 11

Then a lotus<sup>773</sup>, blazing with the splendor of Viṣṇu, like a light, came forth, produced in the navel [of Viṣṇu]. 12

It had a thousand petals and filaments and was similar to a thousand suns. Then the blessed God Nārāyaṇa, with his splendor, created the golden egg, and I am the embryo in that. I quickly split the golden egg in two<sup>774</sup>. 13-14

And there I possessed a great form, which was golden, which had four arms and four faces and, which was adorned with a crown of matted hair. 15

I am of such a form, situated on that lotus, reciting<sup>775</sup> the Vedas along with the *aṅgas*, *upāṅgas*, the *padas*, and *kramas*. 16

Then the Vedas, who took on corporal form<sup>776</sup>, waited upon me. There a drop of sweat arose [on me], who was devoted to Vedic practice. 17

Then the [drop] fell on the lotus leaf and became twofold. From that [drop of sweat] two *daiṭyas* consisting of *rajas* and *tamas*<sup>777</sup>, arrogant in their strength, came into existence. 18<sup>778</sup>

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*Purāṇa*, indicating that, perhaps, the former borrowed from the latter. It is possible that both obtained the story from a common source.

For the importance of Hayaśīrṣa (or Hayagrīva) in the Indian tradition, with special references to iconography, see Kamala Elizabeth Nyar's *Hayagrīva in South India – Complexity and Selectivity of a Pan-Indian Hindu Deity* (Brill, 2004, Leiden).

<sup>770</sup> *śeṣaparyāṅkam* - Śeṣa is, of course, the serpent on which Viṣṇu sleeps in his yogic sleep in the cosmic waters. This image is popular in art, for example, on one of the panels at the Pārvaṭī temple in Deoghar.

<sup>771</sup> HP 1.1.8ab = VdP 1.15.5, HP 1.1.8cd = VdP 1.15.6ab.

<sup>772</sup> Viṣṇu's long period of sleep between the destruction and recreation of the universe.

<sup>773</sup> Lit. through the form of a lotus (*padmarupena*)... a lotus (*padma*).

<sup>774</sup> Lit. 'made twofold' i.e. when Brahmā came out of the egg.

<sup>775</sup> Lit. 'then I recite'.

<sup>776</sup> It is a common feature for objects to take on a body. Thus in art Viṣṇu's weapons are often personified, as for example the Gadā Puruṣa.

They were named Madhu and Kaiṭabha and were of great strength and heroism. Their minds set on evil, those two took away my Vedas. 19

When the Vedas, along with their bodies<sup>779</sup>, were abducted, O Maheśvara, I [Brahmā] – in that lotus navel – caused the God, from the mouth [of Padmanābha<sup>780</sup>] to wake up. 20<sup>781</sup>

Then the God who had been awakened assumed a horse-headed form, resembling a hundred moons and wearing various ornaments. 21

That auspicious [body], which had four arms and was bearing the *gadā*, *cakra*, *padma* and *śārṅga*<sup>782</sup>, went, with that second form, to the underworld known as Rasātala<sup>783</sup>. 22

The horse-headed one<sup>784</sup> took the eternal Vedas [and] went to the divine Pauṣkara<sup>785</sup> abode, which was frequented by great sages. 23

Just that one, the *jagadguru*, again gave those Vedas [to me]. Please hear that about which, at that time, I questioned the God. 24

What is the extent of the Pañcarātra previously explained by you?  
How do those desiring liberation make a temple for you, O God? 25<sup>786</sup>

And what is the rule<sup>787</sup> for the protectors of the *mūrti*<sup>788</sup> of the *ācārya*?  
And [what is] the regulation for a sacrifice to the *vāstu*<sup>789</sup>?

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<sup>777</sup> The *Daityas* are a kind of demons, sons of Diti. *Rajas* and *tamas* can be translated as passion and darkness but as two of the three *guṇas*, the third one being the highest *sattva* or truth, they convey much more than that.

<sup>778</sup> The drop of sweat is also present in the story as told in the *Jayākhya Saṃhitā* (see Rastelli, 1999: 380, *Jayākhya Saṃhitā*, 2.45-47) but not in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*.

<sup>779</sup> That is, according to the commentary of the 1952 ed., the *aṅgas*, *upāṅgas*, the *padas*, and *kramas*.

<sup>780</sup> Following the commentary of the 1952 edition.

<sup>781</sup> The commentary to the 1952 edition of the text states that not only was Viṣṇu woken by Brahmā but also asked to put on a second head, that of a horse. The commentator does not explain why. The commentator also notes the inconsistency in the story in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and *Devi Mahātmya Purāṇa* (see commentary to verse 1.20 p. 4-5), also mentioned in chapter 4.1 above.

<sup>782</sup> The weapons *gadā*, *cakra*, *padma* and *śārṅga* identify this form as Viṣṇu.

<sup>783</sup> Lit. the surface of Rasātala hell.

<sup>784</sup> *aśvaśirasā* – with horse head – again referring to Viṣṇu as Hayaśirṣa.

<sup>785</sup> This is the reading from the critical edition, the 1952 edition reads Pauṣṇava.

<sup>786</sup> Already these questions make the purpose of the text clear. The text articulates the rituals pertaining to preparation before and the construction of a temple as well as the sculpting and installation of the deity within. Dines Ch. Bhattacharya in his foreword to the 1952 edition of the text states that this “questionnaire” (1.25-8) “proves that the present work belongs to a particular class of treaties called Pratistha tantra” (also 1.3.14 supports this) and that it was “regarded as a supreme authority on the subject in the Bengal school of *smṛti*.” (Bhattacharya Foreword to *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* 1952, pages not numbered.)

<sup>787</sup> In these questions I have translated *lakṣaṇa* as rule, *vidhāna* as regulation and *vidhim* as method.

<sup>788</sup> *Mūrti* – the icon or image in the temple.

<sup>789</sup> For a discussion on the sacrifice to the *vāstu* see chapter 10 below.

And [what is] the rule for the giving of *arghya*<sup>790</sup>? 26

What is the regulation for the placing of the stones?

As well as [what is] the [regulation for] the preparation of the sacred ground<sup>791</sup> etc.?

And [what is] the rule for the temple?

And [what is] the rule for the image? 27<sup>792</sup>

[What is the rule with regards to] the entire fivefold temple?

Thus also, what is the method of erecting the flag-staff?

And whatever else that would be additional to the temples that [too I] asked about, O *Sureśvara*<sup>793</sup>. 28

And that which, either from ignorance or carelessness, was not mentioned by me, please tell [me] all that in its entirety by your grace, O Lord. 29

Thus ends the first *paṭala* in the *ādikāṇḍa* in the *Hayaśīrṣa Mahāpañcarātra* which has twelve thousand verses.

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<sup>790</sup> The *arghya* – an offering– see also discussion under chapter concerning sacrifice to the *vāstu*.

<sup>791</sup> The word *kṣetra* here refers to the plot of land set aside for constructing the temple. It has been prepared for that purpose – thus it is sacred.

<sup>792</sup> I have translated *vidhāna* as regulation and *lakṣaṇa* as rule to differentiate between the two Sanskrit terms.

<sup>793</sup> Lord of Gods, Viṣṇu.



Chapter Two. List of texts, Characteristics of the Ācārya.

The Second *paṭala*.

[The *Pañcarātrasvarūpanirūpṇam*]

Śrībhagavān said:<sup>794</sup>

I will explain to you everything which you asked. Previously, in *kalpa*<sup>795</sup> after *kalpa*, the entire Pañcarātra was enunciated by me. 1<sup>796</sup>

In the world the sages contemplated the exposition of the [following] twenty five texts one by one<sup>797</sup>. The (1) *Hayaśirṣa* is said to be the foremost of the collected *tantras*. 2<sup>798</sup>

Then (2) *Trailokyamohana tantra*<sup>799</sup>, (3) *Vaibhava* and (4) *Pauṣkara*, (5) *Nārādīya tantra* and (6) *Prāhrāda* and (7) *Gārgyagālava*. 3

(8) *Śrīpraśna tantra*, (9) *Śāṅḍila tantra* and (10) *Īśvarasamhitā*, (11) the most excellent (*satyokta*) *tantra* and the (12) *Vāśiṣṭha* and also the (13) *Śaunaka*. 4

And another *tantra* is the (14) *Nārāyaṇīya*, and also the (15) *Jñānārṇava*, the (16) *Svāyambhuva*, and the (17) *Kāpila*, (18) *Vihagendra* and the others. 5

(19) *Ātreya*, (20) *Nārasimhākhyā*, (21) *Ānandākhyā* and (22) *Ārūṇa*, (23) *Baudhānya* and (24) *Baudhāyana tantra* and also (25) *Vaiśvātārīta*. 6<sup>800</sup>

And also they mention that great *tantra* which establishes the eight syllables (*Aṣṭakṣa*<sup>801</sup>). These having pervaded the surface of the earth are established by this large collection. 7

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<sup>794</sup> We have left the introductory narrative. Viṣṇu here responds to Brahmā's questions. The first chapter established three pairs of inquiry and answer. Mārkaṇḍeya questions Bhṛgu, who recounts Śiva's questions to Brahmā, who recounts his own questioning of Viṣṇu.

<sup>795</sup> A *kalpa* is the largest unit of time in the Indian concept of time. A *kalpa* is equal to 4.32 billion years, a "day of Brahmā" or one thousand *mahayugas* (Johnson, W.J. *A Dictionary of Hinduism*. Oxford University Press, 2009:165).

<sup>796</sup> c – Agni 39.1c. As discussed above in chapter 6, a large portion of the *Agni Purāṇa* portion on Architecture consists of quotes and summaries of the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra*.

<sup>797</sup> The text seems to distinguish two points of view. From a worldly point of view sages compose texts. From an esoteric point of view Viṣṇu declares the Pāñcarātra.

<sup>798</sup> ab= Agni 39.2ab. This list is also found in the *Agni* 39.2-5 with minor differences. See also appendix 3 and chapter 10 below. See also Schrader's *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra* (1916/1973:5ff) for a comparison between several Pāñcarātra texts and the lists they contain.

<sup>799</sup> For possible identifications of this and the following texts see chapter 4.4 "Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra's sources". Dines Ch. Bhattacharya, in his foreword to the 1952 edition, says that he traced practically the same list in the Mantrakaumudi of the celebrated Maithila scholar Devanātha Tarkapancāna (400 L.S i.e. second decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> C AD, Bhattacharya 1952, pgs not numbered).

<sup>800</sup> ab ½c = Agni 39.5ab, ½c.

<sup>801</sup> *Om Namō Nārāyanaya*.

These are the ancient *tantras*: the Bhāgavata, the one spoken by Śīva, the one revealed by Viṣṇu, the one that originates from Padma (Brahmā), the *Vārāha Purāna*, and others. 8

There are also the general *saṃhitās* of the Bhāgavatas, the other<sup>802</sup> *saṃhitā* spoken by Vyāsa<sup>803</sup> and the great *saṃhitā* as well. 9

Whatever else was recited by the sages [this text] has recourse to, and the portion [relating to] the temple etc., all that, Viṣṇu told<sup>804</sup>. 10

One who desires to gain merit by means of [constructing] a temple for my image ought to search for an *ācārya* who is endowed with [the following] characteristics. 11<sup>805</sup>

He who is a pure descendent of Brahmā and he who knows the destruction, origin and maintenance of the universe, who is wellborn and wise, he is worthy of the state of an *ācārya*. 12<sup>806</sup>

The *brāhmaṇa* of all the *varṇas* is the one who is learned in *Pañcarātra*, set free from anger and greed, without faults and jealousy. 13<sup>807</sup>

Free from consumption and loss of memory, without leprosy, whose limbs are not too many or few, young and marked by the auspicious signs. 14<sup>808</sup>

He should be a worshipper of the same deity<sup>809</sup>. He should avoid food from *sūdras*. When it is not [possible to] obtain a *brāhmaṇa*, a *kṣatriya* can [be the authority] for *vaiśyas* and *sūdras*. 15<sup>810</sup>

When not obtaining a *kṣatriya*, a *vaiśya* can be arranged for the *sūdras*. But not at any time is a *sūdra* allowed to be an *ācārya*. 16<sup>811</sup>

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<sup>802</sup> *vyāsoktā saṃhitā cānyā tathā parmamasamhitā/* lit., "the *saṃhitā* spoken by Vyāsa and the other as well [as] the great *saṃhitā*. The question is where the *cānyā* construes, with the *saṃhitā* spoken by Vyāsa or with the *paramasamhitā*. I have chosen the first one given the pāda break. One could also read "the one spoken by Vyāsa as well as the other, the *paramasamhitā*", or one could even read the last section as, "the one spoken by Vyāsa as well as another great *saṃhitā*", which, of course, makes it less specific. The variant reads *caiva*, which indicates that someone though the reading was a bit awkward.

<sup>803</sup> *Mahābhārata*

<sup>804</sup> Again the text emphasizes that Viṣṇu is the origin of the declaration.

<sup>805</sup> HBV 19.93. Large portions of the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* have been quoted in the *HBV*, see earlier discussion in chapter 6 above.

<sup>806</sup> HBV 19.94 reads *hi* for *tu*. Compare Smith, *Pādmasaṃhitā*, p. 7, note 21.

<sup>807</sup> HBV 19.95. This verse makes it sound like all that is needed to be (or become?) a Brāhmin is knowledge of the *Pāñcarātra* texts. However, this is contradicted by verse 15 and 16 where *sūdras* clearly are not in any way able to take part in the construction of the temple, thus, they cannot become Brāhmaṇas.

<sup>808</sup> HBV 19.96

<sup>809</sup> Presumably this means the same deity as that of the *yajamāna*.

<sup>810</sup> HBV 19.97

<sup>811</sup> HBV 19.98 has *sūdrasya* for *sūdras tu* and *naivācāryaivam* for *na cācāryatvam*.

He should take as a guru one who is a *grhastha* and a *Brahmācarya*<sup>812</sup> and who has avoided the eight [things] that begin with ‘k’<sup>813</sup> and who is intent on a vow of fasting, always. 17<sup>814</sup>

He should have an honest nature, he should be a sweet and gentle speaker. When such a guru, the best of men, is established then the ruler of the country will sacrifice<sup>815</sup> and the artists, beginning with the *sthāpakas*, are honored for a long time. Here there is no doubt. 18<sup>816</sup>- 19

Thus ends the second *paṭala* in the *ādikāṇḍa* in the *Hayaśīrṣa Mahāpañcarātra* which has twelve thousand verses.

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Smith takes this verse to mean that a *śūdra* also can be an *ācārya*, arguing that this would mean that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* conforms more to the earlier Pāñcarātra view of initiation and caste not being an important factor (Daniel Smith, *Pañcarātraprādāpurasādhanam, chapters 1-10 of the kriya-pada of the Pādma Saṃhitā, a Pañcarātra text on Temple Building*, Madras 1963, p 6 note 19). I do not agree with Smith’s understanding of the text, however. It seems to me that the text clearly says that a *śūdra* cannot, under any circumstances be an *ācārya*, not even for other *śūdras*.

<sup>812</sup> The 1952 commentary answers the question as to how one can be a *grhastha* and a Brahmacarya in the same time. If one, as a *grhastha*, avoids sleeping with ones wife on certain days the one stays Brahmacarya – there are only two permitted days during each moon cycle. *Manu Smṛti* (3.50) says “Regardless of the order of live in which a man lives, if he avoids women during the forbidden nights and during the other eight nights, he becomes a true celibate” (Patric Olivelle, *The Law Code of Manu*, Oxford World’s Classics, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004:47). Olivelle explains “The rule is simple, a man who has sex with his wife only to produce offspring and not for lust should be considered a celibate”. Thus a couple should not have sex when the wife is infertile or unclean (i.e. menstruating, Olivelle 2004:243, note to 3.50). In reference to Rāmāyāna 1.47.18, the story of Ahalya, Robert Goldman discusses the *ṛtukāla*, “the period of fertility during which sex was uniquely countenanced, even mandated, in traditional India” (Goldman “Fathers, Sons, and Gurus: Oedipal Conflict in the Sanskrit Epics.” *Journal of Indian Philosophy*. Vol.6, 1978, pp. 325-92:391). Thus, if the couple only has sex during the womans *ṛtukāla* the husband will continue to be a Brahmacarya.

<sup>813</sup> Kacchadeśa, Kāverī, Koṅkaṇa, Kāmarūpa, Kaliṅga, Kāñchī, Kāśmīra, Kośala, explained in verse 3.4.

<sup>814</sup> HBV 19.99abcd

<sup>815</sup> That is the ruler of the country will sponsor the temple through performing his sacrifices there, which then means that the officiating priests will get paid and that the temple will have a steady source of patronage. This mention of royal patronage indicates a developed stage of the cult and is an index – like the brāhminical view of caste articulated in verses 12 - 17 – of the brāhminization of the cult relative to its antinomican, heterodox, tantric origins.

<sup>816</sup> ab = HBV 19.99ef

Chapter Three. Negative characteristics of the Ācārya.

[The characteristics of an ācārya to be avoided.]

The Lord said-

I will tell you about the *sthāpakas* endowed with perverse qualities. He should not construct a temple with those who are avoided in this *tantra*<sup>817</sup>. 1

He [with whom one constructs a temple] should not be a *Śaiva*, or a *Saura*, nor a *Naiṣṭhika*<sup>818</sup>, nor a naked one, nor born of mixed marriage, nor unclean, old, or one who is of a despicable form or marked by great sin<sup>819</sup>. 2<sup>820</sup>

Nor should he have leprosy<sup>821</sup>, deformed nails, white leprosy<sup>822</sup>, brown teeth, be a consumptive<sup>823</sup>, one born in Kacchadeśa<sup>824</sup>, or from Kāverī or Koṅkana<sup>825</sup>. 3<sup>826</sup>

Nor originating in Kāmarūpa<sup>827</sup> or Kaliṅga, or Kāñcī, Kāśmīra or Kośala, nor one having bad behavior, bad company or come from Mahārāṣṭra. 4<sup>828</sup>

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<sup>817</sup> That is 'in these rules'.

<sup>818</sup> A Naiṣṭhikaḥ is "a perpetual religious student who continues with his spiritual precept even after the prescribed period and vows lifelong absence and chastity" (Apte).

<sup>819</sup> *Mahāpātakacidhitah*, the term *Mahāpāta* refers to a person who has committed one of the five cardinal sins. See 'mahāpātakam' in Apte (p. 1251), *Manu Smṛti* 11.54, which gives the following:

They call bramicide, drinking liquor, stealing, and bedding the guru's wife great sins.  
[These four] and a combination of them [makes] five.

*Brahmāhatyā surāpānaṃ steyam gurvāṅganāgamaḥ/*

*mahānti pātakāny āhus tatsaṃsargargaś ca pañcamam/* (*Manu* 11.54 cited in Apte p 1251, my translation).

Goldman notes that the commentator Kullūka remarks on this verse that "Guru here means father" (Goldman 1978:369).

<sup>820</sup> HBV 19.106

<sup>821</sup> Leprosy – *kuṣṭhī*.

<sup>822</sup> The text reads *śvitrī*. Apte tells us that *svitram* is white leprosy. According to Wikipedia white leprosy is the vitiliginous sort which attacks the face (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alphito>).

<sup>823</sup> Consumption – *kṣayī*. On consumption see Zimmermann, Francis *The Jungle and the Aroma of Meats – an Ecological Theme in Hindu Medicine*, University of California Press, Berkeley 1987, where he mentions consumption and various terms used for this condition (consumption = *rājayakṣman* (p. 175), *kārśya* (*cachexy*, p. 161), and *snehakṣaya* (p. 177).

<sup>824</sup> Kacchadeśa is the name of a place in the south. Kaccha refers to a marshy area, a bank or bordering region. (Apte) Therefore Kacchadeśa seems to be a specific place, however, it could also refer to a wasteland.

<sup>825</sup> I am reading *ungata* as *udgata* (*Agni* has that reading in verse 39.6cd which is otherwise the same as 3cd.)

<sup>826</sup> a = HBV 19.107a

<sup>827</sup> Modern Assam.

<sup>828</sup> HP 3.3d-3.4ab= *Agni* 39.6d-7a 1/2b. *Agni* leaves out Kośala and Mahārāṣṭra, perhaps by the time the *Agni* was compiled those areas were held in higher esteem. However, while the term is not in the Sanskrit text (of this particular edition) the translator of the *Agni* M.N. Dutt, includes the term Kośala in his translation indicating that the text might have a variant reading. (M.N. Dutt, Sanskrit text and English translation, K.L. Joshi Shastri, ed. *Agnimahāpurāṇam, Sanskrit Text and English Translation*, Parimal

He should not be] stupid, have a fat lip, be one who spits, or have an indistinct voice, nor have a tumor, nor be a charmer<sup>829</sup> nor be deformed, proud or deaf. 5<sup>830</sup>

He should not despise *tantra* or be devoted to plotting against others. He should not be born of adultery nor have the voice of a crow, be impotent, timid or irascible. 6<sup>831</sup>

He should not be a *punarbhū*<sup>832</sup>, a *svayambhū*<sup>833</sup>, a widow's bastard, or a non-believer<sup>834</sup>, nor irrational, pale, bald or crippled<sup>835</sup> or fat. 7

He should not be very dark, without compassion, a sinner, nor emaciated, short or lazy, he should not be injured, uncultured, agitated and not depressed. 8

He should not have forsaken his vows or fasting nor be the husband of a *śūdra*, nor living on trade or theater. He should not be an adulterer with a bought woman. 9

He should not hate the *ācārya*, *putraka* and others, be a servant of others, a glutton, attendant, prone to disasters<sup>836</sup>, wicked or afflicted with disease. 10

He should not be very sickly, a physician<sup>837</sup>, violent, neglecting the right time, nor abusing the twice-born, respectable elder or the god. A *sthāpaka*<sup>838</sup> [who has these qualities should be avoided]. 11

He should not be red-eyed, have honey-colored eyes or cats' eyes. He should not be greedy, a have inflammation of the neck glands<sup>839</sup>, or inclined to hypocritical behavior. 12

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Publications, Delhi, 2005). That all but Mahārāṣṭra starts with a K makes one curious about the emphasis on K. Is this alliteration an aid for memory and an oral feature of the text? Is it a play on the prefix “ku”, which implies badness (Apte 576)? These are mentioned earlier in verse 2.17, then referred to as *kakāra*. Note that also ‘bad behavior’ and bad company starts with “ku” *kuvrittiḥ* and *kusaṅgaḥ*.

<sup>829</sup> A dealer in antidotes or magical things.

<sup>830</sup> bcd= HBV 19.107bcd

<sup>831</sup> Verses 6-14 = HBV 19.108-116

<sup>832</sup> *Punarbhū* can refer to a “re-existence” or “a (virgin) widow remarried”. *Punarbhū* could then possibly refer to the son of a remarried widow.

<sup>833</sup> *svayambhū* is a name of Śiva in Pāñcarātra texts (MW), which could indicate the exclusion of followers of Śiva. *Svayam* means self and *bhū*, born, thus selfborn or born from one self i.e. not created by anyone else. Stella Kramrisch analyses *svayambhū* as a name for Śiva in her book *The Presence of Siva*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1992:226.

<sup>834</sup> *Nāstika* - one who denies the authority of the Vedas (Gupta, 1983:70), this includes not only groups within Hinduism but also Buddhists and Jains. The incorporation of Vedic elements, and stressing the importance of the vedas is another, relatively, late development in the Pāñcarātra tradition, indicating its brahmanicization.

<sup>835</sup> *hīnāṅga* - missing a limb.

<sup>836</sup> *vyasanī* – unlucky.

<sup>837</sup> Presumably physicians were excluded because they dealt with impure objects.

<sup>838</sup> *sthāpaka* – see chapter 8.1 for discussion of this term.

<sup>839</sup> *gaṇḍamālī*

He should not be one who is lacking means or location, nor harsh or focused on meanness, nor pitiless or wanting in power, nor be one who is completely lacking skills.

13

Even if he knows the methods in the *tantras* for [constructing] temples he should not be one who has not reached the far shore of the Veda and *aṅga* texts<sup>840</sup>. He should avoid with great care the non-believer<sup>841</sup> even if omniscient<sup>842</sup> as well. 14

Even if he is a *brāhmaṇa*, one who knows words and sentences, and logical proofs, and is completely conversant with the Vedas, if he is delighted by the *paśuśāstras*<sup>843</sup> he is not an *ācārya* and not a teacher<sup>844</sup>. 15<sup>845</sup>

A god enshrined by any of these [named above], is in no manner a giver of fruit. 16

If a building for *Viṣṇu* is made anywhere by these excluded [types] then [that temple] will not give rise to enjoyment and liberation and will yield no reward, of this there is no doubt. 17<sup>846</sup>

Thus ends the third *paṭala* in the *ādikāṇḍa* in the *Hayaśīrṣa Mahāpañcarātra* which has twelve thousand verses.

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<sup>840</sup> Manuscript B and C has *veda* and *vedāṅga* while the other manuscripts read *veda and aṅga*.

<sup>841</sup> *Nāstika* – see 3.7 above.

<sup>842</sup> *Sarvajña*

<sup>843</sup> These are presumably the texts of the Pāśupatas, a Śaiva sect. Compare Helene Brunner “Jñāna and Kriyā: Relation between Theory and Practice in the Śaivāgamas” (pp1-60 in Goudriaan, Teun (1992) *Ritual and Speculation in Early Tantrism*. p 42 note 25) where Brunner notes that “A good master is naturally: *śivaśāstra-samāyuktaḥ paśusāstra-parāṅmukhaḥ* (Su, cp 1, 54p; almost the same line in *Vāyavīyasamhitā* quoted in KD, p 30)”. (Brunner 1992:42). Gonda notes that the Pāśupatas were for “a certain period” “the most formidable rivals” of the Pāñcarātras (Gonda, 1970:93). These verses certainly seem to indicate competition between Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva tantrikas.

<sup>844</sup> *deśika*

<sup>845</sup> = HBV19.117 reads *paravāk* for *padavākya*, like ms A (not chosen by the editor as the main variant, though he otherwise generally uses the reading of ms A.)

<sup>846</sup> = HBV 19.118

Chapter Four. The signs of an ācārya.

Fourth Paṭala

[The signs of an ācārya.]

The Lord said.

Now I will again speak specifically of the auspicious signs of an ācārya. 1

Space, wind, fire, water and earth, these are called *rātris*, for they are the non-sentient elements, and which are predominated by darkness. 2<sup>847</sup>

When he knows the pure truth, beyond these *rātris*, then he is proclaimed to be liberated. 3<sup>848</sup>

Then, without doubt, he becomes like lord Viṣṇu, the *paramātmā*<sup>849</sup>. 4<sup>850</sup>

Even if he [is considered to have] a bad behavior, and [be] without auspicious signs, he is nevertheless a teacher, who is a guide [who crosses] over the ocean of *saṃsāra*. 5<sup>851</sup>

A twice born who knows that *ātman* is superior everywhere, even though he is without all these marks he is a guru. Here there is no doubt. 6<sup>852</sup>

The foremost of twice-borns who knows this *catuspātsaṃhitā*<sup>853</sup>, even though he is without all these marks, he is worthy to make sacrifice. 7

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<sup>847</sup> This verse appears in a slightly different form in the *Agni Purāṇa*:

Sky, wind, fire, water and earth, these are the *pañcaratras*, which are the non-sentient things abounding in *tamas* which are abandoned by *pañcaratris*. Agni 38.7cd - 8ab.

*ākāśavāyutejāmbubhūr etāḥ pañcarātrayaḥ*//7cd

*acaitanyā stomodriktāḥ pañcarātrivivarjitāḥ*//8ab

These verses are discussed in detail in chapter 5.1 “the Name *Pāñcarātra*” above. According to Samkhya philosophy, which contributed the *guṇa*-idiom of *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas* to Pañcarātra, enlightenment (*viveka-khyāti*) is the process of discriminating between Puruṣa and the three *guṇas* (*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*). Prior to enlightenment, however, there is a stage where the *sattvic buddhi* eliminates *rajas* and *tamas*. The articulation of Pañcarātra here seemst o participate in this samkhya-influenced rethoric of discrimination (*viveka*).

<sup>848</sup> Pure truth i.e. the subjective aspect, the cognizer (*puruṣa*) of the objective elements (*prakṛti*).

<sup>849</sup> The highest god. Reading with the 1952 commentary which explains that the *ācārya* becomes like Viṣṇu.

<sup>850</sup> Here we have an explicit Vaiṣṇavization of the Samkhya *puruṣa-prakṛti* division. Like Advaita Vedanta, the Pañcarātra identifies one: *puruṣa*-Viṣṇu. Samkhya philosophy typically enumerated many *puruṣas*.

<sup>851</sup> HBV 19.101

<sup>852</sup> HBV 19.100

<sup>853</sup> Fourfold *saṃhitā*. The commentary of the 1952 edition tells us that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, which is fourfold, belongs to *Ādi Saṃkarṣāna* and teaches the *pratiṣṭhā* (base), *taḍāga* (pool or tank) (commentary

He who is learned in the Pañcarātra [texts], who is a knower of the truth of the established view, even without all the auspicious marks, he is distinguished as an *ācārya*.<sup>854</sup>

When a guide arises who is not without knowledge, O sinless one, that guru who is a fully enlightened seeker of truth is acknowledged<sup>855</sup> as a guide. 9

For whom there is the highest devotion to Viṣṇu, [and in that manner of devotion of *Viṣṇu*] so also [devotion] of the Guru. Indeed, he alone is to be regarded as a *sthāpaka*. This is the truth, I tell you. 10<sup>856</sup>

But he who, deluded by his greed for a temple, would not perform the consecration, without doubt will go to a frightful hell with his pupils. 11<sup>857</sup>

Thus ends the fourth *paṭala* in the *ādikāṇḍa* in the *Hayaśīrṣa Mahāpañcarātra* which has twelve thousand verses.

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reads *tadaṅga*), *prāsāda* (temple) and *pratimā* (image). That is the four parts of *śilpa śāstra* one needs to complete a temple building project.

<sup>854</sup> HBV 19.102. This verse makes it clear that the text puts the knowledge of the *Pāñcarātra* tradition foremost.

<sup>855</sup> The term *iṣyate* (root  $\sqrt{iṣ}$ ) has several meanings, such as the passive meaning acknowledge or accept used here, it can also mean laid down or prescribed which is the meaning used in verse 5.9 below.

<sup>856</sup> HBV 19.103

<sup>857</sup> HBV 19.119



Chapter five – Skeptics, Directions and soil tests

Fifth *Paṭala*

[This is the description of those not authorized by the *śāstra*, the rules of the directions of temples and the soil test.]

The Lord said –

This is not fit to be said to the skeptics<sup>858</sup> or in front of nonbelievers<sup>859</sup>. 1

[He who is a follower of] *Jaimini*<sup>860</sup>, *Sugata*<sup>861</sup>, as well as a denier of the Veda<sup>862</sup> and the naked ascetic<sup>863</sup>, also the [followers of] *Kapila*<sup>864</sup>, and *Akṣapāda*<sup>865</sup>: these six are the skeptics. 2

Those lowest of men<sup>866</sup> who follow the doctrine of these, these who are spoken of as skeptics, he should not consign the *tantras* to them. 3<sup>867</sup>

The auspicious divine abode<sup>868</sup> is endowed with the rules concerning the directions. Now hear from me how the gods are to be placed in the city as in the directions. 4<sup>869</sup>

In the middle of a town or a village is the best place for Brahmā<sup>870</sup>. The auspicious abode of Indra Ākhaṇḍala and Sūrya is in the east. 5<sup>871</sup>

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<sup>858</sup> I have consistently translated *hetuvādī* as skeptic though it could also mean heretics.

<sup>859</sup> *Nāstika* – nonbelievers.

<sup>860</sup> The sage who founded the *mīmāṃsaka* school of philosophy.

<sup>861</sup> *Sugata* - the Buddha.

<sup>862</sup> *Nāstika* - deniers of the Vedas. The first mention of the term *nāstika* in this chapter is above in verse 1, there it seems that the term refers to all that do not adhere to the Pāñcarātra tradition, while here, since it is part of a list including buddhists and other non Pāñcarātrin, the term seems to be more specific. Hence the different translations of the term in verse 1 and 2 of this chapter. See also note to verse 3.7 above.

<sup>863</sup> *Nagna* could refer to any of the ascetic groups (*śramaṇa* or non-*śramaṇa*) who practiced nudity, not specifically Digambara Jains (e-mail conversation with Kristi Wiley, November 9, 2011).

<sup>864</sup> Founder of *sāṅkyha* school of philosophy.

<sup>865</sup> Name of sage Gautama, founder of the *nyāya* system of philosophy, the term also denotes a follower of that system.

<sup>866</sup> *Narādhamā* - lowest of men.

<sup>867</sup> Verses 2 and 3ab of this chapter are quoted in the *Hari-Bhakti-Vilāsa*, first Vilāsa, verses 71-72 and 3cd -11 are quoted in HBV 20.72-79.

<sup>868</sup> *Devatāsthāpana* – divine abode.

<sup>869</sup> It seems unlikely that this placement is an actual discussion of where temples or even images are to be placed. The directions are associated with various deities and this might just be to point these out. See further discussion in chapter 10 below.

<sup>870</sup> *Brahmā sthānam* – which, as shall be seen later is the name also for the center of the *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*.

<sup>871</sup> Verse 5-10 deal with placement of temples in or outside cities/villages. Compare *Pādma Samhitā* (Smith 1963:16 note 1). Smith thinks that *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* says that a temple to Viṣṇu may be only in the “Brahmā ring” (Smith 1963:21 note 30). The *Pādma Samhitā* (2.54-73) is much more detailed in this

The abode of Agni Kṛśāna is located in his own direction<sup>872</sup>. Of the Mātṛs<sup>873</sup> the [place] is in the south, in which place there is [also] a place for the Bhūtas and Dharmarāja<sup>874</sup>. 6

[The place] of Caṇḍikā, the Pitṛs and the Daityās, is in the southwestern<sup>875</sup> direction. Of the Pracetas<sup>876</sup>, the Samudra<sup>877</sup>, and the Sindhūs<sup>878</sup>, it is in the western direction. 7

Of the great hooded serpents Phaṇin, [the place] is in the northwest, which is the auspicious place of Vāyu, the place of [Kubera] the over-lord of Yakṣas, and that of Skanda is said to be situated in the north. 8

Of [Maheśa], the lord of Caṇḍī<sup>879</sup>, [the place] that is prescribed<sup>880</sup> belongs to the northeast. The place of Viṣṇu is everywhere, as it changes with time. 9<sup>881</sup>

All [the gods] that have been placed facing the city provide auspiciousness to men. 10<sup>882</sup>

If from ignorance or carelessness [the gods] have been placed facing away [from the city], then according to the *śāstras* etc., a learned man should carry out this remedy: 11

There on the wall he should paint that god facing the city. That god should be endowed with colorful ornaments along with his weapons and vehicle. 12

A temple should not be made, by one who knows, so that it presses upon the previously made residence of a god. Nor should it be made much smaller, the same or greater [than the existing one]. 13<sup>883</sup>

Having left a boundary [space] which has the measure twice the height of both, the wise he should make a different temple, which does not press upon either one [neither the new one or the existing one]. 14<sup>884</sup>

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matter. For example it describes where in a village various groups of people, such as fishermen (NW) and oilpressers (N) should live (Smith 1963).

<sup>872</sup> *Svadiḡatam*, that is *āgneya* – the south-eastern direction.

<sup>873</sup> Mātṛs - mothers

<sup>874</sup> Dharmarāja – Yama, the god of death.

<sup>875</sup> Naiṛte – the place of death or destruction personified, the regent of the south-western quarter.

<sup>876</sup> Pracetas - Varuṇa

<sup>877</sup> Samudras - the ocean.

<sup>878</sup> Sindhūs - the great rivers.

<sup>879</sup> Caṇḍīśa – i.e. Śiva.

<sup>880</sup> The term *iṣyate* (root  $\sqrt{iṣ}$ ) has several meanings, among these the passive meaning laid down or prescribed, used here, it can also mean acknowledge or accept which is the meaning used in verse 4.9 above.

<sup>881</sup> ab = Agni 39.13ab. The meaning of the last section of this verse is unclear to me.

<sup>882</sup> The *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* does not agree with the common notion that temples should face east. See further discussion in chapter 8 below.

<sup>883</sup> = Agni 39.13cd-14ab, HBV 20.37.

<sup>884</sup> = Agni 19.14cd-15ab, HBV 20.38.

You listen to me [Viṣṇu] concerning the place with special reference to the directions, O Best of Gods: in the middle of a village or a forest, or at the confluence of rivers. 15

And I [Viṣṇu], who am installed everywhere on all sides of the city, am a giver of enjoyment and liberation<sup>885</sup> to men. You please listen to another distinction. 16<sup>886</sup>

The [plot] in the east, the place of Indra, is best for power<sup>887</sup>. He should avoid the [plot] in the southeast, the place of Agni. The [plot] in the south, the place of Yama, is best for peace. The [plot] in the southwest, the place of Nairṛta, gives [rise to] fear. 17<sup>888</sup>

The [plot] in the west, the place of Varuṇa, is for the success of royal authority and for the attainment of wealth. He should carefully avoid the [plot] in the northwest, the place of Vayu. The [plot] in the north, the place of Kubera, is the giver of wealth. 18<sup>889</sup>

Sacrificing, which brings about all prosperity of men, is best in the [plot] in the northeast, the place of Ísana. Knowing this he should especially test the soil. 19<sup>890</sup>

Just as the best among the teachers was spoken of at this time because of his characteristic signs, like that the [soil] will be said to be where the cows are delightful, along with their calves and bulls. 20<sup>891</sup>

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<sup>885</sup> One could also read “I who am a giver of enjoyment and liberation”, but the *pāda* break argues for the translation given. Naming both *bhukti* and *mukti* in *phala śruti* is often considered characteristic of tantric texts.

<sup>886</sup> You here refer to Brahmā – the one Viṣṇu is telling the all of this to.

<sup>887</sup> *Vibhūtaye* – translated here as power, may also mean, for example, abundance and plenty. Due to Indra’s association with power I chose that translation.

<sup>888</sup> Verses 17-19 indicate that verses 5-9 above are associated with gods and various good qualities. This needs to be accounted for when considering a place for construction. Similar passages in other Pāñcarātra texts that treat this subject – selecting a proper building site and testing it – are: *Agastya Saṃhitā* 1:2-13, *Aniruddha Saṃhitā* 11:25-34, *Bhārgava Tantra* 3, *Īśvara Saṃhitā* 16:14ff, *Mārkaṇḍeya Saṃhitā* 2, *Pauṣkara Saṃhitā* 42:1-6, *Sananda Saṃhitā* 10, *Srīpraśna Saṃhitā* 5:20ff, *Vāsiṣṭha Saṃhitā* 3, *Viṣṇu Saṃhitā* 12:1-36, 23:76 ff, *Viṣṇu Tantra* 2, 5, *Viṣṇutilaka* 6: 11-21, 120, 123ff, *Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā* 1, 34. The Vaikhānasana works *Samūrtīcanādihikaraṇa* 2 and *Vimānācāranākāla* 2, 3. The *śilpa śāstras* also discuss this. For example, see the *Aparājītaprcchā*, 43, 45 and 48, *Kāśyapa Śilpaśāstra* 2, 3, *Tantrasamuccya* 1, *Mānasāra Śilpaśāstra* (Smith 1963:2 note 2, p 8 note 24).

<sup>889</sup> Smith thinks that verse 17-18 refers to houses (Smith 1963:24 n.51). This is not likely. See discussion in chapter 10 below.

<sup>890</sup> The soil tests are presented in verses 19b-28a. One first has to determine the favorable situation in relation to the city/ town/ village that the temple is built for and then test the soil.

<sup>891</sup> 20cd-25 = HBV 20.47-51. Notice the transition from people to place. This juxtaposition seems important to understanding Vāstupuruṣa. The presence of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, as well as the attribution of good and bad qualities to the soil, personifies the construction site. It is clear that Pāñcarātra articulates a *samkhya*-influenced soteriology, stressing the sattvafication of man (eliminating *tamas* and *rajas*). Perhaps a similar notion – *sattvafication* – is implicit with respect to the earth as well, i.e. building a temple involves *sattvacizing* the earth. The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* personifies the earth. It seems to be a well-developed animism.

[The soil is best] where there is sensual pleasure [on the part] of beautiful women with men, O most excellent one; upon which there was an earlier residence of a king, as well as a sacrifice to Agni. 21

[The soil is the best] that has the fragrance of Kāśmīri sandalwood, the scents of camphor and aloe wood, the smell of lotus<sup>892</sup> and blue lotus<sup>893</sup> and the scents of jasmine and *campaka* flowers<sup>894</sup>. 22

[The soil] that has the smell of trumpet flowers and jasmine flowers, the scents of *nāga* and *keśara* and the smell of curd, milk and ghee, and the scents<sup>895</sup> of the nectar of the red *madira* flower. 23

Also [the soil is best] that has the smell of sweet smelling rice, which has auspicious objects and sounds. This soil is recognized as common to the people of all *varṇas*. 24

That [soil] which is foul smelling, hard to dig and of different colors is a bad place<sup>896</sup>. The [plot] which is circular like the half-moon, and which has a length twice the width, [is a bad place]. 25<sup>897</sup>

[The plot is a bad place] which is without corners<sup>898</sup> and which is deprived of corners<sup>899</sup> and which is winding; thus also one that is needle-mouthed (pointed), which has two corners, which is like a winnowing basket, which is uneven and which has three corners<sup>900</sup>. 26<sup>901</sup>

[The plot is a bad place] that has six angles, which is like a spear, and which is similar to the back of an elephant; and [the plot] which is like a serpent and has an unclear direction and has the form of a cart. 27<sup>902</sup>

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<sup>892</sup> *Kamala* – lotus.

<sup>893</sup> *Utpala* - blue lotus.

<sup>894</sup> *Campaka* flowers – kind of yellow fragrant flowers.

<sup>895</sup> I assume that the verse is missing a ‘ga’ and thus reading *gandhī* rather than *ndhī*.

<sup>896</sup> The commentary to the 1954 edition glosses *duhpura* with *durbhaga* - unlucky

<sup>897</sup> = HBV 20.51 reads *duḥsvanā* for *duḥkhanā* and *durbhagā* for *duḥpurā*, *sadr̥ṣī* for *sadr̥śā*, *vistārādi* for *visārād*.

<sup>898</sup> *Vikarṇa* – Mallaya says that *karṇa* is a kind of moulding (1949:184). Dubey in his study of the *Aparajitapraccha* says that it means corner (Lal Mani Dubey, *Aparajitapracchā, a critical study: encyclopaedic manual on art and architecture*, Lakshmi Publications, Allahabad, 1987:149), or knife-edged-astragal (1987:152), Kulkarni again says corner (Raghunath Purushottam Kulkarni (ed. and transl.), Sanskrit author: Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana, 16th cent. *Prāsāda Maṇḍana of Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana: Sanskrit text and English translation with notes and glossary*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 2005:160). Dagens gives ‘corner’ or “projecting part” as the meaning for *karṇa* (Bruno Dagens, *Mayamatam*, Indira Gandhi National Center for the Arts, New Delhi, 1994:924). Acharya gives several meanings: The ear of an image, a moulding, any side-object, a corner-tower of which moulding seems to be the most common (1946:vol. 7, p. 104).

<sup>899</sup> Or which has small corner (*karṇa*).

<sup>900</sup> That is a triangle.

<sup>901</sup> = HBV 20. 52 gives *varṇa* for *karṇa*.

<sup>902</sup> = HBV 20.53 has *daṇḍi* for *daṇṭi*.

Thus, land that has such qualities, is to be carefully avoided by the teachers. 28<sup>903</sup>

Thus ends the fifth *paṭala* in the *ādikāṇḍa* in the *Hayasīrṣa Mahāpañcarātra* which has twelve thousand verses.

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<sup>903</sup> = HBV 20.53ef.

Chapter Six. The test and purification of the earth.

Sixth *Paṭala*

[the test and purification of the earth]

The Lord said-

The ground, with special reference to<sup>904</sup> the temple is said to be of four types:  
*Supadmā*<sup>905</sup>, *Bhadrikā*,<sup>906</sup> *Pūrṇā*,<sup>907</sup> and *Dhūmrāvegīnī*,<sup>908</sup> and others. 1<sup>909</sup>

[The ground<sup>910</sup> which has] the fragrance of sandalwood, aloe-wood and camphor, and which is adorned with pleasant sounding *Arjuna*-trees<sup>911</sup>, with sesame plants, coconut trees, *barhi*-grass<sup>912</sup> and *kāśa*-grass<sup>913</sup>, 2<sup>914</sup>

[The ground], which is endowed with lotuses<sup>915</sup> and blue lotuses<sup>916</sup>, is well known as *Supadmā*. She [the ground] is adorned with a river, the ocean, a place of a sacred fire<sup>917</sup> or a sacred spot<sup>918</sup>. 3

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<sup>904</sup> Lit. of the temple.

<sup>905</sup> Defined in verses 2-3ab. In the previous *paṭala* the text gave some general characteristics of the ground, in this *paṭala* it tells of four different types of ground and their descriptions. The types are described in descending order.

<sup>906</sup> Defined in verses 3cd-5ab

<sup>907</sup> Defined in verses 5cd-7ab

<sup>908</sup> Defined in verses 7cd-9ab

<sup>909</sup> HBV 20.54, Characteristics of the ground appropriate for the performance of rites are also discussed in the following *Pāñcarātra* works: *Pauṣkara* S. a. 2, *Viṣṇu* S ch12, also *Ahīrbudhnya* S 48.40ff *Nārada* (*naradiya*)S 15.143, 20.127 (Gonda 1977:75)

<sup>910</sup> The earth/ ground here is referred to, in Sanskrit, by term *sā* (she), the commentary uses *bhūmi* (feminine noun for earth), and the text itself uses several feminine nouns all meaning earth later in the text. As the reference here is to a section of the ground and not earth in its entirety or earth as in 'soil' I have used the word ground as it better conveys the idea of a place upon which construction may be considered.

<sup>911</sup> *Terminalia arjuna* (<http://www.ecoindia.com/flora/trees/arjun-tree.html>), common names are arjun, kumbuk and white murdh, in Hindi it is called arjuna or kahua (<http://www.ars-grin.gov/cgi-bin/npgs/html/taxon.pl?80199#common>).

<sup>912</sup> A grass used to sit on during sacrifices. See Schwartz and Martin "Homa and Harmaline – The Botanical Identity of the Indo-Iranian Sacred Hallucinogen "Soma" and its Legacy in Religion, Language, and Middle Eastern Folklore", *Near Eastern Studies Vol 21*, University of California Publications 1989:139.

<sup>913</sup> *Saccharum spontaneum*

<sup>914</sup> 2cd-23 = HBV 20.55-74. Note that here, and in the following verses, earth is described as a woman with attributes and ornaments.

<sup>915</sup> *Padma*- lotuses.

<sup>916</sup> *Indīvara* - blue lotuses.

<sup>917</sup> The term *āyatana* has a number of meanings including "abode, resting place, place of the sacred fire, ground, plot, sacred spot. In the *Mayamatam* 32.18 used with the meaning 'seat' as in a part of a throne for kings and gods (Dagens, 1994: verse 32.18). Acharya translates it as an enclosure, earlier an abode, a house, later an enclosed settlement, dwelling, temples and monasteries, an assembly hall (1946:vol. 7, p. 59).

<sup>918</sup> *Tīrtha*

[The ground], which is covered with flowering trees, adorned by *ksīra*-trees<sup>919</sup>, surrounded by forests, gardens, creepers, thickets and flowering bushes. 4

[The ground], which is endowed with *Yajñīya* fig-trees<sup>920</sup> and beautiful fields, is celebrated as *Bhadra*. [The ground] which has abundant *Bakula*<sup>921</sup> and *Aśoka* trees<sup>922</sup>, and with *plakṣa* fig-trees<sup>923</sup>, mango trees<sup>924</sup> and sandal trees. 5

[The ground] which is surrounded by basil<sup>925</sup> and with kidney bean plants<sup>926</sup>, legumes<sup>927</sup> and *kodrava* grain<sup>928</sup>, with barley<sup>929</sup>, and with *punnāga* trees<sup>930</sup>, and near a hill. 6

On this ground there is very little water. She [the ground] is said to be *pūrṇā*<sup>931</sup>. The [ground] which is surrounded on all sides by a forest of wood-apple trees<sup>932</sup>, sun-plant<sup>933</sup>, milk-hedge plant<sup>934</sup> and *pīlu*<sup>935</sup>. 7

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<sup>919</sup> *Kṣīra* is the name of several plants containing a milky sap: *Asclepia rosea*, *Mimosa Kauki*, gigantic swallow-wort, *Euphorbia*. (Cologne Digital Sanskrit Lexicon, <http://www.sanskrit-lexicon.uni-koeln.de>).

<sup>920</sup> *Yajñīya* is either *Ficus racemosa* (also called *Ficus Glomerata*) or *Flacourtia Indica* (also *Flacourtia Sapida*). Scientific names are fairly stable, but some names, especially those of economically or culturally important plant species, change. This is often due to the existence of earlier publications that cite plant material corresponding to a certain species. In, for example, the case of *Ficus indica* and *Ficus benghalensis*, it is that Linnaeus in his landmark *Species Plantarum* of 1753 described both a species *Ficus indica* and *Ficus benghalensis*. Later authors recognized that both names and the plant material that they were based corresponded to only one species of fig. Then it became necessary to decide which name should be applied to the Indian fig, and one usually chooses the oldest name as the first validly published name. In this case both names were first used in the same book from 1753, and the name that was written first was chosen as the valid name. *Ficus benghalensis* is described on page 1059, and *Ficus indica* on page 1060 (personal conversation with Hugo De Boer and Anneleen Kool, botanists at Uppsala University). For the two alternatives presented above the ones in brackets are names published later and thus *Ficus Racemosa* and *Flacourtia Indica* are the valid names.

<sup>921</sup> *Mimusops Elengi* – common names are medlar or Spanish-cherry (<http://www.ars-grin.gov/cgi-bin/npgs/html/taxon.pl?24452#common>).

<sup>922</sup> *Saraca asoca*- common name is Asoka tree or asok in Hindi (<http://www.ars-grin.gov/cgi-bin/npgs/html/taxon.pl?315038#common>).

<sup>923</sup> *Plakṣa* – this is either the waved-leaf fig-tree, *Ficus Infectoria* (a large and beautiful tree with small white fruit), or the holy fig-tree, *Ficus Religiosa* L. (Cologne Digital Sanskrit Lexicon, <http://www.sanskrit-lexicon.uni-koeln.de>). Thus not the same fig-tree as *Yajñīya* or *Kṣīra*

<sup>924</sup> Mango tree, *āmra*, *Mangifera Indica*.

<sup>925</sup> The term *mādhavī* most likely refers to the holy basil plant, *Ocimum tenuiflorum* L. though it could refer to a number of other plants as well (Cologne Digital Sanskrit Lexicon, <http://www.sanskrit-lexicon.uni-koeln.de>).

<sup>926</sup> *Vigna mungo* (L.) (or *Phaseolus mungo* L.) *mudga*, black gram or urd-bean (<http://www.ars-grin.gov/cgi-bin/npgs/html/taxon.pl?41621>).

<sup>927</sup> The name *niṣpāva* might refer to *Dolichos Sinensis*, L.

<sup>928</sup> *Paspalum scrobiculatum*, *kodrava*, is a kind of millet (bastard or ditch millet, or Indian paspalum), in Hindi *kodo* or *kodra* <http://www.ars-grin.gov/cgi-bin/npgs/html/taxon.pl?26917#common>).

<sup>929</sup> *śukadhānya*

<sup>930</sup> *Calophyllum inophyllum*, common names include Indian-laurel and Alexandrian-laurel (<http://www.ars-grin.gov/cgi-bin/npgs/html/taxon.pl?8631#common>).

<sup>931</sup> Name of a tree.

<sup>932</sup> *Limonia acidissima* L. (or *Feronia limonia*), common names include elephant-apple and Indian wood-apple (<http://www.ars-grin.gov/cgi-bin/npgs/html/taxon.pl?22253#common>).

And [the ground] which has hard soil mixed with gravel, endowed with trees with thorns, filled with a multitude of vultures, jackals, crows and hawks. 8<sup>936</sup>

[The ground] is called *dhūmra*<sup>937</sup>. Thus, he should avoid it with great effort. He should test the ground, which has a first been moistened<sup>938</sup> and has the auspicious [qualities outlined above]. 9

[The ground] should not be dense, pleasing, which has a little water is damp<sup>939</sup>. When the hole is being filled, and there is an excess of mud, it is best. 10<sup>940</sup>

[The ground is best] in which the color is like gold; it should not lose its luster. [The hole] should not extinguish a light [placed in it], nor quickly drain the water [poured into the hole]. 11

The ground which is praised for Brāhmaṇas and the other [classes] is white, red, yellow and black [respectively], and which has fragrance equal to clarified butter, blood, sandalwood and liquor [respectively]. 12<sup>941</sup>

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<sup>933</sup> Or giant-milkweed, *Calotropis Gigantea* L. (<http://www.ars-grin.gov/cgi-bin/npgs/html/taxon.pl?8652#common>).

<sup>934</sup> *Euphorbia neriifolia* L., *snuhi*, common names include hedge euphorbia, milk spurge, oleander spurge (<http://www.ars-grin.gov/cgi-bin/npgs/html/taxon.pl?16390#common>).

<sup>935</sup> *Pīlu* can refer to either the *Careya arborea*, a species under Lecythidaceae family, or *Salvadora persica*. *Careya arborea* is known as *Kumbhi* in Hindi, and “Slow Match Tree” in English. It is a deciduous tree, whose leaves turn red in the cold season and grows up to 15m high. Flowers are yellow or white in color and are like water-pots and produce large green berries. The tree grows all over India in forests and grasslands. The bark of the tree and the calyxes of the flowers are often used for curing coughs and colds. *Salvadora persica* (*Arak*, *Galenia asiatica*, *Peelu*, *Pīlu*, *Salvadora indica*, or *toothbrush tree*), is a species of *Salvadora*. Used for centuries as a natural toothbrush. *Salvadora persica* is a small tree or shrub with a crooked trunk, seldom more than one foot in diameter. Its bark is scabrous and cracked, whitish with pendulous extremities. The root bark of the tree is similar to sand, and the inner surfaces are an even lighter shade of brown. It has a pleasant fragrance, as well as a warm and pungent taste. ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salvadora\\_persica](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salvadora_persica))

<sup>936</sup> The animals mentioned in this verse are associated with inauspicious omens.

<sup>937</sup> Smoky, muddied.

<sup>938</sup> Lit. - which has a former ‘plunging into water’. This is explained in the next verse – first the area is moistened and then tested.

<sup>939</sup> *Pariplutām* means flooded or similar but here it seems like the area is rather moistened, or sprinkled with water, not waterlogged.

<sup>940</sup> The test is explained in the *Mayamatam* (ch 4 v 17cd18ab). In Dagens’ translation: “When the hole is filled up with its own earth the site is of average quality, if the pit is completely full, if it overflows with earth the site will prove excellent and if not packed full with earth it is of inferior quality.” (1994:21) One digs a hole and then refills the hole with the earth, if the earth fails to refill the hole, it is no good. If it fills it up, it’s of average quality, and if it is more than fills up the hole, then it is the best. Our text is only interested in the best kind of earth. For further discussion see chapter 8.4 below.

<sup>941</sup> Verses 12-13 remind one of Brian Smith’s *Classifying the Universe* in which Smith argues that the classifying urge in brāhminical science served to legitimate social hierarchy. Here we see the attempt to naturalize social hierarchy and possession of land on the basis of the characteristics of the soil. This rhetoric is obviously part of brāhminical discourse (a descendant of texts like the *Śatapatha Brahmana*, which Smith concentrates on) and is far from the relatively egalitarian origins of Pāñcarātra.



And [the earth should be] sweet, astringent, sour and pungent [respectively] and be covered by *kuśa*-grass, *kāśa*-grass, *śara*-grass, and *dūrvā*-grass [respectively]. 13

In respect to that, during an auspicious constellation, he should perform an acceptance of that earth extending up to the limits of the enclosure<sup>942</sup>. Then he should take up the *bhūta bali* offering. 14<sup>943</sup>

Offered the *bhūta bali* together with *māṣa*<sup>944</sup>, turmeric powder, and the curd mixed with barley along with parched grain<sup>945</sup>, causing the *sūtra* to fall with the *aṣṭākṣara* [mantra]<sup>946</sup> then he should fix the gnomons<sup>947</sup> in the eight cardinal points. 15-16ab

“Let all those *Rākṣāsas*<sup>948</sup> and *Bhūtas*<sup>949</sup> who dwell in this ground, go away, so that I may make this Hari’s site.” 16cd-17ab<sup>950</sup>

[So saying] having granted the permission [to the *Rākṣāsas* etc. to depart] he should completely purify the soil, he should then offer the *bhūtabali*<sup>951</sup> by means of the ceremony that ends with ghee [to] the planets beginning with *Āditya*<sup>952</sup> along with the *lokapālas*. Then offer the *homa*. 17cd-18<sup>953</sup>

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<sup>942</sup> *Prākāra*

<sup>943</sup> cd= agni 39.16ab

<sup>944</sup> A kind of bean.

<sup>945</sup> 15abc = Agni 39.16cd except Agni has *tu* for *ca* and *saktubhiḥ* for *śaktavaḥ*.

<sup>946</sup> Generally the *aṣṭākṣara* mantra would refer to the *gayatri* mantra (Br. Up. 5.14.1 *Gayatrī mantra*) but in Pāñcarātra context it refers to a particular Viṣṇu centered mantra: “*om namo nārāyaṇāya*” as noted by the commentary. Sanjukta Gupta in her “The Pāñcarātra attitude to mantra” (in Alper *Understanding Mantras*, Motilal Banarasiidass, Delhi, 1991) discusses the four most important mantras in the Pāñcarātra tradition. *Om namo nārāyaṇāya* is one. Though Gupta does not discuss it as the *astaksara* mantra she points out its importance in the tradition. (Gupta 1991:241.) Gonda also discusses the ‘eight-syllabled mantra’ he quotes the *Sanat Kumarāra Saṃhitā* 3.2ff (Gonda 1977:68). The insertion of a Vaiṣṇava mantra in what otherwise looks like a Brāhminical ritual (very much like food offerings in the *Brahmanas* and *Gṛhya Sūtras* etc.) is an example of the hybrid character of developed Pāñcarātra.

<sup>947</sup> “Gnomon” – *śaṅku* – there are at least three alternatives in the Greek that may correspond to the measuring stick/rod to which the word *śaṅku* refers. The Greek *metron* refers to “an instrument of measuring”, “measuring rod” (Matthew 7.2, Revelation 21.15). *Metron* is a cognate with the Sanskrit  $\sqrt{ma}$  – to *measure*. The Greek word *kanōn* means “straight rod” or “rule, standard” (Walter Baveräs Greek-English lexicon of the NT, University of Chicago Press, 1979:403). Finally the Greek *gnōmōn* (from *gi-gnōskō*, cognate with the Sanskrit  $\sqrt{jñā}$  – to know) translated as Carpenter’s rule in Liddell Scott’s Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon (Oxford 1997:167).

<sup>948</sup> Demons

<sup>949</sup> Malignant spirits

<sup>950</sup> cd= agni 39.17 cd but Agni has *piśācas* for *bhūtas* and drops the *api*. This ‘prayer’ seems to be standard and appears in identical or slightly different also in the *Agastya Saṃhitā* 1.15cd-16ab, *Kapiñjala Saṃhitā* 8.9, *Pauṣkara Saṃhitā* 42.44-45, *Vāsiṣṭha Saṃhitā* 3.13cd-14ab, *Viṣṇu Saṃhitā* 12.41cd-42, *Viṣṇutilaka* 6.24, *Pādma Saṃhitā* 1.44 and 6.41cd-42ab. (Smith 1963:89)

<sup>951</sup> In the Vedic tradition, one of the five ‘great sacrifices’ (*mahāyajñas*).

<sup>952</sup> The sun

<sup>953</sup> The grammar of this verse is corrupt.

Then the Deśika should perform the *caruhoma*<sup>954</sup>, along with the *mūlamantra*<sup>955</sup>. Subsequently, the knower of mantras should give the *pūrṇāhutim*<sup>956</sup>, ending with the *vauṣaṭ*<sup>957</sup> exclamation. 19

Having taken the two tawny bulls who have a similar shade, the clear-sighted one, for the purpose of preparation, should take hold of the plow<sup>958</sup>, which is made from an *asana* tree<sup>959</sup>. 20

The knower of mantras, who is decorated with ornaments and garments, having caused [the two bulls] who are facing east, to be yoked<sup>960</sup>, having taken the *āsanī* stick (*yaṣṭim*) along with the twelve syllable mantra<sup>961</sup>, (21) having made level by means of rubbing<sup>962</sup>, should make the auspicious seeds join<sup>963</sup>. When reaching an auspicious time then the wise should feed the cows that<sup>964</sup>. 22

Then again, the Guru, should plow and make [the soil] level and then go home<sup>965</sup>. 23<sup>966</sup>

<sup>954</sup> Thus, the offering of rice porridge or barley.

<sup>955</sup> According to Sanjukta Gupta, in her “The Pāñcaratra Attitude to Mantras”, the *mūla*-mantra is a complete mantra which has the four parts *bīja*, *piṇḍa*, *saṃjñā*, and *pada*. The guru will give this mantra to the *sādhaka* (practitioner) in a ceremony. The *mūla*-mantra is the center of the *sādhaka*’s practice. (Gupta 1991:235 see also *Lakṣmī Tantra* ch 21.11-14).

<sup>956</sup> Offering with a full ladle.

<sup>957</sup> The *vauṣaṭ* is an exclamation used in offering oblations.

<sup>958</sup> Compare Smith *Pādma Saṃhita* (1963:33 note 10 and p 34 note 11).

<sup>959</sup> *Asanodbhavam*, the *sāla* tree *Bridelia retusa*?

<sup>960</sup> *Pādma tantra* specifies that they should be tied with a grass p 35. 18-19

<sup>961</sup> According to Apte from *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 8.16.39 “*Oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya*”. Like the *astāksara* mantra discussed above, this is also one of the four most important mantras in the Pāñcarātra tradition according to the *Lakṣmī Tantra* (Gupta 1991:241).

<sup>962</sup> The text reads *samardhena* but I follow the commentary of the 1952 edition which assumes a scribal error or other variants and reads *saṃmarddana* instead, meaning friction or rubbing. *Samardhena* is the reading in manuscript A. Others read *samatvena*.

<sup>963</sup> Lit. cause to join.

The *Śrīpraśna Saṃhitā* (5.30-33a) adds that after plowing is completed, both *yajamāna* and the *ācārya* give money to the assembled Brāhmaṇas. Then food is offered to the Earth, and the remaining leveling, prior to the planting of the crop, is taken up without sacramental accompaniment. In the *Kapīñjala Saṃhitā* (8.22ff) we learn that after the harvest the land is plowed again, and the Brāhmaṇas are then fed. After that there is a year’s break (Smith believes it to be before the *garbhanyāsa* ceremony and the commencement of the building activities, so that the earth may settle again. Smith 1963:38 note 38). In the *Viṣṇu Tilaka* (3.27) the brāhmaṇas are asked to live on the site for twelve days, during which time they are fed. The feasts and gifts come at the end of the twelve day period. After this the text continues directly with the *prathameṣṭakā*-rites without any intervening steps (Smith 1963:38 note 38).

<sup>964</sup> It is not specified in the text what the cows should be feed.

<sup>965</sup> The commentary adds the verb *vrajat* “he should go”.

<sup>966</sup> The *Kapīñjala Saṃhitā* (8.21) and *Viṣṇu Tantra* (3.17ff) both discuss details of sprouting-times of the seedlings as indications of the quality of the soil and as omens. (Smith 1963:38 note 35). For the first furrow the *dvādaśākṣaramantra* should be used according to the *Kapīñjala Saṃhitā* (8.16) and the *Viṣṇu Tantra* (3.9-10). In the *Kāśyapa Śilpaśāstra* (1.54) a Śiva mantra is used. The *Śrīpraśna Saṃhitā* (5.36-39) and the *Aniruddha Saṃhitā* (9.31) mentions that seven furrows are made. The *Kapīñjala Saṃhitā* (7.19) adds that 1008 offerings of ghee and *samits* must be made to the accompaniment of the *mūlavidyā* (see note 18) (Smith 1963:36-7 note 25-6&30). The *mūlavidyāmantra* is “*Oṃ namo Nārāyaṇaya*”.

Thus ends the sixth *paṭala* in the *ādikāṇḍa* in the *Hayasīrṣa Mahāpañcarātra* which has twelve thousand verses.

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The Vaikhāṣanda text *Samūrtācanādhikaraṇa* (chapter V) says that, in a norm based on *dharmaśāstra*, cows purify the earth they walk on. Their hoof-marks, falling hairs and saliva are purifying elements. (Smith 1963:38 note 37), in addition to the commonly mentioned milk, urine and dung. The *Śrīpraśna Saṃhitā* (V:11ff) indicates that up to this point atleast the *ācārya* should have a boar at his side for the preliminary ceremonies (Smith 1963:35 note 16).

Chapter Seven. Measurements and the gnomon

Seventh Paṭala

[characteristics of the *hasta* measurement<sup>967</sup> and characteristics of the gnomon (*śaṅkula*)<sup>968</sup>]

Please listen to the auspicious definition of the *hasta* measurement, which is for the purpose of [measuring], length and height, on account of its predominance in all work (*sarvakarmaprahānatvāt*), as described by me. 1

One *rathareṇu* is declared [equal] to eight *paramāṇu*. One *trasareṇu* is declared [to be equal] to eight *rathareṇus*. 2<sup>969</sup>

One *bālāgra* [is equal] with eight of those (*traisareṇus*) and one *likṣā* is known, [equal] with eight of those (*bālāgra*). One *yūkā*<sup>970</sup> is [equal] with eight of those [*likṣa*] and eight of those [*yūkā*] are known as a *yavamadhyaka*<sup>971</sup>. 3<sup>972</sup>

One *aṅgula*<sup>973</sup> should be equal to eight *yava*-[*madhyaka*]s, and with 24 *aṅgulas* make one *kara*.<sup>974</sup> Another 24 *aṅgulas* are measured with one's own thumb's breadth<sup>975</sup>. 4<sup>976</sup>

One's own hand<sup>977</sup> together with four *aṅgulas* (fingers) make one *padmahastaka*. He should construct, with those *hasta* measurements, the *prāsāda*, the *yāgamaṇḍapa*, also

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<sup>967</sup> Note that all these measurements are relative here. They are specified in verse five as being based on the measurement of one's own, presumably the *yayamanas* hand (*hasta*). The relative measurements assure the correct proportions in the structure to be built. Lit. 'hand' the term *hasta* is commonly a measurement from the tip of the fingers to the elbow. It equals 24 *aṅgulas* or, about 18 inches, (Monier-Williams), about 45 centimetres.

<sup>968</sup> The term *śaṅku* means gnomon, the centre of the sundial. See chapter 10 below for a discussion on the *śaṅku* and the significance of directions, measurements and proportions in the construction of a Hindu temple.

<sup>969</sup> This verse is the same as Agni 39.19, except Agni has *trasareṇavaḥ*.

<sup>970</sup> The term *yūkā* usually means a louse, thus a very small measurement.

<sup>971</sup> A *yava* is a "barley corn" measure (see discussion in Robert P. Goldman, Sally Sutherland Goldman and Barend A van Nooten, *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: an Epic of Ancient India; volume VI Yuddhakāṇḍa*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 2009: sarga 64, note 2-3). However here the text reads *yavamadhyaka*. A *yava* clearly refers to a measurement while the common meanings for *madhya*, for example middle and intermediate, do not seem to make much sense here. Thus I have assumed that *yavamadhyaka* also is a synonym for *yava*, particularly since the next verse uses only *yava* for what clearly is the same measurement explained.

<sup>972</sup> = Agni 39.20 but with some minor differences in case endings.

<sup>973</sup> Finger

<sup>974</sup> *Mayamatam* 5.8 groups *kara* with *dhanurgraha*, *ratni*, *aratni*, *bhuja* and *bāhu*. Dagens translates *dhanurgraha* as 'the (ordinary) cubit'. (1994:25) Compare also *Īśānaśiva Kriyā* 24.29 and *Suprabhedāgama Kriyā* 30.8. The *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* uses *kara* as its main measurement (chapter 9) and does not relate it to *hasta*. It seems that there are several different traditions with reference to measurements and their names.

<sup>975</sup> Here *svāṅguṣṭhena* is a synonym for *svāṅgula* (*aṅguṣṭha* = *aṅgula*).

<sup>976</sup> ab = Agni 39.21ab

the image (*pratimā*), the pedestal (*piṇḍaka*), as well as the tank (*kuṇḍam*), the *maṇḍala*, the *torāṇa*<sup>978</sup>, and the flagstaff, as well as the vessel having a wealth of good qualities (*guṇādhyam*<sup>979</sup>). 5<sup>980</sup>-6

[The above] in never to be done without [proper] measurement<sup>981</sup>, by those who seek the acquisition of fruit, [or benefits of constructing a temple]. [After] taking the excellent wood, filled with sap, such as *khadira* etc., and causing a wooden square to be made by the *śilpin*, the wise should make a circle similar to the earth, which is undamaged and leveled. 7-8

It is said that the length of this [measuring rod] should be 12 *aṅgulas* and the sections one *aṅgula*. At its base it should be six *aṅgulas*, the circumference [thus] has its own [natural] measure.9

Now it ought to be made smaller than small<sup>982</sup> at the tip measuring a *yava*<sup>983</sup>. [The stick] should be made proportional<sup>984</sup> like<sup>985</sup> the division of the ground [and it should have] a parallel base and top. 10<sup>986</sup>

Thus, in due order, the characteristics of the gnomon were told. Having prepared the gnomon the guru should undertake the preparation for [determining] the cardinal points. 11

Thus ends the seventh *paṭala* in the *ādikāṇḍa* in the *Hayaśīrṣa Mahāpañcarātra* which has twelve thousand verses.

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<sup>977</sup> The term *svahastah* is not a different *hasta* measurement. It seems to me that it is only to indicate that *hasta* is a relative measurement based on a persons hand, and that it, together with four *aṅgulas*, it makes a larger measurement called *padmahastaka*.

<sup>978</sup> Arched doorway or gateway.

<sup>979</sup> The term *guṇādhyam* is possibly a technical term.

<sup>980</sup> 5ab = Agni 39.21cd

<sup>981</sup> *Mānahīnaṃ* - or possibly without measuring rod.

<sup>982</sup> Lit. smaller from small.

<sup>983</sup> 1/6 or 1/8 of an *aṅgula*

<sup>984</sup> *Sama* according to 1952 commenary.

<sup>985</sup> Lit. to.

<sup>986</sup> Thus, the measuring stick is a stick where the tip should be one *yava* and the base six *aṅgulas* – thus a decrease in diameter from bottom to top. It should be 12 *aṅgulas* long and proportiona, by which I understand that it should be decreasing smoothly from the bottom to the top.

*Chapter Eight. [Instrument] for determining the cardinal points, location of marmas, finding śalyas, and construction of the vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala.*

### Eighth Paṭala

[the preparation of the cardinal points, the knowledge of *marmas*<sup>987</sup>, knowledge of *śalya* and the *vāstumaṇḍala*]\*.

The Lord said -

Having made on all sides, the four corners, equal to the outer *vāstu*<sup>988</sup>, having made the soil level with water, like the surface of a mirror, 1<sup>989</sup>

He should have it rotate [to make] with this [stick] eight circles<sup>990</sup>, to the measurement of 12 *aṅgulas*. Having placed the gnomon firmly<sup>991</sup> in the middle he should observe the shadow. 2

He should determine the shadow of the gnomon [for the purpose of] the entrance and exit in this [*vāstu bhūmi*], and with two marks of the tip of the shadow of the gnomon he should fix the east and west. 3

When the sun is in the east [or] west, he should establish north and south: on the equinox, when the sky is clear, he should establish the direction with a gnomon. 4

So too he should establish the direction from the sun in autumn and spring: the east by fixing, the position of *Puṣya*<sup>992</sup>, or by the [boundary] between *Citrā*<sup>993</sup> and *Svāti*<sup>994</sup>. 5-6ab<sup>995</sup>

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\* The reader is advised to refer to the diagram of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* (found in the appendix) through out this and the next chapter. The diagram will aid in the understanding of what the text describes.

<sup>987</sup> See chapter 10.5.1 below for a discussion on *marmas* and *śalya* and their relationship to the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and the plan of the temple.

<sup>988</sup> That is we have already determined the outline of the plot now we will draw the actual *maṇḍala*.

<sup>989</sup> Verses 1-8 are quoted in *Hari bhakti vilāsa* 20.76-82. A similar verse appears in the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddati* 3.26.79.

<sup>990</sup> This refers to the circles used to identify the cardinal directions. See illustration in 10. See also *Lakṣmī Tantra* 37.4-14.

<sup>991</sup> Lit. the very steady gnomon.

<sup>992</sup> The term *puṣya* refers to one of the *nakṣatras*, in the east (Philip Yampolsky, the origin of the twenty-eight lunar mansions, *Osiris*, vol 9 (1950) pp 62-83). In the *Śāntikalpa* of the Atharva-Veda *puṣya* is a star for prosperity (George Melville Bolling, The *Śāntikalpa* of the Atharva-Veda, *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 35 (1904), pp 77-127, The John Hopkins University Press, www.jstor.org/stable/282656, p 109, verse 2.1), (Martin Gansten, “Astrology and Astronomy (Jyotiṣa)”, in *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Hinduism*, 2010:8).

<sup>993</sup> The term *citrā* also refers to one of the *nakṣatras* (Gansten, 2010:8).

<sup>994</sup> The term *svāti* also refers to one of the *nakṣatras* (Gansten, 2010:8). For further discussion of *nakṣatras* and *jyotiṣa* refer to Gansten’s work.

<sup>995</sup> Following the commentary one would say “He should set that direction after the autumnal and vernal sun [has reached] the equinox”.

He should infer the north by fixing [the position of] the pole star<sup>996</sup> [and/or] by the meridian<sup>997</sup>, using an auspicious quadrangular stone or brick. 6cd-7ab

Having placed [the stones *or* bricks] in the four cardinal points, he should make the mark with a cord. 7<sup>998</sup>

Having made the mark with a cord in this way, there the one who is focused should feed the twelve excellent *vaiṣṇava brāhmaṇas* with *pāyasa*. 8

In order to satisfy<sup>999</sup> the lords of the months<sup>1000</sup> there should be a stringing together different than that<sup>1001</sup>. He should make an effort for the sake of knowing the great *marmas* and the smaller *marmas* etc. 9<sup>1002</sup>

The clear-sighted he should observe, properly, the *śalya* on the body of the *vāstu*, by looking, by praising, by [inauspicious] sounds<sup>1003</sup> and by the movements<sup>1004</sup> of the *yajamāna*. 10

Now after crossing the thread<sup>1005</sup>, observing, articulating the name, and listening to the sounds, he should carefully come to know the *śalya*. 11

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<sup>996</sup> *dhruva*

<sup>997</sup> The term *madhyayoga*, which I translate as meridian, is obscure. By it self *madhya* means the meridian. The commentary states *sādhitaprācīpratīcīmadyadvāreṇa*.

<sup>998</sup> According to commentary (1952 ed) the idea is to delineate the area for the *vāstubhū*. Other texts such as specifies that this is done with a cord that has been colored so that it leaves a mark on the soil (see chapter 10).

<sup>999</sup> *Tuṣṭiyartham*: Lit. “for the purpose of satisfaction”.

<sup>1000</sup> *māsādhipānā*

<sup>1001</sup> That is to say different than what we just talked about (delineating the plot) now we are going to place the lines of the inner grid.

<sup>1002</sup> *Marmas* are explained in more detail in other works such as the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* (chapter 13).

*antaṣṭrayodaśa surā dvātriṃśad bāhyataś ca ye/  
teṣāṃ sthānāni marmāṇi sirā vaṃśāś ca teṣu tu//13.6*

The *sirās* (veins) are [between] the 13 internal and 32 external [deities] in these are placed the *marmas* and the *sirās* are the *vaṃśas* between these. 13.6

*mukhe hṛdi ca nābhau ca mūrdhni ca stanayos tathā/  
marmāni cāstupuṃso ‘sya ṣaṇ mahānti pracakṣate//13.7*

And the face, heart, navel and head and the breasts are the *marmas* of this *vāstupuruṣa* called the *ṣaṇmahānti*.

*caturṣv api vibhāgeṣu sirā yāḥ syuś catur diśam/  
marmāni tāni cōktāni dvāramadhyāni yāni ca//13.10*

In the four parts and the four cardinal points where veins (*sirā*) are those are called the *marmas* and which are in the middle of the door.

The rest of the chapter describes the various calamities that will happen to a the householder and his family if the *marmas* of the *vāstupuruṣa* are violated. These include loss of family members (13) bodily wounds (14) loss of wealth (15) etc.

<sup>1003</sup> The commentary explains that these inauspicious sounds are those of jackals etc. (Compare *Yuddhakāṇḍa* where such sounds forebodes destruction.) and above where inauspicious animals are seen and heard on inauspicious plots (ch 5).

<sup>1004</sup> Or gestures.

Of which<sup>1006</sup> there is a visual form, a jumping over [or movement], and an assertion of name, of that nature [he should know] the *śalya*, by means of the crossing, etc.<sup>1007</sup>. 12

He should discern the *śalya* from the *vāstu*, which has caused the change of the [position of] the limbs of the householder. 13<sup>1008</sup>

Or if a kite<sup>1009</sup> is seen, or if the cry of one is heard, or if the name of one is mentioned, that points out the *śalya* of that [place]. 14<sup>1010</sup>

The learned one, who is wearing white garments and who is pious, who has limbs besmeared with white sandal-paste, and who is decorated with ornaments of all [kinds] should arrange the limbs of the *vāstu*. 15<sup>1011</sup>

[The squares of the *vāstumāṇḍala*] are always sixty-four for a temple (*prāsāda*) and eighty-one for a house. 16

When the field, which has its four corners fixed<sup>1012</sup>, is divided both ways in eight [sections] then having set the corner lines prepare the sections<sup>1013</sup> for the gods. 17

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<sup>1005</sup> Or extending the thread - *lañghaṇād atha sūtrasya*.

<sup>1006</sup> The term *yasya* here presumably refers to animals or people who happen to pass by as the 1952 commentary suggests.

<sup>1007</sup> This is a relative-correlative sentence (*yasya...tasya*) but translating it like that is a quard here. The idea is that any animal or person who happens to show up at the building site will tell of a *śalya* in the ground. The nature of the *śalya* can then be determined according to the identity of the animal or person as well as their movement.

<sup>1008</sup> The commentary explains change in the limbs from signs such as scratching etc. (*kaṇḍūyanādirūpādaṅgavaikṛtyāt*). The commentary also quotes the *Mahākapilapañcarātra* which gives more information on this – what to infer from where the *yajamāna* scratches himself. Similar passages are found in other texts. (See discussion in chapter 10.3 below regarding *śalya* and *marma*).

<sup>1009</sup> Or vulture, but a kite makes a characteristic shrill cry. The kite is of the *Milvus migrans* family. There are atleast two different types in India, one of which was earlier called pariah kite – indicative of its status as an inauspicious bird. ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black\\_Kite](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black_Kite), 2011-04-10)

<sup>1010</sup> Verses 13cd-14 are quoted in HBV 20.84 (a three line verse). Similar to *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* 53.105ff p 489 vol 1.

<sup>1011</sup> Verses 15-30ab are quoted in HBV 20.114-127. The HBV quotes both the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Matsya Purāṇa* for its section on the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* (20.87ff). Perhaps partly because the *Matsya Purāṇa* gives the *pāda* deities both as they should be distributed in the squares of the *maṇḍala* and in as located on the body of the *Vāstupuruṣa*, while the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* only locates them in the *maṇḍala*. But the main reason is, of course, that the *Matsya Purāṇa* provides a description for the 81 *pāda maṇḍala* and the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* for the 64 *pāda*.

<sup>1012</sup> As described in chapter 6 regarding fixing the cardinal points.

<sup>1013</sup> I am using *bhāga* and *pāda* as both meaning section – i.e. here 1/64<sup>th</sup> of the *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. Kramrisch seems to think that *bhāga* is used simply as part as in “the *prāsāda* is raised on a socle (*piṭha*) whose height is one part (*bhāga*)” (1946/2007, vol. 1, p. 283). I have not found any particular technical usage of this term but I think that it is used in two slightly different ways, thus translated as part and section, frequently it seems that the term is identical to the *pāda* of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. See also notes to verses 8.17, 11.2, 12.27, 13.3, and 13.38.



Know that Śiva<sup>1014</sup> [takes up] a half [section] at the corner, that Parjanya<sup>1015</sup> is located in one *pāda*<sup>1016</sup>, Jaya<sup>1017</sup> in two *pādas*, and it is to be learnt that Sureśa<sup>1018</sup> has one *pāda*. 18<sup>1019</sup>

Know that Bhāskara<sup>1020</sup> [is situated] in one *pāda*, Satya<sup>1021</sup> in two, as prescribed. Know that Bhṛśa<sup>1022</sup> is in one *pāda*, and Vyoma<sup>1023</sup> in just half a *pāda*. 19

And Hutāśana<sup>1024</sup> in the next half *pāda*, and Pūṣan<sup>1025</sup> is located in the next *pāda*; Vitatha<sup>1026</sup> has two *pādas*, and Gṛhakṣata<sup>1027</sup> is located in one *pāda*. 20

Vaivasvata<sup>1028</sup> is situated in one *pāda* and Gandharva<sup>1029</sup> is located in two *pādas*. Know that Bhṛṅga<sup>1030</sup> is in one *pāda* and Mṛga<sup>1031</sup> is situated in half a *pāda*. 21

Know that the Pitṛs<sup>1032</sup> are in the (other) half, and the Dauvārikas<sup>1033</sup> in one *pāda*. Know that Sugrīva<sup>1034</sup> is in two *pādas*, and thus is Puṣpadantaka<sup>1035</sup> in one *pāda*. 22

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<sup>1014</sup> An other name for Śiva is Rudra, but he is also called Īśāna as the guardian of the Northeast, the term for the northeast, *aiśānīya*, is derived from his name. The deities presented in verse 18-19 are the deities on the eastern side of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*.

<sup>1015</sup> The god of rain and thunder i.e. Indra.

<sup>1016</sup> The text uses *pāda* and *pada* interchangeably throughout.

<sup>1017</sup> Also called Jayanta, one of the Rudras, followers of Rudra / Śiva.

<sup>1018</sup> “Lord of the Gods”, i.e. Indra.

<sup>1019</sup> 8.18-39 and ch 9 are summarized in *Agni Purāṇa* ch 40. At times the names vary slightly but in general they are just different names for the same deity. Some of the offerings also vary. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 10.3.

<sup>1020</sup> Lit. “maker of light” i.e. the sun.

<sup>1021</sup> Truth

<sup>1022</sup> Here the term Bhṛśa means desire although it could also mean strong, mighty, intense. Usually Kāma is in this space, but here Bhṛśa (see *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* 14.16-17. The *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* defines several of these deities in chapters 14.11-31).

<sup>1023</sup> The sky god.

<sup>1024</sup> Lit. “the eater of sacrifice” i.e. Agni, the god of fire. Agni is logically placed in the southeast corner as he is the guardian of that direction called *āgneya*. The deities presented in verses 20-21 are the deities on the southern side of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*.

<sup>1025</sup> A Vedic deity Pūṣan is; an asura (*Ṛg Veda* 5.51.11), an *āditya* (*Ṛg Veda* 1.42.1), the lord and guardian of the roads (*Ṛg Veda* VI.49.8), the shepherd of the universe who never loses an animal (*Atharva Veda* 18.2.54) and he is the giver of prosperity (*Śathapata Brahmaṇa* 3.1.4.19).

<sup>1026</sup> Adharma.

<sup>1027</sup> Budha – Mercury.

<sup>1028</sup> Yama

<sup>1029</sup> Gandharva is Nārada, the messenger between gods and men.

<sup>1030</sup> Compare *Matsya Purāṇa* 226 which has Bhṛṅgarāja in the same space.

<sup>1031</sup> Capricorn.

<sup>1032</sup> Fathers. The deities presented in verse 22-23 are the deities on the western side of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*.

<sup>1033</sup> The gatekeeper, Nandin (Śiva’s bull.)

<sup>1034</sup> Manu, the original man, giver of the law.

<sup>1035</sup> Flower tusked is here Garuḍa, according to *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* Puṣpadanta is also one of the Diggajas, the eight elephants on which the eight regions rest (Kramrisch 146/2007:93)

Yādasāmpati<sup>1036</sup> is located in one, and the Asura<sup>1037</sup> in two spots, Śoṣa<sup>1038</sup> in one *pāda*, as he should learn. Thus, in one half *pāda* is Pāpa<sup>1039</sup> as prescribed. 23

Know that Roga<sup>1040</sup> is in half a *pāda*, and Nāga<sup>1041</sup> is located in one *pāda*. Know that Mukhya<sup>1042</sup> is [located] in two *pādas* and Bhallāṭa<sup>1043</sup> is located in one *pāda*. 24

Yajñeśvara<sup>1044</sup> in one *pada* as he should learn. Nāgara<sup>1045</sup> is located in two *padas*. Situated in one *pada* is Śrī Mahādevī<sup>1046</sup>, and Āditi<sup>1047</sup> is located in one half. 25

Know that Āpas<sup>1048</sup> goes in one *pāda*. Āpavatsa<sup>1049</sup> is located in one. Situated in four *pādas*, as he should learn, is Aryaman<sup>1050</sup>, in front of the middle. 26

Know that Savitrī<sup>1051</sup> is in one *pāda*, Sāvitrī<sup>1052</sup> is located in one, and thus know that Vivāsvan<sup>1053</sup> is in a place consisting of four *pādas*. 27

Indra<sup>1054</sup> and Indrajaya<sup>1055</sup> are one by one located diagonally adjacent<sup>1056</sup>. Mitra<sup>1057</sup> is located in four *padas* placed in order to the west [of the center]. 28

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<sup>1036</sup> Another name for Varuna.

<sup>1037</sup> Yakṣa (*Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* 1.c)

<sup>1038</sup> Śoṣa – drying up, emaciation, consumption. Śoṣaṇa is an aspect of Varuṇa according to *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* IV.1.7-8) and according to *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* it refers to Saturn (*sanaiścara*) and *pāpayaśman* (consumption) (Kramrisch 1946/2007:93).

<sup>1039</sup> Pāpa – sin. Kramrisch has Pāpayakṣman – consumption in this space (Kramrisch 1946/2007:93).

<sup>1040</sup> Roga –disease, the shortener of life (*anāyus*, *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* 1.c).

The deities presented in verse 24-25 are the deities on the northern side of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*.

<sup>1041</sup> Snake, according to Kramrisch Vāsuki the king of the Serpents. (Kramrisch, 1946 reprint 2007:94).

<sup>1042</sup> Manuscript B and C reads *yakṣa*. Mukhya is, according to Kramrisch Viśvakarman – the architect of the gods (1946/2007:94).

<sup>1043</sup> Bhallāṭa could be either Śiva (Kramrisch 1946/2007:91) or the moon (Kramrisch 1946/2007:94).

<sup>1044</sup> Yajñeśvara - Lord of the sacrifice, Viṣṇu.

<sup>1045</sup> Nāgara, presumably, not the same as the Nāga above.

<sup>1046</sup> The great goddess.

<sup>1047</sup> Lit. boundless, Aditi – mother of the Ādityas.

<sup>1048</sup> One of the eight demigods called Vasus.

<sup>1049</sup> According to Kramrisch the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* says that Āpa is Himalaya and Āpavatsa his daughter Umā (Kramrisch, 1946/2007:90). However, that depends on if the stem for Āpavatsa is Āp or Āpa. (The commentary takes it as a feminine plural, i.e. waters, but it is not a feminine). As a masculine it is a name of one of the eight demigods called Vasus, which is probably what we want here (Cologne Digital Sanskrit Lexicon).

<sup>1050</sup> The sun, the head of the *pitrs* or manes, the constellation *uttarāphalgunī*, one of the *ādityas* (Apte).

<sup>1051</sup> The sun, Indra or Śiva. Located in the south east corner - the direction of the sun (Ś.B. VI.3.1.19, Kramrisch, 1946/2007:90).

<sup>1052</sup> The daughter of the sun.

<sup>1053</sup> Vivasvān is Mārtāṇḍa, the mortal form of Brahmān whom “Aditi bore hitherward into repeated birth and death” (RV X.72.9, Kramrisch 1946 reprint 2007:90).

<sup>1054</sup> Indra, an *āditya* placed in the south west (though according to Kramrisch also a *lokapāla* of the east).

<sup>1055</sup> Indra-Jaya, conquerer of Indra, usually Meghanātha but here I am not sure.

<sup>1056</sup> *Samvyavastītao*, Lit. ‘located together’ but this sounds like they are located in the same space, which they are not, they are located in separate spaces that touch corners in the southwestern part of the diagram (see appendix).

Rudra<sup>1058</sup> is located in one *pada* and Yakṣman<sup>1059</sup> is located in one *pada*. Dharāhara<sup>1060</sup>, as he should learn, is located in the northern four *padas*. 29

The four-faced one, Prajāpati<sup>1061</sup> is located in the middle four spaces. The servants of the divinities are all located outside, such as Skanda. 30

Thus ends the eight *paṭala* in the *ādikāṇḍa* in the *Hayasīrṣa Mahāpañcarātra* which has twelve thousand verses.

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<sup>1057</sup> Mitra, the sun, is an *āditya*, who gives life.

<sup>1058</sup> A representative of the Rudras, followers of Śiva, or Śiva himself.

<sup>1059</sup> Pulmonary disease, consumption.

<sup>1060</sup> Pritivīdhara is the one who carries the earth, could refer to Śeṣa or Viṣṇu.

<sup>1061</sup> Brahmā

Chapter Nine. Offerings to the deities of the *Vāstupuruṣamāṇḍala*.

Ninth *Paṭala*

[The filling of powdered colors of the *padas* of the *vāstu*, the divisions of the *bali* and the employment of *pūjā* to the *devatās* of the *padas*]

The teacher,<sup>1062</sup> offering thus, [and] filling the powdered colors in each square should give the desired *bali* to these gods [respectively]. 1<sup>1063</sup>

To *Īśāna*<sup>1064</sup> *pāyasam* with honey is to be given. To *Parjanya*, water perfumed with fragrant flowers is to be given. 2

To *Jayanta* is to be given a flag tinted yellow, and to *Sureśvara*, jewels and *Bhāskara* ghee. 3

To *Satya* a grey or yellow cushion is to be given. To *Bhṛśa* is to be given bird-flesh and to *Vyoma* and *Agni*, a sacrificial ladle<sup>1065</sup>. 4

[He should give] *Puṣṇa*<sup>1066</sup> fried barley along with parched grain; and to *Vitatha*, gold; to *Gṛhakṣata*, sweet foods; and to *Yama*, prepared rice<sup>1067</sup>. 5

[He should give] sandalwood powder to the divine *Gandharvas*, and a bird of prey<sup>1068</sup> to *Bṛṅga*; to *Mṛga*, sesame and barley; to the *Pitṛs*, *kṛsaran* [made of milk, sesame and rice]. 6

[He should give] *Dauvārika* a stick for cleaning the teeth; to *Sugrīva*, food prepared from barley; *Puṣpadanta*, *kuśā*-grass; and to *Varuṇa*, blossoming blue lotuses. 7

He should give tasty sugar from sugarcane to the *Asura*; boiled rice mixed with ghee to *Śoṣa*, give barley to *Pāpa* and to *Roga* cake made with ghee. 8

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<sup>1062</sup> The teacher (*deśika*), who is not necessarily the *ācārya*, is the subject of this chapter.

<sup>1063</sup> The chapter is quoted in its entirety in HBV 20.161-181. It seems like the *Hari bhakti vilāsa* follows manuscript A – it consistently follows the same reading as that manuscript. There are some other minor differences. For example in verse 10 HBV has *sarpāya* for *nāgāya*. The English translation of the HBV is at times imprecise, and at times implies what cannot necessarily be gathered from the text. See note to verse 21 below for an example.

<sup>1064</sup> Most of these names are the same as in the previous chapter and they are explained there. New terms are explained in this chapter. See appendix for the chart of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* as well as a table showing the offerings to the *pāda* deities.

<sup>1065</sup> Sacrificial ladel – *sruvaḥ*. It seems like our text is missing the object to be offered to *Vyoma*. The *Agni Purāṇa* gives the bird flesh to *Vyoma*, while the *Hari bhakti vilāsa* gives cake. (*Agni Purāṇa* 40.4-5, HBV 20.164).

<sup>1066</sup> The same as *Pūṣā* according to *Apte*.

<sup>1067</sup> Or it could possibly be cooked flesh and rice. (Grammatically it should not be a *samāhāra* (collective) *dvandva* but if one compares, for example, verse 10, that interpretation seems possible).

<sup>1068</sup> A vulture of some sort - *śākuna*.

He should give fragrant *nāgapuṣpa*-flowers to Nāga<sup>1069</sup>, [and he should] have eatables given to Sukhya, various foods to Bhallāṭa, and to Soma sweet *pāyasam*. 9

And also to Nāga, give a frog; and to Śrī give tasty *pāyasam* along with *rasam*; to Aditī, *pūrikā* cake; and give a *bali* and milk to Āpas. 10

He should give Apavatsa milk and yoghurt and to Aryaman offerings of *laḍḍus*; to Savitr, *kuśa*-water, and to Sāvitrī, molasses-cakes. 11

He should give Vivasvata red flowers and red sandal-wood; and give food with turmeric to Indra; and [food] with ghee to Indrajaya. 12

He should give sweetmeats to Mitra; and *pāyasam* with molasses to Rudra. Offer raw and cooked meat to Rājanyakṣmaṇa. 13

He should offer a *bali* consisting of raw meat with sour gruel to Pṛthvīdhara<sup>1070</sup>. 14ab

Cause to be offered *pañcagavya*<sup>1071</sup> along with unhusked grain, sesame and barley offering and also *kuśa*-grass, sandal-wood and flowers in the *Brahmsthāna*. 14cd-15ab<sup>1072</sup>

[He should offer] all [types] of raw meat along with rice in the eastern region [outside the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*] to Skanda<sup>1073</sup>. 15cd<sup>1074</sup>

He should give white lotuses, ghee and meat to Vidārya at the corner. He should give *kṛsara*<sup>1075</sup>, *apūpa*<sup>1076</sup> and meat to Aryamān to the south. 16

And he should give flour and blood to Pūtana in the southwest, and meat with blood is to be given to Jambhaka in the west. 17

And he should make meat, together with a multitude of bones mixed with red balls of rice, a gift to the evil *rakṣasī* in the northeast. 18

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<sup>1069</sup> It seems likely that the Nāga receives Nāgapuṣpani, i.e. Nāga flowers because of the name.

<sup>1070</sup> Dharāhara?

<sup>1071</sup> See *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa adhyāya* 99 (the whole chapter) for the making of the *pañcagavya*, a mixture of the five products of the cow, milk, curd, butter, urine and dung. The chapter gives the names of mantras he should chanted while gathering these things.

<sup>1072</sup> Note the presence of cows in the food stuff and the valorization of foods; like the use of oxen in preparation of the land. Extending the ox-oriented grain cultivation carries Brāhminical royally patronized temple culture into non-Brāhminical lands.

<sup>1073</sup> Variant D has *sodakam* – with water, faciliior.

<sup>1074</sup> Verses 15cd-20 seem to refer to beings who are located outside the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*.

<sup>1075</sup> The word *kṛsara* can mean either a dish made of milk, sesamum and rice, or rice and peas boiled together with a few spices.

<sup>1076</sup> A small round cake of flour.

He should offer an oblation of blood with internal organs to Pilipicchā in the north; to Carakī cause goat meat to be given in the northeast direction. 19

Thus the bali should be given to the hosts of Bhūtas, Rākṣasas and Piśācas as desired, O Best of Gods. 20<sup>1077</sup>

Or the wise could worship these with *kuśa*-grass, flowers and unhusked grain. 21<sup>1078</sup>

Honored in this fashion, the gods bestows peace and prosperity on men. If they are not honored, they harm the *kāraka*<sup>1079</sup> and the *sthāpaka*<sup>1080</sup>. 22

Therefore, having offered, thus, to these with perfume and lovely flowers, the wise one constructs a temple or a house, O Best of Gods. 23

Thus ends the ninth *paṭala* in the *ādikāṇḍa* in the *Hayaśīrṣa Mahāpañcarātra* which has twelve thousand verses.

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<sup>1077</sup> Building like cooking is a fundamental cultural activity turning nature into culture, valorizing high culture over low (hunting) culture. Both activities have an organizing quality which will be further discussed in chapter 10 below.

<sup>1078</sup> Commentary (1952) indicates that *etān* refers to all of the above mentioned. That is if one cannot get hold of one of the recommended substances then one may replace it with *kuśa* grass, etc. (see further discussion in chapter 10.4 below). The *Hari bhakti vilāsa* has the same reading, but the translation for verses 20-21 (20.179 in the HBV) reads:

O foremost of demigods, a *yajamāna* who is filled with material desires should offer gifts to the ghosts, demons, and hobgoblins as well. If the *yajamāna* is without material desires, being a pure devotee of Lord Viṣṇu, he should worship all these demigods with offerings of *kuśa* grass, flowers and rice paddy.

The obvious insert is the subordinate clause in the second sentence, which has no support in the Sanskrit text. The second sentence does not have anything about the *yajamāna* without material desires either. The translator implied this from *etān*. This *etān* could perhaps refer to the *yajamāna* but it seems more likely that this would refer to the above-mentioned gods. *Kāraka* means agent and could not be what he uses as material desires. The commentor to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* states the offerings could be substituted if one cannot find the appropriate ingredient. This is also supported by the *Matsya Purāna* (268-9), which states that *payasam* can be used as a substitute. This section also appears in the HBV (20.154). Substituting is also again mentioned in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* in the *saurakaṇḍa* according to the commentary (1952).

The English translator of the HBV seems to be reading Vaiṣṇava theology into this text. Theology that was later than the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, but prior to the HBV. Ramanuja, composing more than 200 years after the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, articulates how the performance of Vedic-injoined Kāmya Karma can be consistent with a disinterested, *mokṣa* oriented, Vaiṣṇava practice. It is important to keep the later developed Vaiṣṇava exegesis of Vedānta separate from this rather earlier Vaiṣṇava articulation of the construction. There are significant differences in terms of dating, locale, genre and audience.

<sup>1079</sup> *kāraka* means agent or subsidizer, this might refer to the *yajamāna*, as the one initiating the construction, or it might refer to the *deśika* who is the agent of this particular part of the text.

<sup>1080</sup> *Sthāpaka* - Architect – see further discussion in chapter 8.

Chapter Ten. Giving of the Arghya.

Tenth Paṭala

[Giving of the Arghya]<sup>1081</sup>

Then, in the Brahmasthāna, [the *yajamāna*<sup>1082</sup>] should worship Vāsudeva<sup>1083</sup>, worship (*sampūjānam*) Śrī and the hosts of Hṛṣīkeśa<sup>1084</sup>. 1

Then, he should worship<sup>1085</sup> the group of Vāsudevas also with lovely sandalwood, water oblations<sup>1086</sup>, flowers, eatables<sup>1087</sup>, incense (*dhūpa*) and lamps (*dīpa*). 2

Then, he should worship the lovely earth, the supporter of all the worlds, beautiful, who has the body of a lovely young woman, and who is decorated with divine ornaments. 3

Having meditated, he should honor the goddess [earth] who is satisfied and has a smile on her face, having begged<sup>1088</sup> her, he should contemplate [the earth], completely absorbed<sup>1089</sup> in that. 4<sup>1090</sup>

Thus having meditated he should worship with the mantra of Vāstupuruṣa<sup>1091</sup> own name, the highest one, who is made up of all the immortals, with devotion, since it is that person who consists of the *vāstu*. 5

Thus the wise he should make a base with unhusked grain in the *Brahmasthāna*, in this he should place a pot and worship it along with the small pot<sup>1092</sup> having made it increase with offerings. 6

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<sup>1081</sup> The chapter is quoted in HBV 20.182-207.

<sup>1082</sup> The text does not specify that it is the *yajamāna* that should do the worship here, but it seems like he is the most likely subject (*kartṛ*) in this chapter. See further discussion in chapter 8.

<sup>1083</sup> Lit. one should do the worship of Vāsudeva.

<sup>1084</sup> Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa

<sup>1085</sup> Lit. “one should do the worship”, *pūjā*.

<sup>1086</sup> Arghya water oblation. Compare discussion of *arghya* in Bühnemann (1988:29-30, 138-9), Gonda (*Vedic Ritual- the non- solemn rites*, Brill, Leiden, 1980:413ff), and P.V. Kane (*A History of Dharmasāstra*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1930: Vol. 2 p 749-756). Bühnemann notes that *arghya* is “water into which several ingredients (like sandalwood paste, *akṣata* etc.) have been mixed (and which) is offered to the deity for honorific purposes” (1988:138).

<sup>1087</sup> *Naivedhya* – offering of eatables to deities or idols

<sup>1088</sup> *Vijñāpya*, compare verse 14.

<sup>1089</sup> It seems possible that the text says that one should think of oneself as identical with the goddess but it is not explicit. (Sanjukta Gupta discusses similar ideas in relationship to the *Lakṣmī Tantra* in her introduction to the translation of the text (Gupta, 1972/2003).

<sup>1090</sup> a = Agni 40.24a

<sup>1091</sup> The text reads *sva* (one’s own), the 1952 commentary tells us that it refers to the Vāstupuruṣa.

<sup>1092</sup> The translation small pot is taken from Apte’s definition of the word *vardhanikā* ‘a small vessel in which sacred water is kept’.

[The pot] golden, silver, or made of clay, well built and new, filled with all kinds of seeds and medicinal herbs, has gold and silver [in it]<sup>1093</sup>. 7

[The pot] has its interior filled with jewels and gold and silver, and is completely filled with water filtered through a cloth. [The pot] is endowed with excellent blossoms and smeared with white sandalwood. 8

Having made it garlanded with flowers, infused with auspicious incense, wrapped with two new white [pieces of] cloth. 9

Then, placing the water-pot<sup>1094</sup> in the *Brahmsthāna*, the knower of mantras should worship, in this [space] the four-faced god, lord of creatures, who is the mantra made visible<sup>1095</sup>, with lovely perfume, flowers, incense, offering of eatables. 10<sup>1096</sup>-11ab

Then the *ācārya* situated in the east, facing east, at the exterior of the *maṇḍala*, taking up the ritual implements<sup>1097</sup>, should satisfy the preceding deities beginning with the [nine] planets<sup>1098</sup>. Then, after that the knower of mantras<sup>1099</sup> should satisfy Brahmā and the others with ghee, sesame and barley. 11cd-12

The wise he should gratify the lord of creatures with hundreds of invocations and he should make the other gods pleased by means of ten invocations<sup>1100</sup>. 13

Subsequently, the knower of mantras should give the final oblation ending with the *vauṣaṭ*<sup>1101</sup> exclamation. Then having done the obsequence, he begs [the goddess] and carries out the *svastivācana* rite<sup>1102</sup>. 14<sup>1103</sup>

Then, having properly taken the sieve-jar<sup>1104</sup>, he should circumambulate the *maṇḍala* by the path of the threads, and he should shake a stream of water [from the jar] in a circular motion, O Lord of Gods. 15<sup>1105</sup>

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<sup>1093</sup> Lit. “possessed of gold and silver” could mean either that there are gold and silver decorations or that there are gold and silver pieces inside the pot. The pot cannot be assumed to be made of gold and silver since we were just told that it can be a golden, silver or clay pot.

<sup>1094</sup> Kalasa.

<sup>1095</sup> Lit. whose form is mantra.

<sup>1096</sup> *Kalaśa* – though the text here uses *kalaśa* I believe we are still discussing the same pot as the one previously called *kumbha*.

<sup>1097</sup> *Sambhārān*, the commentary glosses *prakarana* – ritual items.

<sup>1098</sup> The commentary tells us that it is the *homa* for the nine planets (*navagrahahoma*).

<sup>1099</sup> The *ācārya*.

<sup>1100</sup> The text does not specify which these are.

<sup>1101</sup> The *vauṣaṭ* is an exclamation used in offering oblations.

<sup>1102</sup> That is the above described ritual which uses the *svastivācana mantra* found in Ṛg Veda, 5.1. 89.6.

<sup>1103</sup> HBV skips 14cd-15ab

<sup>1104</sup> Sieve-jar – *karkarī*.

<sup>1105</sup> ab = agni 40.24cd, HBV reads *divyena* for *deveśa*. The commentary emphasizes that one should not take another *karkarī* but use the one that was previously placed on top of the ‘*Brahmākumbha*’, that is the pot that we previously (verse 10) placed in the *Brahmsthāna*. It is not entirely clear from the text that the *karkarī* should be placed on top of the *kumbha*.



Just as before by that path he should shake seven seeds.<sup>1106</sup> Thus he should make a beautiful and auspicious place for that excavation. 16

Then, in the middle, he should dig a hole measuring exactly<sup>1107</sup> one *hasta*. Then he should dig it accurately, to the extent of four *aṅgulas* below. 17<sup>1108</sup>

He should smear [the hole] with cow dung and adorn it with sandalpaste, having placed white flowers and unhusked grain in the middle. 18

Then the *ācārya*, facing east, should meditate on the four-armed god [*Viṣṇu*] with the auspicious sound of musical instruments and with the most beautiful recital of the Veda. 19

The knower of mantras should give an offering<sup>1109</sup>, O best of gods, with water from a pot<sup>1110</sup>. Having taken the sieve-jar, then, at once, he should fill the hole with pure and sweet smelling water, infused with all [kinds of] jewels. In that [hole] he should toss white flowers, calling to mind the sacred syllable *Om*. 20-21

Then [the hole] filled, he should observe the whirlpool and scatter unhusked grain [into that hole] because of that knowledge [one can determine]: it is auspicious when [the rice whirls] in the whirlpool curved to the right and inauspicious when to the left. 22

The wise he should fill the hole with seeds of rice, barley, etc., and he should fill the hole with that sanctified clay<sup>1111</sup> produced in the field. 23

Thus having concluded the giving of the *arghya* according to injunction, O Foremost of the Gods<sup>1112</sup>, one<sup>1113</sup> should give gold, a cow, and a pair of garments to the *ācārya*. 24

Then he should honor those deserving respect, the architect who knows astronomy and the *vaiṣṇavas*, to the best of one's ability, and having fed the *brāhmaṇas* and he should have song, dance and so forth performed. 25<sup>1114</sup>

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<sup>1106</sup> = Agni 40.25 c 1/2d. This is in many other texts done as a preparatory test to ensure fertility of the soil. It is not stated wheatear the plowing earlier (end of chapter 6) also involved sowing seeds. The translation of the *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa* specifies – barley, wheat, rice paddy, sesame seeds, *kaṇan*, *samā* and *nivāra*. (p 527 vol 5).

<sup>1107</sup> Lit. “according to the measure”.

<sup>1108</sup> 17 ab= Agni 40.26cd

<sup>1109</sup> *arghya*

<sup>1110</sup> This verse explicitly tells us that the *arghya* refers to a water oblation. This meaning has been followed for *arghya* throughout the translation.

<sup>1111</sup> Or mud.

<sup>1112</sup> Surottama

<sup>1113</sup> Presumably the *yahamāna*.

<sup>1114</sup> Verses 24-25 compare agni 40.29. Verse 25 is missnumbered in the 1952 edition as 26.

He should have [a hole<sup>1115</sup>] dug up, with effort, until water [is reached] up till the depth of a man [so that] an *śalya*<sup>1116</sup> situated below that [Vāstu] Puruṣa would not not give [rise to] danger. 26<sup>1117</sup>

But, in a temple, an *śalya* would give rise to danger to the depth of water. Therefore, the earth for the temple is to be purified until the water. 27<sup>1118</sup>

Or [dig] down until rock or [something] solid<sup>1119</sup> and the earth [is considered] a maiden<sup>1120</sup>. Having plowed and having made her [the earth] level, he should initiate the sacrifice. 28

Thus ends the tenth *paṭala* in the *ādikāṇḍa* in the *Hayasīrṣa Mahāpañcarātra* which has twelve thousand verses.

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<sup>1115</sup> It seems like this hole should be the size of the building to be put up as one is looking for any object classified as *śalya* that might be in the soil under the construction are. This would, if one should dig till one finds water, require a lot of digging.

<sup>1116</sup> Impediment – for further discussion on *śalya* see chapter 8 below.

<sup>1117</sup> = Agni 40.30

<sup>1118</sup> This is for those who are not sure. If one is not sure of the existence of a *śalya* “impediment” then one digs until one reaches the water level or something solid to ensure that the soil is pure. The logic is obvious – there cannot be any bones or other things below the waterlevel or past solid rock. In essence this means that to be pure the ground should not have any traces of previous activity there. The commentary of the 1952 edition tells us that, if one is not sure about the presence of a *śalya*, soon after the *yajamana* begins the feeding of the brāhmaṇas and he gives the *arghya*, one ought to do this test.

<sup>1119</sup> Such as clay according to the commentary.

<sup>1120</sup> I.e., a virgin plot untouched.

## Chapter Eleven. The laying of the first brick

### Eleventh *Paṭala*

[Consecration of *śilās*, before the commencement of the sacrificial rite, the determination of the day, and the characteristics of bricks, etc.]<sup>1121</sup>

The Lord said-

Next I will tell [you] about the base<sup>1122</sup> called *pāda*. In front of that, a fourcornered *maṇḍapa* with a basemoulding<sup>1123</sup> should be done. 1

[The *maṇḍapa* should be constructed with] a measure of 10x12 *hastas* and extend for four parts [of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*?], that is lovely. He should decorate it with banners, pennants of many colors and banners<sup>1124</sup>. 2

He should make four holes<sup>1125</sup> in the right order<sup>1126</sup> [for] the arched doorways, [and he should] deposit<sup>1127</sup> a pot and deposit a brick<sup>1128</sup> [for] the two door-frames. Then [he should] do a *vrata*. 3

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<sup>1121</sup> Chapter eleven of the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* gives the rituals for the laying of the first brick or stone, the so called *pratameṣṭakā* rite. This is a rite that appears in most *śilpa śāstra* texts. The *garbhanyāsa* is according to Ślaṅzka a deposit box discussed in, for example, *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* (11-12.9cd-52), *Agni Purāṇa* (41), and the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (94). Though the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* also uses the term *garbhāḍhānaṃ*. Goudriaan has translated it as *garbhanyāsa* – deposit of embryo. (Goudriaan p 60) Chapter 12 of the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* continues the description of the *pratameṣṭakā* ritual and also deals with the consecration deposit. The *Agni Purāṇa* (40) tells us that the excavated ground should be filled up with well-burnt bricks (*iṣṭaka*), measuring 12x4 *āṅgulas* each. The excavation should be the same as the edifice or half of it, if it is smaller it is deemed as no good. Thus we are really talking about a foundation, not only a pit for placing the foundation deposit. In *A book of Wisdom, proclaimed by Kāśyapa* chapter 30 the *pratameṣṭaka* is also discussed. (See Goudriaan 1965:105). The most useful work on the *pratameṣṭaka* is Anna Ślaṅzka's *Temple Consecration Rituals, Text and Archeology*, (2007.)

<sup>1122</sup> *Pratiṣṭhā* - Kane notes that *Pratiṣṭhā* generally means “dedicating it [he is discussing wells, ponds and tanks] to the public with prescribed rites. This *pratiṣṭhā* had four principal stages: the *saṅkalpa*, *homa*, *utsarga* (declaration that the thing has been dedicated to the public) and finally *dakṣiṇā* and feeding the *brāhmaṇas*. (Kane 1974, Vol. 6.2.2, p 892.) Here it seems that *pratiṣṭhā* has a more technical meaning - base for the temple construction.

<sup>1123</sup> “Basemoulding” *vedikaḥ* - according to Acharya entry *Vedi(kā)* a *vedi(kā)* is a moulding on the base (1946:vol. 7).

<sup>1124</sup> There are banners (*patāka*), pennants (*dhvaja*) and banners (*kadhālī*) here. The banners are, as is seen from the Sanskrit words, differen, but I do not know the difference between these.

<sup>1125</sup> “Holes”, *kunḍa* - also means bowl, jar and well. Here the text describes the holes at the doorway where deposits are placed. See Ślaṅzka (2007) for further discussion regarding consecration deposits.

<sup>1126</sup> Presumably in a circumambulatory fashion.

<sup>1127</sup> The root *nyas* has been discussed in detail by André Padoux in his “Nyāsa: the ritual placing of mantras” (in André Padoux, *Tantric Mantras, Studies on Mantrasastra*, Routledge Studies in Tantric Traditions, Routledge, New York, 2011).

<sup>1128</sup> The laying of the first brick or stone is a ritual of pan Indian importance as Ślaṅzka has shown (Ślaṅzka 2007:187ff). The north Indian architectural and ritual texts that discuss the *pratameṣṭakā* are: the *Brhat Samhitā* (52.110 Dvivedi ed., 53.112, Bhat ed., *Agni Purāṇa* (41.1-18ab) *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (94), *Viśvakarma Vastuśāstra* (6), *Samarangana Sutrādhara* (35) and the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* 11-12. The

All this he should do on a very auspicious day. Honouring of the gods and the Brāhmaṇas is to be done in reference to all this. 4

And also [he should] honour the astrologers, and the architects. The wise man should not commence building a house in the rainy season, 5

[also] avoiding the lunar days<sup>1129</sup> in the last third of the dark fortnight, the first and second of the bright [fortnight], [and] the fourth, ninth, and fourteenth [of either fortnight]. 6

The day of Mars<sup>1130</sup> [Tuesday] should be avoided, [and] the *karaṇa*<sup>1131</sup> known as Viṣṭi<sup>1132</sup>, [and also any day] plagued with fear due to terrestrial, intermediate<sup>1133</sup>, or celestial omens. 7

Venus eclipsed by [malefic] planets, and touched by [the *yoga*<sup>1134</sup> called] Vyatīpāta. The wise man should perform the work on [a day] when the asterism of the moon is favourable. 8

In this [matter], the fixed and approved [asterisms]<sup>1135</sup> are Sakradaiva<sup>1136</sup>, Nairṛta<sup>1137</sup>, Puṣya<sup>1138</sup>, Pauṣṇa<sup>1139</sup>, Sāvitra<sup>1140</sup>, Vāyavya<sup>1141</sup> and Vaiṣṇava<sup>1142</sup>. 9

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*Somaśambhupaddhati* (4.1.1-108) though not truly a North Indian text (Brunner (1998;lii-lxi) notes that manuscripts of the text are found in Nepal and South India, the south Indian ones are later and with more mistakes than the Nepali ones) displays similarities to the north Indian group of texts.

<sup>1129</sup> For further discussion on *tithi* see Gansten (2010).

<sup>1130</sup> *bhauma*

<sup>1131</sup> *Karaṇa* - a *karaṇa* is half of a *tithi*. "To be precise, a *karaṇa* is the time required for the angular distance between the sun and the moon to increase in steps of 6° starting from 0°." "Since the *tithis* are thirty in number, one would expect there to be sixty *karaṇa*. But there are only eleven. There are four "fixed" *karanas* and seven "repeating" *karanas*." Viṣṭi (Bhadra) is one of the seven repeating *karaṇas*. "The *karaṇa* active during sunrise of a day is the *karaṇa* for the day."

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindu\\_calendar#Karana](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindu_calendar#Karana).

<sup>1132</sup> Viṣṭi (Bhadra). See previous note.

<sup>1133</sup> The term *antarikṣa* refers to the intermediate space between heaven and earth, the sky.

<sup>1134</sup> *Yoga* - the Sanskrit word *Yoga* commonly means "union," but in astronomical calculations it is used in the sense of "alignment." First one computes the angular distance along the ecliptic of each object, taking the ecliptic to start at *Mesha* or Aries (*Meshādi*, as defined above): this is called the longitude of that object. The longitude of the sun and the longitude of the moon are added, and normalized to a value ranging between 0° to 360° (if greater than 360, one subtracts 360). This sum is divided into 27 parts. Each part will now equal 800' (where ' is the symbol of the arcminute which means 1/60 of a degree). These parts are called the *yogas*." Vyatīpāta is the 17<sup>th</sup> of these *yogas* ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindu\\_calendar#Yoga](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindu_calendar#Yoga)).

<sup>1135</sup> *Dhruva* – fixed – some stars are thought of as fixed *dhruva* (the pole star) *revatī*, *uttaraphālgunī*, *uttarabhādrapāda* and *uttarāṣāḍha* are called fixed.

<sup>1136</sup> *Sakradaiva* is the presiding deity of *rohiṇī*, also called *jyeṣṭhā*. The *Kāthaka Saṃhitā* (39.13) tells us that it is Indra while the *Maitrāyaṇī S* (2.13.20) tells us that it is Varuṇa. Kane states that the presiding Vedic deity is Indra (Kane 1974 vol. 5.1, 503).

<sup>1137</sup> *Nairṛta* in our text, the lunar mansion generally called *Mūla* in modern times but *Viçṛtau* in Vedic texts. The presiding deity is Pitarah. It is also called *Mūlabarhaṇī* (Tai. Br. I.5, Kane 1974 vol. 5.1, 503).

<sup>1138</sup> *Puṣyam* - the 8<sup>th</sup> lunar mansion. In Vedic terms *tiṣya*. The presiding deity is *Bṛhaspati* (Kane 1974 vol. 5.1, 503).

In a fixed [ninth] part and a fixed ascendant, of the nature of an *upacaya* to the agent, in which a benefic planet is in an angle or a trine, O best of gods, 10<sup>1143</sup>

and [when] the malefics<sup>1144</sup> are in an *upacaya* house – then he should perform the necessary [ritual]. In all rituals he should take pains to avoid a malefic in an angle. 11

When *kendra* is in conjunction with *saumya* then it is like an empty pot. He should fill the ditch with care, *pāda* by *pāda* in the traditional order. 12cd<sup>1145</sup>

Having repeatedly sprinkled with water by means of the water-pots, which have gold and so forth, eight *aṅgulas* with mud, and to one *hasta* with bricks etc. then he should make a foundation<sup>1146</sup> with mallets made of the *Brahmavṛkṣa*. He should fill the hole, except one *pāda*, and should have it made very leveled. 13-14<sup>1147</sup>

Then the wise Deśika should sprinkle the earth with the *pañcagavya*. 15

And with [a pot] made of gold and copper, filled with water from a *tīrtha*, and with the inside of golden rice, with ornaments of mango blossoms, he should moisten with mantras, with water from that water-pot<sup>1148</sup>. Then the earth becomes pure, even though it might have been joined by an impure [object]<sup>1149</sup>. 16-17

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<sup>1139</sup> December – January, also called Revatī (Gansten 2010).

<sup>1140</sup> *Sāvitra* also called *hasta*. The presiding deity is Savitr. Generally used in the Masculine singular but occurs in the dual in the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* (39.13, Kane 1974 vol. 5.1, 502).

<sup>1141</sup> *Vāyavya* – relating to Vāyu, the northwest, also called Svāti (Gansten 2010).

<sup>1142</sup> *Vaiṣṇava* in our text is commonly called *śravana*, in Vedic texts *śroṇā*, the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* (39.13) calls it *Aśvattha*. Kane tells us that Viṣṇu is the presiding deity (Kane 1974 vol. 5.1, 504), which presumably is why it is called *Vaiṣṇava* in the Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra.

<sup>1143</sup> *Upacaya* are the 3rd, 6th, 10th and 11th house. Fixed signa are the Ox, Lion, Scorpio and Aquarius. Every sign is divided into 9 *navāṃśas* which are 9 of the signs in the zodiac. The corner houses, *kendra*, are houses 1, 4, 7 and 10; trine houses, *trikoṇa*, are houses 5 and 9. (Martin Gansten, email conversation, June 1<sup>st</sup>, 2011).

<sup>1144</sup> Malefic, *papa*, is the term used for the evil planets such as Mars and Saturn (Gansten 2010:10)

<sup>1145</sup> The first part (ab) of this verse is corrupt: *saumyayukte tu yat kendram tādrk patran tu śūnyakam*. The translation given above is not very meaningful. The variant reading: *saumyayuktam tu patrendram taj jñejam na tu svalpakam* is supported by manuscript B and C. This reading, however, is no less corrupt.

<sup>1146</sup> The term *ākoṭanam* is obscure. I have not come across it elsewhere. Dagens discusses *koṭi* (rafter) and *kūṭa* (a square aedicula frequently on corners or other square structure) in his *Mayamatam* translation. None of these are similar to this context. I have assumed that *ākoṭanam* comes from the verbal root  $\sqrt{kūṭ}$  (with an *ana* suffix, though that would normally not have been *gunated* due to the heavy syllable here it is). I am also assuming that the *ā* is pleonastic. Thus we have the meaning hill or pile and in extension foundation. It is quite clear from context that this is what is under discussion.

<sup>1147</sup> 14c – Agni 41.2c

<sup>1148</sup> Lit. with.

<sup>1149</sup> Possibly implying that we might have missed a *śalya* or that something was put there by accident later.

Having thus purified the earth the wise he should sacrifice to the *vāstu*. Having stabilized the *Brahmsthāna* thus [he should do] the arranging of the bricks. 18<sup>1150</sup>

Now listen to the characteristics and measurements of the bricks. The bricks which should have a good base<sup>1151</sup> should be endowed with [appropriate] characteristics, and measure out to 12 *aṅgulas*. 19<sup>1152</sup>

[The bricks are] equally measured out with skill, and with sections<sup>1153</sup> that are well proportioned, well fired, well measured, and of one color, they are pleasing. 20<sup>1154</sup>

The bricks, which are flawless, ought to be made having four corners, well measured out. The ones, which have chiseled corners, which are chipped, lacking top and bottom<sup>1155</sup>, which are grainy, which have a black color, which are heaped up with bones or coals, which are discolored, which have a unpleasant odor<sup>1156</sup>, and are oversized or too rounded [should be abandoned]. 21-22

Also [he should] leave aside those [bricks] that are defective, uneven, broken or worn out. Then he should do the placing of the bricks when the temple is made of bricks. 23<sup>1157</sup>

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<sup>1150</sup> Note that verse two above defines the *pāda* as a square measuring 10-12 *hastas* and consisting of four parts. Presumably we are here discussing the *Brahmsthāna* of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. Verse 18 tells us that the rituals discussed are regarding the *Brahmsthāna*. Thus the first brick is placed in the *Brahmsthāna* after the site has been properly sanctified with symbols, colorful flags, flowers, water, etc. The text gives no further information regarding where the brick should be placed – presumably it will be in the foundation pit as the discussion concerning the foundation precedes it and there seems like no other construction has started. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* does not specify the number of bricks to place in the *Brahmsthāna* – in fact it seems like it should be one brick only. However, in verse 26 we are dealing with multiple bricks and pots (*kumbhānām iṣṭakāṇāṅ ca*). These should be bathed and mantras recited. The bricks are worshipped and anointed. Chapter 12 tells us to place the pots and bricks in the eight directions and one in the middle. The text clearly states that first one puts down the pot and installs a divinity inside after which the pots cannot be moved again and then the bricks should be placed on top. Then the text goes on to tell what kind of deposit goes in which pitcher starting with the northeast. While the account is not as detailed as many other texts, such as the *Kaśyapa Śilpa* discussed by Ślaçzka (2007), the description is straight forward and gives us the most essential details.

<sup>1151</sup> The term *Sutalatala* = *adhiśṭhāna* (*Mayamatam*, vol 2, p. 936). In the *Mayamatam* it seems to be a section of the base. Here it seems like it is the lowest part of the base or foundation.

<sup>1152</sup> Similar to = *Agni Purāṇa* 41.3, also *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* itself 11.19-20

<sup>1153</sup> The term *svistara* means well divided. (Ślaçzka (2007:94 and 98) translates compartment but it is obviously a different usage.

<sup>1154</sup> A similar but somewhat more detailed account is found in the *Pādma Saṃhitā kryapada* 5<sup>th</sup> *adyaya* verse 36 which is the same as *Śrīpraśna Saṃhitā* 6,20-21 and *Vimanaracanakapa* 6, p 25, regarding length of bricks etc. also, Smith (1963:63 note 49).

<sup>1155</sup> Lit. hands and feet. I am not sure what this means, but a qualified guess is that hands and feet refer to the top and bottom of the brick.

<sup>1156</sup> Lit. dull smell.

<sup>1157</sup> Presumably this means that if you plan to make a temple of bricks then your first ‘stone’ should be made of brick and if your temple is of wood use wood if of stone use stone.

The laying down [should be made] of stones when [the temple is made of] stones. He should place limestone when [the temple is made of] limestone<sup>1158</sup>. He should acquire nine beautiful copper-pots. 24

Having collected all the materials he should sanctify the bricks. Having made the *maṇḍapa* in the northeast, then [he should make] the *maṇḍapa* in the east. 25

Then perform the bathing of the pots and bricks, here with *pañcakaṣāya*<sup>1159</sup> and water with all the herbs<sup>1160</sup> [in it] and with fragrant water and with pots which are completely filled with water, and with golden rice and with ointment of fragrant sandalwood. 26-27<sup>1161</sup>

Then utter the mantras ‘*āpo hi śṭha*’<sup>1162</sup> three times and ‘*śaṃ no devī*’<sup>1163</sup>, and also ‘*tarata samandī*’<sup>1164</sup> as well as ‘*pāvamānī*’<sup>1165</sup>. 28<sup>1166</sup>

<sup>1158</sup> The term *karkarām* limestone, Apte suggests that it is an Orissan term. (Variant reading *karkare*, for the second occurrence of limestone). Acharya gives *karkarī-kṛta* – paved with small pieces of stone (1946:vol. 7 p. 114).

<sup>1159</sup> A decoction from the fruits of five trees – *jambu*, *śālmali*, *bāyyāla*, *bakula* and *badara*.

<sup>1160</sup> List of special kinds of herbs standing in for all herbs.

<sup>1161</sup> = agni 41.5cd-6ab

<sup>1162</sup> Rg Veda 10.9.1

*āpo hi śṭhā mayobhūvas*

*tā na ūrjé dadhātana*

*mahé rānāya cákṣase* (In all Rg Veda quotes the Sanskrit text comes from Sanskrit text from Barend A. van Nooten and Gary B. Holland, *Meterically Restored Text of the Rg Veda* published online by Karen Thomson and Jonathan Slocum

(<http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/lrc/RV/RV01.html#H025>)

Ihr Gevässer seid ja labend; verhelpet ihr uns zur Kraft, um große Freude zu schauen! (Rg Veda 10.9.1, translation by Geldner, 1951: part 4 p. 131).

According to *Devī Bhagavata Purāna* a sin destroying mantra (quoted in *Making virtuous daughters and wives: an introduction to women's Brata rituals in Bengali folk religion*, by June McDaniel, State University of New York Press, New York, 2002:100). *The Garuḍa Purāna* transl. by Manmatha Nath Dutt states that the mantra is used to ‘cleanse the earth’ and ‘inspire’ water (1908:134)

<sup>1163</sup> *śaṃ no devīr abhiṣṭaya āpo bhavantu pītāye /*

*śaṃ yór abhī sravantu naḥ /* (Atharvaveda 1.6.1, Sanskrit text from Gretil ([http://fiindolo.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1\\_sanskrit/1\\_veda/1\\_sam/avs\\_acu.htm](http://fiindolo.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskrit/1_veda/1_sam/avs_acu.htm)), digitalizing done by Arlo Griffiths and others, original text *Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā*, *Saunaka recension* Based on the ed.: Gli inni dell’ Atharvaveda (Saunaka), traslitterazione a cura di Chatia Orlandi, Pisa 1991, collated with the ed. R. Roth and W.D.

Whitney: *Atharva Veda Saṃhitā*, Berlin 1856.

The Waters be to us for drink, Goddesses, for our aid and bliss: Let them stream health and wealth to us. (*The Hymns of the Atharvaveda* tr. by Ralph T.H. Griffith, originally published in 1895-6, now available at <http://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/av/index.htm>).

<sup>1164</sup> Rg Veda. 9.58, in this section (only four verses) all verses end with this line. The first one, which I quote below, also starts with the phrase.

*tárat śa mandī dhāvati*

*dhārā sutāsya ándhasaḥ*

*tárat śa mandī dhāvati*

Er gelange (über das Wasser), der Berausende läuft ab, der Strom des ausgepreßten Tranks. – Er gelange (über das Wasser), der Berausende läuft ab. (Rg Veda 9.58.1, translation by Geldner, 1951: part 4 p. 40).

<sup>1165</sup> According to Kane this refers to the seven Pavamani verses beginning with *yád ánti yác ca dūraké* (Rg.

‘*uduttamam varuṇa*<sup>1167</sup>, and ‘*imam me*<sup>1168</sup> as well, and also with the mantra beginning with ‘*varuṇasya*<sup>1169</sup> and also the ‘*haṃsaḥ śucisad ity*’ as well. 29<sup>1170</sup>

Then he should bathe the bricks by means of the pots [while chanting] the *śrī* mantra. The wise he should bathe<sup>1171</sup> that pot which is to be worshiped reciting the *sukta* ‘*śrāyantīyam*’. 30

Then the anointing should to be done with fragrant sandalpaste he should make a draping with garments and flowers. 31

Having placed [the pots<sup>1172</sup>] in the *maṇḍapa* on a excellent platform he should worship with various eatables, milk, rice, and with fragrant lovely flowers. 32

Then he should offer, carefully, to those [pots] incense, a lamp and food-offerings<sup>1173</sup>. Having done so then he should perform the *homa* for the bricks properly. 33

In this *maṇḍapa* having drawn that auspicious *vaiṣṇava maṇḍala*<sup>1174</sup> he should honor Viṣṇu in the bowl<sup>1175</sup> and he should present an oblation to Agni. 34

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9.67.21-27, See Kane 1974 vol. 5.1, p. 378, also discussed by Selina Thielemann in her *Rāsālīlā: a musical study of religious drama in Vraja*, APH Pub. Corp , New Delhi, 1998: 52).

<sup>1166</sup> = agni 41.6cd-7ab (minor differences).

<sup>1167</sup> This is *Ṛg Veda*. 1.24.15

*ūd uttamam varuṇa pāśam asmād  
āvādhamam vi madhyamam śrathāya  
āthā vayam āditiya vraté tāva  
ānāgasō āditaye siyāma*

Löse die oberste Schlinge von uns, O Varuṇa, lose die unterste ab, lose dimittlere auf! Dann wollen wir, Sohn der Aditi, in deinem Dienste vor Aditi sündlos sein. *Ṛg Veda*. 1.24.15, Geldner, 1951: part 1, p. 26. (by Karl Friedrich Geldner *Der Rig-Veda aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche Übersetzt und mit einem Laufenden Kommentar Versehen*, Dritter Teil, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol.33-36, Harvard University Press, 1951)

<sup>1168</sup> This verse, also, from the *Ṛg Veda*, is commonly part of the evening sun salutation

*imam me varuṇa śrudhī  
hāvam adyā ca mṛṭaya  
tuvām avasyūr ā cake Ṛg Veda 1.25.19*

Erhör, O Varuṇa, diesen Ruf von mir und sei heut barmherzig! Nach dir verlange ich hilfesuchend. (Geldner, 1951: part 1, p. 27).

This verse is part of the evening ritual of the *sandhya* rituals. “Sandhya rituals are the ablutions and associated rites normally performed by Brahmāns at the three sandhyā “junction times”, viz., dawn, noon, and evening.” (Robert P. Goldman *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: Sundarakanda*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1996:390 note to verse 48.)

<sup>1169</sup> The editor to the 1976 edition tells us that it is from the *Atharvaveda* X.5.10

<sup>1170</sup> a= agni 41.7c

<sup>1171</sup> b and c read *sthāpayet* - place

<sup>1172</sup> It is not clear what we are placing in the *maṇḍapa* at this point. However, it seems most likely that it is the pots as the other option; the *iṣṭakās* are worshiped next.

<sup>1173</sup> *naivedyam* - food offered to deities or idols.

<sup>1174</sup> Presumably the *vāstupurṣamaṇḍala* as opposed to the Devī *yantra*.

<sup>1175</sup> The term *kuṇḍe* refers to a particular kind of bowl for coal where the fire is kept.



Having first produced the *vaiṣṇava* fire, according custom<sup>1176</sup>, with concentration, he should do a kindling of the fire along with the twelve-syllable mantra. 35

He should [offer] with two sprinkles of ghee along with the sacred syllable *Om*. Next, along with the eight syllables<sup>1177</sup> taken respectively, do the eight oblations sequentially. 36

Having offered ghee with sacred words<sup>1178</sup> by means of the order appropriate to (of) the lords of the directions<sup>1179</sup> beginning with [the mantra] to Agni and Soma and the planets<sup>1180</sup>. 37

Having offered with the phrase “to the Best of Gods”<sup>1181</sup>, then he should say the sacred words<sup>1182</sup>, then he should offer *prāścittam*<sup>1183</sup>, give the full sacrifice or then with the mantra of twelve syllables from the Vedas etc., O Sinless one<sup>1184</sup>, the *mūrtipās*<sup>1185</sup> should properly offer two sprinkles of ghee and sesame seeds in the vessel. 38-39

Thus ends the eleventh *paṭala* in the *ādikāṇḍa* in the *Hayaśīrṣa Mahāpañcarātra* which has twelve thousand verses.

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<sup>1176</sup> Here the idea is that the eight oblations are done in order with the eight *asanas* respectively.

<sup>1177</sup> Compare Ślāczka’s discussion on placing the letters in the consecration casket (2007:194).

<sup>1178</sup> The term *vyāhṛti* refer to the mentioning of the seven worlds, a sacred uttering of *būh*, *buvah*, *svah*, *mahaḥ*, *janaḥ*, *tapah*, and *satyaṃ* (K. Rangachari, *The Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brāhmins*, Supt. Govt. Press, 1931).

<sup>1179</sup> The Lokeśas are the Lokapālas.

<sup>1180</sup> They are five. Thus if we take the Lokeśa as one, we have nine deities, one for each pot: Lokeśa, Agni, Soma and the five planets.

<sup>1181</sup> Puruṣottamā, Agni 41.11cd = HP 38ab.

<sup>1182</sup> See *vyāhṛti* note on previous page.

<sup>1183</sup> An expiation.

<sup>1184</sup> Anagha

<sup>1185</sup> Protector of the icon

*Chapter Twelve – Placing of pots continued, Consecration deposit, measurements for the temple.*

### Twelvth Paṭala

[The offering in the hole according to the different deities, (division of the construction of the foundation<sup>1186</sup>, and instructions for the measurements for the temple]

The Lord said –

Now the *deśika* facing east and adorned with all [types of] ornaments, should carry out a depositing of the pot and a depositing of the bricks as well. 1

Having smeared the ground with cow-dung, he should deposit the nine pitchers<sup>1187</sup> properly in the eight directions and he should also deposit one in the middle. 1-2<sup>1188</sup>

He should furnish the [pitchers] with the “five jewels”<sup>1189</sup> and fill [them] with auspicious herbs, and endow [them] with mercury<sup>1190</sup> and decorate<sup>1191</sup> [them] with cloth. 3<sup>1192</sup>

These, the deities - Padma, Mahāpadma, Makara and Kacchapa, Mukunda<sup>1193</sup>, Ānandam, Nīla, Śaṅkha and Padminī – are to be installed in [each] pot in proper order. 4<sup>1194</sup> - 5ab

Having arranged them thus, he should not move these pitchers again. 5<sup>1195</sup>

Having placed the eight bricks in due order on top of the pot, then in the northeastern corner he should deposit the first brick. 6

O God, then the deposit of the bricks is explained, [the deposit] which takes place in a clockwise direction<sup>1196</sup>. The *śaktīs*<sup>1197</sup>, which are the presiding deities of the bricks,

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<sup>1186</sup> In the phrase *poṭhabandhabhedah* I am assuming that *poṭha* is a typo for *potha*.

<sup>1187</sup> “Pitcher”, *kalasā* (also spelled *kalaśa*) also commonly translated as a cupola, a dome, a pinnacle, a tower, and a type of round buildings (Acharya 1946:vol. 7:108). Compare *Agni* (104.17-18), and *Garuḍa* (47.21, 23, 28-29).

<sup>1188</sup> The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* specifies that the first stone should be placed in the north-east (*aiśāna*) corner and then according to *pradakṣiṇā* (Adyaya 94 verse 20).

<sup>1189</sup> The *pañcaratna*: gold, diamond, sapphire, ruby and pearl or gold, silver, coral, pearl and *rājapaṭṭa*.

<sup>1190</sup> Mercury is often a symbol of Śiva. See F. E. Treloar “The Use of Mercury in Metal Ritual Objects as a Symbol of Śiva” (*Artibus Asiae*. Vol. 34, No. 2/3 (1972), pp. 232-240, Artibus Asiae Publishers, Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3249650>).

<sup>1191</sup> Here *bhūṣitām* is corrected to *bhūṣitān*.

<sup>1192</sup> Verses 1-3 are similar to *Agni* 41 .12-13.

<sup>1193</sup> *Agni* reads *kumunda*.

<sup>1194</sup> 4= *Agni* 41.14 except *padmaṃ* for *nīlaṃ*.

<sup>1195</sup> Verses 5-6 are summarized in *Agni* 41.15.

<sup>1196</sup> Or circumambulatory fashion, *pradakṣiṇa*.

<sup>1197</sup> “Śaktis” *saktayaḥ*: lit., “the powers”.

Vimala etc.<sup>1198</sup> are to be installed properly and Anugraha<sup>1199</sup> must be placed<sup>1200</sup> in the middle [pitcher], [while saying]: “O you perfect Virgin<sup>1201</sup>, Pūrṇa<sup>1202</sup>, daughter of sage Angirasa<sup>1203</sup>. You grant my desired object, O brick, I will have the base constructed<sup>1204</sup>.”  
7<sup>1205</sup> - 8b<sup>1206</sup> -9ab

Then the best of Deśikas, who is attentive, having placed a brick with this mantra should make a consecration deposit box<sup>1207</sup>, in the middle location. 9cd<sup>1208</sup> - 10ab

<sup>1198</sup> The commentary gives them as Vimala, Utkāṣiṇī, Jñānā, Kriyā, Saṃyogā, Prahvī, Satyā, Īśānā and Anugrahā. They should be placed in the eight directions with Anugrahā in the center.

<sup>1199</sup> A form of Śakti.

<sup>1200</sup> Lit., “is to be placed”. The alternative reading *nyasyā astu anugrahā* lend the line the sense of must, as translated above.

<sup>1201</sup> The term *akṣatā* appears again in verse 47 below.

<sup>1202</sup> The term *pūrṇa* here seems to be a name, perhaps the fulfilling one, while in verse 43 it is the object of the verb *kuruṣva* agreeing with *mām*.

<sup>1203</sup> Apte tells us that Angirasa refers to a priest who uses formulas from the *Atarvaveda* to protect the sacrifice against the effect of inauspicious accidents. Compare verse 12.43 below where earth is again called the daughter of Angirasa.

<sup>1204</sup> Not a future but context demands it.

<sup>1205</sup> cd= Agni 41.16a.

<sup>1206</sup> 8ab=41.16cd cd =41.17ab *tvanugrhā = śakti?*

<sup>1207</sup> I have translated the term *garbhabhājana* with “consecration deposit box” and *garbhadhāna* with the act of placing it: “consecration deposit”. The term *Garbhabhājana* should, according to Acharya, be translated as the foundation-pit, the excavation (1946:vol. 7, p. 147). He quotes part of the *Mānasāra* ch XII.1-128 both for this and *garbha-nyāsa*. The term appears in verses 12.19,21,22 and 39 of the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra*. However, it seems to be that in 12.19-22 this term refers to the consecration-casket or deposit box. Ślaṅczka argues for the term consecration deposit box (though for the Sanskrit term *garbhanyāsa*, 2007:5). Even though this term is a bit long it is clearly describing what the object is. It seems clear to me that this is a box and not a pit as it should be polished, not cracked and have the form of a lotus (12.19). Thus if one takes *garbha* as consecration deposit and *bhājanam* as repository then *garbhabhājana* would be consecration deposit repository (or box).

Thus the term *garbha* is the consecration deposit (verse 12.42). In verse 13.6 it seems to be short for *garbhagrha* – inner sanctum or aytum – which is also an alternative according to Acharya (womb is his first alternative, 1946:vol. 7, p. 145).

The term *bhājanam* means repository (verse 12.39)

The term *garbhanyāsa* is thus the consecration deposit. Ślaṅczka (in chapter six) discusses the meaning of *garbhanyāsa*. She translates the term as consecration deposit and means that it refers to a ritual of installing the *garbha* in the consecration casket and then into the ground where the temple will be built. She further notes the fertility aspect of the ‘deposit (*nyāsa*) of the embryo (*garbha*)’ (2007:202). According to Acharya *garbha-nyāsa* and *garbha-vinjāsa* are the same. He translates *garbha vinyāsa* as ‘the arrangement of the foundation, the foundations’ (1946:vol. 7, p. 148). Acharya also divides it into various categories of foundations (1946:vol. 7, p. 147). Moreover, Acharya does not seem to think that the term necessarily implies any kind of ritual.

The term *garbhādānam* seems to be a synonym of *garbhanyāsa* – consecration deposit. The term appears in verses 12.10 and 12.50 of the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra*. (Commentary to verse 12.41 seems to say that this verse is the beginning of the mantra to the *garbhādāna*. It seems to me that ritual of installing the *garbha* works better with the context as well).

The *pratameṣṭhaka* is the foundation ritual (*Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* 12.57). Compare also Stanley J. O'Connor “Ritual Deposit Boxes in Southeast Asian Sanctuaries” *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (1966), pp. 53-60, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3249316>. Ślaṅczka has located a number of consecration deposit boxes, albeit in south Eastasia (2007). Wessels-Mevissen has an illustration of what seems like a consecration deposit boxes from Nepal (2001:134).

O Lord of the Gods, [after] the goddess Padminī has been established over the pot, the Deśika should take clay at<sup>1209</sup> ten places of the gods;  
in the (1) ocean,  
on a (2) mountain,  
in a (3) river,  
in a (4) large lake<sup>1210</sup>,  
in a (5) *tīrtha*,  
in a (6) granary<sup>1211</sup>  
in the (7) abode of a crab,  
in an (8) anthill,  
on the (9) tip of a horn of a bull,  
and on the (10) tip of the tusk of an elephant,  
in these places one by one<sup>1212</sup>.10cd<sup>1213</sup>-11-12<sup>1214</sup>

Then [the Deśika] should take the best root of a red lotus, of a white lotus and of a blue lotus and of the white water-lily, O Best of Gods. 13

And also red arsenic (*manaḥśilā*), lead (*sīsaka*), yellow pigment (*haritāla*), copper (*rasāñjana*), fragrant earth (*saurāṣṭrī*), *rocanā* plant, perfume (*gandha*), mercury (*pārada*) and turmeric (*gaurika*). 14

And a diamond (*vajra*), pearl (*mauktika*), lapis lazuli (*vaidurya*), as well as a conch shell (*śaṅkha*), a crystal (*sphaṭika*), and topaz (*puṣparāga*) and also a moonstone (*candrakānta*). 15

Then the wise he should carefully take the sapphire (*mahānīla*) and ruby (*padmarāga*). 16

Then the best of Deśikas should take a heap of winnowed rice (*śālī*), wild rice (*nīvāra*), legumes (*niṣpāva*) barley (*yava*) and kidney beans (*mudhga*) and also sesame seeds (*tila*), wheat (*godhūma*) and half-ripe barley (*kulmāṣa*). 17<sup>1215</sup>

Then also gold (*suvarṇa*), silver (*rajala*), copper (*śulva*), iron (*āyasa*) and tin (*trapuka*<sup>1216</sup>), thus the remainder is a *kūrma* [tortoise<sup>1217</sup>], Śeṣa<sup>1218</sup> [the snake] a lotus, a

<sup>1208</sup> 9ca = Agni 41.17cd -18ab

<sup>1209</sup> Lit. in.

<sup>1210</sup> The term is *hrade*.

<sup>1211</sup> The term *khale* can also mean mill or threshing floor.

<sup>1212</sup> The terms *pṛthak pṛtak* mean singly, probably this is supposed to indicate that the *deśika* needs to keep the clay from the different places separate.

<sup>1213</sup> = Agni 41.18cd-19ab Agni reads *nyasya* for *yasya*.

<sup>1214</sup> Compare this list to the list below, verses 12.26-28. Compare similar lists in *Kaśyapa śilpa* 4.2.49

(Ślaçzka, 2007) *Viṣṇu Saṃhitā* 13.29, *Mayamatam* 12.5 *Atri Saṃhitā* 10.2 *Isanaśivagurudevapadati* 27.91.

<sup>1215</sup> Compare the list in *Bṛhad Aranyaka Upaniṣad* 6.3.13 (Hume, Robert Ernest, *Thirteen Principal*

*Upanishads*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1921/1983:167).

<sup>1216</sup> Compare *Bhṛgu Saṃhitā* 7.27

*śaṅka* [conch], a *cakra* [discus] and a *dhanuḥ* [bow] and also a *gadā* [mace]<sup>1219</sup>, O illustrious one, he should make one each of them of of gold<sup>1220</sup>. Having assembled all this he should deposit (*nyased*) it within the consecration deposit box<sup>1221</sup>. 18-19

[The consecration deposit box<sup>1222</sup> should be] 12 *āṅgulas* broad and four *āṅgulas* high and polished and not cracked, it should have the form of a lotus and be extremely auspicious . 20<sup>1223</sup>

Also moonstone (*cāndra*), silver (*raupya*) and copper (*śaulva*) [should be deposited in] the most excellent consecration deposit box<sup>1224</sup>. And thus in the *Brahmsthāna* [he should place] a pot that first has the goddess of wealth placed within. 21

Having placed<sup>1225</sup> fine colored silken fabric<sup>1226</sup> which has been sprinkled with cow's urine<sup>1227</sup>, he should deposit the consecration deposit box<sup>1228</sup> for Brāhmaṇas ontop; [but] for *kṣatrīyas*, *viś-s* [*vaiśyas*] and *śūdras* [he should deposit it] without the cloth. 22-23ab

Having made the box, clean<sup>1229</sup> he should purify it with the *pañcagavyā*<sup>1230</sup>. 23

Having taken [it] with both hands he should meditate on just the entire terrestrial globe with its oceans, mountains, directions, endowed with its most excellent islands and cardinalpoints, an [the globe] which is situated ontop of Ananta<sup>1231</sup>. And having meditated thus on the earth, he should imagine [it] on top of the [consecration deposit] box<sup>1232</sup>. 24-25

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Golden, *raipyaṃ*, copper-coloured (or redish), brass and *arakūṭaka* Metallic, lead, and also led are those produced.

*haimaṃ raipyaṃ tathātāmaṃ kāmsyaṃ caivārakūṭakam /*

*āyasaṃ sīsakaṃ caiva trapukaṃ ceti dhātujaṃ //* (Compare *Bhrgu Saṃhitā* 7.27, a text of the Vaikhanasa-tradition) [http://www.sub.uni-goettingen.de/ebene\\_1/fiindolo/gretil/1\\_sanskr/4\\_rellit/vaisn/bhrgus\\_u.htm](http://www.sub.uni-goettingen.de/ebene_1/fiindolo/gretil/1_sanskr/4_rellit/vaisn/bhrgus_u.htm) )

<sup>1217</sup> See discussion on p. 228-229.

<sup>1218</sup> The snake Śeṣa is in verse 12.25 and 31 called Ananta.

<sup>1219</sup> The last few are clear symbols of Viṣṇu.

<sup>1220</sup> Bracteates – small gulden figures reminiscent of the golden figures in the consecration deposit box. See discussion in Duwel, Klaus “Runic” in Murdoch and Read *Early Germanic Literature and Culture*, The Camden House History of German Literature, Vol 1, Camden House, 2004:121ff.

<sup>1221</sup> For the term *garbhabhājana* as “consecration deposit box” see note to verse 9ca-10ab above.

<sup>1222</sup> See previous note.

<sup>1223</sup> ab = Agni 41.20ef (except that the Agni reads it all in the locative case).

<sup>1224</sup> For the term *garbhabhājana* as “consecration deposit box” see note to verse 9ca-10ab above.

<sup>1225</sup> Lit., given.

<sup>1226</sup> The term *netrapaṭṭa*, from *netra*, a kind of cloth or a veil, and *paṭṭa*, coloured or fine cloth, woven silk, I have translated as fine colored silken fabric.

<sup>1227</sup> Lit., having a sprinkling of.

<sup>1228</sup> Manuscript B reads *darbhabhājanam*, which is the reading that the 1952 ed. chose, the 1976 ed. reads *garbhabhājanam*. For the term *garbhabhājana* as “consecration deposit box” see note to verse 9ca-10ab above.

<sup>1229</sup> Lit., without a taint.

<sup>1230</sup> Five products of the cow; milk, ghee, yoghurt, urine and dung.

<sup>1231</sup> The snake Ananta, also in verse 12.35 below, he is called Śeṣa in verse 19 above.

<sup>1232</sup> For a discussion on the consecration deposit box see note to verse 9cd-10ab above.

Having taken some earth (*mṛda*), and that [clay] arisen from the ocean, he should make a circle<sup>1233</sup> that is the *pradakṣiṇa*. Then one ought to place [the soil] from the mountain in the east and [the soil] arisen from the river in the south. 26<sup>1234</sup>

[He should place soil that is] arisen in a deep lake in the western part and the [soil] from a *tīrtha* in the north. Then one ought to place the soil arisen from the granary<sup>1235</sup> in the southeast direction and the earth originating from a crab<sup>1236</sup> in the southwest. 27

And that produced from an anthill should be placed in the northwest and that from the horn of a bull in the northeast and that produced from ivory is to be deposited in the middle; all in due order. 28

And the red lotus (*raktautpala*) in the east, the lotus root (*padmamūlaka*) in the south, and it is said that the blue lotus (*nīlauptala*) is westward and the white water lily (*kumuda*<sup>1237</sup>) in the north. 29

He should deposit sequentially beginning in the east, the minerals beginning with red arsenic (*manaḥśilā*) and also a collection of jewels, beginning with diamonds. 30

And there he should cause to offer seeds beginning with rice. And, to the east is to be placed gold and in the south, silver. 31

In the western part [he should place] iron (*āyasaṃ*) and in the north lead (or tin *trapukaṃ*), in the southeast the form of a tortoise (*kūrmārūpa*) and in the southwest a the snake Ananta. 31

Thus in the northwest a lotus and in the northeast a *śaṅkha* [conch], and he should install a *dhanuḥ* [bow] and a *cakra* [discus] and a *gadā* [mace] in the *Brahmsthāna*. 32<sup>1238</sup>

After performing [the installation] in this way, the collection (*samāyoga*) is consecrated by sprinkling water with twelve mantras<sup>1239</sup>. Thus, he should stop in the south<sup>1240</sup> and begin the *homakarma*. 34

Having offered the sacrifice [consisting of] 12 [ladles of] ghee along with the 12 syllable mantra, and thus to the eight guardians of the quarters of the world and to Nārāyaṇa, and

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<sup>1233</sup> Reading *vṛttam* for *vṛtim*.

<sup>1234</sup> The clay, lotus and other things are what was gathered in verses 12.10-19 and here we are told where to deposit the things.

<sup>1235</sup> Compare 12.11 above.

<sup>1236</sup> I.e. from the hole or burrow made by a crab (?).

<sup>1237</sup> *Nymphea Alba*

<sup>1238</sup> Compare similar objects in verses 18-19 above.

<sup>1239</sup> The term *dvadaśavidyāyā* presumably refers to the same 12 syllable mantra used earlier.

<sup>1240</sup> The term *dakṣiṇataḥ* is an indeclinable meaning to the south or from the south or from the right hand, here it seems like the text tells the *deśika* to stand in the southern part of the plot.

also to the seeds, to all the elements, to all the worlds as well, to the rivers, oceans and tīrthas and also to the mountains and to the deep lakes and to the *gaṇas*, to the lower regions as well, to the bulls and to the elephants who guard and preside over the eight cardinal points, and to the snakes, O best of Gods. 35-36-37<sup>1241</sup>

With the *vyāhṛti*<sup>1242</sup> uttered at the end of the *svāhā* exclamation, he should make a concluding offering by means of the rules for the *sampāta* hymns<sup>1243</sup>. 38

He should have the ghee [used] for the *sampāta* hymns<sup>1244</sup> reach [in] the middle of the consecration deposit box<sup>1245</sup>, having covered the repository and having taken hot water with his fingers he should repeat the eight syllable mantra and the twelve syllable one, and having repeated these, facing east he should meditate on earth<sup>1246</sup> with [his] mind. 39-40

And having meditated on the entire earth he should cause this mantra to rise: “O Absolute one, O you whose share is the entire earth, You who are decorated by mountains and Asana trees, you who are surrounded by the ocean, you, O Devī, you please come together with the *garbha*<sup>1247</sup>, you who are happiness, O Vāśiṣṭhā<sup>1248</sup>, rejoice with the Vasus and the people. 41<sup>1249</sup> - 42<sup>1250</sup>

O Victorious one, O descendant<sup>1251</sup> of Bhārgava, you who give victory (*vijayāvahe*) to [your] children, O all pervading one, daughter of the sage Aṅgiras<sup>1252</sup>, please make me one whose desires are fulfilled. 43

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<sup>1241</sup> This beautiful invocation includes diverse kinds: Nārāyana, the Lord, as well as lesser divine beings, “natural” phenomena like rivers and a generic typ of textuality points out rather concrete items explicitly but, implicitly, suggests totality, all the beings. The fact that the elements as well as oceans and rivers are listed alongside divine beings suggests pantheistic and animistic worldviews.

<sup>1242</sup> The term *vyāhṛti* refers to the mystical utterance which names the seven worlds: *bhūh*, *bhuvah*, *svah*, *mahar*, *janar*, *tapar* and *satya*, they follow the syllable *om*.

<sup>1243</sup> The *sampāta* hymns are nine hymns found in the *Aitareya Brahmana* (*pañcīkā* 6, *adhya*ya 4). See discussion of these hymns in Arthur Berridale Keith, *Rigveda Brahmanas: the Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1920, reprint 1998:28, 58.

<sup>1244</sup> Rangachari explains that the term *sampātājyam* refers to the ghee secured at the end of an oblation (Rangachari, 1931:125).

<sup>1245</sup> See note to verse 9cd-10ab above.

<sup>1246</sup> The term *bhuvam*, stem *bhū*, must here refer to earth, as the next few verses are a praise of earth, *bhū*.

<sup>1247</sup> Compare translation of *Agni* “be you impregnated mother who’s dominions are guarded by the seas” *Agni* 41.22ab. There is obviously a fertility symbolism here. See further discussion in note to verse 12.50 below. The term “*garbha*” here consecration deposit 12.42 is in 13.6 and 13.10 is used as a short version of *garbhagrha* – inner sanctum or aytum – which is also an alternative according to Acharya (womb is his first alternative, pg 145).

<sup>1248</sup> The following verses is a praise to earth and the vocatives are all various names of earth.

<sup>1249</sup> *Agni* 41.21ab (one line verse). Commentary says that the mantra beginning here and ending in verse 49 is the mantra for the *garbhadhāna* – giving of the *garbha* – or the consecration deposit.

<sup>1250</sup> 42-46= *agni* 41.22-26 (except *Agni* v. 25 starts *jayāsva*)

<sup>1251</sup> *Agni* translation ‘property of Bhārgava’.

<sup>1252</sup> Compare verse 12. 8 above where earth is also called the daughter of Aṅgiras.

O Blessed one, descendant of Kāśyapa, please make my mind happy, O you who are endowed with the seeds of all! O you are replete with all jewels and herbs. 44

Victory to you, O radiant one, O Felicity, O descendant of Vāsiṣṭha, Please have auspicious thoughts with reference to me<sup>1253</sup>, O daughter of Prajāpati, O Goddess, O four-cornered one, O Great one. 45

O Lovely one, You who give much (*suprade*), O blessed one, O dwelling [place]<sup>1254</sup>, O Kāśyapī, you are to be pleased, O honored one, you who are decorated with fragrant garlands by the most excellent *ācārya*. 46

You who are the one who makes riches, O Goddess, O home, O Bhārgavī<sup>1255</sup> are to be pleased. O Imperceptible one, O Virgin<sup>1256</sup>, O daughter of the sage Aṅgiras<sup>1257</sup>. 47<sup>1258</sup>

You grant my desired object, O Iṣṭakā (brick)<sup>1259</sup>, I will have a foundation constructed. O you who enclose the lord of the land, the lord of the city and the lord of the house. 48<sup>1260</sup>

Please be one who causes increase of men, wealth, elephants, horses and cattle.<sup>1261</sup>  
Having spoken thus, the hole is purified with cow's urine. 49<sup>1262</sup>

Having done [so] he should place the consecration deposit [box]<sup>1263</sup> furnished with all auspicious [things]. The installation of the consecration deposit<sup>1264</sup> should be at night<sup>1265</sup>. Then the gift to the *ācārya* (*dakṣinā*) should be gold. 50

Then [the sacrifice should give] cow<sup>1266</sup> heavy with milk<sup>1267</sup>, and a pair of garments [to the *ācārya* as a part of his *dakṣinā*] and thus also a cow<sup>1268</sup> heavy with milk is to be given to the protectors of the image (*mūrtipā*). 51

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<sup>1253</sup> Lit., let it be delighted in [by you] (*ramyatām*).

<sup>1254</sup> Earth is considered to be the first home, see *Mayamatam* 2.9 (Dagens 1994:9) also 'O home' in the next verse.

<sup>1255</sup> Epithet of Lakṣmī.

<sup>1256</sup> The term *akṣatā* appears again in verse 8 above.

<sup>1257</sup> Repetative of 43 above.

<sup>1258</sup> ab = *Agni* 41.27 ab

<sup>1259</sup> Here the text switch from praising the goddess earth (*bhū*) to the brick (*iṣṭakā*), both feminine. Note that ab of this verse reads the same as 9ab above.

<sup>1260</sup> cd = *Agni* 41.27cd

<sup>1261</sup> This is the end of the praise of the earth (*bhū*) and the brick (*iṣṭakā*) that begun in verse 41 above.

<sup>1262</sup> *Agni* 41.28. The verse seems to imply reproductive symbolism.

<sup>1263</sup> For the term *garbha*, see discussion in note to verse 9cd-10ab above.

<sup>1264</sup> For the term *garbhādāna*, see discussion in note to verse 9cd-10ab above.

<sup>1265</sup> The term *garbhādānam* seems to be the actual ritual of installing the *garbha*. Verses 12.10 and 12.50, (commentary to verse 12.41 seems to say that this verse is the beginning of the mantra to the *garbhādāna*). Possibly this is (atleast in verse 12.50) the actual placing of the consecration deposit box in the ground? Perhaps one should translate "installation of consecration deposit". Ślāczka has discussed the fertility aspects of this ritual (2007:202). It is possible that the ritual should be performed at night due to its reminiscent of impregnation.



Having deposited the consecration deposit in this fashion and [placing] nine bricks on top [of that deposit and] covered [it] with a band<sup>1269</sup> he should cover the *garbha* [-hole<sup>1270</sup>] with the bricks. 52

After this, from a measurement of the great temple, he should construct a base for a pedestal<sup>1271</sup>. The most excellent (*uttama*) he should construct from a measure which is half of the temple in height. 53<sup>1272</sup>

[He should construct] the middle [sized] (*madhyama*) [pedestal] wanting a *pāda* [of that height], and [he should construct] the smallest (*kanyasa*) from half of that<sup>1273</sup>. A wise man should construct the best pedistal of Vāsudeva. 54<sup>1274</sup>

He should make the pedistal for the the other [gods] according to one's own inclination. Listen in detail how. They say that the best pedestal is for the four-faced one [Brahmā], Īśa [Śiva], and Sūrya. 55

Afterwards [constructing] the frame for the pedistal he should again offer a sacrifice to Vāstu. 56ab

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<sup>1266</sup> *Payasvinī* – ‘possessor or origin of *payasa*. This verse alone uses three different terms for cow; *payasvinī*, *go*, and *dhenu*. It is also the last mention of cows in this section of the text.

<sup>1267</sup> Or a milk-cow and a cow.

<sup>1268</sup> *Dhenu* – cow or an offering presented to a *brāhmaṇa* instead of a cow.

<sup>1269</sup> The reading *yantra* ‘band’ has a similar meaning as the variant *vastra* ‘cloth’, while the later might be easier the earlier has more support in the manuscripts used by both editions of the text.

<sup>1270</sup> *gartasya* – from commentary

<sup>1271</sup> I have translated the term *pīṭhabandha* as base (*bandha*) and pedestal (*pīṭha*). For *bandha* Acharya says “‘joining or folding together, a band, the foundation. He quotes *dvāv-artnīm tri-padīm vā pāde bandham kārayet* “ and translates ‘foundation shall be 2 aratnis by 3 pādas’ (from *Kauṭīliya Artha Śāstra* ch. LXV. P 166). Acharya (1946, vol 7, p. 366). The translator of the HBV seems to assume that this is some sort of ritual, while the translator of the Agni uses excavation. The term appears in verses 12. 53 and 59.

The term *pīṭha* which I have translated as pedestal is fairly common. (It is used in *stambapīṭha* in the *Mayamatam* and translated by Dagens as pillarbase (pg ixvi)

Acharya defines *pīṭha* in several ways – 1) seat 2) A site-plan of nine square plots. (M. vii, 4). 3) the yoni part of the liṅga. 4) A pavement on the side of a road : 5) The pedestal of an image : 6) The altar : 7) ' pīṭhika ' would indicate the projecting part of the basement, resembling the Buddhist railing round a tree, etc. Pedestal of an image seems to be the most common meaning (Acharya 1946, vol 7, p. 308-9). The term appears in verses 12.53,54 and 55. It seems to me that the text swithches from discussing the proportions between temple and foundation and temple and pedestal in the middle of verse 53, therefore the translation foundation for *pīṭhabandha* and the translation pedestal for *pīṭha*. Here the *pīṭha* is of three kinds: *uttama*, *madhyama* and *kanyasa*.

<sup>1272</sup> Agni 41.30cd, 31ab, HBV 20.232.

<sup>1273</sup> The term *ardha* commonly means half, here it must be half of ¼. Thus The best is ½, the middle is ¼ and the smallest is 1/8.

<sup>1274</sup> Agni 41.31cd. HBV 20.233. These somewhat obscure measurements seem to indicate the importance of *jñāna* or esoteric knowledge. Mind and meditation has an active role in making ritual officacious. If it is not a mechanical technical process, but mind collects/ empowers the elements of the ritual. By cognizing of the mind the fruit goes to the ritual specialist. Compare also verse 58 in this chapter.

He, who would construct a foundation supported by the *pādas*, released from all sins [one] is rejoices in Viṣṇu’s world. 56cd<sup>1275</sup>-57ab<sup>1276</sup>

He who goes to death having done the laying of the first brick<sup>1277</sup> obtains the fruit of a completed sacrifice, of this there is no doubt. He who should mentally consider “I will make a temple for the god (*devāgaram*)” [his] bodily sins are destroyed on that day. 57cd-58<sup>1278</sup>-59ab

How much more for one who makes a temple according to rules (*vidhi*). 59<sup>1279</sup>

He who has joined together eight bricks for the house of Viṣṇu, of that one who is not able to do any more, it is said that he acquires the fruit. 60<sup>1280</sup>

Indeed by this is to be inferred the fruit from details of temples.<sup>1281</sup> And in the middle or east of the village, he should prepare the door westwards. 61<sup>1282</sup>

Thus in all the intermediate points of the compass, [the door] should be facing west and also in the south, north and west, [the door] should face west. 62<sup>1283</sup>

Thus ends the twelfth *paṭala* in the *ādikāṇḍa* in the *Hayasīrṣa Mahāpañcarātra* which has twelve thousand verses verses.

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<sup>1275</sup> Agni 41. 32ab

<sup>1276</sup> cd = HBV 20.21 ab. Here starts a list of the “fruits” of doing what the texts says.

<sup>1277</sup> “Laying of the first brick” *prathameṣṭhaka*. The *pratameṣṭhaka* is the foundation ritual (*Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* 12.57). Compare also Stanley J. O’Connor “Ritual Deposit Boxes in Southeast Asian Sanctuaries” *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (1966), pp. 53-60 Published by: Artibus Asiae Publishers, Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3249316>. Ślāczka has located a number of consecration deposit boxes, albeit in South Eastasia (2007). Wessels-Mevissen has an illustration of what seems like a consecration deposit boxes from Nepal (2001:134).

<sup>1278</sup> ab= HBV 20.21cd cd= HBV 20.19ab, cd =agni 42.33ab

<sup>1279</sup> ab = Agni 41.33cd, cd = 41.34 ab, HBV 20.19 cdef (three line verse).

<sup>1280</sup> Agni 41.34ce-35ab. Does this, perhaps, indicate an ordinary devotee who can participate by a simple act of construction – thus allowing ordinary devotees (even aged devotees) to participate and gather the fruit.

<sup>1281</sup> It seems that the fruit from the details may refer to details or parts of temples constructed later or donated by various individuals ensuring that these also give fruit which is an entisement to repair and improve existing temples. Possibly 61ab is an interpolation at some point since it is not in the Agni (which otherwise quotes this section faithfully, but with the verses in a different order. HBV also has the verses in another order and skips several. The end of the verse completely switches the topic.

<sup>1282</sup> cd =Agni 41.35cd, ab = HBV 20.20

<sup>1283</sup> ab = Agni 41.35cd, cd = 36.

## Chapter Thirteen, Temple construction with 16 square maṇḍala

### Thirteenth Paṭala

[The common characteristics of temples<sup>1284</sup>, the difference of methods, and the temples ending with the seven floors<sup>1285</sup> and the characteristics there].<sup>1286</sup>

The Lord said-

In all its generalities I will tell [you] about the temple, now listen to all the common qualities<sup>1287</sup>. Now<sup>1288</sup> he should divide the field, sixteen-fold, made into squares<sup>1289</sup>. 1<sup>1290</sup>

With the four in the middle [of that field] he should prepare [an inner sanctum] made of iron<sup>1291</sup>, which is connected with those four. And he should arrange twelve sections for the purpose of the wall<sup>1292</sup>. 2<sup>1293</sup>

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<sup>1284</sup> The first section of the 1952 editor's chapter heading is identical to verse 9a below.

<sup>1285</sup> "Floors" *bhaumika*, later in the text the terms *bhūmi* and *bhūmika* is also used for floor (in the meaning storey).

<sup>1286</sup> Compare miniature temple *Bālālaya* in *Pādma* 34.1, 44.3 45.7, 46.10-12, 47.14, 48.17-21

<sup>1287</sup> That is all the common qualities that all temples share.

<sup>1288</sup> Now, *punaḥ*, lit.: again.

<sup>1289</sup> Lit.: sixteen fold made into squares.

<sup>1290</sup> Verses 1-19ab of this chapter are the same as in *Agni Purāṇa* 42.1-19ab, and verses 1-16ab are identical to *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa* 20.265-279cd. Note the switch to *niḥantas* in this chapter – the *ācārya* or *sthāpati* (it is not clear which one the text refers to) is no longer doing things himself but he is having someone else do them. This is no longer ritual but actual construction. The workers take over the action though the *ācārya* or *sthāpati* is still responsible for supervising how things are done.

<sup>1291</sup> The term "āyasam" is problematic, *ayasa* means "iron". Tehlsidar Singh takes *āyasam* as *āyatam* in his analysis of this passage in the *Agni Purāṇa*. Singh takes *āyatam* as a *synonym* for *garbhagrha* (Singh, 1985:180). The word *āyatam* from *ā* √*yam* means "to extend, lengthen" and it is a *bhūte kṛdanta*, while *āyatanam* would be from *ā* √*yat* meaning to rest, depend on, etc. Thus, *āyatanam* would be a noun, which (among other things) means sanctuary, sacred place. However, this reading is not supported in any of the variants either in the *Hayaśiṛṣa Pañcarātra* or the *Agni Purāṇa*. Singh argues that the word *āyata* occurs in the next verse, which it does, but there it is not the nominal form *āyatanam* but *āyata* meaning length. Thus, however tempting this explanation may be, it has no support in the language. Also *āyatam* does not appear as a variant in either the *Hayaśiṛṣa Pañcarātra* or the *Agni Purāṇa*. The corresponding *Hari Bhakta Vilāsa* passage (20.266) reads *dvāra samanvitam* – that is there should be four doors there, which makes sense in the context but is not supported in our text which does not give any variants either. For the term *āyata* Acyarya has many quotes for this including the *Rāmayāna* (eg. I. 77, 13: *devatayatanani*). He translates the term as "an enclosure, earlier an abode, a house, later an enclosed settlement, temples and monasteries, an assembly hall" (1946, vol. 7, p. 59). The term also appears in the next verse (13.3).

<sup>1292</sup> "Wall", *jaṅghā*, Kramrisch notes that the term *jaṅghā* can either mean pillar, wall or the height of the wall. In the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* she thinks that it "denotes the vertically divided part of the wall corresponding to the uprights or shafts of pillars". Sometimes it is a synonym for *bitti* – the lowest part of the wall. Also *jaṅghā* can mean pilaster (1946/2007: 238) According to Acharya it means the leg of an image, the pillar in a building, or a column (1946, vol 7, entry *jaṅghā*). It seems to me that Kramrisch is the one to follow here – that it is a synonym for *bitti*, and thus means wall (or possibly the lowest part of the wall). In the translation of the *Garuḍa purāṇa* (Ancient Indian tradition series, vol. 12 p. 150) they understand the *jaṅghā*, "calf," to be the height of the plinth (there it is a fem. noun).

<sup>1293</sup> HBV 20.266 reads *dvārasamanvitam* that is four doors/gates.

The height of the wall<sup>1294</sup> should be made with one fourth of [its] length<sup>1295</sup>. The wise he should design the height of the spire<sup>1296</sup> twice the height of two walls. 3<sup>1297</sup>

The *pradakṣiṇa* path<sup>1298</sup> should be made correctly, four times the spire<sup>1299</sup>. He should make a passage having the same measurement on both sides. 4<sup>1300</sup>

The breadth<sup>1301</sup> on the moulding [of the base]<sup>1302</sup> at the top should be made equal (or match) the superstructure<sup>1303</sup>. Or it could also to be made with twice<sup>1304</sup> [the size of the *maṇḍapa*] and as conforming to beauty. 5

The breadth of the *maṇḍapa* in front is to be made [in alignment with] the inner sanctum<sup>1305</sup> with a pair of [parallel] strings<sup>1306</sup>, the length is to be made an additional [section of] *pāda*[s<sup>1307</sup>] and it should be decorated in the middle with pillars. 6

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<sup>1294</sup> See note to verse 2 above for discussion on the terms for wall.

<sup>1295</sup> For the term *āyataṃ* see note above to verse 2.

<sup>1296</sup> “Spire”, *mañjarī*, the term *mañjarī* is, according to Kramrisch, a synonym for *śikhara* or the lower part there of (1946/2007:242). The term is used in verse 13.3-4 of the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* and I have translated it as spire while I translate *śikhara* as superstructure.

Compare *Matsya Purāṇa* 269.12

*ūrdhvaṃ bhittiyucchrayāt tasya mañjarīm tu prakalpayet/  
mañjaryāś cārddhabhāgena śukanāsām prakalpayet//*

And above, one should construct the spire of that [temple] from the height of the wall and one should make the *sukanāsā* by half the part of the spire.

Also *Garuḍa Purāṇa* 47.37cd

*prāsāde mañjarī kāryā citrā viśamabhūmikā//*

The spire is to be made on the temple variegated and having *bhūmikās* of uneven [number?].

<sup>1297</sup> The verse corresponds to *Agni Purāṇa* 42.3 but case endings differ.

<sup>1298</sup> Chalukya temples in Karnataka have the most consistent and early *pradakṣiṇa pata*s, ex Virupakṣa. It is not a consistent feature elsewhere. However it is unlikely that this text is connected to those temples. Khajuraho has some ‘*sandhara* type’ temples such as the Lingaraja temple. Though it does not seem like a *pradakṣiṇa pata* was required at this site.

<sup>1299</sup> See note to previous verse on *mañjarī*.

<sup>1300</sup> Almost identical to *Agni Purāṇa* 42.4

<sup>1301</sup> “Breadth”, *vistaram*, used in verse 6 as well.

<sup>1302</sup> HBV reads in the translation *jagatī*, though the Sanskrit text does not give the feminine. *Jagatī* is the term for a base moulding. The text *Īśanaśīva* has the term in a similar context (ch 26). Acarya tells us that *jagata (-ti)* (cf. *jati*) is a moulding of the base, or of the pedestal of an idol or phallus, a class of buildings, platform over a well. He cites *Suprabhedāgama*, 31.19, 24 (Acharya, 1946, vol.7, *jagata*).

<sup>1303</sup> “Superstructure”, *śikhara*, I have translated *śikhara* as superstructure and *mañjarī* as spire.

<sup>1304</sup> HBV reads *triguna* – three times (20.269).

<sup>1305</sup> Here *garbha* clearly refers to the garbhagr̥ha and not the consecration deposit.

<sup>1306</sup> “With a pair of [parallel] strings”, *sūtradvayena*, lit., “with a pair of strings”. The line is elliptical. The idea is that the strings are used to make the buildings parallel, with the same size and in a straight line. Compare *Agni Purāṇa* 42.4.

<sup>1307</sup> With the support of the commentary and following verses, in particular verse 7, I believe that this verse is telling us to use a *maṇḍala* of 64 squares for the *garbhagr̥ha* and a *maṇḍala* of 81 squares for the *maṇḍapa*.

Or [he should construct] a *mukhamaṇḍapa*<sup>1308</sup> having the measurement of the inner sanctum<sup>1309</sup> of the temple. Then having honored<sup>1310</sup> the Vāstu with the eighty-one *pādas*<sup>1311</sup>, he should commence the *maṇḍapa*. 7<sup>1312</sup>

At the place where the doors, opulent with parrots<sup>1313</sup>, are deposited, one should worship the gods, who are located at the end of the *pādas*, at [that] place of the wall he should worship the 32 *antagās*<sup>1314</sup>. 8

And these are the common rules of the temple in all its qualities. Thus listen [to the rules regarding] the alternative temple [constructed] with regards to the dimensions of the image [to be installed]. 9

An auspicious base<sup>1315</sup> should also be constructed according to the scale of the image. The inner sanctum [of the temple should be made] one half<sup>1316</sup> that of the base and the walls<sup>1317</sup> should have the measurement of the inner sanctum. 10

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<sup>1308</sup> The *mukhamaṇḍapa* is also called the *ardhamaṇḍapa* and should be in front of the *prāsāda* (Varadachari and Tripati in Laksmittantacarya et. al., 2009:166).

<sup>1309</sup> “Inner sanctum”, *garbha*, i.e. the main part of the temple.

<sup>1310</sup> “Having honored”, *yaṣṭvā*, lit., “having sacrificed”, but it can also mean “worship, honor, consecrate, hallow” or “to offer, bestow, grant”. Thus here the Vāstupuruṣa is thought to be honored by laying out the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and the rituals that accompany it.

<sup>1311</sup> Note that earlier, ch 8-9 the Vāstupādas were 64. Taken with verse 6 it seems like the text tells us to use the 64 for the temple proper and the 81 for the *maṇḍapa*.

<sup>1312</sup> *Agni Purāna* 42.7d reads *paścān maṇḍapam ārabhet*. This reading does not appear in any of the variants for the *Hayaśiṛṣa Pañcarātra*.

It seems likely that this refers to an option where one would have a *mukhamaṇḍapa* in addition to the *maṇḍapa*. This *mukhamaṇḍapa* would then be slightly shorter than the *maṇḍapa* as the *mukhamaṇḍapa* is the same size as the *garbha* while the *maṇḍapa* is slightly longer.

<sup>1313</sup> *Agni* 42.8 reads *prag* for our *ādi*. The word *śukha* usually means parrot, here it seems to refer to a particular kind of deposit. Though, the translation of the *Agni* assumes that one should worship the parrots.

<sup>1314</sup> The 32 deities at the edges of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*.

<sup>1315</sup> “Base”, *piṇḍaka*, I have translated *piṇḍaka* as base and *pīṭha* as pedestal.

<sup>1316</sup> “One-half”, *arddha*, it is clear that the *garbha* [of the temple] should be one half the *piṇḍikā*, lit., “the *garbha* is [with] one-half the *piṇḍikā*”. Dutt translates the corresponding verse in the *Agni* as, “the adytum of the temple will be half of the *Piṇḍikā*” (42.10), while Singh (1985:181), clearly unhappy with the image, understands “the length of the *piṇḍikā* should be half of the *garbhagrha*”. But, given the Sanskrit, *garbhas tu piṇḍikārdhena*, “and the *garbha* [is] with on- half of the *piṇḍikā*,” Singh’s interpretation is not possible. *Matsya Purāna* 269.8 translates *piṇḍikārdhena bhāgaḥ syāt tanmānena tu bhittayaḥ* as “In half of the pedestal, the foundation [*bhāgāḥ*] is to be laid. The height should be in accordance with the height of the outer foundations [*bhittayaḥ*]. *Agni Purāna* has a parallel phrase as well *arddha-bhāgena garbaḥ syāt piṇḍikā pāda-vistārāt* (104.2) which the translator renders as 1/8 (understanding that the *garbha* should be 1/2 of 1/4 of the area of such a ‘square [pāda]’). However, this reading is a variant, the text reads *ādrībhāgena*. The next verse (104.3) reads: *bhāgau dvau madhyame garbhe . . .*, ‘as an alternative the pedestal might occupy the whole of the *garbha*’. Also see 104. 5, which reads *garbho bhāgena vistīrṇo bhāgadvayena piṇḍikā*, “the *garbha* should be the extent of one section [i.e., *pāda*] and the *piṇḍikā* [should be the extent] of a pair of sections.” Here the *piṇḍikā* is twice the size of the *garbha*. Singh understands that the passage assumes the *piṇḍikā* and the *garbhagrha* to be equal here. (1985:182). Also see *Bhaviṣya Purāna* 81.6 (quoted in Acharya, 1946:vol. 7) which also supports the *piṇḍikā* as larger than the *garbha*.

<sup>1317</sup> “Wall”, *bhitti*, see note to verse 13.2 above.

And he should construct the height with the [same] measurements as the length of the walls, and the wise he should construct the superstructure twice the height of the walls. 11<sup>1318</sup>

He should construct the walkway with one quarter of the superstructure's [measurements]. The *mukhamaṇḍapa* should be made in front with one fourth of the measurements of the superstructure. 12<sup>1319</sup>

With an eight part of the inner sanctum make the projection [on the base moulding]<sup>1320</sup> for the niches<sup>1321</sup>. There he should construct the niches to be one third<sup>1322</sup> of the enclosure<sup>1323</sup>. 13

Or, he should construct the projection [on the base moulding] for the niches in thirds<sup>1324</sup>. The Rāma<sup>1325</sup> triad should always be established in a triad of niches. 14

Then for the purpose of [constructing] the superstructure he should have jeweled lines<sup>1326</sup> extended outward. He should place lines perpendicular to the *śukanāsa*<sup>1327</sup>, and lines that are horizontal. 15

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<sup>1318</sup> *Agni* 42.11 has *utsedham tu* for *uccrāyan tu* (b) and *budhaḥ* for *guruḥ* (d).

<sup>1319</sup> The term *bhramaṇa* is here a synonym for the *pradakṣiṇa* path. Acharya tells us “(see Pradakṣiṇa) – A surrounding terrace, an enclosing verandah, a circular path.” and quotes the corresponding verse from the *Agni*, 43.12 (1946:vol. 7). The HBV 20.276 is identical. Somehow the translator assumes that the ‘the path for circumambulating the temple should be elevated, so that it is one-fourth as high as the temple peaks.’ This does not make any sense and has no support in the text.

<sup>1320</sup> The term *nirgamaḥ* means ‘projection on the moulding of the base’ or ‘on the pedestal’ (Acharya 1946, vol 7, p. 282-3). Acharya, under *nirgama*, quotes the verse corresponding to ours in the *Agni* 42.13-14 as example (among others such as *Matsya* (262.4), *Garuḍa* (47.4, 9, 10, 14, and 17), and some *āgamas* (1946:vol. 7).

<sup>1321</sup> “Niches”, *rathaka*, the term *rathaka* is clearly a niche. Acharya, again, quotes the corresponding verses in the *Agni* (42.13-14) saying that it can mean building, shrine, temple, etc. (1946:vol. 7). Here in verses 13-14 it is clearly niches in which the images of Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa are to be placed. The HBV translates *rathaka* as chariot which does not make much sense in the context. *Agni* reads it as a sort of opening for “jitters etc.” (42.13).

<sup>1322</sup> Lit., “with one third”.

<sup>1323</sup> “Enclosure”, *paridhi*, “an enclosure, fence, wall, protection”. Singh understands it as “external circumference” (1985:182).

<sup>1324</sup> “To be one third”, *tatṭṛīyena*, Lit., “with a third of that.” The idea is that there are three niches and I believe that the “third” refers to third of a *pāda*.

<sup>1325</sup> “The triad with Rāma”, *rāmatrayam*, that is Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣma. *Agni* 42.14 reads *vāmatrayam*, “the triad with Vāma”.

<sup>1326</sup> *Agni* reads *chatvāri* – four lines (42.15).

<sup>1327</sup> *Śukanāsa* - ornamental ‘parrot nose’. There is no good translation of this term. Acharya defines “the parrot's nose, an object having an acquiline nose, the part of the finial looking like the parrot's nose, the lower half part of a tower” (Acharya 1946, vol 7, p. 495). Meister explains that the “*śukanāsa*” (“nose”) “consists of a much larger *śālā* turned at right angles” to the terraces of the actual temple, it is thus “acting as a superstructure above the temple's entry-vestibule (*antarāla*, Michael W. Meister, “Prāsāda as Palace: Kūṭina Origins of the Nāgara Temple”, *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 49, No. 3/4 (1988 - 1989), pp. 254-280, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3250039>, p 256, see also fig. 4 in this article for illustration). Singh tells that there are two words used for this structural phenomenon – *śukhanāsa* (which is clearly the more common) and *śukāṅghri(kā)*. Singh defines the terms as “antefix attached to the front façade of spire

And there he should have a lion constructed that is located in the [lower] one-half of the superstructure. Having stabilized the *sukhanāsa*<sup>1328</sup> he should have it fastened at the middle hinge. 16<sup>1329</sup>

Thus he should place a line on the other side just like that and above, O Lord<sup>1330</sup>, there should be the *kaṇṭha*<sup>1331</sup> of that, which is made of *āmala* wood. 17<sup>1332</sup>

The [lion] is not to be made having drooping shoulders<sup>1333</sup>, nor very dreadful. And above according to the measurements of the top molding<sup>1334</sup> he should design the finial<sup>1335</sup>.  
18<sup>1336</sup>

The door [in height] is to be made two times the breadth<sup>1337</sup>, and very beautiful, burnished gold, [made of silver and also covered with copper]. 19<sup>1338</sup>

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comprising a large *candraśālā*” (Singh, 1980:181) and notes that it should be above the front door (1985:181).

<sup>1328</sup> See note to previous verse.

<sup>1329</sup> Compare *Agni* 42.16 translation ‘middle part of the vault’. The last two padas of this verse (cd) corresponds to HBV 20.200ab.

<sup>1330</sup> The 1952 edition reads *īśa* – O Lord, while the 1976 edition reads *īśam* which could possibly be read as ‘to the northeast’ however, that makes no sense at all. HBV reads *aṃśaḥ* for *īśam* and *Agni* reads *tadūrdhvaṃ tu bhaved vedī sakantāsanāsarakam*. Neither of which gives any assistance here. I have translated *īśa*. The last *pada* of this verse (d) is in corrupt and the readings in the two editions are quite different. The 1976 edition gives *tadūrdhvaṃ tu bhaved īśam kaṇṭhe śyāmalasāravān*, while the 1952 edition gives *tadūrdhvaṃ tu bhaved īśa kaṇṭhe śya manasā varān*. I have followed the 1976 edition as this text uses more manuscripts and thus has more support for its reading and also, the reading in the 1952 edition makes no sense. Neither of the texts gives *īśam/īśa* as a variant thus it seems like one of the texts have a typo, which one can only be determined by looking at manuscripts.

<sup>1331</sup> The term *kaṇṭha*, also called *gala*, *griva*, and *kandhara*, means literally the neck or throat. Acharya says “this is a quadrangular moulding, sometimes square and sometimes rectangular...it serves as a neutral member from which the projection of the rest of the mouldings are generally measured” (1946:vol. 7:97).

<sup>1332</sup> This verse corresponds to: ab=HBV20.280cd, cd=281ab. The second line of this verse does not make any semantic or grammatical sense: *tadūrdhvaṃ tu bhaved īśam kaṇṭhe śyāmalasāravān*. Of course, *ūrdhvaṃ* is *ūrdham*, *īśam* is probably *īśa*. I have emended to: *tadūrdhvaṃ tu bhaved īśa kaṇṭho śyāmalasāravān*. “and above, O Lord, there should be the *kaṇṭha* of that [*asya*], which is made of [*sāravān*] *āmala* wood.” The *Agni* reading is so different it would be hard to emend to it.

<sup>1333</sup> “Drooping shoulders” *skandhabhagnaḥ*: lit., “broken, curved, bent in shoulder.” Often used in this *paranipāta* sense as an inverted compound, i.e., *bhagnaskandhaḥ*, “having broken shoulders.”

<sup>1334</sup> Acharya notes that the *vedikā* (among other things) is the portion above the neck-part of a building. (*Mānasara* 22.50, 54, 47, 1946:vol. 7:471). The translation in the *Agni* of ‘*vedī*’ (which someone has transcribed incorrectly as ‘*vadī*’) is “a little platform or top chamber”. Compare 13.41 below.

<sup>1335</sup> “Finial”, *kalasa* (also spelled *kalaśa*) also translated as a pitcher, a cupola, a dome, a pinnacle, a tower, and a type of round buildings (Acharya 1946:vol. 7:108). Compare *Agni* (104.17-18), and *Garuḍa* (47.21, 23, 28-29).

<sup>1336</sup> The verse corresponds to = HBV 20.281cdef.

<sup>1337</sup> “Breadth *vistāram*”, compare verses 5 and 6 above. Compare also the *feciliour* reading in *Agni Purāṇa* which clearly states that it is the breadth in relationship to the heigth. (*Agni Purāṇa* 42.22).

<sup>1338</sup> The second half of this verse is missing from the text. In brackets is the translation of the text as it is quoted in the HBV which reads *jātarūpaṃ sarajatam tatvad auḍumvair vṛtam* (HBV 20.308).

A wise man having given gold should establish the door-frame<sup>1339</sup> for one half of the door. He should pronounce blessings<sup>1340</sup> on the *brāhmaṇas* with auspicious sounds of musical instruments<sup>1341</sup>. 20<sup>1342</sup>

In a fourth part<sup>1343</sup> of the door make two doorkeepers, Caṇḍa and Pracāṇḍa, and make [them] both resembling Viśvakṣena. 21<sup>1344</sup>

Then having installed one half of the door-frame he should deposit the jewels above the door. In the middle of that the goddess Lakṣmī in bodily form, she who is Sureśvarī<sup>1345</sup> is located. 22

She [Lakṣmī] ought to be bathed by the elephants of the directions with earthen water-jars<sup>1346</sup>, and the door-frame and the door ought to be decorated with leaves and creepers etc.<sup>1347</sup> 23

A door which has a doorframe of one part<sup>1348</sup>, three parts or six parts is desired, and nine parts are also made, but higher than that he should do not construct. 24<sup>1349</sup>

He should carefully adorn the doorframe beginning with the forms of with Viṣṇu's *avatāras*. The height of the surrounding wall<sup>1350</sup> should be made with one fourth [of the height] of the temple. 25<sup>1351</sup>

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<sup>1339</sup> Acharya (1946:vol. 7) tells us that *śākha* is a doorframe. The term also appears in *Bṛhat saṃhitā* 53.24, 56.13-4 which is the same as *Matsya* 270.20-1, as well as in the *Agni Purāṇa* 104.28-30 in similar contexts.

<sup>1340</sup> Lit. "Having pronounced blessings" *svastivācya* – a religious rite preparatory to a sacrifice or other religious rites.

<sup>1341</sup> Compare *Yuddhakaṇḍa* 6.24.25, *turya* is a wind instrument, a kind of trumpet.

<sup>1342</sup> Verses 20-25ab = HBV 20.309-313

<sup>1343</sup> That is probably reaching up ¼ off the length of the door frame.

<sup>1344</sup> ab= *Agni* 42.20ab, Caṇḍa means fierce and Pracāṇḍa powerful. The *Lakṣmī Tantra* (37.45) also places Caṇḍa and Pracāṇḍa at the bottom of the door and adds that they should be facing south and north respectively and that Jaya and Vijaya should also be placed on the inner sides of the door-frame also facing south and north. (Gupta, 1972/2003:234) In addition to these pairs one also sees Dhātā and Vidhātā and Bhadra and Subhadra as guardians in Vaiṣṇava contexts (Daniel Smith *Vaiṣṇava Iconography*, 1969: 233-234).

<sup>1345</sup> Viṣṇu's consort, Lakṣmī

<sup>1346</sup> "Earthen water-jars", *ghaṭena*.

<sup>1347</sup> Lakṣmī bathed by two elephants is a commonly seen feature at temple doorways, even on Buddhist monuments such as at Bhārhut (Madhya Pradesh, Śuṅga Period, ca 100-80 BCE, Huntigton, 1999:65-6). While the *Lakṣmī Tantra* specifies that Lakṣmī should be placed above the door it does not specify which form of Lakṣmī (Gupta, 1972/2003:234).

<sup>1348</sup> "part" *śākha* – Acharya says "a branch, an arm, part of work, a wing, the doorframe, the door-post, the jamb" (1946, vol. 7 p. 484).

<sup>1349</sup> The idea here is that the doorframe may be constructed from multiple parts, and certain numbers are auspicious.

<sup>1350</sup> "Surrounding wall", *prākārasya*, is a word with many, but similar meanings, for example; a wall, an enclosure, a fence, a rampart, and a surrounding wall elevated on a mound of earth (Acharya 1946:vol. 7:337)

<sup>1351</sup> ab = HBV 20.313 ef, cd = 20.325ab



The height of the gateway<sup>1352</sup> should be no less than a *pāda* from the wall. For the God<sup>1353</sup>, who is five *hastas*<sup>1354</sup> [tall] the pedestal<sup>1355</sup> should be one *hasta*. 26<sup>1356</sup>

It is said that the *garuḍamaṇḍapa*<sup>1357</sup> [should be] twice that. Beginning with one *hasta* he should construct up to 30 *hastas*. 27<sup>1358</sup>

He should construct beginning with one floor<sup>1359</sup> and ending with seven floors. The first floor, belonging to the northwest, called Nāga, is for Viṣṇu. 28

The second floor is for Agni, the third for Great Indra, fourth for Vāruṇa and fifth for the Sun (Saura). 29

The sixth floor is known to be for Soma and the seventh floor is for Viṣṇu. Thus on top of that he should make Garuḍa towards the four quarters, 30<sup>1360</sup>

Indeed he should make on top, in the eight cardinal points, an extension<sup>1361</sup> of the images. [They are]; Mahāvarāha in the east, Narasiṃha in the south, the god Śrīdhara (Viṣṇu) in the west, Hayaśīrṣa in the North, Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma) in the southeast and Rāma in the southwest and in the northwest [place] Vāmana and the last<sup>1362</sup> Vāsudeva. 31-33ab<sup>1363</sup>

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<sup>1352</sup> “Gateway”, *gopura*, compare the usage of *gopura* in other texts such as the Rāmāyāna, *Yuddhakāṇḍa* (6.61.40), where there is an early usage of the word as gateway.

<sup>1353</sup> “For the god”, *devasya*, lit. “of the god”

<sup>1354</sup> For discussion of *hasta* see the first few verses of chapter 7 of the translation above and in chapter 9.2 below.

<sup>1355</sup> “Pedestal”, *piṭikā*.

<sup>1356</sup> cd= agni 42.22cd, and HBV 20.325cd

<sup>1357</sup> The *garuḍamaṇḍapa* is a front porch of the temple, commonly open and airy.

<sup>1358</sup> HBV 20.326, compare also *Pādma* 52.30, 35.

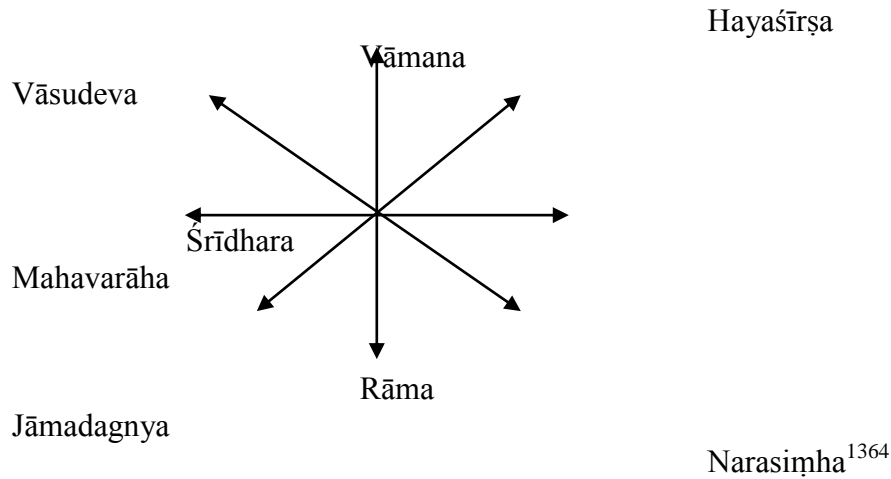
<sup>1359</sup> “Floor”, *bhūmi* and *bhūmika* both refer to floor. Acharya only gives *bhauma* – a floor of a building (p. 388) and says see *bhūmi* – and for *bhūmi*, as one would expect, he gives terms such as ground, earth, region, spot, site and house (1946, vol. 7, p. 385).

<sup>1360</sup> Verses 30cd-37ab = HBV 20.282ab-288cd

<sup>1361</sup> “Extension”, *āyama*.

<sup>1362</sup> “Last”, *apara*. Ideally we would have a word meaning northeast here which is the intention (see illustration figure Q). But *apara*’s only directional meaning is ‘western’ which is not what we want here. It is clear that the meaning ‘next’ is what we want and that the implication is northeast, the last of the directions and thus completing the circle.

<sup>1363</sup> While verses 29-30ab discusses Vedic characters 30cd-33ab mentions Vaiṣṇava characters.



The first<sup>1365</sup> [of these types of floors<sup>1366</sup>] is [called] *śayana*<sup>1367</sup>, the second one *aśana*<sup>1368</sup>, the third is *sthāna*<sup>1369</sup>, the fourth *yāna*<sup>1370</sup>, the fifth *yoganidra* and the sixth the *yogāsana*. 33cd-34

He should design the seventh<sup>1371</sup> appointed to *sthānayoga*<sup>1372</sup>. Then he should prepare [the *śikhara*] ornamented, carefully and according to one's sense of beauty, with *patravali* and with diverse *gavākṣa*<sup>1373</sup> windows, with various kinds of flowers in due order. 35-6ab

<sup>1364</sup> Compare Hiram W. Woodward, Jr "The Lakṣmaṇa Temple, Khajuraho, and Its Meanings". *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 19 (1989), pp. 27-48, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4629386> pg 29.

<sup>1365</sup> *Pūrva* can also mean east, compare HBV 20.265ff

<sup>1366</sup> It seems like the text here either discusses floors of the temple or types of temples, these could be the same as the floor plan would determine the subsequent temple's shape. The term used is *asana* which according to Acharya can mean: a class of buildings, a seat, a throne, a bedstead, a moulding, a site-plan, a temple, a type of dwellings, a sitting posture. The *Mānasāra* 30.12-3 defines it as "a class of the three-storeyed buildings". While *Mānasāra* 9.7-11 says that it is "a class of buildings in which the breadth is the standard of measurement; the temples in which the idol is in the sitting posture" (Acharya, 1946, vol 7: 64).

<sup>1367</sup> Acharya tells us that, among other meanings, *śayanaṃ* is the temples in which the god is in the recumbent posture. (Acharya, 1946:vol. 7)

<sup>1368</sup> The term *asana* refers to the temples in which the idol is in the sitting posture (*Mānasāra*, 14.7-11, Acharya, 1946:vol. 7)

<sup>1369</sup> The term *sthānaka* refers to "the temples in which the idols are placed in the erect posture" (*Mānasāra*, 14.7-11, 46.30, 47.1, 58.2, etc., Acharya, 1946:vol. 7) while the term in verse is *sthāna* I believe that it carries the same meaning as *sthānaka* does in the *Mānasāra* quoted by Acharya.

<sup>1370</sup> While the term *yāna* does not appear in any of the other texts or dictionaries that I have consulted as a temple type it must be one, presumably where the god is in a moving posture. This is also the case for the terms *yoganidra* and *yogāsana* where the god must be in a sleeping posture and a yogic posture respectively.

<sup>1371</sup> "The seventh", lit., "in the seventh".

<sup>1372</sup> The term *sthānayoga* also must refer to a temple type, presumably where the god is in a particular yogic posture.

<sup>1373</sup> The term *gavākṣa* refers to a horseshoe arch form common to both the Nāgara and Drāviḍa types of temples. Hardy argues that it is not only an ornament but that it is essential for the composition of the patterns on the temples, which he argues "embody a vision of cosmic manifestation" (Hardy, 2007:63). For

By the wise the arrangement on the *kaniṣṭha*, *madhyama* and *jyeṣṭha* [types] of temples<sup>1374</sup> is to be put in place along with Vasu, Bhārgava and Vidvadbhaḥ<sup>1375</sup> sequentially [as well as] for the door in the eight, nine or ten juncture<sup>1376</sup>. 36cd-37

Thus he should not disturb the tower<sup>1377</sup>. Listen now with regards to the proportions<sup>1378</sup>. 38ab

The temple which is approved by so many *hastas* by the *karṭṛ*<sup>1379</sup>, O Sinless one, by that many *āṅgulas* the proportions<sup>1380</sup> should be made or it should be made by means of the *vasubhāga* measurement<sup>1381</sup>. It is to be known that [a *maṇḍapa*] having one pillar is called *dhvaja* and one with two pillars is regarded as the *vedikā*. 38cd-39

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an elaborate discussion in the *gavākṣa* windows in its many forms see Adam Hardy, “Parts and Wholes: The Story of the Gavākṣa”, in Adam Hardy, ed. *The Temple in South Asia*, The British Association for South Asian Studies, London, 2007:63-82.

<sup>1374</sup> These terms refer to various temple types: *kaniṣṭha*, *madhyama* and *jyeṣṭha*. The *Aparājītapṛcchā* classifies *maṇḍapas* into three categories- *kaniṣṭha*, *madhyama* and *jyeṣṭha* (Lal Mani Dubey, *Aparājītapṛcchā, a critical study: encyclopaedic manual on art and architecture*, Lakshmi Publications, 1987:176. The *Samarāṅganasūtradhāra* has many lists of temples including this one. The text give the heights for these *jyeṣṭha*, 26 *hastas*, *madhyama* 18 *hastas*, and *kaniṣṭha* 10 *hastas*. (quoted in Kramrisch, 1946/2007 vol.2, p 421). Compare also Singh’s comparative classifications of temples in the *Garuḍa* and *Agni Purāṇa* where he which presents a long list of temple types (1985:183-5). As the terms mean “smallest, middling and largest” they have also been used in reference to other things, including other type of buildings, such as pools (*kundas*, Rastelli, 1999:201, note 261).

<sup>1375</sup> Manuscript D and E read *rtvig* which is also the reading that the *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa* has (HBV 20.288c).

<sup>1376</sup> “Juncture”, *yukte*, the reference is unclear, presumably referring to the doors between the floors, reading it as a continuation of verses 28-30 above, which mentions seven *bhumis*, and to go with verse 40 below where we have 10 *bhumis*. But it might also refer to auspicious star constalations whose directions one should use for the door.

<sup>1377</sup> The two editions have slightly different spelling of this word *lalāṭavedha* (1975 ed) and *lāṭavedha* (1952 ed.) and the later editor tells us that the manuscripts are mutilated in this section, and D and E read *vasubhārgavad* (?) *dvigbhiḥ*. The term *lalāṭa* means forehead (and writing ones fate on the forehead). Acharya says that the term *lalāṭa(-maṇḍapa)* is the same as *muṇḍa-harmya*, and *chūli-harmya*, and means a tower, or a top-room (Mānasāra ., 34, 400, 406, 409, 414, 429, 454, 505, 568. 1946, vol 7, p.440). While *vedha* means piercing , breaking through , breach , opening , perforation, puncturing, hole , excavation, the depth of an excavation , depth, intrusion , disturbance, fixing the position of the sun or of the stars. It could thus also mean that there should be no hole in the tower.

<sup>1378</sup> Acharya gives us – *āya* see *śaḍvarga* – *śaḍvarga* is in turn a group of six proportions with which any particular measurement must conform before it can be accepted, or it refers to six main component parts of a building; the *adhīsthāna* (base) *pāda* or *stambha* (column), *prastara* (entablature) *karṇa*, *śikhara*, and *stūpi*. (1946:vol. 7, p 600ff.)

<sup>1379</sup> While the term *karṭṛ*, lit. agent or maker, is neuter, here it probably refers to the *yajamāna* or the chief architect.

<sup>1380</sup> “proportions” *āya*, Acharya says that it is the same as *śaḍvarga*, which is a group of six proportions with which any particular measurement must conform before it can be accepted, or it refers to six main component parts of a building; the *adhīsthāna* (base) *pāda* or *stambha* (column), *prastara* (entablature) *karṇa*, *śikhara*, and *stūpi* (1946:vol. 7, p 600ff.).

<sup>1381</sup> *Vasubhāga* – The distance from the elbow to the closed fist, Apte.

He should always prepare four pillars inside the ten floors. The rule regarding the arch<sup>1382</sup> have been told to you also, Sinless one. 40<sup>1383</sup>

When the pavilion<sup>1384</sup>, in front of the temple, which is endowed with pillars, is to be made then that pavilion is made endowed with pillars also by the *vaiṣṇavas*. 41

Thus ends the thirteenth *paṭala* in the *ādikāṇḍa* in the *Hayaśīrṣa Mahāpañcarātra* which has twelve thousand verses.

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<sup>1382</sup> „Arch”, *torāṇa*.

<sup>1383</sup> The discussion of the *bhumis* start in verse 28 above.

<sup>1384</sup> The term *vedi(kā)* has two meanings in this text. Acharya tells us that *vedi-(ka)* was originally a hall for reading the Vedas in, but also means an altar, a stand, a basis, a pedestal, a bench, a kind of covered verandah or balcony in a courtyard, a moulding, (1946, vol 7, p. 471-2, on p 442 there is an image of the pillars of a *vedika*). I think this term must be used in two different ways – first as top moulding in 13.18 and then in 13.41 as pavilion.

*Chapter Fourteen; in which directions to place the various gods on the Temple.*

Fourteenth *Paṭala*

[The different methods in the construction of two temples—the *pañcāyatana* and the *navāyatana*, and the descriptions of the placement of the deities.]

The Lord said –

Hereafter I will explain the characteristics of temples<sup>1385</sup>, in which the gods are placed. Thus, listen to me, O Pure one. 1

He should have Vāsudeva stand in the middle of the Pañcāyatana<sup>1386</sup>. Then in the southeast, southwest, and north and in the northeast region are to be established Vāmana, Narasiṃha, Hayaśīrṣa, and Nṛsūkara<sup>1387</sup> [respectively]. 2-3ab

He should install [them] according to their consecration. Please hear from me concerning the other<sup>1388</sup>, O Sinless one. 3cd

He should situate Nārāyaṇa in the middle; he should situate Ambikā in the southeast. He should situate Bhāskara in the southwest [and] the lotus-born [Brahma] in the northwest. 4

He should place the *liṅga* or the form of Rudra in the northeast. In the middle of the *navāyatana*, he should have Vāsudeva dwell. 5

Furthermore, from the east up until the west, he should situate Rāma<sup>1389</sup> etc. or place Indra and the Lokāpālas in due order in the eight directions. 6

Or, by another method, the *navāyatana* is said to be in the [same] formation as<sup>1390</sup> the *pañcāyatana* where the middle turrets<sup>1391</sup> [of the temple] are. 7

The image of the Puruṣottama having been established by the far sighted one in the middle, and in the front turret, he should install Lakṣmī and Vaiśravaṇa<sup>1392</sup>. 8

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<sup>1385</sup> The commentary to the 1952 ed. says that *prāsādas* are divided into three types: *pañcāyatana*, *navāyatana* and *dvādaśāyatana*. He also understands *āyatana* and *prāsāda* to be essentially synonyms.

<sup>1386</sup> Thus a classical definition of the Pañcāyatana where there are five temples, one in the middle and one in each corner.

<sup>1387</sup> Nṛsūkara, “male pig, i.e. boar”.

<sup>1388</sup> The other refers to the *navāyatana* and *dvādaśāyatana*.

<sup>1389</sup> The commentary (1952 ed.) notes that these should be eight with the ninth in the center (as this is the *navāyatana*) and he identifies them as Balarāma, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Narasiṃha, and Varāha.

<sup>1390</sup> Lit., of.

<sup>1391</sup> “Turret”, *vaḍabhi*, (also *valabhi*) also means the ridge of a roof, top or pinnacle of a house, the roof, the frame of a thatch, the topmost part of a house, a class of storeyed buildings, a type of entablature, a class of rectangular buildings, a top-room (Acharya 1946:vol 7:449).

The wise he should situate the Mātr̥s<sup>1393</sup> in the southern turret, and there he should also install, Īśāna, Skanda, Gaṇeśa. 9

He should situate the planets<sup>1394</sup> beginning with Sūrya<sup>1395</sup> in the western turret; and in the northern turret, he should situate the ten beginning with Matsya. 10

And Caṇḍikā is to be situated in the southeastern [turret] and he should install Ambikā in the southwestern [turret] and Sarasvatī in the northwestern [turret] and Padma in the the northeast region<sup>1396</sup>. 11

And he should place Devī in the middle as mentioned above<sup>1397</sup> or Vāsudeva, or Nārāyaṇa, Śrīdhara, Vāmana or Mohanāśana. 12

And this<sup>1398</sup> is the Dvadaśyātana; and the middle is the thirteenth. Please listen, O best of gods, to the division of the gods in it. 13

He should fix Viśvarūpa in the middle and Keśava to the right, and then he should situate [the gods in the turrets] following the way [it was declared before<sup>1399</sup>] “In the front, etc.,” and according to rule. 14

He should cause the image to stand in the middle space and he should fix that middle one. Because of different<sup>1400</sup> desires, this excavation<sup>1401</sup> is remembered as common. 15<sup>1402</sup>

I have told you the characteristics of a temple, in brief. Thus too, I will tell you whatever else ought to be done. 16<sup>1403</sup>

Thus ends the fourteenth *paṭala* in the *ādikāṇḍa* in the *Hayaśīrṣa Mahāpañcarātra* which has twelve thousand verses.

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<sup>1392</sup> Kubera

<sup>1393</sup> The mothers.

<sup>1394</sup> “Planets”, *grahas*, normally nine.

<sup>1395</sup> The sun.

<sup>1396</sup> Here the text changes from the *strīliṅga saptamī* which modifies *vaḍabhyām* to the *puṁliṅga gocare*.

<sup>1397</sup> As mentioned above, lit. “according what was said.” The meaning is that these are the various deities which may be installed in the central shrine.

<sup>1398</sup> Lit., “that”.

<sup>1399</sup> In verse 8cd above.

<sup>1400</sup> Or “individual”.

<sup>1401</sup> Presumably for the temple, referring to the common as opposed to the specific attributes of the temple, which is what the next chapters discuss.

<sup>1402</sup> Here the text articulates the creative licence of the architect. Both individual “will” and “common tradition” are acknowledged. It is interesting that there seems to be much more freedom in the placement of the gods than in the ritual for purification of the earth. Does that indicate that archaic ritual pertaining to possession and use of land is more central to maintaining and legitimating social order than the arrangement of the pantheon?

<sup>1403</sup> The next chapter begins the discussion regarding sculpture.

## Part 4 Sacred relationships

The following chapters (8-10) consists of an analytical commentary to the text consisting of intertextual comparisons, explanations derived from intertextual comparison, as well as discussions of the history, purpose etc. of the ritual actions described in the texts. The first two of these chapters, drawing primarily on the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, establish a background for comprehension of the laying out of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. Chapter ten, focusing on the *maṇḍala*, draws primarily on the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* but also engages the *Agni Purāṇa* and other important Purāṇa and Pāñcarātra texts that deal with temple construction and, more specifically, the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*.

### 8 Preparations

Just as certain limbs of the body are purer than others, so are certain places on earth more sacred—some on account of their situation, others because of their sparkling waters, and others because of their association or habitation of saintly people (*The Mahābhārata*, 13.108.16-18).

Preparation for temple construction starts long before the first stone is placed. These preparations include finding the right artists, craftsmen, etc. to perform the job, and the right site, testing and preparing the site according to prescribed rules, and, finally, planning the layout of the temple. Some of the tests and preparations are barely mentioned in the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, while others are elaborated in great detail<sup>1404</sup>. To fully understand and contextualize the preparatory steps described in the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, other texts, whose particulars are discussed above, in chapter five, have been brought in for comparison.

#### 8.1 Dramatis Personae

The *brāhmaṇa* of all the *varṇas* is the one who is learned in *Pañcarātra*, set free from anger and greed, without faults and jealousy (*Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* 2.13).

In order to build a temple “the person desiring to construct a house for the gods,” (the *yajamāna*)<sup>1405</sup>, needs to hire certain people to perform the work on his behalf. Besides implying that the *yajamāna* could not be just anyone, that is, he would need enough money to support the project, the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, like many other *śilpa* texts, specifies the qualities that the various workers need to have. The *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, like most Pāñcarātra works, is by no means precise in the way it uses various titles for workers it associates with the temple construction. In the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, various categories of people, or perhaps more clearly, titles referring to people of different positions in the construction of the temple, are discussed. Often the differences and relationship between these categories of workers is far from clear. Still, to facilitate the

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<sup>1404</sup> These texts and preparations will be further discussed below.

<sup>1405</sup> *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, 11.2.

understanding of the text, the following discussion is an attempt to define the key positions in the construction process.

**The *Yajamāna*** – The *yajamāna* is the patron of the temple construction (the same term is used in the Vedic sacrifices). The *yajamāna* is the one who wants to make a temple and the one who gains the merit from the construction. The text states that the one who desires to build a temple should search for an *ācārya* who has the characteristics that are specified in the text at 2.12-14 (see *ācārya* below). Here it says:

One who desires to gain merit by means of [constructing] a temple for my image ought to search for an *ācārya* who is endowed with [the following] characteristics (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, 2.11).

This verse is important because it indicates that the text, or at least this portion of the text, is written for the person who is seeking an *ācārya*. Though the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* does not explicitly use the word *yajāmāna*, here, it seems that he is the intended referent. Consider a large temple complex, where construction continued for several generations, thus many different donors are not unexpected. However, for the temple proper, inscriptions normally ascribe only a single donor. Nevertheless, sometimes one person is said to have constructed the temple in honor of a second. This is seen, for example, in the at Pattadakal, where the two queens of the 8th century Chalukya king Vikramāditya II both dedicated temples in his honor (the Virupakṣa and the Mallikarjuna)<sup>1406</sup>. Most texts, such as the *Pādma Tantra*, however, speak of the *yajamāna* as an individual. It is possible that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* was written for the *yajamāna*. Such a focus would explain the emphasis in the first few chapters on the qualities and disqualifications of an *ācārya*, and other main characters in the construction staff. These characteristics would be important for the one who will hire the *ācārya* (and others), the primary task of the *yajamāna*<sup>1407</sup>. Besides hiring, the *yajamāna* only needs to be present at a few of the rituals that mark important stages in the temple construction. The focus on the role of the *yajamāna* in some texts, such as the *Pādma Saṃhitā*, and (though not quite as explicit) the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, illustrates the difference in outlook between these texts and purely *śilpa śāstra* works, such as the *Mayamatam* or *Mānasāra*, that do not pay any attention to the *yajamāna*. The later texts are technical in nature while the former focus on the devotional and ritual aspects of a temple and its construction. The *yajamāna* is sometimes called the *kāraka* – the one who causes the architect, the *kartr*, to do the work<sup>1408</sup>.

**The *Ācārya*** – the first task of the *yajamāna* in his building project is to select an *ācārya*<sup>1409</sup>. The *ācārya* directs the building of the temple from the selection of the site to the final installation of the deities. Like the priests in the Vedic *yajña*, he acts on behalf

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<sup>1406</sup> The Virūpakṣa temple was founded in 745 CE by Queen Lōka Mahādēvī. She was the senior Queen of Vikramāditya. The Mallikārjuna temple was founded by Queen Trailōkya Mahādēvī and it is called Trailōkeśvara in the Paṭṭadakal pillar-inscription (755 CE). The queens and their inscriptions are discussed in Meister & Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*, publ. AIIS 1986, Vol I, part 2, Ch. 21, p. 78-90, plates 220-282.

<sup>1407</sup> *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, 2.11.

<sup>1408</sup> *Samarāṅganāsūtradhāra*, 56.303, quoted in Kramrisch, 1946/ 2007, vol 1. p 9, note 18. See also Pārameśvara Saṃhitā 8.178-194.

<sup>1409</sup> *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, 2.11, and *Pādma tantra, kriya*. 1.19.



of the *yajamāna* throughout the construction of the temple. As is obvious in reading the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, extra care must be taken in selecting the man who will be the *ācārya*, the text spends almost three whole chapters discussing his qualifications and disqualifications<sup>1410</sup>. The *ācārya* should for example be wellborn and wise, set free from anger and greed, without faults and jealousy, free from consumption and loss of memory, without leprosy, one whose limbs are not too many or few, young and marked by the auspicious signs and he should be a worshipper of the same deity as the *yajamāna* (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 2.12-14). Some of the qualities the *ācārya* should not have include:

He [with whom one constructs a temple] should not be a *Śaiva*, or a *Saura*, nor a *Naiṣṭhika*, nor a naked one, nor born of mixed marriage, nor unclean, old, or one who is of a despicable form or marked by great sin. 2

Nor should he have leprosy, deformed nails, white leprosy, brown teeth, be a consumptive, one born in Kacchadeśa, or from Kāverī or Koṅkana. 3

Nor originating in Kāmarūpa or Kaliṅga, or Kāñcī, Kāśmīra or Kośala, nor one having bad behavior, bad company or come from Mahārāṣṭra (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 3.2-4).

The achievement and success of each step of the construction and consecration of the temple depends on the *ācārya*<sup>1411</sup>. Perhaps the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and other similar Pāñcarātra texts, such as the *Pādma Saṃhitā*, could have been written also with the *ācārya* in mind. The rituals, many of which are described in detail (certainly much more so than in *śilpa sāstra* texts such as the *Mayamatam*), seem to be described from the *ācārya*'s point of view (for example chapter 8, discusses the search for the *śalya*). The use of prescriptive grammatical forms, such as *viddhi līn* and gerundive, generally translated in my text as 'he should', seem to in most cases refer to the *ācārya*. The text prescribes where he should either perform a ritual task himself or have others do the more practical things, such as digging holes.

According to *śilpa* texts (for example, the *Śilparatna* 1.29-42) the *ācārya* is first and foremost an architect. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, however, tells us that the primary qualification is that the *ācārya* be a Pāñcarātrin. If an initiated Brāhmaṇa cannot be found then an initiated *kṣatriya* can be employed. If the latter cannot be found, a *vaiśya* Pāñcarātra may be employed. A *śūdra* may not be an *ācārya* (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, 1.2.15-16). That normative prescription is more restrictive than the *Pādma Saṃhitā* (*kriya pāda* 1.16-17), which states that the *ācārya* can be a *brāhmin*, *kṣatriya*, *vaiśya* or a *śūdra* of the *anulomaka* sector<sup>1412</sup>. The *Pādma Saṃhitā* is more in keeping with the early *Pāñcarātra* view that anyone can enter/ participate in the sect. The fact that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* excludes *śūdras* is typical of the development of tantric sects that

<sup>1410</sup> Chapters 2-4.

<sup>1411</sup> *Pādma tantra, kriya*. 24.2b.

<sup>1412</sup> Kane tells us that an *anulomaka* is a *śūdra* who is born from a high-caste father and a lower-caste mother (Pāṇḍuraṅga Vāmana Kāṇe, *History of dharmasāstra (ancient and mediæval religious and civil law in India)*, Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1968: vol. 2 p. 449).

become progressively more Sanskritic and Brāhminical as they fall in line with Brāhminical/ twice-born Hindu norms.

The *ācārya* should worship the same deity as the *yajamāna* (2.15). He should be free from various kinds of diseases and deformities (listed in chapter 3). The third chapter discusses the characteristics of an *ācārya* that should be avoided. Many of these are diseases that either are deadly or deform the body (such as leprosy). It also emphasizes the importance of avoiding people who worship a different deity, such as Śiva. The *ācārya* ‘should not despise *tantra*’ (3.6). He should know the Vedas and *vedāṅgas*. He should know the temple building techniques described in tantric texts, and he may not be a *nāstika* (one who denies the Vedas – a non-believer, 3.7, 3.14, 5.1-2). Chapter four describes the positive characteristics of the *ācārya*. Essentially it states that as long as he knows the Pāñcarātra texts and the truth, even without the auspicious marks he is an *ācārya*.

The *ācārya* is further defined by his function. The *ācārya* has an executive function, but he also carefully observes omens in order to perform propitiatory rites. It seems likely that the *ācārya* represents a distinct professional group considering the specialization required by the job. As the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* focuses on rituals connected to crucial steps in the temple building project that the *ācārya* directs, he plays a prominent role in the text.

***Sthapati*** – main architect/ artisan – works as a liaison between the other artisans and the *ācārya*. The Pāñcarātra works are by no means precise in the way it uses various titles for the workers it associates with the *ācārya* in the temple building activities. For example, in *śilpa śāstra* texts (such as the *Mayamatam* and the *Mānasāra*) subtleties of special tasks and hierarchical status are observed. The *rathakāra*, for instance, refers to a special kind of artisan. In Pāñcarātra texts, *ratrakāra* may refer to the chief *śilpin*. In *pāñcaratra* texts, including the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, this chief artisan is referred to as *sthapati*, *śilpin*, *rathakāra*, *takṣaka* and *sthāpaka*<sup>1413</sup>. Chapter four mentions that the *sthāpaka* has the highest devotion for Viṣṇu and the *guru* (4.10). While the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* and other Pāñcarātra texts are far from precise on this topic, other texts are. The broader tradition has a hierarchy of professions within the field<sup>1414</sup>. The *sthapati* is also commonly referred to as *sūtradhāra* (“the one who holds the strings”, that is the one in charge of planning the layout of the temple – the architect). The *sthapati/ sūtradhāra* is the highest of the roles within the hierarchy of artists<sup>1415</sup>.

Other texts define the *sthapati* in much clearer terms. Thus the *Mānasāra* tells us that that the *sthapati* is the *guru* of the *sūtra-grāhin* (draftsman), *vardhaki* (designer), and *takṣaka* (carpenter). In turn, the *sūtra-grāhin* guides the other two. The *vardhaki*, in turn, guides the *takṣaka*. (*Mānasāra* 2.18-21). However, the *Mānasāra* also tells us (2.31) that the *sthapati* has the qualifications of an *ācārya*, which indicates that we should take the word *ācārya* perhaps more as a ‘director’ rather than as a specific appointment.

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<sup>1413</sup> For *śilpa śāstra* texts on the qualifications of the chief artisan and his relation to the *ācārya* see *Śilparatna* 1.1.30-41 in Kramrish, (1946:10) and Daniel Smith, (*The Temple-Building Activities of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in South India according to available extant Pāñcarātrāgama texts with Special Reference to the Pādma Tantra*, Unpublished Manuscript, Yale University, 1960:15ff).

<sup>1414</sup> See R. N. Mishra *Śilpa in Indian Tradition – Concept and Instrumentalities*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, 2009, especially chapter three which deals with the *śilpi*'s organization.

<sup>1415</sup> Mishra, 2009:92.

The *Mānasāra*, in addition, refers to the *sthapati*, together with the *sthāpaka* (the principal assistant or actual builder) as the master of the house-opening ceremonies of a dwelling (*Mānasāra* 37. 7, 14-7, 58, 73-4, 83, 85). These include the offerings to the Vāstu deities, in which the *sthapati* and *sthāpaka* both take part<sup>1416</sup>. The *Mahābhārata* seems to know the *sthapati* as a learned person.

The Sthapati [should be] prefect in his discernment (or intellect), [and] skilled in the science of *vāstu*. (*Mahābhārata* 1.47.14ab<sup>1417</sup>)

**Deśika** – teacher – the one who points out or instructs. He is of particular importance in chapters five and six of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* where preparatory rituals, such as selecting, taking possession of and preparing the plot, are described. In these chapters of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* the *deśika* is the one who performs the rites. For example verse 6.19:

Then the Deśika should perform the *caruhoma*, along with the *mūlamantra*. Subsequently, the knower of mantras should give the *pūrṇāhutim*, ending with the *vauṣaṭ* exclamation (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, 6.19).

Here the text specifically states that the *deśika* should perform the *caruhoma* and *mūla* mantra. However, It is not clear, to me, what the relationship between the *ācārya* and the *deśika* is. It may, in fact, be that it is different terms used to refer to the same person, as indicated in 4.5:

Even if he [is considered to have] a bad behavior, and [be] without auspicious signs, he is nevertheless a teacher (*deśika*), who is a guide (*tāraka*) [who crosses] over the ocean of *samsāra* (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, 4.5)

As the text discusses the *ācārya*, who clearly also is considered a *deśika* and a *tāraka*<sup>1418</sup>, it is not perfectly apparent at this point if there are different categories of people or perhaps different terms for *ācārya*. On the other hand this is a standard praise for a *guru* in devotional works.

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* does not provide definite definitions of the *ācārya*, the *sthāpaka* and the *deśika*. Chapter four begins by saying that we shall hear about the characteristics of the *ācārya*. In verse five it uses the terms *deśika* and *tāraka*, verse eight again uses the term *ācārya*, while verses six and nine use the terms *guru* and *tāraka* respectively. Verse ten switches to the *sthāpaka*, though it seems like we are still discussing the same *ācārya*.

**Śilpin** – The *śilpin* is a stone carver, the one who carves the deity (and, in all likelihood, other decorative carving as well). He is probably of a low-caste

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<sup>1416</sup> This will be discussed more in chapter 10 below regarding the offerings to the Vāstu deities.

<sup>1417</sup> *Sthapatir buddhisampanno vāstuvīdyāviśārada* (*Mahābhārata* 1.47.14ab)

<sup>1418</sup> *Tāraka* is translated as guide and *deśika* as teacher in the translation of the text.

background<sup>1419</sup>. The artisans in general, though possibly more respected than most low cast people, seem to have belonged to the *śūdra* class. The *Viṣṇu Smṛti* 2.4-14 says that *śūdras* should serve the other classes and practice art. While the term *śilpin* is used in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* to refer to a stone carver, this is not commonly the usage of the term. As R.N. Mishra has shown, in his *Śilpa in Indian Tradition – Concept and Instrumentalities*, the term *śilpin* usually refers to a more general craftsman or artist group. Mishra uses the term to refer to all workers at construction of buildings<sup>1420</sup>. In Mishra's view the term *śilpin* does not include the supervising function or the architect. It is broader than the restrictive stone carver definition given in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, however.

While there are many other categories of workers involved in the construction of the Hindu temple, though these are only the categories that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* discusses in the first *kānda*. One ought to refer to Mishra, especially chapter three, for more in-depth discussion on the various titles, their interdependence, organization, etc., as described both in inscriptions and texts<sup>1421</sup>.

## 8.2 Discovering Sacred Space

The gods always play where groves are near, rivers, mountains and springs, and in towns with pleasure gardens. (*Bṛhat Saṃhitā* 55.8)<sup>1422</sup>

The gods and other beings are part of the world, and they are there before any human construction takes shape. Thus part of the preparatory stages for any temple construction is to locate a place that will be pleasing to the gods, a place where the gods will like to play. Criteria for these places are described mainly with regards to orientation, plant and animal life and soil quality. Many of the criteria have clear practical purposes while others are mainly ritual.

*Architectural Orientation, The religious Act of Orientation.*

He should determine the shadow of the gnomon [for the purpose of] the entrance and exit in this [*vāstu bhūmi*], and with two marks of the tip of the shadow of the gnomon he should fix the east and west. 3

When the sun is in the east [or] west, he should establish north and south: on the equinox, when the sky is clear, he should establish the direction with a gnomon. (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 8.3-4)

Before any construction or planning of the site can take place the directions have to be ascertained. Through correct orientation the temple becomes an appropriate home for the

<sup>1419</sup> *Agni Purāṇa* 36.11 and 55.6 mentions that faults (*doṣa*) of the *śilpin* may be removed by immersing an image in water. *Doṣa* here probably refers to mistakes that the *śilpin* might have made.

<sup>1420</sup> Mishra, 2009:2-3, 123-4.

<sup>1421</sup> Mishra, 2009:86ff.

<sup>1422</sup> *vana upāntanadīśailanirnar upāntabhūmiṣu/*

*ramante devatā nityaṃ pureśūdyānavatsu ca// Bṛhat Saṃhitā, 55.8, online at The Sanskrit Library, Brown University: <http://sanskrit1.ccv.brown.edu/tomcat/sl/Index>*

god because of its connection with the universe. Jones states that “orientation involves finding both literally and metaphorically one’s place in the world – or, in the case of sacred architecture, actually *constructing* ones place in the world”<sup>1423</sup>. Thus orienting the temple so that it is aligned with the cardinal directions, and situating the sanctum in the center, one constructs the center of ones world in both a physical and symbolic way. The question of the character of the place on which one stands is the fundamental symbolic and social question. Once an individual or culture has expressed its vision of its place, a whole language of symbols and social structure will follow.<sup>1424</sup>

The *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, like other texts of the Hindu architectural tradition, has a clear view of the ideal place for temple construction. The vision is filled with symbols, such as color, smell and sound all connected to the social structure of society. The temple site, being the future home for the gods, should naturally fulfill the highest criteria, thus the soil should smell good, the color should be white (or light), plants should be lovely blossoms and sacred grasses, the sounds should be beautiful bird song and it should be oriented towards the cardinal directions. The criteria for the temple site and those for the highest *varṇa*, the *brāhmaṇas*, are essentially the same, making a visual connection between gods and *brāhmaṇas*, the priestly class and segregating society according to living places.

While all criteria for the temple site are given similar importance in the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, orientation according to the cardinal directions has taken a prominent place in all architectural discussions. After hiring the *ācārya* and other important people for the building project the *yajamāna* steps back and let the *ācārya* take over. The first task of the *ācārya* is to make sure that the directions are considered appropriately and that the surroundings of the chosen plot are perfect. The orientation of a temple follows cosmic directions. While the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, stresses the importance of the cardinal points for the construction site the text also mentions that the main temple door should face the city for which the temple is built (5.10) From this we may infer that the temple is generally built outside the city center. The *Agni Purāṇa*, in the end chapter 40, mentions the directions of the doors of a temple. This statement is slightly different. The text states that a temple build in the central or eastern part of a village should have doors facing west while those erected in the northern, southern or western parts should face east.

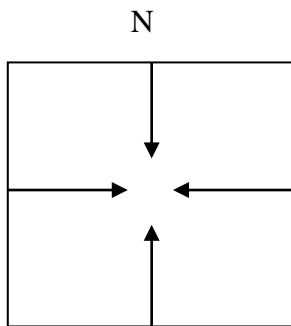


Figure A, *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, all temples face the center.

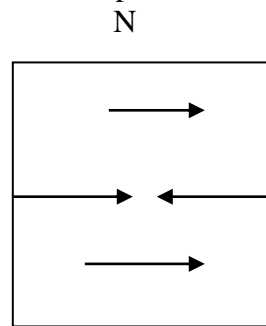


Figure B, *Agni Purāṇa*, temples built in the east face west, all others face east.

<sup>1423</sup> Jones, 2000: vol 2, p 26.

<sup>1424</sup> Jones, 2000, vol 2, p. 26.

Later in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* (12.62-62) we are told that all doors should face west regardless of which part of the city they are in. The first description in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* (5.10) emphasizes the importance of the city center, perhaps due to the city being the center of power and where the most important people would live. This focus on the center, one could speculate, would be in keeping with ideas such as Meyer's in his *Beijing as the sacred city*<sup>1425</sup>, where the gods, and thus the temples, are used to emphasize the importance of the king and his connection to the gods. The layout in the *Agni Purāṇa* however, shows the importance of the direction east, its auspicious connotation and the fact that all but temples built on the eastern side of the city should face east. The emphasis is still on the city center but it is not as clear. Thus the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* does not follow the traditional notion that the temple should face east<sup>1426</sup>. Places such as Khajuraho have all major temples face east<sup>1427</sup>. In Bhubaneswar, to the puzzlement of scholars, all early temples face west, a situation that has been connected to the Pāsupata movement<sup>1428</sup>. This would then be in keeping with the later account in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* (12.62-63). In many cases we do not know where the city was located in relation to the temples. The temples were built to last for centuries while the houses and palaces were not. Thus we have few if any remains of the cities which make it hard to tell if temples face a city, rather than just west (as in Bhubaneswar). The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* tells us to construct houses in front of temples – in essence in agreement with the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* that states that the temple should always face the city, however here the order is reversed. Thus, for the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* it is important to align the construction site and the temple building with the cardinal points. In addition one has to make sure that the door of the temple faces the city, which could be in any of the directions.

In addition to alignment the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* associates various deities with the different directions within a city (5.4-9, see diagram 1). The deities are generally placed in directions to which they are associated, for example Yama is in the south. One would assume that the main deity would be in the center and thus one might assume that the town that the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Agni Purāṇa* (39) describes has a cult centered on Brahmā, or perhaps Viṣṇu, since Viṣṇu may be anywhere. *Agni Purāṇa* (10.39) specifies that the layout is valid for Kurukṣetra, Gaya and other places on the banks of rivers. The text does not tell us what to do with cities located in other areas, possibly because the text was compiled in this area and not concerned with other places.

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<sup>1425</sup> Jeffrey Meyer, *The Dragons of Tiananmen: Beijing as a Sacred City*, University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, S.C., 1991.

<sup>1426</sup> See, for example, *Kāśyapa Jñānakāṇḍa* ch. 4, (Goudriaan 1965:29).

<sup>1427</sup> See Devangana Desai, *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho* where she presents the Viśvanātha temple (p. 13), the Lakṣmaṇa (Vaikuṅṭha) temple (p. 122), the Kandhariyā Mahādeva Temple (p. 159), (The Yoginī Shrine it faces northeast, (p. 84-5). However, the deities are facing all different directions as they are placed all along the walls) (Desai, 1996). A complete survey of these temples is obviously outside the scope of this project, but would be an interesting question to answer.

<sup>1428</sup> Joanna Williams, conversation November 20, 2009 (The Lingaraja, which is 12th century, is oriented east).

Viṣṇu is the only god whose temple may be anywhere – emphasizing his omnipresence<sup>1429</sup>. The text’s concern with Viṣṇu as *the* god is again emphasized in 5.16 where it says that Viṣṇu should be installed everywhere (*sarvatra*) on all sides (*samantāt*) of the city<sup>1430</sup>. However, the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* does not specifically state that this has to do with temples but only that this is the “manner in which the gods are to be placed within the city” (5.4cd). Thus it may not necessarily be a plan for where to locate temples, since most of these deities are not commonly found as main deities in temples and shrines. Rather the text may show us which deity was associated with a particular direction and section of a settlement.

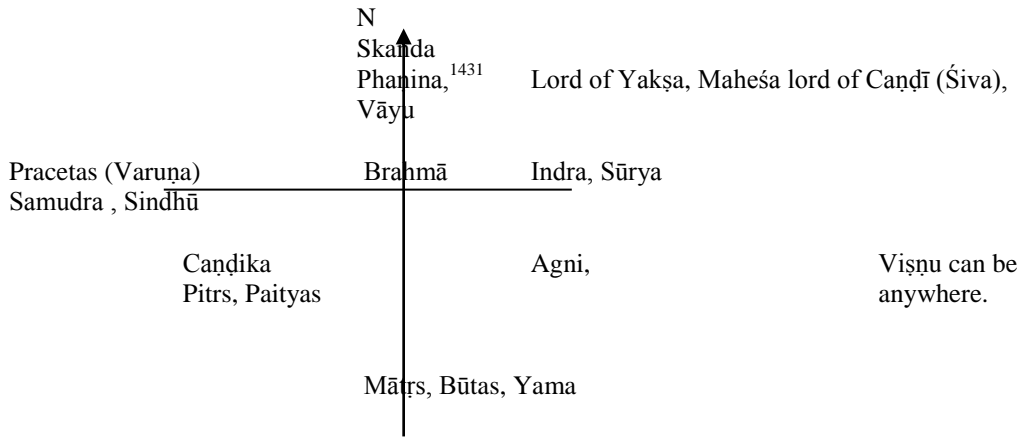


Diagram 1. Placement of temples in a settlement, according to the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* (5.4-9).

The *Mayamatam* gives a similar treatment of directions to that in the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* and clearly states that it is temples that are under discussion. The *Mayamatam* (9.35) states that a temple (*devālya*) or altar (*pīṭa*) is installed in the center (*brahmātshāna*) of a village (*grāma*) and (9.64-82) goes on to discuss the location of temples and (9.83) specifies the divinities of the gates as well as (9.84-5) elaborates on the orientation of shrines:

In settlements such as villages the temple of Īśa is orientated towards either the east or the west; it is beneficial if turned towards the exterior of the [settlement]. The dwelling of Viṣṇu may be orientated in any direction but is beneficial if turned towards the center of the village. Other [shrines] are orientated towards the east but that of the Mothers is turned towards the north and the entrance of that of Sūrya is in the west. The dwellings of the gods of a city should be built prior to the houses. (*Mayamatam* 9.84-5<sup>1432</sup>)

<sup>1429</sup> Many of the deities specified in the layout discussed in *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* (chapter 5) are deities to which temples are rarely or never seen. Perhaps we are not to limit ourselves to understanding elaborate temple complexes but also assume small roadside shrines to Bhutas and Nāgas as well.

<sup>1430</sup> In *A book of Wisdom, proclaimed by Kāśyapa* (chapter 33) different types of temples are assigned to different parts of a village or town. The text specifies that there are 18 types of temples that belong to Viṣṇu, but does not discuss the other gods. The different types of temples are differentiated mainly by numbers of stories and not elaborated upon (Goudriaan 1965:115-6).

<sup>1431</sup> Great-hooded serpent.

<sup>1432</sup> Dagens, 1994:77.

The *Mayamatam* thus has a slightly different point than the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. While the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* states that Viṣṇu may be placed anywhere the *Mayamatam* clarifies that the Viṣṇu temple may be turned in any direction but that it is best if turned towards the center of the village. However, temples to Īśa should face east or west, the Mothers to the north and Sūrya to the west, all other gods should face the traditional eastern direction, a fact not mentioned in our text. The *Mayamatam* also emphasizes the importance of building temples by asserting that the temples are built before people's houses.

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* returns to the importance of directions and explains what the various directions are good for in verses 5.17-9. Discussing a similar section in the *Pādma Saṃhitā* (2.34) Smith mentions that verses 5.17-18 of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* refer to houses<sup>1433</sup>, however, that does not seem to be the case – the whole text otherwise discusses temples so it does not seem reasonable that the text would suddenly in two verses refer to houses rather than temples. Perhaps it is rather so that, for example, if you were someone (presumably a king) who wants royal authority (*rājya*) you would build a temple in the western part of your town. Verse 5.17 states that the southeastern direction should be abandoned, the southwest gives rise to fear and the northwest should be avoided. Here it is clear that the mentioning of these directions and the deities with which they are associated is not intended to indicate which deity should be placed in which direction, but rather to indicate that these deities are associated with various qualities: some good, such as Indra in the east associated with power, some are not, such as Caṇḍikā, Piṭṛs and Daityas in the southwest associated with fear.

That the different directions are associated with different feelings is obvious in the well-known epic story *Rāmāyāna*. In the *Rāmāyāna*, *Kiṣkiṇḍā Kāṇḍa*, Sugrīva, the king of the monkeys, sends out his monkey army to search for Sītā. He sends them out in the four directions, but before he dispatches them, he gives a description of each of the directions and what the monkeys might expect to find in this direction. These descriptions tally with the connotations of each direction – that is the auspicious east is described with images of golden mountains, while the inauspicious south is filled with imagery of shadow-catching Rākṣasas and dreary forests<sup>1434</sup>. Though the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* does not talk of the directions having different kinds of plants, animals, sounds, etc. the association is there.

As we all know humans are not perfect, and the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* acknowledges that. If one makes a mistake and the god, even though one has done all the measuring, still faces away from the city, the remedy is to paint a picture of the god on the wall facing the city (v 11-12). This remedy appears to be unique to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. Unfortunately it is virtually impossible to find out if this was a practice that was followed in medieval north India. First because there are no temple complexes left in northeast India from this period. Second, if we extend the search to central north India there is no paint left on the walls of temples. The idea expressed is, however, a common one; if one makes a mistake there is a remedy. Many rituals contain extra precautionary

<sup>1433</sup> Smith, 1963:24. note 51.

<sup>1434</sup> Goldman, Robert P, ed. introd., transl., and annot. by Rosalind Lefebber, *The Rāmāyāna of Valmiki: An Epic of Ancient India: Kiṣkiṇḍā Kāṇḍa*, Princeton University Press, 1994.



rituals where one apologizes for any mistakes made. This then tells us that the rituals are extra ordinarily important, but humans make mistakes sometimes, and that there are remedies at hand when mistakes occur<sup>1435</sup>.

Temples should, according to the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* be built in one of the cardinal directions; east, south, west or north. The only secondary direction that is used is the northeast – all others seem to be inauspicious<sup>1436</sup>. The temples should all face the center of the town or city. The emphasis on the city center, usually the locus of the worldly power, is clear. Constructing a temple would, thus, not only indicate god’s presence in the city but also emphasize the connection between divine and worldly power.

### 8.3 The perfect soil.

After the *ācārya* has made sure that the temple faces the city and that it does not encroach on the area of another temple, he goes on to assert the quality of the soil. The end of chapter 5 of the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* systematically details various types of soil, divided into four categories, starting with the best. The descriptions are standard and thus similar ones are found in many other texts<sup>1437</sup>. There after the text discusses the shape of the plot. The rules are generally straightforward, such as the ground should not be uneven, but some are less so, such as such as the prohibition of circular and triangular as well as rectangular plots. The emphasis on the square plot is a direct reflection of the importance the text on places on the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, (which may be connected to the idea that the world has four corners<sup>1438</sup>). Essentially plots should be square and have good soil that is fairly level from the start.

Many other texts deal with the qualities of the soil in a similar way<sup>1439</sup>. Kramrisch notes that on the site chosen, the presence of beneficent powers should be felt<sup>1440</sup>. The

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<sup>1435</sup> See for example *Sātvata Saṃhitā* chapter 14 for more remedies. Kane discusses this in debt – the Sanskrit word is *prayaścitta*, “atonement, expiation”. The practice is seen early on, especially concerning incorrect pronunciation or accent of the Vedic injunctions during a *yañja* (Kane, 1930/1974, vol.4 ch.1 pp. 1-40).

<sup>1436</sup> The southwest is a bit unclear, perhaps one should build a temple there if one wants to create fear in one’s enemies, but it may also be that it creates fear within those who live in that particular town.

<sup>1437</sup> The criteria are mainly the kind of trees that grow there, the smell of the soil and shape of the plot. 5. 20-24 gives the good qualities of the soil, verses 25-28 gives qualities to be avoided. The good soil should have a pleasing smell, and be frequented by cows and the bad is foul smelling and hard to dig.

<sup>1438</sup> See chapter 10 below, and verse 12.45 of the translation.

<sup>1439</sup> *Pādma Saṃhitā* (*prathamadyāya, bhulakṣaṇam*, p 8), *Agastya S* 1.1-3, *Aniruddha* 11.25ff, *Bhārgava tantra* 3, *Īśvara Saṃhitā* 16.14ff, *Kapīñjala Saṃhitā* 7.1-2, *Mārkaṇḍeya Saṃhitā* 2, *Pauṣkara Saṃhitā* 42.1-6, *Sananda Saṃhitā* 5, *Viṣṇu Saṃhitā* 12.1-36, 23.76, *Viṣṇu tantra* 2.2-14, *Viṣṇutilaka* 6.11-21, and the *Tantrasamuccaya* 1.16ff.

<sup>1440</sup> Kramrisch 1946/ 2007: vol. 1 p 4. The *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* does not say much about the elevation of the plot or the slopes going in different directions an idea common in other texts such as the *Kāśyapa*. The description regarding the best land in the *Kāśyapa* is similar to that found in the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* (ch. 5). Chapter four of the *Kāśyapa* gives a summary of regions plants, temples and ritual objects most fit for use in worship. The *Kāśyapa* specifies that the plants and trees need to be male and its list is significantly longer than the one found in the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*. In ch. 11-12 *Kāśyapa* distinguishes nine kinds of places (the first six are fit for use). The names given by *Kāśyapa* to the types are telling – the best types

idea is only generally discussed in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* in connection with the different shapes of the plot where one should not choose a site with the middle higher than the surroundings<sup>1441</sup>.

The most commonly found feature in all the text is the various types of soil that are for the different *varṇas*. The accounts are similar with descriptions of smell, taste and color of the soil<sup>1442</sup>.

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belongs to gods; Viṣṇu, Brahmā, etc., the last four to inauspicious beings; Bhūtas, Asuras, Rākṣasas and Piśācas. Though the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* only has four kinds, the treatment is similar. Trees and plants, smell and taste of the soil as well as the living beings found in the different types of places are listed. Though the lists are a bit tedious to read they are not surprising. The best places have pleasant flowering and fruit-bearing plants and trees, good soil and chirping birds while the places one should avoid are desolate areas frequented by jackals (Goudriaan, 1965:28-30).

<sup>1441</sup> The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* identifies the four types of soil that it differentiates as; *supadma*, *bhadrikā*, *pūrṇa*, and *dhūmrāvegin* (5. 1) and describes their, respective characteristics (verses 5.2-9) in descending order. The names of the soil-types given in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* are found in other texts such as the *Viṣṇu Saṃhitā* (t.s.s edition) *paṭala* xii:22-35, *Īśānagurudevapaddhati* (vol 3, t.s.s. edition) *uttarārḍha*, *paṭala* 23.6-13, *Śilparatna* ch. 3.5-8 and the *Tantrasamuccaya*, first *paṭala* verses 16-20.

The *Tantrasamuccaya* is a text from Kerala from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century (Mallaya, 1949: p. ii-iii). Unni mentions the *Tantrasamuccaya* in the introduction to the *Īśānaśivagurudeva Paddhati* and then states that it is from the 14<sup>th</sup> c. (Sastri and Unni, 2005:lxv) Unni also says that it was written by Nārāyaṇa who states that he was born in the Kali year 4529 (1426 A.D). The *Tantrasamuccaya* quotes extensively from the *Mayamatam*, the *Kāsyapaśilpa* and other texts (Mallaya, 1949:ii-iii).

Mallaya who translated selections of the *Tantrasamuccaya* thinks that the *śilparatna* borrowed from the former (Mallaya, 1949:122, note 116). Mallaya also points out that there are similar passages in the *Prayogamañjarī* (unpublished manuscript in the Adyar Mss Library, *paṭala* ii) and the *Śaivāgamanibandana* (unpublished manuscript from Malabar, *paṭala* xi, Mallaya, 1949:122). Verses 5.12-13 describe the qualities of the soil pertaining to the different *varṇas*. Compare *Śilpa Prakāśa* 1.13-17 and *Mayamatam* 2.10-15a. The *Tantrasamuccaya* similarly to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* gives special reference to the presence of particular trees (*Tantrasamuccaya*, first *paṭala* verses 16-20). The types of soil are given in descending order; that is the best type is described first. The *supadma* is clearly the best— abounding in fragrant flowers, lotuses and sandal trees. The *bhadrikā* is a close second characterized by sacred spots, rivers and other auspicious elements. The *pūrṇa* type seems like an acceptable substitute, except that the text states that this type has ‘very little water’ (verse 7a), which might disqualify it as appropriate for a temple since the text says (verse 10) that the appropriate plot has to have a little water (*alpatoyām*). The *Dhūmrāvegin* type has all the inauspicious signs possible, including thorny trees and vultures and should be avoided at all cost. The texts that I have studied all have similar discussions of the soil and the other characteristics of the site. Some are detailed while others only tell us which is the best.

<sup>1442</sup> For example the *Mayamatam* ch 2 v 10-15. Generally thought to be the oldest text that deal with *śilpa śāstra*, the *Brhat Saṃhitā* focuses primarily on proportions and shapes or forms of buildings and building sites. However, it also discusses the qualities of the soil pertaining to the different classes as well as the soil tests. Both the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Brhat Saṃhitā* treat colors, smells and grasses found in the sites beneficial to the respective *varṇa*.

The *Brhat Saṃhitā* starts with a general statement of soft, even, sweet smelling and tasting earth, which abounds in excellent herbs, trees and creepers, and which is not hollow underneath as good for building. Specific instructions for the *varṇas* depend on the slopes, if it slopes to the north it is for the *brāhmaṇas*, east for *kṣatriyas* etc. It does say that a *brāhmin* may dwell on any, a *kṣatriya* or three (his own and that of *vaiśyas* and *śūdras*) and so on (53.91). The *Matsya Purāṇa* gives similar, standard, characteristics for the soil of the different *varṇas* (253.11).

The *Agni Purāṇa* does not discuss the qualities of the soil at all. Perhaps the compiler of the *Agni Purāṇa* found this to be common knowledge or assumed that the audience would not need that information. If we would assume that the audience of the *Agni Purāṇa* (*śilpa* section) would be the *yajmāna* of a temple then he would not need to know about the different types of soil – he just had to trust his *ācārya*.

#### 8.4 *Bhūparīkṣā* - Test and purification of the soil.

In chapter five and six of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* the prescriptions, including feeding the oxen, plowing and leveling the ground, etc., indicate the sacralization of agricultural and settlement activities typical of pre-modern Hindu civilization. The classification of soil-types according to *varṇa* shows how *brāhmaṇical* texts attempt to naturalize social privilege. The presence of Vaiṣṇava mantras like *om namo nārāyaṇāya* and *om namo bhagavate vasudevāya* shows the Vaiṣṇavization of more archaic *brāhmaṇical* rituals. Thus, Pāñcarātra soteriology (emphasizing identifying with Viṣṇu, the *paramātmān*, by transcending the *tamasic*, non-sentient elements) is deeply embedded in the natural and social order. The thickness of description – to borrow Clifford Geertz’s phrase – complicates any attempt to articulate the purpose or to explain the rituals prescribed by the text, including the construction of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. The reasons are over determined by a vast array of facts from the centrality of oxen for Indian agriculture to the *sāṃkhya* doctrine of the three *guṇas*.

After a suitable spot has been found according to the characteristics described in chapter five and six the soil needs to be further tested. These tests are essentially practical and function to ensure that there are no hidden problems in the soil such as the soil being too loose. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* mentions three tests. Digging a hole and filling it with water, digging a hole and refilling it with the soil and placing a lamp in the hole<sup>1443</sup>.

##### *Testing the soil by refilling a hole with the dugout soil*

For this test the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* only says “When the hole is being filled and there is an excess of earth it is best” (6.10cd). It is not clear here what is to be done. The *Mayamatam* is somewhat clearer though the transition between the water section (see below) and the refilling of the soil is rather abrupt, and it is not clear if it is done in the same hole. What is clearly stated is that if the pit is full when one puts the earth back, it is of average quality; if it overflows, it is excellent; and if it is not full, it is of inferior quality (*Mayamatam* 16-18a). Dagens notes that this implies that “success will expand as does the earth”<sup>1444</sup>. The point of this test is clearly to ensure that the soil will be able to

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The *Āśvalāyana Gr̥hyasūtra* gives a standard account for the colors belonging to the different *varṇas* – sweet sandy white soil is suitable for a *brāhmaṇa*, red for a *kṣatriya*, and yellow for a *vaiśya* (*śudras* are not mentioned, 2.8.6-8).

<sup>1443</sup> The test and purification of the soil is an important step in the preparation of the temple site. The description of the tests in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is similarly expressed in several other texts, for example the architectural texts: *Mayamatam* (ch. 3), *Mānāsara Śilpa Śāstra* (ch. 5) and the *Kāśyapa Śilpa*, the Purāṇas such as the *Matsya Purāṇa* (253), Vaikhānasa works such as the *Kāśyapa Jñākāṇḍa* (ch13), *Atri* (2), *Marīci* (2) and the Pāñcarātra work *Pādma Saṃhitā* (Kriya. 1.) Many of these tests are also traceable to early texts such as the *Gobhila Gr̥hyasūtra* (4.7.4, 20-23) and the *Kapīñjalasaṃhitā* (7.10-12a), which describes smell, color and taste-tests (Das Gupta, 1984:230, see also Goudriaan, 1965:49-54).

<sup>1444</sup> Dagens, 1994:21, note 5.

carry the weight of the temple. If the soil dug out overflows it shows that it is dense and thus can carry a heavy temple. However, if the soil dug out and put back is less then it shows that the soil is lightly packed and when a heavy object is put on top of it the object will eventually start sinking into the soil (like the leaning tower of Pisa)<sup>1445</sup>. This test, filling the hole with soil, is a straightforward test, which most text mentions, and that also has an obvious purpose, to ensure the stability of the world.

### *The light test*

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* again is rather vague in the discussion of the soil test – it only says “[The hole] should not extinguish the light [placed in it]” (6.10ab). Since this test is less commonly described it is presumably less important<sup>1446</sup>. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* does not give tell us the purpose for this test. As this is a text that only deals with temple construction it does not seem likely that it should be to check for which *varṇa* the plot is suitable for, unless it is just to make sure it is right for a temple, which presumably would have the same soil quality as that of a Brāhmaṇas home. That this test is not as common

<sup>1445</sup> In the *Matsya Purāṇa* the second test is to refill the hole with the dugout earth. Here it appears like it is the same hole that was just used for the lamp test. This seems a bit strange since the hole was lined with cow-dung and one would assume that this would decrease the size of the hole. The *Matsya Purāṇa* says that if the hole is overfilled the building constructed will bring riches, if less it means loss if equal all will be normal. (*Matsya Purāṇa* 253.17). The *Brhat Samhitā* gives the standard account only adding that the hole should be measuring one *hasta* (*hastamitam*, LIII.92).

The *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* 2.7-9 contains an account on testing the soil before building a house. This text is possibly as early as the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE but may also be significantly later. For a discussion of the date of the text see Narendra Nath Sharma, *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtram With Sanskrit Commentary of Nārāyaṇa, English Translation, Introduction and Index*, (Eastern Book Linkers, Delhi, 1976:xiv). The account is similar to that found in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and other *śilpa śāstras*. In terms of rituals for the house the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* could perhaps be seen as a bridge between the hymns in the Vedic corpus and the *Brhat Samhitā*. In the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, the first test after asserting that the soil is not barren or disputed property and that it has the appropriate amount of water flowing in the right direction is the digging out of a pit and refilling it with soil. The *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* 2.8.2 tells us to dig a pit that is knee-deep and fill it up again. Excess earth means it is an excellent site, level middle and not full of inferior quality.

<sup>1446</sup> Only a few other texts describe this test. Besides determining the type of soil for the respective *varṇas* the *Śilpa Prakāśa* describes a test with a light, and no other tests. However, it is different than the one described in our text since the *Śilpa Prakāśa* does not mention a hole. Instead the *Śilpa Prakāśa* places the lamp (a copper-lamp with *karañja* oil) and the direction of the flame shows the quality of the soil (1.24-34) and it is for the purpose of *varṇas* rather than the quality of the soil for a temple. For the same purpose the *Brhat Samhitā* (53.94) places a lamp with four wicks in the hole to find out which *varṇa* should reside on the plot (or perhaps in the four directions?). The *Matsya Purāṇa* describes a test similar to that in the *Śilpa Prakāśa* and is a bit more elaborate in its description of this test. The text says that after examining the color and taste of the soil a hole should be dug that is one and a half foot and square. The hole should be smeared with cow-dung and a pot containing ghee and four wicks should be placed in it. If the eastern wick burns more bright than the others the land is good for *brāhmaṇas*, if the southern for *kṣatriyas*, and so on. If all four are equally bright the land is good for all (*Matsya Purāṇa* 253.12-16). In the *Matsya Purāṇa* this is the first test after checking the color and the taste. None of the other texts seem to indicate that the wicks should not be extinguished and commonly the purpose is to see which *varṇa* the soil is appropriate for.

and often not elaborated upon may be that it is less significant than testing the stability of the soil.

### *Testing the soil by digging a hole and filling it with water*

The last of the soil tests is a test where a hole is dug and water filled in it. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* mentions testing the soil by digging out a hole and filling it with water briefly in verse 6.11, saying that the water poured into the hole should not drain quickly. It seem like this test is done in the same hole used for the other two tests. Through a comparison with other texts we gain further understanding of the procedure of this test as well as its purpose. In the *Mayamatam* this particular procedure comes after the plowing and sowing seeds, but in our text it comes before. The *Mayamatam* (16-17) tells us that the wise architect (*buddhiḥ*) should dig a hole in the center of the site, pour some water in at nightfall and examine it the next morning. If there is some water left, the project will be successful, if there is only mud at the bottom, the buildings will be destroyed and if it is dry it will lead to disaster. According to the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* (*kriyā* 23.39-40) and the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (LIIL.93) the architect<sup>1447</sup> takes one hundred steps and then returns to examine the water, according to the *Ajitaḥa Tantra* (7.9-10) he only takes nine steps<sup>1448</sup>. The purpose of this test is again to ensure that the soil is compact and thus will be stable to construct upon. However, if the water is still standing in the hole the next day that would most likely mean that water would gather on the plot during rains and not drain into the soil – a feature generally not desirable.

The soil tests are included for practical reasons. The instructions in various texts vary greatly from the kinds of tests to how they are carried out and in which order they are performed. That the tests are only practical is obvious as no verses are chanted, or gods invoked or demons dispelled, which may be the reason for the great variety in the tests recorded in various texts<sup>1449</sup>. After these tests are performed the *ācārya* (?) dispels the *rākṣasas* and *bhūtas* and takes over the place for Hari (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 16cd-17ab). This is the first time a formulaic prayer is presented in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. That the same (or very similar) prayer is found in many texts indicates its importance as a ritual implement<sup>1450</sup>. After these tests and the subsequent plowing of the earth, which will be discussed in the next chapter, the earth is clean. A fact that is explicitly stated in the *Viṣṇu Saṃhitā* (12.36-42).

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<sup>1447</sup> The *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* specifies that it is the architect while the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* does not state who does this action.

<sup>1448</sup> *Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra* also mentions the water test. The text tells us to fill the pit with water after sunset. If (later on) there is water still in it the ground is excellent, if moist it is of middle quality and if dry the ground should be rejected. (2.8.4-5).

<sup>1449</sup> One might think that the soil type is no longer important once the building has been constructed. However in their article “The Smell of Soil: Geomantic Practices among Banaras Astrologers” Caterina Guenzin and Sunita Singh has noted that for the astrologers in modern Banaras the soil on which their clients live are as important as the horoscopes, amancs and astral charts (pp. 177-204, in Daniela Bereti and Gilles Tarabout, *Territory, Soil and Society in South Asia*, Manohar, 2009:177).

<sup>1450</sup> See chapter 9.1 below.

## 9 Constructing Ritual Space

Let all those *Rākṣāsas* and *Bhūtas* who dwell in this ground, go away, so that I may make this Hari's site. (*Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* 6.16cd-17ab)

Before a temple can be built, but after the appropriate space has been selected and checked, the place has to be ritually set apart. This is done through a formulaic prayer. While the various ways of testing the soil presented in the previous chapters reveal a number of differences in various texts the ritual ways to set a space apart are remarkably similar, thus, indicating the importance of these rituals and the significance of them being carried out properly.

### 9.1. Organizing the Landscape for the Human and Divine

[So saying] having granted the permission [to the *Rākṣāsas* etc. to depart] one should completely purify the soil, one should then offer the *bhūtabali* by means of the ceremony that ends with ghee [to] the planets beginning with *Āditya* along with the *lokapālas*. Then offer the *homa*. (*Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* 6.17cd-18)

People inhabit the same landscape as the divine. Susan Guettel Cole, in her book *Landscapes, gender and ritual space*, discussing the role of the landscape in connection to ancient Greek society, states “Respect for the landscape reflected respect for the gods [and]... respect for the landscape is closely tied to respect for the community”<sup>1451</sup>. Similarly one can understand the landscape of the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* as an inhabited landscape; mountains, trees and rivers are homes for gods, goddesses, nymphs, *rākṣāsas*, *bhūtas* and other positive and negative forces. Some of these beings are understood to be living in the ground from the onset of existence. Part of the rituals have as their purpose to create a ritual space empty of spirits and then invite the deity chosen to live there.

#### 9.1.1 Taking possession of the site – Claiming the land

The earth is full of life. The beings dwelling within the particular space on the earth that is chosen for temple construction need to vacate. At a proper time a ritual for expelling these is performed. In the rituals used to take possession of the temple site, one prayer or mantra stands out. In verse 6.16cd-17ab a ‘prayer’<sup>1452</sup> is presented in which the *ācārya* asks *rākṣāsās* and *bhūtas* to go away so that the place may be taken for Hari. This mantra seems to be standard and appears in identical or slightly different form in other texts, thus indicating the importance of the formulaic expression<sup>1453</sup>. Expelling these deities shows

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<sup>1451</sup> Cole *Landscapes, gender and ritual space*. University of California Press, 2004:30.

<sup>1452</sup> Quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

<sup>1453</sup> See *Agastya Saṃhitā* 1.15cd-16ab, *Kapīñjala Saṃhitā* 8.9, *Pauṣkara Saṃhitā* 42, 44-45, *Vāsiṣṭha Saṃhitā* 3.13cd-14ab, *Viṣṇu Saṃhitā* 12.41cd-42, *Viṣṇutilaka* VI.24, *Pādma Saṃhitā* 1.44 and 6,41cd-

that while their existence is acknowledged they are not beings that are worshiped. The beings existence is respected as well as their need for space. The prayer politely asks them to vacate<sup>1454</sup>.

While *Agni Purāna* is not interested in the quality of the soil or the tests, the text provides a few more details to the ritual for taking possession of the ground (*bhūmiparigraha*, 39.15). In the *Agni Purāna* the ritual includes throwing barley powder in the eight cardinal directions accompanied by the *aṣṭākṣara* mantra after which the *Agni Purāna* gives the standard prayer (39.17cd-18ab), almost identical to the one in *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* (6.16cd-17ab). A similar idea is expressed already in the *Rg Veda*, where the *rākṣasas* are driven from the 'regions' by the gods of the directions<sup>1455</sup>. Making the space ready for the god, thus, not only involves practical tests, but also is intended to make the space vacant.

While soil-tests as well as plowing are used to ensure that the place chosen for construction is stable and well suited to build a temple on, the ritual for taking possession of the ground focuses on the spirits in the earth rather than the earth itself. The subsequent inviting of the gods to inhabit the space shows the underlying assumption that the ground is inhabited, and that the beings that originally live there are not necessarily positive, in fact more often than not these beings seem to be *rākṣasas* (demons) and *bhūtas* of various kinds. The *ācārya* has to make sure these leave so that the god whom one wants to invite will come and stay.

### 9.1.2 Ritual Plowing

The ritual plowing and sowing of the ground with various kinds of seeds is one of the Vedic rites introduced into the temple construction rituals. The sowing of seeds preceded the piling of the fire altar (*agni-cayana*). Kramrisch interprets this plowing and sowing of the seeds as the beginning of a new auspicious life indicating a new cycle that is about to begin. She also notes that “the sowing of the grain is a final offering to the memory of the spirits who have left the place and gone elsewhere, in peace. It is in the same time a first offering in the newly acquired land, so that the temple, the substance of God and his manifestation, might exist”<sup>1456</sup>. The plowing is also the final leveling off the ground before the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is drawn, the ritual plan of the space, but as we shall see intimately connected to the actual layout of the temple<sup>1457</sup>.

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42ab. (Smith 1963) *Brhat Saṃhitā* 58.11, *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* 3.26.73-4, *Mayamata* IV.1 ff, *Viṣṇu Saṃhitā* 12.36ff, *Agni Purāna* 39.16-8, *Mānasāra* V.4-9, (Kramrisch vol 1 p 13-4. ) (See N.R. Bhatt “Śaiva Āgamas” in *Agama and Silpa*, p. 10-28 for a summary of similar rituals in the Śaiva tradition. In the *Mayamata* a similar mantra is used with cutting down a tree (15.89-90) or quarrying out a stone (33.27).

<sup>1454</sup> A similar 'prayer' is found in the *Aśvalayana Srauta Sūtra* 6.10.

<sup>1455</sup> Hesterman, 1957:38.

<sup>1456</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/2007: vol ,1 p. 15.

<sup>1457</sup> The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* further states that the ritual area has to be a square, and leveled with water like a mirror (8.1). However the *Agni Purāna*, though it states that the square may be 5 *hastas* states that the best measurement is the one equal to the building which will contain the inner sanctum (*grhaprāsāda*, *Agni Purāna* 93.42. A similar account is given in the *Samarāṅganāsūtradhāra*, 59.3). Thus the ritual area could be significantly smaller than the whole temple. As we shall see in chapter 10.5 below this is most likely also the case with the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* which seems to be, according to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, used to plan the inner sanctum only. Plowing and sowing seeds is connected to fertility,

There are two ways that texts present the plowing and sowing of seeds: 1) as a test, such *Matsya Purāṇa* (353)<sup>1458</sup>. 2) As a purification, as in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* (6). The plowing is a ritual that possibly could be traced from the Vedic sacrifice and the ritual plowing prior to constructing the altar<sup>1459</sup>.

## 9.2 Finding and Creating the Center - Measurements and construction of the gnomon.

The treatment of measurements<sup>1460</sup> in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is not as precise as in architectural treatises such as the *Mayamatam*. In the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* the measurement most used is the *hasta*. The *hasta* is defined in two ways; either based on a smaller measurement called *aṅgula*<sup>1461</sup> or based on the measurement of the *yajamāna*'s hand and forearm. Measurements in ritual contexts in South Asia, such as the Vedic sacrifices, are often based on the measurements of the *yajamāna*. Making the ritual construction intimately connected to the body of the *yajamāna*. Through this ritual the body of the *yajamāna* is connected with the body of the temple, and in extension with the earth, the god/gods and with the universe.

The treatment of measurements is similar to other ritual texts but less specific than in many other *śilpa* texts such as the *Mayamatam* and the *Samarāṅgana Sūtradhāra*. In the *Mayamatam* the only relative measurements dealt with are the *mātrāṅgula* or *dehalabdhāṅgula* which Dagens translates as “digit calculated from the body” which are

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something that becomes perfectly clear in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālakāṇḍa* towards the end, when Sītā's birth is described – she is born out of a furrow (*Rāmāyaṇa Bālakāṇḍa*, *sarga* 66). In the decoration of the temple fertility is also marked in many ways, not only through flowers and foliage, but also amorous couples and beautiful maidens adorn many temples (Vidya Dehejia, *Indian Art*, Phaidon Press, London, 1997/2010:64, 164-165).

<sup>1458</sup> The *Matsya Purāṇa* considers the plowing the third test after the lamp test and the refilling of the hole. The *Matsya Purāṇa* tells us to plow the land and sow it. Then one should wait for the sprouts, it should take no more than 3, 5 or 7 days for the sprouts to come up. (253.18).

<sup>1459</sup> See Frits Staal's two volume *Agni* for further discussion of the Vedic sacrifice (Staal, 1983). Many texts, such as the *Kāśyapa* (p.70-4), discuss the reparation of the ground by plowing. Our text is not the most elaborate regarding this particular ritual. It only states that two *kapila* bulls of similar shade should be yoked to a plow made of an *asana* tree (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 6.20, 23). The *Agni Purāṇa* is even less descriptive as it only says that the land should be plowed with oxen yoked to the plow (*Agni Purāṇa* 39.18).

In the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* it is not treated as a test but rather as purification after all the tests, and no seeds are mentioned in chapter six. However, in chapter ten, at the time for the preparation of the foundation for the temple the text states that “like before... he should shake seven seeds...” (10.16). Indicating that the plowing in chapter six probably also involved sowing seeds and waiting for them to sprout. This is thus done to ensure that the soil is fertile. The soil does, of course, have to be fertile so that one can create a pleasure garden for the gods. The garden is an important feature of the temple grounds as indicated in the section dealing with the kinds of areas that are appropriate for a temple.

<sup>1460</sup> The measurements dealt with in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* are ambiguous. For example it is not clear if the terms *kara* and *hasta* refer to the same measurement or if they are different.

<sup>1461</sup> The *aṅgula* is presumably the finger of the *yajamāna* or the *ācarya* (See Venkatachari “The Critical Role of Agamas in temple worship and in Hindu Society” in Venkatachari, K. K. A., ed., *Agama and Shilpa*. Bombay: Anantacharya Research Institute, 1984: 7-9).



used in rituals and defined as “the middle phalanx of the second finger of the officiant”<sup>1462</sup>. The *Mayamatam* also deals with larger measurements which are, at times, defined in context of their use such as areas (*kākaṇī*, *māsa*, *vartanaka*, *vāṭikā*, 9.2-4), module (*daṇḍa*, 15.28-9).

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*<sup>1463</sup> is especially detailed when discussing the measurements and the types of wood to be used for constructing the *śaṅkula* or gnomon. This emphasizes the importance of the tool as well as its function: to determine the cardinal directions so that the temple will be lined up properly and have the precise proportions. Proportion is, as I have mentioned earlier, essential for the beauty of the temple<sup>1464</sup>.

*Kāśyapa* describes the method for discerning the points of the compass by means of a stake (ch14)<sup>1465</sup>. The description is short and *Kāśyapa* is more interested in the material of the stick, its length and the auspicious time for doing the discerning rather than the actual ritual act.<sup>1466</sup> Presumably the ritual would be transmitted orally along with the text that records details easily forgotten.

The gnomon (*śaṅku*, *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, 6.15dff) is thus used to stake out a place for the god Hari. The eight cardinal points are determined with a string and gnomon. The purpose is to delineate the area one is taking possession of for Hari. (6.16cd-17ab). In the end of chapter seven we return to the *śaṅku* – now to determine the cardinal points. Chapter eight starts with an account on how to determine these points. It is a bit unclear exactly how this is done. Particularly the eight circles mentioned in verse 8.2 creates uncertainty. This is made clearer in the *Mānasāra śilpa śāstra*. Here it states that the circles should be drawn for the purpose of determining the directions. And that they will be intersecting. Dagens has explained this process in his introduction to the *Mayamatam*. The following figure shows how these eight circles will be drawn to assist in finding the cardinal and intermediate points.

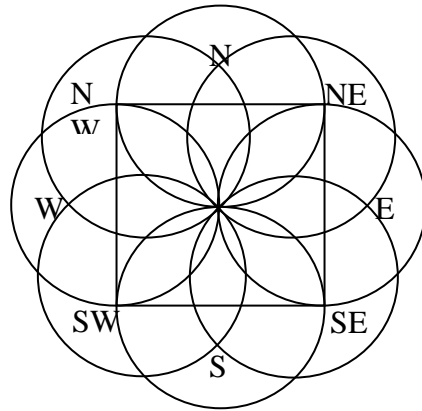


Figure C. Calculating the cardinal directions with the help of circles and the gnomon stick.

<sup>1462</sup> Dagens, 1994:xlvi.

<sup>1463</sup> The *Pādma Saṃhitā* 5.2-9 (p56-7) as well as the *Viṣṇutilaka* 6.18b gives a description similar to that of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. The *Samarāṅgana* ch. 9 ‘*hastalakṣaṇam*’ gives several definitions of *kara* and *hasta*. In the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* it seems like they are different measurements but exactly what they are is not clear.

<sup>1464</sup> See chapters 1.1 and 1.2 above.

<sup>1465</sup> Goudriaan, 1965:55.

<sup>1466</sup> Goudriaan, 1965:57.

While the plot and the *maṇḍala* that will be drawn are square, representing the demarcations of the earth – connecting the cardinal direction – the square is not the outline of the earth. It connects the four points established by the opposites, sunrise and sunset, east and west, north and south. The earth is thus called four cornered (*R̥g Veda* 10.58.3) and is symbolically shown as *Ṙṛtivī-maṇḍala*, while in itself the earth is considered round (*R̥g Veda* 10.89.4, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 7.1.1.37). Thus the square plot used for the construction site connects the temple with the whole earth on a symbolic plane. The square returns in the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*.

Unique for the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (chapter 46), to my knowledge, is the mention of directions of the doors for people with different birth signs:

He [shall] sleep<sup>1467</sup> on [his] left side<sup>1468</sup>, [and] in this there is no hesitation. And for [among those who are born in the sign of] Simha [Leo], Kanyā [Virgo], or Tulā [Libra], the north door becomes [is] pure. 1.46.30<sup>1469</sup>

And in this same way, [among those who are born in the sign of] Vṛścika [Scorpio], and so forth, the east, south, and north [doors] would be [purifying]. And the door should be two times the length. Eight doors are known<sup>1470</sup>. 1.46.31<sup>1471</sup>

In this context it is worth noticing that the Bhatt translation ends with verse 31 of chapter 46. It is of course possible that this is a problem of the publisher rather than the translator, but the fact is that the translation ends six verses before the Sanskrit text. Thus the obvious question is: why is the reader not provided with a translation of this part of the text? The content is different from any other that I have seen in any *śilpa śāstra*. The section that has not been translated gives information on what malignant things might happen to someone who builds a house with the door in a particular direction, presumably this is if this direction is not the right one for that particular person, including death of sons and family members, fear to the king, fire, and makes one childless. This section includes several obscure lines, including the first one.

One's own *yāna*<sup>1472</sup>, [even if] ornamented with gold, when [facing] toward the south because of inauspiciousness<sup>1473</sup> [would give rise to], social inferiority as a servant or offspring<sup>1474</sup>, a lack of sons, and the destruction of one's *vīrya*<sup>1475</sup>. 1.46.32<sup>1476</sup>

<sup>1467</sup> Really one sleeps *svāpiti* but the whole text seems to be prescriptive.

<sup>1468</sup> With the left side.

<sup>1469</sup> *vāmapārśvena svāpiti nātra kāryā vicāraṇā/*  
*siṃhakanyātulāyāṃ ca dvāraṃ śudhyed athottaram // 1.46.30*

<sup>1470</sup> The term *smṛtāni*, lit. “remembered”.

<sup>1471</sup> *evaṃ ca vṛścikādau syāt pūrvadakṣiṇapaścimam |*  
*dvāraṃ dīrghārdhivistāraṃ dvārāṇy aṣtau smṛtāni ca*  
*dvāraṃ dīrghād dva[?]vistāraṃ dvārāṇi aṣtau smṛtāni ca // 31*

<sup>1472</sup> Lit., vehicle, translated as “bed” in Shastri (J. L. Shastri; Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare, *Garuda Purāṇa*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 2002).

<sup>1473</sup> Lit. being inauspicious, *raudreṇa*.

<sup>1474</sup> Or possibly, servant of an offspring?

<sup>1475</sup> The term *vīrya* means: semen or manliness.

<sup>1476</sup> *santānapreṣyanīcatvaṃ svayānaṃ svarṇabhūṣaṇam/*

[One's *yāna*,] when in Vahni<sup>1477</sup> leads to chains<sup>1478</sup> and [one's *yāna*] when in Dhanada [north] to long life, satisfaction and the acquisition of a son. When in the west<sup>1479</sup>, [one's *yāna*] gives affliction to the king, destruction of one's wealth, and disease. 1.46.33<sup>1480</sup>

The signs of the northern doors are: there is no fear of the king, dead offspring [infant mortality?], lack of offspring, and/or enmity; there is the giving of wealth; and to another [one's enemy] there destruction of wealth, and the assignment of defects, and the death of a son.

I will now tell [you] about the southern doors: [These] give rise to much fear of fire, many daughters, wealth, and anger accompanied by honor. 1.46.34-5<sup>1481</sup>

In the east, a door gives rise to destruction of the king and anger. [Thus] the doors are described according to their fruits. In reference to [doors belonging to] *Iśāna* [northeast], etc., it should be [the same as] the east. In reference to doors belonging to *Āgneya* [south-eastern] it should be [the same as] the south.<sup>1482</sup>

In reference to [doors belonging to] *Nairṛti* [south-west], etc., it should be [the same as] the west. In reference to [doors belonging to] *Vāyava* [north-west], etc., it should be [the same as] the north. When there a division into eight parts is made, such are the fruits [fruits and non-fruits lit.,] of the doors.<sup>1483</sup>

An *aśvatthas* (*Ficus Religiosa*), *plakṣas* (*Ficus Infectoria*), and *nyagrodhas* (*Ficus Indica*) and an *udumbara* (*Ficus Glomerata*) [planted] in the east, etc., and in *Iśāna* [the north-east] a *sāmali* (*salmalia malabarica*), is called auspicious for a house. Worshipped, it would become a destroyer of obstacles for a house or a temple<sup>1484</sup>.

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*sutahīnaṃ tu raudreṇa vīryaghaṇaṃ dakṣiṇe tathā // 1.46.32*

Shastri's "translation" reads the somewhat strangely: If the bed is slanting to the south, death due to a serpent [servant?], issuelessness, and impotency may arise.

<sup>1477</sup> The term *vahnau* means the region of Vahni, i.e., fire Agni, the southeast.

<sup>1478</sup> lit., binding, imprisonment; *badhaḥ*; variant *bandhaḥ*.

<sup>1479</sup> *jale*= Varuṇa

<sup>1480</sup> *vahnau badhaś cāyurvṛddhiṃ puttralābhasutṛptidaḥ / dhanade nṛpapīḍādam arthaghaṇaṃ rogadaṃ jale // 33*

Note: *dhanada* is taken by enjambment to go with the previous line.

Shastri's translation: inserts a northwest, for which there is no referent in text, which he construes with giving satisfaction and/at the acquisition of a son: "if towards north-west, birth of a son and satisfaction; if it is to the north, harassment of the king, if towards west, sickness." Notice, however, that this is a relatively free translation, since he leaves out *āyurvṛddhiṃ*, 'increase of life span', and *arthaghaṇa*, 'destruction of wealth'.

<sup>1481</sup> *nṛpabhītir mrtāpatyaṃ hy anapatyaṃ na vairadam / arthadaṃ cārthahānyai ca doṣadaṃ putramṛtyudam //34*  
*dvārāṇy uttarasaṃjñāni pūrvadvārāṇi vacmy aham / agnibhītir bahu kanyādhanasamānakopadam // 35*

<sup>1482</sup> *rājaghaṇaṃ kopadaṃ pūrve phalato dvāram īritam / īśānādaḥ bhavet pūrvam agneyyādaḥ tu dakṣiṇam // 36*

<sup>1483</sup> *nairṛtyādaḥ paścimam syād vāyavyādaḥ tu cottaram / aṣṭabhāge kṛte bhāge dvārāṇāṃ ca phalāphalam //37*

<sup>1484</sup> *aśvatthaplakṣanyagrodhāḥ pūrvādaḥ syād udumbaraḥ / grhasya śobhanaḥ prokta īśāne caiva sāmaliḥ / pūjito vignahārī syāt prāsādasya grhasya ca // 38*

While there is certainly a belief in the power of direction there is nothing in this passage that is especially strange and would warrant not translating it. The passage is a bit puzzling at first but in the end some of the directions are clearly advantageous and others are not. While some of the directions are clearly good, such as the southeast, some are ambivalent, such as the south where one gets gold, servants etc. but no sons and power with the violence of Rudra. The east and the north are clearly both bad as they result in killing and devastation. Unusual with this account is that it begins in the south in the first account starting in verse 32, as the south is usually seen as an inauspicious direction this is not commonly done and verse 36-7 gives us the commonly used way of beginning in the east.

### 9.3 The idea of the earth in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*

He should meditate on earth with [his] mind. (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 12.40cd)

In the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* the idea of the earth is manifold. Earth is presented as inhabited or perhaps consisting of diverse divine beings, including the elements as well as being the place of rivers, lakes, mountains, divine beings (like the *dikpālas*) and including animals (such as bulls, elephants, snakes). In addition earth possesses *thirthas*, special places where humans connect with the divine. Earth is related to Nārāyaṇa (12.35-7). Earth is also represented as decorated or ornamented – a goddess (12.41-2). The way earth is characterized can be summarized in three points:

- Earth is generous and giving, she provides for us everything here it is particularly as the basic and first living quarters that she is addressed but her fertile qualities and nourishing qualities are also emphasized.
- It is possible to address and invoke her.
- Earth herself is divine and she is also a container for diverse divine beings.

These three qualities make her a suitable object for religious meditation. In addition she possesses diverse elements, metals, gems, food stuff, plants etc. which makes her a special, and essential goddess. As a female goddess, nourishing and providing for people, is she cow-like?

Cows and oxen are privileged elements in purifying earth. This indicates that earth is subject to purification and defilement.

## 10 The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* – ritual organization

Honored in this fashion, the gods bestow peace and prosperity on men. If they are not honored, they harm the *kāraka* and the *sthāpaka*.

Therefore, having offered, thus, to these with perfume and lovely flowers, the wise one constructs a temple or a house, O Best of Gods. (9.22-23 *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*)

While the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* has been the focus of several earlier studies, not one has focused on anyone particular text asking what, according to that text, is the purpose of the *maṇḍala*. Here we will look closely at how the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and its derivative the *Agni Purāṇa* represent the *maṇḍala*<sup>1485</sup>. Other texts will be used as secondary evidence, for the purposes of clarification, comparison, contrast and corroboration, to see if there is anything that indicates specific ways the *maṇḍala* was deployed. The search for meaning will start with tracing the *Vāstupuruṣa* and the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* in Vedic texts to see if the rituals pertaining to house building might have a Vedic or vernacular origin, or both. I will discuss the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, its layout, ritual function, and meaning.

### 10.1 *Vāstupuruṣa*

The *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is the magic diagram (*yantra*) and the form (*rūpa*) of the *Vāstupuruṣa* (*Vāstuvīdhāna* of Nārada VIII.26-32<sup>1486</sup>).

It is his body (*śarīra*) and a bodily device (*śarīra yantra*) by which those who have the requisite knowledge attain the best results in temple building. It is laid out in tabular notation as man and site (*Naraprastara*, *Vāstuprastara*, ib. 29, quoted in Kramrisch 1946 reprint 2007:67)

The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is intimately connected to the myth of the *Vāstupuruṣa*, an expression which literally means ‘the man in the place’ or ‘the deity in the ground/homestead’<sup>1487</sup>. Many texts make it clear that it is essential to know where the

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<sup>1485</sup> Chapter 8 of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* deals with the layout and placement of the gods in the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. Chapter 9 promulgates the offerings to these deities. These two chapters have been redacted together in Chapter 40 of the *Agni Purāṇa*. Chapter 13 of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* also deals with a *maṇḍala*, possibly the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, though that is not clearly stated.

<sup>1486</sup> Quoted in Kramrisch 1946/2007:67.

<sup>1487</sup> I have kept the Sanskrit *Vāstupuruṣa* rather than translate to the man of the place or similar terms as *Vāstupuruṣa* is some way feels like a personal name, much like names of gods, and because a translation would not carry the same connotation. *Vāstupuruṣa* is a *tatpurūṣa* or syntactic compound and could thus be translated in a variety of ways “man in the site” (locative), “site’s man” (genitive) “man for the site” (dative), “man from the site” (ablative). Of these the genitive seems the best translation (with the locative as the second best) as the myth implies that the man is already there. The dative and ablative are not likely options. The dative makes it sound like the man is imposed on the site by rituals etc. while the ablative makes it sound like he is from there but going elsewhere. If one assumes that it is an appositional or equational *karmadhārya* compound it could be translated “man who is a place”, which one may argue for

Vāstupuruṣa is located and to propitiate him or make sure that he is happy. If one does not do so, many calamities may fall upon the builders, the *yajamāna* and even the king of the country.

### *The Myth of the Vāstupuruṣa in Purāṇic literature and Śilpa Śāstra*

Hayagrīva said: In former times there was a material principle dangerous to behold. The gods cast him down into the terrestrial globe and he is known as the Vāstupuruṣa (*Agni Purāṇa* 40.1)<sup>1488</sup>.

While the story of Vāstupuruṣa is not mentioned in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, it is common in other texts, such as the *Agni Purāṇa* (chapter 40). Its presence in a derivative text suggests that the story may have been familiar to people using the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. It thus has relevance for the reception of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, even though it is unclear how relevant the myth of the Vāstupuruṣa was for its composer(s).

The *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (chapter 53), as well as the later account in the *Agni Purāṇa*, tells only of the gods who hold the Vāstupuruṣa down and nothing of his origin. In other texts, such as the *Matsya Purāṇa* (chapter 252), a more detailed version of the story is told. According to the *Matsya Purāṇa* the being that came to be known as Vāstupuruṣa was born from a drop of sweat from Śiva's forehead while Śiva was fighting the demon Andhaka. Śiva killed the demon Andhaka. Vāstupuruṣa became Śiva's attendant and drank all the blood of the demon Andhaka. Vāstupuruṣa was not satisfied, however, and did penance (*tāpasya*) in honor of Śiva, with the purpose of devouring the three regions. Eventually Śiva was pleased and let his attendant, the Vāstupuruṣa, choose a boon. The attendant asked to be allowed to eat from the three realms and Śiva granted the boon. However, when the attendant caught the three worlds in his clutches he fell down on the earth. Then all the terrified gods and demons captured him and held him, face down, on the ground. They still hold him down, and he became known as the Vāstupuruṣa<sup>1489</sup>. The deities and demons that receive offerings in the *vāstupādas*<sup>1490</sup> are thus the beings that hold the Vāstupuruṣa down<sup>1491</sup>.

The *Viśvakarmā Prakāśa*(5.460)<sup>1492</sup> tells a different myth. There is a battle between the gods and the demons, and the demons are about to lose. Bhṛgu, *guru* of the

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but it is not as good as the *tatpuruṣa* if one keeps the myth in mind where the Vāstupuruṣa is in the ground rather than equated with it.

<sup>1488</sup> *pūrvamāsīt mahadbhūtaṃ sarvabhūtabhayaṅkaram /*

*taddevairnnihitaṃ bhūmau sa vāstupuruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ // Agni Purāṇa 40.1*

<sup>1489</sup> *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. 252. The earth is represented as possessing formidable chthonic powers that threaten humans if not dominated.

<sup>1490</sup> See chapter 10.3 below.

<sup>1491</sup> See also *Gāruḍa Purāṇa* ch. 46, and chapter 10.5 below. The *Kāpila Pañcarātra* describes him as a terrible demon (*asuraḥ*) of immense size. While this myth does not relate the origin of the demon it states that he terrorized all living beings (*sarvabhūtabhayaṅkaraḥ*) and that the gods fell him to the ground (*sarvadevair nihato bhūmau*). The *Kāpila Pañcarātra* also states that the Vāstupuruṣa will disappear when the earth disappears (Kramrisch 1946/2007:vol 2, p 330).

<sup>1492</sup> The *Viśvakarma Prakāśa* story is, according to Kramrisch, similar to the one in the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* (3.26.93ff.), which describes it as the sequel from an *ābhicārika* sacrifice (Kramrisch 1946/2007, vol 1, p 77). *Ābhicārika* is according to Kramrisch, “‘black magic’ rites performed

demons, in anger, sacrifices a goat in the sacred fire. Out of the fire comes a powerful demon with the face of a goat. He starts to fight with the gods. The gods, however, all push him down to earth and hold him there. They agree that he may partake of the sacrifices given at the time of any construction. He is called Vāstupuruṣa.

The account in the *Viśvakarmā Prakāśa* makes less sense than the account in the *Matsya Purāṇa* as it is less in line with the way the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is actually laid out. It does not account for the presence of demons and other beings that are not gods in the *pādas*. The *Matsya Purāṇa* story, however, gives a clear reason for all the beings that are there, gods as well as demons. They all co-operated to get rid of this huge being who was trying to devour all the worlds<sup>1493</sup>. The goat headed demon in the *Viśvakarmā Prakāśa* is reminiscent of the sacrificial goat of Vedic times. Kramrisch has connected it to the goat sacrifice:<sup>1494</sup>

Set the Goat's head toward the eastern region, and turn his right side to the southern quarter. His hinder part turn to the western quarter, and set his left side to the northern region. Set the Goat's backbone upmost in the zenith, and lay his belly downward in the nadir; set his midportion in mid-air between them<sup>1495</sup>.

Thus the goat is placed in the position of Agni, which he seems to represent, and also of the Vāstupuruṣa, whose “name is given to the goat-Asura on his having settled down in that position”<sup>1496</sup>. Kramrisch’s connection of the Vedic goat sacrifice with the Vāstupuruṣa and the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* through the placing of the goat and the identification through the myth seems reasonable. The myth, though providing a connection between the Vedic tradition and the construction rituals, differs in various sources. The Vāstupuruṣa rarely has a goat head in these narratives. Thus, we cannot put too much emphasis on the similarity between the myth in the *Viśvakarmā Prakāśa* and the Vedic goat sacrifice. There is a certain resonance, but we do not know if the connection is an actual development from the Vedic sacrificial goat to the Vāstupuruṣa or if the myth in the *Viśvakarmā Prakāśa* developed much later to create a connection<sup>1497</sup>. In any case, the resonance with Vedic ritual is relevant to the reception of the Vāstupuruṣa, even if we are unsure about its origin.

Some of the texts, including the *Agni Purāṇa*, explain the actual physicality of the Vāstupuruṣa. The Vāstudevatā is a “fierce looking demon with curled locks dancing around his shoulders, and he is lifting up his diabolic head from underneath the ground, with his face turned towards the north” (*Agni Purāṇa* 93.3). His knees are towards the

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with the purpose of injuring ones enemy”. She notes that the story is also found in the *Śilparatna* 7.4-29 and *Vāstuvīdyā* 4.47 (Kramrisch 1976/2007:vol 1, p 77 note 37). Monier-Williams translates it as “serving for incantation or cursing or enchantment”.

<sup>1493</sup> Compare *Aparajittaprccha* ch. 65, 55, 62. The body of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is characterized by the presence of different deities, 55.1-12, 56.13, 58.28035, 60.1ff *Śilparatna* vi.36.

<sup>1494</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/2007, vol 1 p 77.

<sup>1495</sup> *Atharva Veda*. 4. 14.7 (*The Hymns of the Atharvaveda* tr. by Ralph T.H. Griffith, originally published in 1895-6, now available at <http://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/av/av04014.htm>).

<sup>1496</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/2007, vol 1 p 77.

<sup>1497</sup> In the *Sāradātilaka* (III.2 comm., Kramrisch 1946/2007 vol 2 p 330) Vāstu is the brother of Rāhu, the son of Kaśyapa and Siṃhikā. According to the *Tantra Sāra Saṃgraha*, Vāstu is the son of Viṣṇu as Varāha (Kramrisch 1946/2007 vol 2 p 330, I have not been able to find a copy of this text).

northwest and southern corner, the two soles of his feet towards the south and his head in the northwest and his palms in *añjali* on his heart (v.4). According to the *Prāsādamaṇḍana*<sup>1498</sup>, his head should be located in the northeast.

The *Kāśyapa*<sup>1499</sup> has a different account of the Vāstupuruṣa. (The difference may possibly be due to its Śaiva connection.) This text assumes that there are two Vāstupuruṣas – one immovable and one movable. The immovable one lies face down with his head in the east. On top of the first Vāstupuruṣa a second Vāstupuruṣa who moves throughout the day, lies one on his back<sup>1500</sup>. The text gives two variants as to where the head of this one is during the different times<sup>1501</sup>. This is reminiscent of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (7:4:1:18) which states:

He lays him down on his back;-for the gods at that time said, 'If we lay down these two both looking hitherwards, they will burn up everything here; and if (we lay) both so as to be turned away from here, they will give warmth only in the opposite direction; and if facing each other, then there will be light only between those two, and they will injure each other.' They laid down the one so as to look hitherwards, and the other so as to look away from here: that one (the sun), the gold disk, looking downwards, gives warmth by his rays, and that man (tends) upward by his vital airs. He lays him down (with the head) towards the east, for (with the head) towards the east this Agni (the fire-altar) is built up<sup>1502</sup>.

The one facing down or away might be similar to the Vāstupuruṣa, only that in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* he is represented as a positive actor – the figure referred to gives warmth, as long as he is facing the right way<sup>1503</sup>. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* text, like the later *śilpa śāstras*, emphasize the importance of design work. Forces, powers and dangers are attributed to natural phenomena, including the directions, and Brāhmaṇas must organize ritual structures to make use of, or neutralize their potency.

Identifying where the Vāstupuruṣa is located is an important step in temple construction so that the Brāhmaṇas and patron of the sacrifice may propitiate the Vāstupuruṣa, neutralizing or warding off his potentially malevolent powers, and redirecting them toward the constructive act of anchoring the temple in the earth. One locates the Vāstupuruṣa this first by laying out a diagram known as the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. In this grid, the deities who hold the Vāstupuruṣa down are

<sup>1498</sup> Raghunath Purushottam Kulkarni (ed. and transl.), Sanskrit author: Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana, 16th cent. *Prāsāda Maṇḍana of Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana: Sanskrit text and English translation with notes and glossary*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 2005:64.

<sup>1499</sup> Goudriaan, 1965: chapter 26.

<sup>1500</sup> The *Kāśyapa* account is also somewhat reminiscent of the Orissan tradition of the Nāga who is used for determining the orientation of the construction plan since the Nāga also moves throughout the year. The *śilpa śāstras* such as the *Mayamatam* (7), *Mānasāra* (ch. 3, also Acharya 1946:vol. 2:96) and *Viśvakarma Śilpa* (ch. 2) also discuss the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and to some extent the Vāstupuruṣa. The *Pādma Samhitā kriyā pada* (1.50-1) prescribes a *vāstuhoma* to be performed to the right side of the Vāstupuruṣa, which is curious since the *Pādma Samhitā* does not discuss the *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*.

<sup>1501</sup> Goudriaan, 1965:95.

<sup>1502</sup> *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 7:4:1:18, Julius Eggeling tr. The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*: according to the text of the *Mādhyandina* school. p. 2, Books III and IV, *The sacred books of the east*, vol. 26, Richmond: Curzon, 1894/2001: 368-9. All references to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* are to Eggelings edition.

<sup>1503</sup> According to the ancient Indian view, sight is active – light beams from the eyes. Perception is not passive resection (see further discussion in Diana L. Eck, Darśan, *Seeing the Divine Image in India*, Columbia University Press, 1998).



worshipped, each in their respective spot. Most texts, such as the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, the *Agni Purāṇa*, and the *Mayamatam*, describe the *maṇḍala* as a grid, each deity occupies one or more squares. In the *Samarāṅganasūtradhāra*, the Vāstupuruṣa is briefly introduced in the chapter entitled ‘Knowledge of Marmas’. The text does not articulate the myth, but in the laying out of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* the various deities and demons are assigned spaces, each according to the part of the Vāstupuruṣa’s body it resides on<sup>1504</sup>. The fact that the *maṇḍala* is not a ‘depersonalized diagram’ provides clear, implicit evidence that there is a connection between the myth and the *maṇḍala*. The fallen Vāstupuruṣa lies face down. Restrained by the gods and demons, he is buried in the soil and becomes part of it. His power, held in place by the other beings, stays there. This act of anchoring ensures that buildings set up on him are firmly established. One of the main practical goals for the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is thus to find the position of the Vāstupuruṣa and to make sure that one offers to the individual deities and demons in the right places. Stabilizing the ground, and ensuring prosperity for the people that will live there and the activities that will take place in the building, is articulated in terms of a mythic struggle between the Vāstupuruṣa and other supernatural beings.

### 10.1.1 Vāstupuruṣa, Puruṣa and Vāstoṣpati

Om, omage to the lord Vāstupuruṣa of great strength and heroism  
 Whose body rests<sup>1505</sup> under all dwellings, Son of Brahmā,  
 Upholder of the entire<sup>1506</sup> Brahmāṇḍa,  
 Whose head [is] entrusted with carrying the burden of the earth  
 Who makes all sites [receptacles of] his presence,  
 The towns and cities, temples, houses, tanks and wells, etc.  
 Who assures all kinds of fulfillment,  
 Of gracious appearance,  
 Support of the Cosmos,  
 Supreme Puruṣa,  
 Granter of boons to Indra,  
 Omage to the Vāstupuruṣa (*Paurāṇikavāstuśāntiprayoga*. Fol 25)<sup>1507</sup>

<sup>1504</sup> *Samarāṅganasūtradhāra* ch 13.6-7, 13.10 and 11, 12.

<sup>1505</sup> The term *śrita* - being or fixed or situated in or on, contained in.

<sup>1506</sup> entire (material world) *sakala* – the world. Implies the material world.

<sup>1507</sup> Sanskrit quoted in Kramrisch, 1946/2007:66, my translation.

*om namo bhagavate vāstupuruṣāya*  
*mahābalaparākramāya*  
*sarvādhivāsāśritaśarīrāya*  
*brahmaputrāya*  
*sakalabrahmāṇḍadhārīne bhūbhārārpitamastakāya*  
*purapattanaprāsādagr̥havāpīsarāhkūpādeḥ*  
*sanniveśa sannidhyakarāya*  
*sarvasiddhipradāya*  
*prasannavadanāya*  
*viśvambharāya*  
*paramapuruṣāya*  
*śakravaradāya*  
*vāstoṣpate namaste//*

Aus ihm ward Virāj geboren, aus der Virāj der Puruṣa. Geboren ragte er hinten und vorn über die Erde hinaus. (*Ṛg Veda*. 10.90.5)<sup>1508</sup>

The idea that there are beings living in the ground, which need to be propitiated before any construction, is found in many cultures and times. Often the chthonic idea is connected to a primeval sacrifice of a being as part of creation of the world. In the Hindu context, the Puruṣa sacrifices himself to create gods, the planets, fire, air and earth<sup>1509</sup>. Here we will explore the possible connections between the Vāstupuruṣa myth, and the rituals surrounding him at the time of construction of temples (and other buildings), and the ancient Vedic deity Vāstoṣpati.

Vāstoṣpati is, according to Oldenberg part of a group of gods which are somewhat abstract, that is they are doers/ agents, whose agent character is marked by the Sanskrit suffix “-tar”, as in Dhātār (maker) or Netar (leader) or protectors whose character is marked by the suffix “-pati”, as our Vāstoṣpati. This is in contrast to other deities such as Agni (fire) or Varuṇa (moon/ water)<sup>1510</sup> who are connected to a specific element or force (such as wind). Vāstoṣpati is thus the protector of the Vāstu, or “place”, even “home”. The name Vāstoṣpati occurs only seven times in the *Ṛg Veda*<sup>1511</sup>. There are several different myths surrounding Vāstoṣpati. In a *Ṛg Vedic* myth of creation, Vāstoṣpati is created by the gods out of concern (*svādhi*), as a protector of the Law (*vratapā*). He is thus thought of as the lord of the Sacrifice<sup>1512</sup>. The *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* identifies Vāstoṣpati with Rudra<sup>1513</sup>. While Keith notes connection between the name Vāstoṣpati and Rudra, a somewhat demonic god<sup>1514</sup> he does not think that this mean that there is any “possible ground for supposing that either Pusan, or Rudra, or Agni, or any other god is designated by the title, though Rudra actually bears the style in one passage. The god is clearly the god of the house, who when a new house is built comes and abides in it”<sup>1515</sup>. Vāstoṣpati then is identified as the father of the Ṛbhus<sup>1516</sup> – mortal artists<sup>1517</sup> who created many marvelous things, such as the chariot of the Aśvins<sup>1518</sup>. These mortal artists became

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<sup>1508</sup> German translation by Karl Friedrich Geldner *Der Rig-Veda aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche Übersetzt und mit einem Laufenden Kommentar Versehen*, Dritter Teil, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol.35, Harvard University Press, 1951:287. W. Norman Brown, “The Sources and Nature of pūruṣa in the Puruṣasūkta (Rigveda 10. 91)” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (Jun., 1931), pp. 108-118, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/593661>, p. 116.

<sup>1509</sup> *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 7.1.2.11.

<sup>1510</sup> Oldenberg, *Religion of the Veda* (Originally *Die Religion des Veda*), Motilal Banarasidass, New Delhi, 1894/1988:26-9, 33

<sup>1511</sup> Arthur Anthony Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1897/1963:138.

<sup>1512</sup> Als der Vater seine Tochter bersprang, vergoß er bei der Begattung Samen auf den Boden. Gutes im Sinn führend erzeugten die Götter einen Segen und bildeten daraus Vāstoṣpati, den Gesetzeshüter. (*Ṛg Veda* 10.61.7, Geldner, 1951: part 2, p. 228).

<sup>1513</sup> *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 3.4.10.4

<sup>1514</sup> Keith, 1925: part 1, 160.

<sup>1515</sup> Keith, 1925: part 1, 188.

<sup>1516</sup> *Vāstoṣpati* is not their only father – see Kramrisch article “the *Ṛg Vedic* myth of the Craftsmen (The Ṛbhus)”, p 113-4.

<sup>1517</sup> *Ṛg Veda* 3.60.3.

<sup>1518</sup> *Ṛg Veda* 10.39.12.

immortal because of a gift from their friend Savitā<sup>1519</sup>. Vāstoṣpati is here identified as a Brāhmin and a God. Created to protect, he is connected to art through his offspring. The juxtaposition of protection and art, though perhaps foreign to modern ideologies of “art for art’s sake” or art for aesthetic pleasure, resonates very well with the goal of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*: depicting the binding of Vāstupuruṣa protects the building from destabilizing forces. The placement of “art” at a building’s weak points (*marma*) – as at Khajuraho<sup>1520</sup> – is another example of apotropaic or protective function of art in Hindu Temple construction.

The creation of Vāstoṣpati is different from that of the Vāstupuruṣa. While Vāstoṣpati is created for protection by the gods, Vāstupuruṣa appears (commonly from a drop of sweat) and threatens all the three worlds (heaven, earth and the underworld). Both seem to have a warrior function, defense and aggression, respectively and, both the Vāstupuruṣa and Vāstoṣpati are connected to the stability of the ground. Both the Vāstoṣpati and the Vāstupuruṣa myths express the same underlying desire and need for protection of buildings and those residing in them – making sure that the ground is safe, devoid of malevolent beings (*bhūtas*, *rākṣāsas*, etc.) and stable. But while Vāstoṣpati is a god to pray to for protection, Vāstupuruṣa is a demon to pacify.

When constructing a new house at the time of completion a hymn to Vāstoṣpati, for propitiation, is employed. The hymn is used<sup>1521</sup>. One *Rg Vedic* hymn (7.54.1-3 and 7.55.1-8, the complete two *sūktas*), part of which is identified as a lullaby<sup>1522</sup>, invokes Vāstoṣpati ‘lord of the place’:

Herr der Wohnstatt [*vāstoṣpati*]! Heiß uns willkommen! Der Eingang beid dir sei glückbringend; sei du und frei von Krankheit! Worum wir dich bitten, das tu uns zu Gefallen; sei du unseren Zweifüßlern zum Glück und den Vierfüßlern zum Glück! 7.54.1.

Herr der Wohnstatt [*vāstoṣpati*]! Sei uns (das Leben) verlängernd, den Hausstand an Rindern und Rossen mehrend, o Soma! In deiner Freundschaft seien wir nicht alternd; sei uns zu Gefallen wie ein Vater seinen Söhnen! 7.54.2.

Herr der Wohnstatt! Wir möchten deiner bewährten, erfreulichen, fördernden Gesellschaft teilhaft sein. Schütze uns in Freiden und auf der Kriegsfahrt aufs beste! – Behütet ihr uns immerdar mit eurem Segen! 7.54.3.<sup>1523</sup>

Herr der Wohnstatt [*vāstoṣpati*], der du die Krankheiten vertreibst und alle Gestalten annimmst, sei uns ein gütiger Freund! 7.55.1.

Wenn du weiß-brauner Saramā-Sohn die Zähne fletschest, so blinken sie wie Speere im Gebiß des Schnappenden. Schlafe fein ein! 7.55.2.

<sup>1519</sup> *Rg Veda* 1.110.2-3, notes by Wilson to verse 3 states that Savitā is ‘evidently the sun’, 3.60.2-3, 4.33.2-11.

<sup>1520</sup> See Desai, 1996.

<sup>1521</sup> Geldner, 1951: part 2, p. 229, comments to 7.54. Geldner translates Vāstoṣpati as “des Genius der Wohnstatt”. He also tells us that similar accounts are found in *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* (2.9.9). and *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (3.4.10.1).

<sup>1522</sup> Geldner, 1951: part 2, p. 229. Note that these have been thought of as interpolations (Jan Gonda, *A history of Indian literature Veda and Upanishads, 1.1, Vedic literature : Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1975:13).

<sup>1523</sup> Geldner, 1951: part 2, p. 229.

Bell den Dieb an oder den Räuber, du zurücklaufender Saramā-Sohn! Du bellst des Indra Lobsänger an. Was bedrohest du uns? Schlaf fein ein! 3

Zerr an dem Eber, oder der Eber soll an dir zerren! Du bellst des Indra Lobsänger an. Was bedrohest du uns? Schlaf fein ein! 7.55.4

Die Mutter soll schlafen, der Vater soll schlafen; der Hund soll schlafen, der Clanherr soll schlafen. Alle Verwandten sollen schalfe, diese Leute allenthalben sollen schlafen! 5  
Wer sitzt und wer geht und welchemann uns sieht, deren Augen schließen wir so wie dieses feste Haus. 7.55.6.

Der tausendhörnigen Stier, der aus dem Meere aufging, mit diesem Mächtigen schläfern wir die Leute ein. 7.55.7.

Die Frauen, die auf der Bank, die auf dem Sessel, die im Bette liegen, die wohlduftenden Weiber, die schläfern wie alle ein. 7.55.8.

This hymn clearly articulates an attempt at befriending and appeasing Vāstoṣpati. It indicates that he will guard the house. He will protect everyone in the house, both humans and animals against disease, and he will let them sleep, as well as offer prosperity. Vāstoṣpati is invoked to make sure the pillars are strong<sup>1524</sup>. Geldner thinks that verse 7.55.1 continues 7.54 while 7.55.2-8 is a lullaby<sup>1525</sup>. It is uncertain if Vāstoṣpati was an individual deity or if it was a title applied to different deities: Macdonell, in his *The Vedic Mythology*, notes that Vāstoṣpati is identified both with Indra<sup>1526</sup> and with Rudra<sup>1527</sup>, but not with anyone in particular. Vāstoṣpati belongs to a lower order of deities who inhabit and/ or preside over natural objects<sup>1528</sup>. Keith notes that there are many “deities with definitely limited functions, though also nature powers. Of such deities we have good examples in the Kṣetrasya Pati and Vāstoṣpati, who appear in the Rigveda itself”. These limited functions are explained by their names, they are, “of course, no abstract deities; they are, the one, the spirit who dwells in the field, the other, the spirit who has his abode in the house”<sup>1529</sup>. He is a kind of earth deity who will protect if respected, but who can harm if not. The earth and chthonic deities seem to be ambivalent figures in the Hindu tradition. One might say generally that rituals relating to building address this chthonic ambivalence.

The description of the Vāstoṣpati is similar to that of the Vāstupuruṣa. While he is asked to protect people, Vāstoṣpati also seems to be a figure that scares and disturbs people. If he is not pleased, he will not protect them from diseases and will not let them sleep. In the same way the Vāstupuruṣa will incite diseases and calamities among people who inhabit houses that disturb his limbs. The Vāstupuruṣa, however, does not seem to have the ‘protector’ aspect that the Vāstoṣpati has. The gods and demons that restrain

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<sup>1524</sup> Macdonell, 1897/1963: 8.17.14.

<sup>1525</sup> Geldner, 1951: part 2 p. 229.

<sup>1526</sup> Macdonell, 1897/1963: 8.17.14.

<sup>1527</sup> Macdonell, 1897/1963: 10.61 and TS 3.40.10.

<sup>1528</sup> Macdonell, 1897/1963:138.

<sup>1529</sup> Arthur Berriedale Keith, *Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*. Vol. 1, Harvard oriental series, v. 31, Harvard University Press, 1925:63-4.

Vāstupuruṣa take on this protective character. Perhaps splitting the aggressive and defensive characteristic of Vāstoṣpati, and distributing them to Vāstupuruṣa and the binding beings is an elaboration and development of the Vedic motif.

Vāstoṣpati is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda Śāntikalpa* as one of the deities to whom one does ceremonies to avert evil effects on one's prodigy<sup>1530</sup>. This is articulated in the ceremony of Vāstoṣpati, which should be done when performing the consecration of a house or for one who desires welfare<sup>1531</sup>. *Atharvaveda Śāntikalpa* 18.3 tells us to use the *vāstoṣpatyagaṇa* when worshiping Vāstoṣpati<sup>1532</sup>.

Keith has observed that the offerings that one should make to Vāstoṣpati are part of the daily morning and evening ritual. In connections to these rituals offerings are made to a number of other deities including the directional deities<sup>1533</sup>. Gudrun Bühnemann has noted that the Vāstoṣpati 'house protector' is part of the *kratusamrakṣakadevatā*-s or guardian deities of the sacrifice. These deities include, besides Vāstoṣpati, also the *dikpālas* (guardians of the eight directions), the nine heavenly bodies (*navagraha*), Varuṇa, Gaṇapati, Durgā, and the *kṣetrapāla* (guardian of the field). Bühnemann further notices that "the arrangement of the heavenly bodies [in *pūjā*] follows the model of the rites of pacification (*śānti*) of the heavenly bodies (*navagraha*), which is 'the model of all *śānti-homas* in all medieval digests"<sup>1534</sup>. Thus, while both Vāstoṣpati and Vāstupuruṣa are connected to the construction and safe keeping of buildings, Vāstoṣpati is chiefly characterized as a protector, while Vāstupuruṣa is predominately a demon who needs to be pacified. If one considers the gods and the demons restraining the Vāstupuruṣa, and the Vāstupuruṣa himself, as a single motif one notes the ambivalent characterization of the earth, which it has in common with the Vāstoṣpati tradition.

## 10.2 Background to the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* – Vedic or Venacular

The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is an integral part of the temple construction process in the Vaiṣṇava tradition. Though the term does not appear in early Vedic literature, there are similarities, discussed above, with regards to the preparatory rituals of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and the Vedic altar, as well as the Vāstupuruṣa and the Vāstoṣpati. The rituals presented also have elements that may not have a Vedic origin, for example, the *sthapati*'s major role in the rituals. In the same time several basic ideas are shared between Vedic and Temple Hinduism, including the fact that the square is the basic form.

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<sup>1530</sup> *Atharvaveda Śāntikalpa*, *śāntikalpa* 16.1, Boilling 1904:117.

<sup>1531</sup> *Atharvaveda Śāntikalpa*, *śānti* 17.3, George Melville Boilling, "The Śāntikalpa of the Atharva-Veda", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* Vol. 35, (1904), pp. 77-127, 118 Published by: The Johns Hopkins University Press, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/282656>.

<sup>1532</sup> Boilling 1904:118, *Atharvaveda Śāntikalpa* 19.5 (and AV 7.82.1) tells us to use an amulet of *udumbara* wood. *Atharvaveda Śāntikalpa* 23.1 (and 19.13) tells us the names of certain hymns to use, including one to Vāstoṣpati at the house consecration ceremony.

<sup>1533</sup> Keith, 1925: part 2, p 363. Also when living a house for good one should offer to Vāstoṣpati (Keith, 1925: part 2 p. 318).

<sup>1534</sup> Bühnemann, 1988:208 and note 81, see also Kane, 1974, vol. 5.1, p. 749ff. Though the *pūjā* worship also starts in the east it is anti-clockwise – the worship in the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is clockwise.

Most temples in North India from the seventh to the eleventh century A.D. are square-based, and, to relate walls and sanctum, use a constructive grid that also has ritual significance related to the ancient construction of brick altars<sup>1535</sup>.

The altar existed before the temple. The development from simple altar to temple occurs in many parts of the world. In ancient Greece, only simple altars were used at first, then the sacred ground around it would be marked in some way, for example, by a low wall. Eventually the altar would be covered by a roof, and finally sculptures of Gods, for whose protection the temple was built, would be placed inside<sup>1536</sup>. Mary Boyce, discussing the Indo-Iranian nomads, says: “Worship was offered the divine beings without aid of temples or altars or statues, and all that was needed for solemnizing the high rituals was a clean, flat piece of ground, which could be marked of by a ritually drawn furrow”<sup>1537</sup>. Ritual plowing is part of the preparatory steps for setting up a Vedic altar. While the Vedic altars became increasingly complex, they were still temporary constructions. Roman *templum* – which gives us the word temple – originally meant “a space in the sky or on the earth marked out by the angels for the purpose of taking auspices” or “a consecrated space or ground especially a sanctuary or asylum,” the world can also be used for any open space, quarter, and region. One might think that it would be likely that the temple developed along with permanent settlements in India, as well. However, permanent settlements existed already in the Indus valley civilization cities such as Harappa and Mohenjodaro some 2500 years BCE. In these settlements there are remains of many different types of buildings, but nothing that indicates that any of these buildings were temples. After the Indus Valley Civilizations peak we have few remains of any permanent settlements and remains from city structures have been found only from much later periods. Still it seems unlikely that the people of Northern India became nomadic again. The temple structures of India that remain today may be the peak of a long development, the earlier forms of which little is left, perhaps due to the perishable materials used. While we do not know when temples were first constructed we know that, by the Gupta period (approximately 320-550 CE), they were a fairly common feature of the South Asian landscape. The *Brhat Samhitā*, one of the earliest texts with a significant *śilpa śāstra* portion, is from the Gupta period. On the other hand, the Vedic literature clearly only speaks of altars and sacrifices of various kinds. The structures described in this literature are temporary and no remains have been found (they also include domestic rituals). The evidence we have, however, and especially the textual material, suggests a possible connection between the structure, and especially the shape of the Vedic altar and the temple.

The preparatory stages for constructing the temple and the Vedic altar have many similarities. Frits Staal describes the preparation of the ground for the *agnicayana*

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<sup>1535</sup> Michael Meister, “Analysis of Temple Plans: Indor” *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 43, no. 4. 1981-1982:302-320, p. 302.

<sup>1536</sup> John Griffiths Pedley, *Sanctuary and the Sacred in the Ancient Greek World*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2005.

<sup>1537</sup> Boyce, 1975:455, quoted by Staal, 1983, vol 1, 125. It is hard not to think of the furrow as a stylized vagina. If one considers the tradition of Sītā who was born in a furrow and the ambivalent character of the earth, who (together with the Vāstupuruṣa) needs to be held down as a reflex of patriarchy.

(arranging or keeping of the sacred fire) in his *Agni – The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar* as follows:

it [the ground] is plowed and seeds are sown. Several items are buried in the ground, including a live tortoise, the *ukhā* pot, a golden image of a man (*hiranmaya puruṣa*), and five animal heads. The bricks, of various shapes and sizes, are placed on the ground in specific order, making up the first layer of the bird altar. A ‘naturally perforated’ or ‘porous’ brick or stone is placed in the center. All bricks are consecrated by the *adhvaryu* on behalf of the *yajamāna*. The *Pravargya* and *Upasad* follow<sup>1538</sup>.

For the Vedic rituals, the shape of the fire altars determine if they are domestic or offering altars, the domestic altar is round and the one for offerings square. Staal shows that this is a common trait found among the “Vedic-Indians, the Iranians and the Romans”<sup>1539</sup>. The circular, domestic altar has been equated to the womb, as it represents permanence, immutability and the home.<sup>1540</sup> Basic to the temple and the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is the square, connecting them both to the sacrificial altar of the Vedic tradition.

In the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* there are a few ritual actions that mirror those of the preparations for the Vedic fire altar. Among these, the plowing and sowing of seeds are most notable. Significant also, are the placement of specific items in the ground, including pots, golden items of various kinds, and a tortoise. The text does not specify whether the tortoise should be live or an image (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 12.18), but finds such as those presented by Ślāczka<sup>1541</sup> indicate that it might be a tortoise carved in stone<sup>1542</sup>.

Several scholars have suggested a connection between the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and the Vedic fire altar, mainly based on the similar square form. Frits Staal says “though very different in detail, the entire construction [of the *vāstu* diagram] is not unlike that of the altar of the *agnicayana*.”<sup>1543</sup> Kramrisch states, “the square, as fundamental figure of sacrificial symbolism and temple architecture, lends itself to many variations.”<sup>1544</sup> The square form alone is not, however, enough to establish a connection. Staal describes how important proportions and measurements were for setting up the altar for the Vedic sacrifice, just like they are in the construction of the Hindu Temple. The altar was measured out according to the measurements of the *yajamāna*’s body<sup>1545</sup>. According to Kramrisch the altar, called a *vedi*, represents the extent of the earth. “In the Hindu Temple, it is the square *Vedi* which makes the sacred ground”<sup>1546</sup>. The relative measurement, which forms the basis for all other measurements in the temple construction, is also based of the *yajamāna*’s body (or possibly the *ācārya*’s in some cases). The burial mounds (*smaśāna*) of Vedic times could be either square or round,

<sup>1538</sup> Staal, 1983, vol I, Part I “The Agnicayana Ritual” p. 57.

<sup>1539</sup> Staal, 1983, vol 1, p. 93.

<sup>1540</sup> Staal, 1983, vol 1, p. 128.

<sup>1541</sup> Ślāczka, 2007:235-6 and plate 21 and 22.

<sup>1542</sup> Vaiṣṇava practice typically substitute ‘vegetarian’ materials in place of animal sacrifice, which the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* gives as an option (see discussion in chapter 10.6 below).

<sup>1543</sup> Staal, 1983, vol. 1 p. 163, pic 165, for measurements of the altar see p 195 ff.

<sup>1544</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/2007: vol 1, p 27.

<sup>1545</sup> Staal, 1983, vol. 1, p. 126.

<sup>1546</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/2007: vol 1. p 25.

square being the preferred shape. Drawing on the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (13.8.1.5 and 13.8.21), Staal notes that the four cornered mounds were for godly people (*daivya prajāḥ*). Those for the “*asuras*, easterners and others” were round. He draws the conclusion that the square is the Vedic shape, while round is that of the original inhabitants. Staal goes on to suggest that the main altar of the *agnicayana* in several aspects functions as a tomb: the golden man and heads of sacrificial victims are buried under it<sup>1547</sup>. However, the square is not the only shape used for the altar, it may be arranged in the shape of a circle, a chariot’s wheel or a ‘square’ bird (*pithan*)<sup>1548</sup>. As for the Vedic altar, the square is the main shape of a temple, though other shapes, such as round and rectangular, are also found<sup>1549</sup>. Thus, the focus on the square and the emphasis on measurement and proportion probably indicate a genetic connection between the Vedic altar and the Temple, though the connection is not that strong as the square is a basic shape universally.

There is a wide gap between the simple altars of the Indo-Iranians and the *Rgveda* and those described in the *Yajurveda*. The texts of the *Yajurveda* describe the altar of the *Agnicayana* as an enormous structure piled up from at least 1000 kiln-fired bricks<sup>1550</sup>. The making of bricks can be traced back to the earlier civilizations of the Indus valley. In the *agnicayana* there are two special types of bricks used: the *apasya* or ‘water’ bricks and the *svayamatṛṇaḥ* or ‘naturally perforated’ bricks. The later represents earth (*pr̥thivī*, *bhū*) air (*antarikṣam*, *bhuvā*) and sky (*dyaus*, *svar*)<sup>1551</sup>. These more complex altars encompass not only piling of bricks but also the placement of objects within the altar. Kramrisch suggests that the altar of Agni’s sacrificial fire represents his body: the bricks are his limbs and his joints (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 6.1.2.31). The goat is the last of the sacrificial animals, identified with Agni; it is Agni<sup>1552</sup>. Kramrisch suggests that “the symbolism of the Vedic altar, Agni is continued in the Hindu temple, in its plan. The Vāstupuruṣa of this *maṇḍala* is indeed Agni-Prajāpati”<sup>1553</sup>. Though no bricks are placed in the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, squares are drawn and lines (*nāḍī*) separate them. These are the limbs, joints and vital parts of the Vāstupuruṣa, which must not be hurt. Thus, Kramrisch proposes that the spine of the Vāstupuruṣa is the middle line of the *maṇḍala* like it is in the altar<sup>1554</sup>. The implication is that the Vedic altar, which represents Agni’s limbs, is carried on in the body of the Vāstupuruṣa, represented in the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. The idea is suggestive: the body, with its joints, is embedded in the construction of an altar and a temple, respectively.

<sup>1547</sup> Staal, 1983, vol. 1, p. 128.

<sup>1548</sup> Staal, 1983, vol. 1, p. 129.

<sup>1549</sup> Obviously the square shape is the basic form for many types of constructions and in many cultures a square is the basic form.

<sup>1550</sup> The term used to denote bricks *iṣṭaka* or *iṣṭika* (these are the terms that become standard for brick and which is the term that the *Ḥayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* uses) occurs for the first time in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (Staal, 1983, vol 1 p 133).

<sup>1551</sup> Staal, 1983, vol. 1, p. 139.

<sup>1552</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/ 2007:69-70.

<sup>1553</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/ 2007:71.

<sup>1554</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/ 2007:71.



With folded hands the Asura lies, facing upwards (*uttāna*) during the performance of *pūjās*; with his face bent down he should be meditated upon at the rites of installation, etc., of a house of God or men<sup>1555</sup>.

While the *Puruṣa*, built into the Vedic altar faces up, the *Vāstupuruṣa* faces down. Their respective orientations are indicative of their different functions. While the *Puruṣa* of the sacrifice glances up towards the sky indicating the aim of the sacrifice, the *Vāstupuruṣa* is firmly planted in the ground, providing a firm base for the building placed upon him. According to Gonda, the Vedic origin of this rite is to be found in the man-made of gold, which is laid down during the construction of the fire-altar<sup>1556</sup>. Here one might speculate if the *Vāstupuruṣa* could be seen as a sacrifice analogous to the sacrificial offerings in the Vedic altar, including the golden person (*hiranya puruṣa*), although small in size he is, nevertheless, here conceptualized as human<sup>1557</sup>.

Between the Vedic altar and its layout, and the complex construction of the Hindu temple, the *maṇḍala* acts like a bridge that can span the gap of history in our understanding of temple architecture. Speculatively and anachronistically the Vedic altar might be thought of as a *maṇḍala* in its well-defined layout. In the Pāñcarātra tradition (as noted in chapter 5 above), *maṇḍalas* play a prominent role: for meditation, as a part of initiation, and as ways of worship. Marion Rastelli, discussing the symbolic meaning of the *maṇḍala* in her “Maṇḍalas and Yantras in the Pāñcarātra Tradition”, tells us:

The Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās not only assign a meaning to the *maṇḍala* but also to its constituent parts. As a place of the deity’s body, the *maṇḍala* is considered to be his body and thus, the *maṇḍala*’s constituent parts are considered to be the constituents of the body. Since the body’s constituents, i.e. the principles (*tattvā*) arising from the primary matter (*prakṛti*), also constitute the universe, the *maṇḍala* is also a representation of the universe<sup>1558</sup>.

One might say that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is the body of the *Vāstupuruṣa* and that by performing the rituals connected to the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, *Vāstupuruṣa* is stabilized in the ground.

The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is, as we have discussed earlier, a square grid. In the *ṚgVeda* the earth, guarded by the *dikpālas* and *lokapālas*, is said to be four-cornered (*ṚgVeda* X.48.3). The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* reproduces or mimics the imagined earth, with four corners and guardians at the edges. The chief aim of the ritual, the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, is to ensure that the ground is stable and safe for the construction of a temple (or other building)<sup>1559</sup>. Manipulating the *maṇḍala* is sympathetic image for manipulating the earth.

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<sup>1555</sup> *Śāradādīlaka* 3.2. com 9, Quoted in Kramrisch 1946/ 2007: vol. 1, 78.

<sup>1556</sup> Gonda, J. *Die Religionen Indiens I, Veda und älter Hinduismus*, Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1960:192.

<sup>1557</sup> In the *Puruṣa Sūkta* (10.90) universe is made by *puruṣa*’s parts, somewhat analogous with the building site being made by the parts of the *Vāstupuruṣa*.

<sup>1558</sup> Marion Rastelli, “Maṇḍalas and Yantras in the Pāñcarātra Tradition” In Gudrun Bühnemann, ed., *Maṇḍalas and Yantras in the Hindu Tradition*, Leiden: Brill, 2003:119-151, p. 139.

<sup>1559</sup> Similar themes can be found in *ṚgVeda* 7.54.1, *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 3.4.10.1, *Manusmṛti* I.5.13, *Śāṅkhayana Śrauta Sūtra* 2.16.1, *Śāṅkhayana Gr̥hyasūtra* 2.14.5 & 3.4.8, *Pāraskara Gr̥hyasūtra* 3.4.7, *Āśvalayana Gr̥hyasūtra* 2.9.9, *Gobhila Gr̥hyasūtra* 4.7.32, and *Mantra Brahmāṇa*. 2.6.1.

The *Atharva Veda* together with the *Kauśika Sūtra* contains instructions and hymns for a ritual designed to remove obstacles standing in the way of the builder. This ritual is called *syenayāga* or *syenegyā*<sup>1560</sup>. The *Atharva Veda* 3.12.1-9 contains a hymn that forms part of a series (*gaṇa*) of hymns entitled the *Vāstospatīyas* (*vāstospatīyāni sūktāni*) that is hymns pertaining to *Vāstospati*<sup>1561</sup> commonly translated as ‘the lord of the homestead’<sup>1562</sup>.

1. Right here do I erect a firm house: may it stand upon a (good) foundation, dripping with ghee! Thee may we inhabit, O house, with heroes all, with strong heroes, with uninjured heroes!
2. Right here, do thou, O house, stand firmly, full of horses, full of cattle, full of abundance! Full of sap, full of ghee, full of milk, elevate thyself unto great happiness!
3. A supporter art thou, O house, with broad roof, containing purified grain! To thee may the calf come, to thee the child, to thee the milch-cows, when they return in the evening!
4. May Savitar, Vāyu, Indra, Brihaspati cunningly erect this house! Alay the Alaruts sprinkle it with moisture and with ghee; may king Bhaga let our ploughing take root!
5. O mistress of dwelling, as a sheltering and kindly goddess thou wast erected by the gods in the bealrinina; clothed in grass, be thou kindly disposed; give us, moreover, wealth along with heroes!
6. Do thou, O cross-beam, according to regulation ascend the post, do thou, mightily ruling, hold off the enemies! May they that approach thee reverently, O house, not suffer injury, may we with all our heroes live a hundred autumns!
7. Hither to this (house) hath come the tender child, hither the calf along with (the other) domestic animals; hither the vessel (full) of liquor, together with bowls of sour milk!
8. Carry forth, O woman, this full jar, a stream of ghee mixed with ambrosia! Do thou these drinkers supply with ambrosia; the sacrifice and the gifts (to the Brāhmaṇas) shall it (the house) protect!
9. These waters, free from disease, destructive of disease, do I carry forth. The chambers do I enter in upon together with the immortal Agni (fire)<sup>1563</sup>.

The hymn is very evocative, full of phallic (the erected house dripping with ghee), maternal (a house full of horses, cattle, ghee and milk) and military metaphors (mightily ruling, the house hold off the enemies), which are not easy to distinguish. It does not

<sup>1560</sup> Maurice Bloomfield, “Hymns of the Atharva-Veda” *Sacred Books Of The East*, Volume 42, Richmond, 1897/2001:343 and Maurice Bloomfield, “Contributions to the Interpretation of the Veda”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 16, (1896), pp. 1-42, Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/592485>, p.12.

<sup>1561</sup> Several other texts also contain similar references to Vāstospati and protection of the house, for example the *Kauśika Sūtra* ,6.23, of the *Atharva Veda*. The *Kauśika Sūtra* ,6.23, of the *Atharva Veda* contains a section with references to Vāstospati, (Maurice Bloomfield, ed., *Kauśika Sūtra of Atharva Veda*: with extracts from the commentaries of Dārila and Keśava, Originally published by New Haven in 1889, reprint by Motilall Banarasidass, 1972,. Sanskrit text available at

<http://sanskrit1.ccv.brown.edu/tomcat/sl/TextViewerEx?format=0&name=kauss&title=The+Kau%C5%9Bika-S%C5%ABtra&texttype=all%2Fall%2Fall%2F>). The *Kauśika Sūtra* 43. 13 also mention Vāstospati 8.23ff (index B. p 384b of the edition). The hymn is employed in *Kauśika Sūtra* 43. 8-11 where it forms part of an extensive ceremony called by the Atharvapaddhati ‘*brihat-khālā karma*’ ‘the great ceremony of house building’ (see page 118 note 11) in distinction from a less elaborate ceremony at *Kauśika Sūtra* 23.1ff entitled *laghusālākarma* (p. 61 note 12). *Kauśika Sūtra* 43. 3ff is connected to *Atharva Veda* 7.41 in a ritual called *syenayāga* or *syenegyā* as mentioned by Bloomfield (Bloomfield, 1896:12, and Bloomfield, 1897/2001:345).

<sup>1562</sup> Bloomfield, 1897/2001:343.

<sup>1563</sup> Bloomfield, 1897/2001:345, the translation is also available at [http://www.intratext.com/IXT/ENG0042/\\_P4J.HTM](http://www.intratext.com/IXT/ENG0042/_P4J.HTM).

make use of a single, extended metaphor, but overflows with its intensity built on repetition and density of description and resonances of wealth power and plenty. In verse one we first see a phallic motif (which continues in verse two) as well as a womb metaphor. In verse three the milk may indicate a breast and the children, cows and calves, fertility. In verse four a sexual metaphor could be seen and in verse six a strong arm warding of enemies. This hymn indicates, through the words *dhruvām* (firm) and *kṣeme* (foundation), “the idea of good settlement, and sound foundation”<sup>1564</sup>, an idea that we saw at Ṛg Veda 7.54.13, 7.55.1-8 (quoted above) as well. The hymn contains hopes of abundance in cattle, grain and other riches. The cattle, as well as sprinkling of water and milk are themes found also in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Agni Purāṇa* as well as many other ritual texts. Cattle, water, and the five products of the cow are, in fact, standard ritual implements.

Jaya S. Tyagi groups the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* together with the *Baudhayana*, *Sankhayana*, *Gobhila* and *Apastambha* as early *Gṛhyasūtras*, by which she means 800-500 BC<sup>1565</sup>. Jan Gonda seems to find it difficult to assign a date to the *Gṛhyasūtras* in general and the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* is no exception: he only states that it was surely written before Hemadri<sup>1566</sup>. However, Gonda, in a lengthy discussion on the dates of the *Gṛhyasūtras*, mentions that the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* “does not belong to the oldest authorities”<sup>1567</sup>. While Gonda does not define what he means by oldest in terms of years he mentions, earlier, that the *Vaikhānasa* and *Āgniveśya Gṛhyasūtras* are late offshoots of the literature, sometime after the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries CE<sup>1568</sup>. Though the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*<sup>1569</sup> does not explicitly mention the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, it says that one (presumably a brāhmaṇa *ācārya*) should draw a thousand furrows<sup>1570</sup> on the ground and “measure it as a square (*caturaśram*) with equal sides” (2.8.9-10). The text goes on to explain the process: sprinkle the earth with water and recite the *śantātīya* hymn (*śantātīyena*, 2.8.11), and while pouring water one should recite verses to the water (2.8.12). To make the houses stable and in order to avoid fires, one should place specific plants in the pits of the house posts. Then one spreads *kuśa* grass over the floor and make sure their tips are turned to the east and north. Then one should sprinkle that *kuśa* grass with water mixed with rice and barley saying “to the steady one, the earth (*bhaumāya*), *svāhā*” (2.8.15). This completes the preparatory rituals. The text continues (in chapter 2.9) to describe rituals during the construction and after the completion of the house. The rituals of the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* are simpler than the ones described in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, but they are similar. We have the same preparatory tests of the soil and the same classification of soil according to the *varṇas*. Neither *śalya*, *marmas* or *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* (or any other *maṇḍala*) are mentioned in the *Āśvalāyana*

<sup>1564</sup> Bloomfield, 1897/2001:345.

<sup>1565</sup> Jaya S. Tyagi, “Hierarchical Projections of Women in the Household: Brahmanical Perceptions Recorded in the Early “Gṛhyasūtras” c.800-500 B.C.”, *Social Scientist*, Vol. 32, No. 5/6 (May - Jun., 2004), pp. 3-20, Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3517990>, p. 5.

<sup>1566</sup> Jan Gonda, *A History of Indian Literature, Vol 1, fac. 2, The Ritual Sūtras*, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1977:605.

<sup>1567</sup> Gonda 1977:483.

<sup>1568</sup> Gonda 1977:481.

<sup>1569</sup> I use the Anandasrama Sanskrit Series version available online at <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/rv/gs/asvgs/asvgs.htm>.

<sup>1570</sup> I assume that these furrows all go in one direction.

*Gr̥hyasūtra*. The use of furrows may indicate that it is, at least partly, to ensure the fertility of the soil; perhaps seeds were sown there too. The furrows are reminiscent of the grid laid out for the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. The plants placed in the holes for the house posts may be compared to the consecration deposit. Chapter 2.8 ends with an offering to Vāstoṣpati and the Brāhmaṇas. The Vāstupuruṣa may be a development of Vāstoṣpati, as discussed above. While offerings to both beings have the same function, to keep the house stable, the Vāstupuruṣa is imagined as a demon that needs to be pacified while the Vāstoṣpati is a protective deity to please.

Thus there are several strong indications that rituals concerning house construction have their roots in, the Vedic period. The *Atharva Veda* is generally dated to the 9th century BCE<sup>1571</sup>. As the discussion above shows, there are several hymns in the *Atharva Veda* that concerned with stabilization of the ground, and the security of those living in the house; concerns that endure and get articulated in a more complicated way in the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*. The rituals described in the *Āśvalāyana Gr̥hyasūtra* show great similarity to the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*. As the *Āśvalāyana Gr̥hyasūtra* is a text most likely from a few centuries BCE<sup>1572</sup> one may posit that this text acts as a bridge between the Vedic texts and the later texts, such as those of the Pāñcarātra tradition. Obviously this is not a review of all the extant text, that would require dealing only with this topic. However, I think these examples show that the concern for and need of rituals pertaining to houses is an ancient feature in the Indian tradition. This does not, however, mean that there is nothing vernacular about these rituals and traditions. Stable foundations and security are, no doubt, universal concerns among house builders.

It is possible that the Hindu temple is the result of a development inspired by ‘vernacular’ architecture as well as Vedic. As Coomaraswamy puts it “nothing is more certain than that the dwelling place provided for a deity differed in no essential way... from that made use of by man as villager or hermit”<sup>1573</sup>. Meister furthers this argument through a careful analysis of reliefs at Kanjanhalli, Karnataka (from the first centuries BCE and CE)<sup>1574</sup> where he does not only argue that these reliefs “suggest an origin for temple like shrines, first as shelters for monks and ascetics, then for relics and signs” but also “new evidence for links between North India and the South in the early centuries BC and CE”<sup>1575</sup>. It is not always clear what is at stake in the debate over Vedic and vernacular origins. For Indo-Europeanists, lines of relation between Indic and other Indo-European cultures rely on Vedic pedigree. For Thapar, Vedic and vernacular origins relate, respectively, to different castes and classes within brāhmaṇaized societies<sup>1576</sup>.

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<sup>1571</sup> Gonda, J. A history of Indian literature: I.1 Vedic literature (Saṃhitās and Brahmanas); I.2 The Ritual Sutras. Wiesbaden 1975, 1977

<sup>1572</sup> See discussion above.

<sup>1573</sup> Ananda K Coomaraswamy in Michael Meister, ed. *Essays in Early Indian Architecture*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1992:108.

<sup>1574</sup> Meister, 2007:1-19, p 1.

<sup>1575</sup> Meister, 2007:16.

<sup>1576</sup> Thapar, 1966: 112ff.

### 10.3 Placement, drawing and purpose of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*

Thus it is said and not said that the *vāstu* [should] measure five *hastas*, but the best (or superior) *vāstu* [is that] with the measurements of the house or temple [which will be constructed]. *Agni Purāṇa*, 93.42<sup>1577</sup>

The word *vāstu* is a Sanskrit term designating a dwelling places, traditionally numbered as four according to *śilpa śāstras*; earth or ground (*bhūmi*), the temple (*prāsāda*), the conveyance (*yānam*) and the couch (*śayanam*). Of these, the earth is the first and the one that support all others<sup>1578</sup>. The *vāstu* is, however, primarily the planned site of a building, generally square. *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, as syntactic unit, is made up of three words: *vāstu* (the building site), *puruṣa* (man), and *maṇḍala* (plan or a closed form, generally square). As Kramrisch and Meister have both suggested, the syntactic unit indicates connection between the layout of the temple and man<sup>1579</sup>. Their suggestion is vague, however, and we can improve it. What sort of *vigraha* ‘analysis’ can one do? How do we ‘dissolve’ the compound? Is it genitive *tātpuruṣa* (*vāstupuruṣasya maṇḍalam*) – the *maṇḍala* of the *Vāstupuruṣa*? Is it a *upamānottarapada karmadhārya samāsa* where a *maṇḍala* is (of the form of) the *Vāstupuruṣa* (*vāstupuruṣaḥ eva maṇḍalam*) or a *avadhāraṇottarapada karmadhārya*: the *Vāstupuruṣa* is the *maṇḍala* (*vāstupuruṣaḥ maṇḍalam eva*). The relationship between the two terms is appositional/ equational. It seems to me that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* should be analyzed as a *karmadhārya samāsa*, where the *Vāstupuruṣa* and the *maṇḍala* are equated. This would mean that the *maṇḍala* cannot be separated from or subordinated to the *Puruṣa*. While the presence of the *Vāstupuruṣa* is not always explicitly expressed in connection to the *maṇḍala*, there is an underlying assumption that the *Vāstupuruṣa* is there; as demonstrated through the search for *marmas*, his joints, and in the offerings to the *pāda* deities, those that hold him down.

The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is, as we have seen, prescribed by a number of texts as important during the initial stages of construction. However, few of the texts I have seen say anything specific about where the *maṇḍala* should be drawn, or its size. This has led scholars to speculate. There are basically three views:

- 1) The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is drawn on the ground before construction and is the planning device for the temple.
- 2) The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is drawn at a higher layer (elevation), after some construction has been completed.
- 3) The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* has nothing to do with the final plan of the temple and may even be a different size than the temple.

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<sup>1577</sup> *uktānukte tu vai vāstuḥ pañcahastapramāṇataḥ/*  
*grhaprāsādamānena vāstuḥ śreṣṭhas tu sarvadā// Agni Purāṇa*, 93.42

<sup>1578</sup> *Mayamatam* 2.1-3a, 9.

<sup>1579</sup> Kramrisch and Meister (Kramrisch, Stella, “The Temple as Puruṣa”, in Pramod Chandra (ed.) *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, American Institute of Indian Studies, New Delhi, 1975:40-46, Meister, Michael W. “Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍalas: Planning in the Image of Man.” In Gudrun Bühnemann, ed., *Maṇḍalas and Yantras in the Hindu Tradition*, Leiden: Brill, 2003:251-290). They are ofcourse not the only ones to discuss this connection between temple and man but they have developed it more than most.

The first of these views is proposed by Kramrisch:

The form of the temple, all that it is and signifies, stands upon the diagram of the Vāstupuruṣa. It is a 'forecast' of the temple and is drawn on the leveled ground: it is the fundament from which the building arises. Whatever its actual surroundings, forest, glade, seashore, hill or town, the place where the temple is built is occupied by the Vāstupuruṣa in his diagram, the Vāstupuruṣa-*maṇḍala*. That it is surrounded by the streets of a town, walls of a fort, ravines or fields, becomes of secondary importance, for its particular topography is but the hinge by which a changeable panorama is linked with the structure of the universe. The site is ritually leveled each time a temple is built; the ground from which the temple is to rise is regarded as being throughout on an equal intellectual plane. It is at the same time terrestrial and extra-territorial. It is the place for the meeting and marriage of heaven and earth, where the whole world is present in terms of measure, and is accessible to man.<sup>1580</sup>

In Kramrisch's view, the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is a planning device, a 'forecast', drawn on the ground for the purpose of planning the temple. However, Kramrisch points out that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* eventually became only a ritual device.

The second view is held by Meister. He argues that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* was not drawn on the ground but at the level of the *vedibandha*. Meister describes this as follows: "Before I attempt to illustrate how such a grid is used... let me make clear that the measurements necessary to establish proportions which fit this grid must be taken at the base of the *vedibandha* moldings"<sup>1581</sup>. V. S. Pramar agrees stating that "Dr. Meister's field-work showed that to obtain the true *maṇḍala* one had to use the *vedibandha* as a kind of bench-mark for measurements, and it may be assumed that the ancient *stāpatis* used this level for laying out their *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*"<sup>1582</sup>. The *vedibandha* is the plinth or foundation base on top of the platform. Thus the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* would, according to Meister and Pramar, not be drawn directly on the ground but on top of the platform. While drawing the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* on a platform lifts it off the ground, it does not change the *maṇḍala*'s function as a tool for planning. There are therefore not significant practical consequences to Meister's argument with Kramrisch. There could, of course, be significant ritual or ideological consequences.

Pramar, however, thinks that, originally, the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* was made for temples constructed in wood. He says that, "the concept of using the mouldings for temple studies derives from all surviving temples are in brick or stone [sic], and mouldings are feasible because the supporting material occurs in a substantial thickness which permits carvings in depth. But there is sufficient evidence to prove that, at least in Western India, temples were originally made of wood, i.e. in a material which is used in slender proportions and in straight lengths which are not conducive to any significant

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<sup>1580</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/ 2007: vol. 1, p. 7.

<sup>1581</sup> Michael W. Meister, "Maṇḍala and Practice in Nāgara Architecture in North India", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 99.2 (1979), p. 205.

<sup>1582</sup> V. S. Pramar, "Some Evidence on the Wooden Origins of the Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala" *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (1985), pp. 305-311 Published by: Artibus Asiae Publishers Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3250257>, p. 305.

mouldings”<sup>1583</sup>. In support of this he cites a work called the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (written by Merutūṅga in the early 14th century) that mentions numerous instances of wooden temples in Gujarat which were subsequently renovated in stone<sup>1584</sup>. This fact is important because it has a significant consequence for Pramar’s interpretation of function or practical import, of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*.

Studying some of the temples at Khajuraho, Pramar draws two major conclusions. First that the *maṇḍala* is based on a wooden temple, and second that the *maṇḍala* relates to the columns only, not the walls.

The present study of one of the larger Jaina temples at Khajuraho clearly points to a period when slender columns were used to form a supporting framework, and shows that the mandala corresponds wholly with the placement of columns and bears no relationship to any mouldings. In other words, we have here a mandala which is related to woodwork.<sup>1585</sup>

The main problem with Pramar’s analysis is that he only uses one temple site (Khajuraho) as evidence. Pramar notes that at Khajuraho “the shifting of structural parts to avoid *marmasthāna*’s is particularly noticeable in the *garbhagrha*.”<sup>1586</sup> Pramar’s argument for the wooden origin of the temple and the planning with a *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* supports Sonit Bafna’s argument (discussed in chapter 2.1) that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is mainly a tool for locating the *marmasthānas*. The placement of the columns is directed by the avoidance of the *marma* points. Pramar also notes that there is no correspondence between the mouldings and the lines of the *maṇḍala*<sup>1587</sup>. Though Pramar’s argument is exceptionally compelling, his evidentiary base is small, and it is therefore hard to fully commit to his conclusions. His most important point is that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* might have been formulated on the basis of construction in wood, rather than stone. The change in material has consequences. As Pramar indicates, one cannot make stone columns as slender as wooden ones. The thicker wooden columns would not correspond as easily to the layout of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*.

The third view, that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* has nothing to do with the final layout of the temple, is, to some extent, supported by Bafna<sup>1588</sup>, and, one can argue, by the *Agni Purāṇa*. It seems that the *maṇḍala* is the same size as the site, or smaller. The *Agni Purāṇa* (93.42) tells us that a 5 *hasta* square is the standard size of the

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<sup>1583</sup> V. S. Pramar “Some Evidence on the Wooden Origins of the Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala”, *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (1985), pp. 305-311, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3250257>, p. 306. The quote is from the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, tra nl. C.H. Tawney, Calcutta, I 90 i, p. 96.

<sup>1584</sup> One of the quotes he uses reads: “He (Sajjana, a magistrate in charge of Girnar), without informing the king, devoted the proceedings of the taxes for three years, to building on the holy mountain Ujjayanta (another name for Mount Girnar) a new stone temple to Neminatha in place of the wooden one which he took away.” (Pramar, 1985:306, the quote is from the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, tra nl. C.H. Tawney, Calcutta, I 90 i, p. 96). Robert Sewell discusses the date of the text and mentions that it was composed in CE 1304, or “thereabouts” (Robert Sewell, “The Dates in Merutūṅga’s “Prabandha Chintāmaṇi” *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 3 (Jul., 1920), pp. 333-341, Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25209623>, p. 334).

<sup>1585</sup> Pramar, 1985:306.

<sup>1586</sup> Pramar, 1985:310.

<sup>1587</sup> Pramar, 1985:311.

<sup>1588</sup> Bafna, 2000.

*vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, if not otherwise specified. However, the ‘best’ measure is equal to that of the building which contains the sanctuary (*gr̥ha-prāsāda*), the temple proper<sup>1589</sup>.

It is possible that the five *hasta vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* described by the *Agni Purāṇa* is for the small temple which is constructed as a “prototype” before the construction of the larger temple<sup>1590</sup>. Or, it might be a *maṇḍala* used for ritual purposes only, if it is significantly smaller than the temple proper. The *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* seems to indicate that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* should be the same size as the plot (8.17, 13.1). The small size may thus support the view that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is of ritual significance only and thus would not affect the layout and would, presumably, not be used to search for *śalyas* or *marmas*. That conclusion contradicts the theories of Kramrisch, Meister and Pramara.

Bafna argues, in his article “On the Idea of the *Maṇḍala* as a Governing Device in Indian Architectural Tradition”, that the purpose of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is to calculate the location of the *marmas*, and that there is not really any connection between the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and the actual layout of the temple<sup>1591</sup>. While the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* clearly states that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* has, as its primary purpose, to locate the *marmas*, the *maṇḍala* is also used in planning the temple<sup>1592</sup>. In essence, the architect or priest’s decisions to avoid certain points on a plot, entails practical consequences for the construction plan. Alongside proportion, the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* becomes a normative tool for the layout of a temple.

*Marmas*, which one may translate as ‘tabooed points’, ‘vulnerable points’, or ‘weak spots’, are important. Perhaps, they are the most important parts of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. None of these translations conveys the implicit meaning carried by the term *marmas*. The basic meaning of *marma* is “a vital part of the body”, which is just what it is in the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*: they are the vital parts of the body of the *Vāstupuruṣa*. According to the *Samarāṅgana Sūtradhāra*, the *marmas* are the “face, heart, navel and head and the breasts” of the *Vāstupuruṣa* (13.7)<sup>1593</sup>. The *Kaśyapa Śilpa Śāstra* is even more explicitly locating the building on the man – *Vāstupuruṣa*.

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<sup>1589</sup> The latter definition is also given in the *Samarāṅganasūtradhāra* (ch. 59.3), where however the plan to the end of the two diagonals of the *prāsāda* or *vimāna*, the temple proper, is stated to have 81 squares. This is in agreement with *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* (part 3 ch. 27. 59, translated by Kramrisch Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol 9, p 167). In the *Samarāṅganasūtradhāra* (ch. 10.4.69, 78-80) the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* of 64 squares, on the other hand, comprises the entire building site of a [fortified] town (*pura*) or of a city (*nagara*) and this seems to apply also to villages (*grāma*) and hamlets (*kheṭa*). The whole building site, the entire planning of town and temple and of the building of the main sanctuary, the *prāsāda* or *vimāna*, conform to the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, so that the gods dwell there in peace (Kramrisch 1945/2007 vol 1 p 6).

<sup>1590</sup> The “prototype” temple is also described in several other texts on temple architecture, for example the *Pādma Saṃhitā* (fourth *adyaya*). Daniel Smith mentions several texts discussing this in his edition of the *Pādma Saṃhitā*, including the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* (he specifies *ādi kāṇḍa* 5.13, which I do not think refers to the *bālāya* as it is called in the *Pādma Saṃhitā* (Smith 1963:43). Vidya Dehejia has argued that the five Rathas at Mamallapuram were models for potential temple patrons to choose among. This is implicit in her book *Indian Art* (Phaidon Press, 1997).

<sup>1591</sup> Bafna, 2000.

<sup>1592</sup> See ch. 13 of the translation.

<sup>1593</sup> Sudarśana Śarmā, *Samarāṅgana sūtradhāra of Bhojadeva (Paramāra ruler of Dhārā): an ancient treatise on architecture : (an introduction, Sanskrit text, English translation, and notes)*, Delhi : Parimal



So the inner hall will be situated on the regions of (that “man's”) thighs, arms and heart; elsewhere – that is: all the places where his joints are – he should fix the regions to be ruled over by the other gods. He should avoid the coming in of the place of any joint within the inner hall. Avoiding the regions of the penis, the navel, and the joints, he should cause the sacred edifice (prāsāda-) to be built on the upper part of the belly, avoiding any weak points such as the elbows, shanks, fore-arms, nails, ears and the eyes; then he should lay out the main fire for the sacrifice.<sup>1594</sup> Knowing thus, and pointing out (the described regions), he should make (the inner hall) in an exactly square form.”<sup>1595</sup> (*Kāśyapa Śilpa Śāstra*, chapter 26, p 95-6 in Goudriaan’s translation)

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* does not go into detail of the *marmas*. It is clear, however, that they need to be avoided (8.9). The *Matsya Purāṇa* (253.49-50) discusses the *śalya*, though not specifically mentioning the *marmas*, it does say that *śalyas* need to be removed as to not disturb the limbs of the Vāstupuruṣa. Thus, ritually the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* has three functions: (1) locating *marmas*, and *śalya*, (2) placing the *pāda devatās* and (3) locating the direction of the Vāstupuruṣa (though the last is only mentioned in a few texts).

Bafna has critiqued the way in which scholars see the *maṇḍala*, particularly the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, as the main tool within the Indian architectural tradition. His critique is directed in particular towards Stella Kramrisch and Michael Meister<sup>1596</sup>. Bafna’s main point is that we need to distinguish the Vāstupuruṣa from the *maṇḍala*. He says that the most important function of the Vāstupuruṣa is to locate the *marma*-points where no building ought to take place. The grid should be seen as a useful device for placing or locating the Vāstupuruṣa on the building site. Bafna argues that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is a late development. He proffers the *Mayamatam* and the *Mānasāra* as evidence<sup>1597</sup>. However, the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is mentioned in earlier texts, such as the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*. It is clear to me that the purpose of the *maṇḍala* is to facilitate the avoidance of the joints or *marmas* of the Vāstupuruṣa. It seems clear, from several texts utilized in this study, that the connection between the ‘creature’ Vāstupuruṣa and the *marmas* is not explicit or perhaps not even important. That there is a connection between the Vāstupuruṣa and the *marmas* may be possibly a later development. Such a relation between the Vāstupuruṣa and the *marmas* is not specified by the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. In the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, the story of the Vāstupuruṣa is not mentioned, but the offerings to the *pāda devatas* are elaborated upon. The explicit focus is thus on the beings holding Vāstupuruṣa down, not on his *marmas* (one might imagine a reading of the text in which restraining gods attach to the *Vāstupuruṣa*’s *marmas*. That would be reading between the lines of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātras*).

Where the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is drawn, and how big it is, is not obvious from reading the texts I have used in this study. There are indications in our text that the *maṇḍala* is drawn on the ground before building the temple, supporting Kramrisch’s view. After the cardinal points have been determined, the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* orders

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Publications, 2007. One might compare this to the Ayurvedic and Hathayoga traditions which also incorporate *marmas* in their body-scapes.

<sup>1594</sup> Goodrian notes – “I.e. vāstuhoma?” (1956:95, note 4)

<sup>1595</sup> The *Kāśyapa* (Goodrian 1965:95).

<sup>1596</sup> Bafna, 2000.

<sup>1597</sup> Bafna, 2000:46.

the architect-priest to mark with lines (*rekha*)<sup>1598</sup> the spaces for the gods on the field (*kṣetra*) that has four corners. Presumably this is the field just established with the gnomon (in the preceding chapter). Kramrisch states that, “The ritual diagram of the Vāstupuruṣa is drawn wherever the site is prepared for this purpose”<sup>1599</sup>.

The actual technical details describing how to draw the *maṇḍala* are clear in several texts, but not the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. In chapter 93 of the *Agni Purāṇa* we are told that strings are used to close off the ground where the temple is to be raised. The square is divided into sixty-four equal rectangular chambers which make up the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*<sup>1600</sup>.

The focus of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* on the search for the *śalya*<sup>1601</sup> and the *marmas* rather than the practicalities of drawing the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is characteristic of the texts preoccupation with rituals rather than technical details. In our text, as mentioned, it is not clear how the diagram is drawn or delineated. In other texts this is more elaborated<sup>1602</sup>. Where the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is drawn seems to differ in various texts, which resulted in the above mentioned discussion. It is clear in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is significant for locating *śalyas* and *marmas*.

In order to satisfy the lords of the months there should be a stringing together different than that. He should make an effort for the sake of knowing the great *marmas* and the smaller *marmas* etc. 9 ( *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 8.9)

The *marmas* should then be avoided when construction starts. Avoiding them is part of securing the stable ground. The *Mayamatam* tells us that the reason we must avoid the

<sup>1598</sup> The *Viśvakarmā Prakāśa* (5.479-81) gives the names for the lines of the 64 square *maṇḍala*. The east-west going lines are called Śrī, Yaśomati, Kāntā, Supriyā, Parā, Śivā, Suśobhā, Sādhana and Ibhā, The north-south going lines are Dhanyā, Dharā, Viśālā, Sthirā, Rūpā, Gadā, Niśā, Vibhavā and Prabhavā. These are also quoted in the commentary to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* (8.18-30).

<sup>1599</sup> Kramrisch, 1945/2007: vol. 1, p. 7-8.

<sup>1600</sup> The *Prāsāda Maṇḍana* describes the actual technicalities of making/ drawing of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* in greater detail than the other texts explored. For example one should use a golden, silver or wooden stick or a stick with a tip made of crystal or a gem (the translation Kulkarni uses for *vidruma*, which usually means ‘coral’) to draw the lines on the ground. The lines are filled with flour or rice, after which offerings are performed (Raghunātha Purushottama Kulakarṇī, *Prāsāda Maṇḍana of Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana : Sanskrit text and English translation with notes and glossary*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 2005, chapter 1 verse 3-4). The *Matsya Purāṇa* tells us to purify the earth with the *pañcagavya*, water and herbs before drawing the lines of the *maṇḍala*. The lines should be drawn in gold forming *ekāśitipadam*. The lines should be marked by a string and powder. The *Matsya Purāṇa* discusses a *maṇḍala* with 81 squares and goes on to tell about the *devas* that should be placed outside the *maṇḍala* as well as within (*Matsya Purāṇa* 253.19-46). Next the text tells us of a *maṇḍala* with 64 squares (*Matsya Purāṇa* 253.47-48).

<sup>1601</sup> A *śalya* is any foreign inauspicious object in the ground, including bones and metal objects. The translation of the *Matsya Purāṇa* uses ‘nail’ for *śalya* (*Matsya* p 367), this is not clear as it, obviously, excludes many inauspicious objects. I have kept the term *śalya* in the translation instead of using ‘inauspicious object’ or any other cumbersome term.

<sup>1602</sup> The commentary (from 1952) quotes the Viśvakarma, which gives detailed descriptions with regards to the *rajas* (not mentioned in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*). *Rajas* are the colors that one should use to mark the spaces for the gods in the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. These are the colors yellow, red, white, black and orange. Different gods require different colors. There is no general trend in these colors, and the significance of the colors is not clear.

*marmas* is because the Vāstupuruṣa is responsible for what happens to those living in the house and the *marmas* are his joints.

It is known that it is He who, in every human dwelling, is responsible for good and for bad fortune, that is why the wise must avoid tormenting His limbs with the ‘limbs’ of the house for, if not, sorrows innumerable will fall upon the limbs of the owner of the house. Thus the great sage must always spare the body of the Spirit [in the course of construction]. (*Mayamatam* 7.55-6<sup>1603</sup>)

The *Mayamatam* explains that the *marmas* should be avoided in order to ‘spare the body of the Spirit’ of the house. This expression seems to have animistic overtones that merit exploration.

The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*<sup>1604</sup> is an essential part of the preparation of the plot selected for temple construction within the Pāñcarātra tradition<sup>1605</sup>. Though there are many different versions of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, ranging from simple grids of just a few squares to those with over a thousand squares, the most common are 8 x 8 (sixty-four squares) and 9 x 9 (eighty-one squares)<sup>1606</sup>.

Both the *Agni Purāṇa* and the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* discuss the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* of sixty-four squares, which deity should be worshiped in which square, and with what each respective deity ought to be worshipped. It is clear that the text discusses a grid of 8x8 squares. Both texts are clearly discussing a *maṇḍala* that ought to be placed

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<sup>1603</sup> Dagens, 1994.

<sup>1604</sup> *Agni Purāṇa* chapter 93 ends with how the various types of *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍalas* are supposed to be used. This is the first time that the *Agni Purāṇa* mentions various types of *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍalas*. The *prāsāda* section of the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* contains information on construction of temples and other types of architecture, the text describes 101 temples. (Kramrisch, 1946/2007:411). Chapter 3.86-88 of the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* gives a survey of the shapes of temples at the time of its compilation. These temples are divided into eight groups or types. (Kramrisch 1946/2007: 412). (Parul Dave Mukherji gives the date of the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* as “generally fixed between 500 A.D to 900 A.D., corresponding roughly to what is considered to be the classical period in Indian art” (Mukherji 2001, *The Citrasūtra* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. Motilal Banarasidass Publishers, Delhi, p xxi).

The *Agni Purāṇa*, on the other hand, does not give the impression that it knows traditions enumerating various types of temples. It merely gives the *maṇḍūka* diagram as the main and the *paramasayin*, *vaitāla* etc. as alternative *Vāstupuruṣa* diagrams to follow for the setting up of the ground plan of the temple, house or settlement, though it does not describe them in any detail. The end of chapter 94 deals briefly with small cities or hamlets and how to set them up.

Kulkarni mentions in his introduction to the *Prāsāda Maṇḍana* that the *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* (which he calls *vāstupadamaṇḍala*) in earlier *śilpa* text such as the *purāṇas Matsya*, *Bhavisya* and *Agni*, only describe *maṇḍalas* with 64 and 81 squares. (Kulkarni, 2005: xxv) The *Agni Purāṇa* mainly deals with the 64 but mentions that there is one with 81 (ch 40 and 93). Later, medieval texts, such as the *Mayamatam*, *Mānasāra*, *Aparājita*prechā, *Śilparatna*, elaborate on them and increase the number or different *maṇḍala*. One early exception is the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE agama text *Vaikhānasa* that describes *maṇḍalas* with 4, 81 and 256 squares. (Kulkarni, 2005:xxv).

<sup>1605</sup> And many other temple traditions as well, though there are other plans followed, such as the *yantra* for Śakta temples or the *nāga* based orientation used in Orissa.

<sup>1606</sup> The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is mainly interested in the *maṇḍala* made up of 64 squares though it briefly mentions the one consisting of 81 squares, stating that the one of 64 squares is intended for temples and the one of 81 for houses. Other texts, such as the *Mayamatam* and the *Mānasāra*, as well as many of the *Purāṇas*, mention more varieties. The *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* seems to say that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* should cover the whole town when used for town planning (D.N. Shukla, *Vāstu-Śāstra vol. 1 Hindu science of architecture, with special reference to Bhoja's Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*, Bhāratiya Vāstu Śāstra Series vol VIII, Vāstu Vāṅmaya Prakāśana Śāla, Lucknow, 1960:268-274).

on the ground (thus agreeing with Kramrisch) before construction has started (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 8.16), right after one has assured that no inauspicious object (*śalya*) is hiding in the ground. Furthermore the text indicates that the size of the *maṇḍala* equals the size of the temple, though probably not the entire temple complex. It does, in fact, seem like the text tells us to make a separate *maṇḍala* for the *mandapa* (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 13).

The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is not only used to locate the *marmas*, but also to locate the *śalya*. Right after the lines are drawn for the outline of the plot, the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* tells us that the ‘clear-sighted one’ must carefully observe multiple signs to find out if there is any inauspicious *śalya* hiding under the surface of the earth (13.10). The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is not concerned with what the *śalya* is, so much as how to find it. The techniques are somewhat obscure and the accounts in different text vary greatly. For example, the *Kāśyapa* describes how the priest asks a “young woman, the sacrifice, or another person” to stand on the plot and speak, and then touch themselves. This will indicate where the *śalya* is; that is if the person touches his or her arm, the *śalya* will be on the arm of the *Vāstupuruṣa*<sup>1607</sup>. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* (8.10-14), and, even more explicitly, the *Matsya Purāṇa* (256) mention that various animal sounds and animals walking across the field will indicate where the *śalya* is located by the location where the animals are touching or jumping over the strings that mark the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. *Matsya Purāṇa* also adds various ways of fixing mistakes in ceremonies. That is, it first gives a ritual and then another one to appease the *Vāstu* incase a mistake was made. As mentioned earlier, remedies are common.

To be absolutely sure that no *śalya* is missed, excavations should be made until a depth where water is reached. The *Agni Purāṇa* states that, if there is a *śalya* situated under the god *Viṣṇu*, he will not have a bad influence. However, a skeleton *śalya* breaks the walls of a house as well as the happiness of those living there<sup>1608</sup>. After the *arghya* (preliminary offerings) and the *bhūparigraha* (rites for taking possession of the plot) are completed, the ground ought to be excavated until water, or stone, is reached (*Agni Purāṇa* 92.9). The point of the excavation is to ward off any evil from pernicious bones or skeletons buried there. The remains are then removed (92.18-20). Next, the *Agni Purāṇa* relates an elaborate description of how to determine with which type of *śalya* one is dealing. The basic method is to write the letters of the alphabet in a chart according to the *vargas* over the soil. Then depending on which chamber of the alphabet chart the *śalya* happens to be in the *śalya* are assigned to different types. After the *śalya*<sup>1609</sup> has been classified and removed, the preceptor should have the ground leveled. Next the ground should be plastered with clay to a depth of eight fingers and cleansed with water.

The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* functions on several levels. It is the focus of rituals, which has as their purpose is to stabilize the ground through exorcism (removing obstacles, such as *śalyas* and unwanted spirits), to ensure that the spirits that dwell in the soil are the appropriate ones by inviting the *pāda* deities. It is a symbol for the universe on earth as it encapsulates the universe within its four corners. The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is also an architectural tool used to organize the ground-plan for the temple. As the proportions of the temple are essential, and the proportions of the basic plan are

<sup>1607</sup> Goudriaan, 1965:96.

<sup>1608</sup> *Agni Purāṇa* 40.30-31

<sup>1609</sup> Here we are told that a *śalya*, besides bones, can consist of charmed iron or silver.

intimately linked to the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, finally it influences the whole temple, as described in the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*. Kramrisch claims that,

At the height of temple building activity, when some of the noblest and largest Prāsādas were set up about the year 1000 CE, the actual drawing of the diagram on the ground which the temple (*prāsāda*) was to occupy seems to have been the rule. From the stretching of the cord, or the drawing of the lines of the *maṇḍala*, every one of the movements is a rite and sustains, in its own sphere of effectiveness, the sacred building, to the same extent as the actual foundation supports its weight. These movements, rites and meanings are not accessory nor are they mere accompaniments to the building itself. They go into the making of the Hindu temple, its shape and proportion and that of every carved detail and every figure, each at its proper place, with the rhythms and gestures, appropriate to it<sup>1610</sup>.

Essential to obtain the rhythm expressed in the temple building, the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is as much a rite as it is a planning device. Paraphrasing Kramrisch, we might say that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is the ritual foundation of the temple.

Initially, one might think that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is a simple grid used to plan the temple. However, while the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is intimately tied to a number of ritual steps in the initial preparation of the site, the connection to the actual layout of the temple is not clear in most texts. The *maṇḍala* is associated with the Vāstupuruṣa – a mythical demon who lies in the ground – and to the deities that hold him down. To these binding or fastening deities, several offerings should be made, in their respective spaces in the *maṇḍala*, in order to keep the space stable and for the purpose of propitiation.<sup>1611</sup> The *maṇḍala* is also used as a device to help determine if there are any inauspicious objects (*śalyas*) hiding in the soil. Perhaps the most important purpose of the *maṇḍala* is to help determine the *marmas* or tabooed points in the soil. These points are connected to the position of the Vāstupuruṣa, which one determines through the layout of the *maṇḍala*. In chapter 13 of the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, the text explicitly states that there is a connection between the *maṇḍala* and the layout of the temple<sup>1612</sup>.

The purpose of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* has been discussed by scholars ranging from Stella Kramrisch, in her monumentous work *The Hindu Temple*, and Coomaraswamy, in several articles, to contemporary scholars, such as Michael Meister, in a number of articles. Several scholars, though less well known, have also made contributions to the field (as noted in chapter 2 above). I have noted earlier that what these scholars identify as the purpose of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* varies. One of the functions of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is to plan the temple. Speculatively, it is entirely possible that the *maṇḍala* and the story were not originally a unit. One might think that the myth has been applied to the *maṇḍala* at a later point to explain, for example, the *marmas*. That is, it is possible that the story of the Vāstupuruṣa originally did not have any connection to the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and that it was utilized to explain a phenomenon in the building process. However, this is unverifiable. What is clear from the text is that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is used to locate the *marmas* and *śalya*. Furthermore, it is clear that,

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<sup>1610</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/ 2007: vol 1, 39.

<sup>1611</sup> See chapter 10.5 below, and appendix 3, which gives a list of the offerings to the different deities according to the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Agni Purāna*.

<sup>1612</sup> See further discussion below ch. 10.5.

at the time of the composition of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, the *maṇḍala* was used to plan the temple, to achieve the correct proportions between inner sanctum, walls, *pradakṣiṇa* pathway as well as height of walls and *śikhara*. In Kramrisch's words:

Although this ritual diagram [the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*] is neither the ground-plan of the temple nor necessarily the plan of the site, it regulates them. It may be conterminous with the site of the sacred precinct, or with the extent of the main temple building (*prāsāda*) only; or it may be drawn on an altar, and of standardized size<sup>1613</sup>.

That is, the primary function of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is not to be a ground-plan for a building but, as one needs it to avoid the *marmas* which are located only with the assistance of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, in reality the *maṇḍala* is important for the plan of the temple. It is thus more than the ritual foundation of the temple, it is also an integral planning device. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* clearly contradicts Kramrisch statement that the *maṇḍala* may be of several different sizes, a statement supported by the *Agni Purāṇa*<sup>1614</sup>. It seems like the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* was initially used to plan simple, Gupta-style temples where proportions are straight forward – temples that seem to be the sort the compiler of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* had in mind. Later used to plan more complicated buildings, the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* became a primarily a ritual device and possibly loses much of its explicitly practical function. This later development is illustrated by the *Agni Purāṇa*'s statement that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* can be of various sizes. This later development is, however, something about which the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* knows nothing.

In addition to the already mentioned functions, the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is also used to locate the place for the door deposit. Door deposits should be placed at the place of the last *pāda*. It is not clear, from the text, where the last *pāda* is located. However as the text states that at the last *pāda* one should also worship the Śrī. We can assume that the last *pāda* is 'her *pāda*', which according to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is in the northeast, the *Agni Purāṇa* provides no space for her<sup>1615</sup>. Later Śrī should be placed on the beam above the door, which is emphatically said to be the form of Gajalakṣmī, the goddess anointed by the elephants, together with door-guardians and flower decorations, as well as Viṣṇu's *avatāras*. (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 13.21-3, *Agni Purāṇa* 42.21)<sup>1616</sup>.

Thus, the purpose of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, as discussed in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Agni Purāṇa*, is both practical and ritual. The division between these is not straight forward and several phenomena contain both aspects. While it may at first glance, seem characteristically ritualistic for the text to be so particular about the orientations of the temple, it may be that this is the best direction in which to build a

<sup>1613</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/2007, vol. 1, p. 6, see also footnote 10 on that page for more references.

<sup>1614</sup> *Agni Purāṇa* 93.42, see discussion earlier in this chapter.

<sup>1615</sup> See appendix.

<sup>1616</sup> The wall deposits should correspond to the 32 *antagas*. The *antagas* are the gods of the directions placed at the edge of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* (eight on each of the four sides, *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 13.8). Here the same 32 *antagas* may be placed in both the 64 and the 81 *pāda* *maṇḍala* since the earlier one houses two *antagas* in each corner. The *Agni Purāṇa* also tells us to sculpture the gods at a distance of one *pāda* inside the temple and the 32 *antaragas* on the *prākāra*. (42.8) (Note that *antaga* according to Monier-Williams means 'one who walks on the frontiers', p 42-3).

building in order to keep it cool, when it is hot for example. The ritual purposes of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* concern the *śalya* and the *marmas*. The more practical purposes of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* include how it is used to plan the layout of the temple. What strikes (post-) modern readers as meticulous ritualism is no doubt, a stereotypical generic trait of *śilpa śāstra* and temple Hinduism, and a point of contact between temple Hinduism and the ritualism of the *brāhmaṇa*-texts, and *sūtra*-texts like the *Gṛhya Sūtras*. It would be a mistake to characterize Vaiṣṇava religion in general as picky ritualism. Here we are dealing with a specific trait of texts articulating temple ritual.

The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* also functions as a symbol for the universe. All the gods of the directions are placed within it. It seems clear to me, and here I argue against Granoff and Brunner<sup>1617</sup>, that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, indeed, does have a cosmic symbolism. At the same time, it is a seat of the gods. The cosmic symbolism is represented in the Vāstupuruṣa, who is thought of as encompassing the whole earth, in the square form (compare the Vedic thought of the earth as a square<sup>1618</sup>), and through the deities of the directions, at the edges, and by the creator of the universe, Brahmā, in the middle of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. The symbolism of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is, obviously, intimately connected to the symbolism of the temple. At the same time, the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* has its own symbolism. The temple is thought of, by various scholars as well as devotees, as heaven on earth, as a palace for the god, as a representation of the universe, or as the body of the god. These ideas are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Granoff (with Brunner) argues that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, in general, has no unique cosmic symbolism but functions in a way analogous to a *liṅga* or any seat of god. In fact the *maṇḍala* can be seen as a temple in miniature; some *maṇḍalas* are called *bhavana*, or palace, while others are called cities, or *pura*<sup>1619</sup>.

### 10.3.1 Stabilizing the World – Inviting the *pāda devatās* to the *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*

The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is, according to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* (as noted above), connected to the layout of the temple. This is not, however, the only purpose of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. The *maṇḍala* also has a ritual function in which the Vāstupuruṣa is, as the ritual is described in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, virtually forgotten. Instead the *pāda devatās*, the deities placed in each section of the *maṇḍala*, are the focus.

In order to keep the earth stable and render it an appropriate place for temple construction, the deities who hold the Vāstupuruṣa down are assigned specific places in the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and then worshipped there with various substances, mainly food, *kuśa*-grass and flowers. In accordance with the story of the Vāstupuruṣa, several deities, and other beings, are invoked and given offerings in the squares of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*<sup>1620</sup>. These deities are, in some texts, identified with the deities who

<sup>1617</sup> Granoff, 1983, Brunner, 1990.

<sup>1618</sup> *Rg Veda* 10.58.3.

<sup>1619</sup> Granoff, 1983:174, see chapter 2 above.

<sup>1620</sup> The placement of the *pāda devatās* in the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is discussed in chapter 9 of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and chapters 40 and 93 of the *Agni Purāṇa*. As already mentioned chapter 40 of the *Agni Purāṇa* is based on the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*.

hold the Vāstupuruṣa down to the ground<sup>1621</sup>. In many texts, such as the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*<sup>1622</sup>, the connection between the story of the Vāstupuruṣa and the *maṇḍala* is not explicit, as the story is not mentioned. I assume that some variant or variants of the story would be known to the intended audience<sup>1623</sup> of the text.

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* discusses primarily the *maṇḍala* of sixty-four squares or the *maṇḍūka*<sup>1624</sup>, though it mentions that of eighty-one squares (*paramaśāyin*) as used for *maṇḍapas*. One of the main differences between the *maṇḍūka* and the *paramaśāyin maṇḍalas*<sup>1625</sup> is that the first one has two lines that cross in the center while the second has a square in the middle. This means that in the *maṇḍūka maṇḍala* the center cannot be made up of only one square – it is made of four. For all the *maṇḍūka maṇḍalas* the center four squares are dedicated to Brahmā/ Prajāpati. The layout featuring a large center made up of four squares seems more appropriate to a temple where one plans a center space proportionately larger than what is around it.

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* places the deities, starting in the north western corner, then down the eastern side, across the southern side, up along the western side and finishing with the northern side, coming full circle as it were back to the start. The deities of the inner circle are placed following the same pattern, and finally Prajāpati is placed in the center. This movement makes a *pradakṣiṇa*, or circumambulation, starting in an auspicious direction going past the least auspicious directions first, and ending in an auspicious spot again (which is the same as where one started). The movement is a circumambulation spiraling inwards. I would argue that there are two types of movement represented in both the temple and the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. There is the circumambulatory movement around the temple and *maṇḍala* and the movement from outside to inside. For both the *maṇḍala* and the temple the circumambulatory movement is generally relatively egalitarian (as a pilgrimage would be), while the movement from outside to inside is highly restricted. In a Pāñcarātra context, to enter the inner sanctum of

<sup>1621</sup> Such as *Matsya Purāṇa* (252ff) where the myth of the Vāstupuruṣa is told in connection with the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*.

<sup>1622</sup> While the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* provides the directions for several deities the *Agni Purāṇa* is less lucid. Indicating that these texts were not intended to be read out of context or without previous knowledge. In the *Agni Purāṇa* the gods associations with the directions, such as Īśa (east) is not explicitly stated as it is in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*.

<sup>1623</sup> See chapter 10.1.

<sup>1624</sup> The layout of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is traditionally divided into a number of variants. Kramrisch classifies the *maṇḍala* described in the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, the *Śāradātilaka* (3.8-9) and the *Vāstuvīdyā* (4.45) as a *maṇḍūka* B. There are, in Kramrisch classification, four different types of *maṇḍūka maṇḍalas*, B being the second most commonly described in the literature. The other type of *maṇḍalas* discussed widely in the literature is called *paramaśāyin*. The main difference is that the *maṇḍūka* has 64 little squares and the *paramaśāyin* has 81. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* tells us that the 64 square *maṇḍala* should be used for temples (*prāsāda*) while the 81 square one is for houses, later on the text tells us to use the 81 square one for the *mandapa* of the temple. Within the two different types of *maṇḍalas* there are variations, mainly with regards to how many squares the beings are assigned, within the limits of the diagram. However she does not divide the larger squares at the corners but keep them in four small squares instead of the two large diagonally divided squares that I have. Since she does not have the names of the deities it is a little hard to be certain how she wants to place them. (Kramrisch *The Hindu temple* p 86)

<sup>1625</sup> The Mayamatam gives a long list of various diagrams with increasing number of squares, but only describes a few with particular attention to the 64 square *maṇḍūka* diagram (7.43-48,57), and the 81 square *paramaśāyin* diagram (7.58). This and also that many texts only mention these two, indicates that the *maṇḍūka* and the *paramaśāyin* were the diagrams commonly in use.



the temple or step inside (or even see) the *maṇḍala*, one has to be initiated<sup>1626</sup>. One might thus see the ordering of these instructions of how to place the *pāda* deities as a reflex of the trajectory, travel pattern or traffic pattern through space. There are some other movements connected to these in the temple construction process<sup>1627</sup>. I wonder if the circumambulatory movement around a temple became more restricted as the area of circumambulation became part of the temple construction. Or, in other words, did the movement patterns change when the *pradakṣiṇa* pathways was equipped with walls and roof? The restricted space would suggest that the movement would change. Perhaps the restricted space would also indicate that not all were welcome.

### 10.3.2 Who are the *pāda* deities?

Most of the deities that figure in the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* are directional deities. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* prescribes 44 *pāda devatas* to be placed in the *vāstupādamaṇḍala*. The majority of these are connected with the directions and the stars. Directions are important to the rituals and construction of the temple. Each direction is connected with a deity. This notion is emphasized through the repeated usage of words for the directions derived from the words for the deity: *āgneyī*, from Agni for the southeastern direction; *nairṛta*, from Nirṛti for southwest; *vāruṇī*, from Varuṇa for the west; *vāyavī*, from Vayu for the northwest; *eiśānī*, from Īśāna for northeast; *māhendrī*, from Mahendra (Indra) for the east; for the south the term is commonly *dakṣiṇā* which is not derived from any word connected with Yama, the god of the southern direction.

Many of these directional deities have Vedic backgrounds. Gopinath Rao discusses some of these connections and the reduction of, for example, Yama from a major deity of death to a guardian of the region of the deceased. As presiding deity of the place, he is invested with the powers to judge people's sins (*pāpa*) and is thus also called Dharmarāja<sup>1628</sup>.

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* calls the directional guardians *lokeśas* (ch. 28). The following are the most commonly found *lokapālas*/*dikpālas* which Wessels-Mevissen describes in her book *The Gods of the Directions in Ancient India*<sup>1629</sup> compared to the names in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the *Agni Purāṇa*.

#### **Lokapālas and dikpālas**

Direction	General name	Name in <i>Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra</i>	Name in <i>Agni Purāṇa</i>
East	Indra (Mahendra)	Sureśa	Mahendra

<sup>1626</sup> Gupta, Sanjukta, "The Changing Pattern of Pāñcarātra Initiation. A Case Study in the Reinterpretation of Ritual", in Kloppenborg, Ria ed. *Selected Studies on Ritual in the Indian Religions*, Brill, Leiden 1983:69-91.

<sup>1627</sup> Moving in a circumambulatory fashion with a spiral tendency is similar to, for example, board games such as monopoly, and the movement of people in a grocery store.

<sup>1628</sup> Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Motilal Banarasidass, New Delhi, 1916/1997, vol 2.2 525-38, Rao for images discusses the *dikpālas* (only - Yama, Nirṛti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Dhanadha or Kubera and Īśāna) and their iconographical representation with images and references to the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*.

<sup>1629</sup> Wessels-Mevissen, 2001:15.

South	Yama	Vaivasvata	Dharmesā
West	Varuṇa	Yādasampati	Varuṇa
North	Soma	Yajñeśvara	Soma
Northeast	Īśāna	Śiva	Īśa
Southeast	Agni	Hutāśana	Agni
Southwest	Nirṛti	Pitṛs?	
Northwest	Marut <sup>1630</sup>	Roga?	

There are 32 divinities in the outer border of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*<sup>1631</sup>, eight on each side, in the four directions.

The 28 (or 27) *nakṣatras* are also generally present in the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*<sup>1632</sup>. However, few of the names in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* correspond to the names of the *nakṣatras* according to Kane. The following are the deities located in the directions. The deities are divided into four groups associated with the four directions. Each group is headed by the main deity of that direction according to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. Later in the text they are referred to as the 32 *antagas*. The following table gives the deities (the directional deities are in italics).

- Eastern side:** *Śiva*, Parjanya, Jaya, *Sureśa*, Bhāskara, Satya, Bhṛṣa, Vyoma.  
**Southern side:** *Hutāśana*, Pūṣa, Vitatha, Gṛhākṣata, *Vaivasvata*, Gandharva, Bhṛṅga, Mrga,  
**Western side:** *Pitṛs?*, Dauvārikas, Sugrīva, Puṣpadantaka, *Yādasampati*, Asura, Śoṣa (variant Śoka<sup>1633</sup>), Pāpa,  
**Northern side:** *Roga?* Nāga, Mukhya, Bhallāṭa, *Yajñeśvara*, Nāgara, Srīmahādevī, Aditī.

Kramrisch has noted that the *pāda* deities are only “loosely connected with the stars” and she assumes that the “star gods form the one, and presumably the more ancient, series in the border of the Vāstumaṇḍala” implying that the *pāda devatās* are a later development.<sup>1634</sup> While the *nakṣatras*<sup>1635</sup> are 27 (or 28) the *pāda devatās* are 32. Thus some of the stars have to be repeated. 32, as noted above, is a number that gives a symmetrical grid of either 8x8 or 9x9 squares. (In the 8x8 grid the corner squares are split, see illustration in appendix)<sup>1636</sup>.

In the inner ring the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* locates 12 gods; Āpa, Āpavatsa, Savitā, Sāvitrī, Indra, Indrajaya, Rudra, Yajñmā, Aryamān, Vivāṣvan, Mitra and Dharāhara. These, Kramrisch equate with the 12 *ādityas*, the sons of Aditi<sup>1637</sup>. She further notes that

<sup>1630</sup> Wessels-Mevissen, 2001:15.

<sup>1631</sup> See appendix for illustration.

<sup>1632</sup> R. Champakalakshmi, *The Hindu Temple*, Roli Books, New Delhi, 2001:13.

<sup>1633</sup> The commentary explains that this is Viśvakarman (p. 53 commentary to 9.1).

<sup>1634</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/ 2007: vol. 1, p. 33.

<sup>1635</sup> The *Nakṣatras* play an important role in the *Śāntikalpa of the Atharva-Veda* (Bolling 1904:82 ff).

<sup>1636</sup> Kramrisch tells us that the reason for either 64 or 81 squares is that both numbers are sub-multiples of 25920, 64 x 81 x 5, where five is the number of *saṃvatsara*, a cycle of five lunar solar years. The number 25920 is the period of the precession of the equinoxes (Kramrisch, 1946/ 2007: vol. 1, p. 36-7).

<sup>1637</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/ 2007: vol. 1, p. 35.

the 32 gods of the outer ring, together with Brahmā in the center make up 33 gods or the same number as the gods in the Āpri hymns of the *Ṛg Veda*<sup>1638</sup>.

The central square is occupied by Prajapati in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and by Brahmā in the Agni. These are different names for the same deity. The central square is the *Brahmasthanā*, the place where the sanctum will be built. On each respective side of the *Brahmasthanā*, Mitra, Vivāṣvan, Aryamān, Dharāhara occupy four squares. These four deities have ancient backgrounds and are not so commonly depicted elsewhere as members of the Hindu pantheon. Their relative absence in the context of the Hindu temple does not mean that they are insignificant<sup>1639</sup>.

Some *pāda* deities have names familiar from other texts, such as Sugrīva, though it is far from certain that this Sugrīva is the same as the monkey king known from the epic *Rāmāyāna*. The significance of the identity of each *pāda* deity is not clear from the text. Different texts have different lists of deities, indicating, perhaps, that the tradition may have attributed little importance to these gods.

The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is, according to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, the basis for the planning of every architectural form within the [Hindu] tradition. All is to be regulated by the *maṇḍala*'s proportions: site- and ground-plans, as well as height of walls and *śikhara*, and the thickness of the walls.

## 10.4 Fasting and Offerings

The offerings discussed in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* span a range from water, lotuses and grain to blood and raw meat indicating the peaceful or ferocious nature of the deities to which they are given<sup>1640</sup>. As already mentioned, the deities, which one invites to the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, are, in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, both gods and demons, as well as directional guardians and 'ancestors'.

The food types used in the offerings to the *pāda* deities can be divided in groups in different ways. Perhaps the most obvious is: grain, dairy and meat. These can be subdivided in different groups (see table below).

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<sup>1638</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/ 2007: vol. 1, p. 35, The Āpri hymns are, according to Geldern (Āpri-Leider),: 1.13, 142, 188, 2.3, 2.4, 5.5, 7.2, 9.5, 10.70, 110 (Geldner, 1957: part 4, p. 36).

<sup>1639</sup> In chapter 94 of the *Agni Purāṇa* we are told about Charaki and her companions who are to be worshiped in the angular points of the sky and outside the borders of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* mentions a different set of deities beginning with Skanda who should be worshipped outside the *maṇḍala* with various foods. (The worship of the *salagrama* is comparatively ancient. It is mentioned in Śaṅkaras *Vedānta Sūtra Bhāṣya*. In the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (46) and other Purāṇas connected to the worship of Vāstu deities, Staal, 1983, vol 1 p. 163). After the worship of Charaki and other deities the *Agni Purāṇa* mentions several offerings and mantras that should be made and uttered to evoke various deities (*Agni Purāṇa* chapter 94).

<sup>1640</sup> See appendix for a *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* with the offerings included and for a comparison with the offerings in the *Agni Purāṇa*.

Food type	Consistency/ Grade of preparation
Grain	Flour, parched, sour gruel
Dairy	Milk, yoghurt, ghee
Meat (flesh)	Blood, raw meat, cooked meat

The different groups can also be subdivided in a horizontal way with raw on one side and cooked on the other. Such a subdivision, of course, allows for analysis inspired by Claude Lévi-Strauss<sup>1641</sup>. Food preparation span a range including: raw, milled or pounded, sundried, prepared with ghee, cooked or boiled. One can also discern a vertical hierarchy of purity within both solid and liquid offerings. For the liquid offerings, blood offerings are found at the bottom and given to *rākṣasas*. Up the purity-ladder one finds water and milk, and at the top, ghee, often mixed with rice, then offered to deities. For the vertical ladder of the solids, meat is at the bottom, grain in the middle, and dairy and sugar at the top. Though the text does not classify the offerings according to the *guṇas*, it may well be that we can discern an implicit structure of classification. The *Bhagavad Gītā*, for instance, in 17.7-10, classifies foods according to *guṇa*<sup>1642</sup>. It seem likely that the text's intended audience understood that some foods are *sattvic/ daivic* and some are *rajasic/ tamasic*. In the following table, I give an overview of the food stuffs offered according to this division.

Sugar	Honey, sugar, molasses	<i>Sattvic / Daivic</i>
Dairy	Milk, yoghurt, ghee <i>Laddus, payasam</i> with honey or molasses, <i>kṣaran</i> with milk, sesame, ghee, cake made with ghee	
Grain	Flour, parched, soured gruel, sundried rice, sesame, barely, boiled rice Flour mixed with blood	
Meat	Cooked meat Raw meat, meat with blood, bird flesh, frog	<i>Rajasic/Āsuric</i>

Water, flowers and grasses may belong to independent categories, generally pure, and given to the divine. Many plants, such as *kuśa* grass, have special associations with the divine.

Cow-products are, among the various kinds of food, valorized. Like the use of oxen in preparation and exorcism of the land, the honored place of dairy food among

<sup>1641</sup> Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked*, Harper & Row, New York, 1969.

<sup>1642</sup> The classification of food according to *guṇa* is articulated in the *Bhagavad Gītā* at chapters 14 and 17. Chapter 16 introduces the *daivic/ āsuric* distinction. Meat is associated with *asuric* traits corresponding to *rajas* and *tamas*.

offerings is indicative of the many ways in which cattle-agriculture is sacralized and legitimated. Extending sacralized ox-oriented grain cultivation, carries Brāhminical royally patronized temple culture into non-Brāhminical lands. The sociological phenomenon of Sanskritization whereby a group increases its social status by eschewing meat and alcohol and by learning Sanskrit is well attested in South Asian anthropological literature. As with soil types, the classification of beings and what they ought to be offered is an aspect of Brāhminical ideology legitimizing social hierarchy. It indicates the Sanskritized or brāhmaṇized character of Pāñcarātra.

Mallaya, in his discussion of the *sīlpa śāstra* text the *Mānasāra*, has argued that the meat and blood offerings to the *Vāstu* deities are closely aligned with but counter to the Vedic world from very early and indicate a non-brāhminical background of the *vāstupuruṣamāṇḍala*, thus challenging the notion that the *vāstupuruṣamāṇḍala* is derived from the Vedic sacrificial altar. Mallaya connects the *vāstupuruṣamāṇḍala* with the architects/ sculptors rather than with the Brāhmin priests. This idea comes from the architect's prominent role in the *Mānasāra*, the text with which Mallaya primarily worked. In the *Mānasāra*, the architect, together with a young woman<sup>1643</sup>, are the ones who carry out the rituals connected with the *vāstupuruṣamāṇḍala*<sup>1644</sup>. In our text, however, it is not so clear who performs these rituals. The text uses the terms *guru* and *deśika*. Both these terms may refer to either the *ācārya* or the *sthapati*. According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, at the end of the sacrifice, presumably to distance himself from the bloody sacrifices, the *yajamāna* should bathe in herbs<sup>1645</sup>. This distancing of the *yajamāna* may indicate that these offerings were part of a non-brāhminical ritual. The eating of flesh, drinking of wine and usage of blood in rituals are frequently associated with the *rākṣasas*, not the least in the epics, for example in the *Rāmāyaṇa* where *rākṣasas* perform rites in Nikumbhilā's grove, rituals which include wine, eating of human flesh, dancing, etc.<sup>1646</sup>. Romila Thapar, as I indicate in my introduction, attributes sociological (class and caste) traits to aspects of Hindu religiosity. Mallaya's analysis enables Thapar's sociological interpretation. While intriguing, it is unclear to me how one would verify hypothesis about the origins of particular offerings in a composite/ hybrid phenomena like Pāñcarātra ritual offerings.

The *Mānasāra* says, in Acharya's translation, "In the bringing of these offerings, the Sthapati takes a leading part"<sup>1647</sup>. In the *Mānasāra*, it is clearly the *sthapati* who officiates over the offerings to the *vāstu pāda* deities<sup>1648</sup>. The *Mānasāra* (8.16-17) says that the offerings for a temple should consist of curdled milk and boiled rice. The *Mānasāra* seems to replace all other offerings when the plot is intended for a temple with curdled milk and boiled rice. That is similar to the instruction in *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*

<sup>1643</sup> The young woman presumably symbolises fertility, life and everything new, just as in art young women are used for the same purpose.

<sup>1644</sup> Mallaya, 1949:39.

<sup>1645</sup> *tataḥ sarvaśaḍhīsnānaṃ yajamānasya kārayet/ Matsya Purāṇa* 268.31

<sup>1646</sup> Sally J. Sutherland Goldman, "Nikumbhilā's Grove: Rākṣasa Rites in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa." In *Proceedings of the XIIIth World Sanskrit Conference, Edinburgh: Epic Studies*. Edited by J. Brockington. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 2009, pp. 255–275.

<sup>1647</sup> Prasanna Kumar Acharya, *Architecture of Mānasāra*, Oriental Books Reprint Corp., Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1980, vol 1:39.

<sup>1648</sup> See *Mānasāra* ch. 8.6-11, 60-61, 65-66 (Acharya, 1980).

(9.21) where there is an option to substitute everything with *kuśa*-grass and sundried rice. The *Mānasāra* discusses a second offering to the Vāstu deities in which the *sthapati* and the *sthāpaka* both take a leading role (chapter 27). These offerings are part of a larger ceremony of stabilizing and cleansing the new home.

Though it is fair to challenge the idea of the connection between the Vedic altar and the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, as Mallaya does, the bloody sacrifice need not mean that the Brāhmaṇas did not partake. As Oldenberg has shown brāhmaṇas would smell but not eat of the sacrifice to a malignant spirits like the souls of the dead or Rudra<sup>1649</sup>. It is not unlikely that several of the deities included in the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* would be treated in a similar fashion. Though the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* itself is not clear on this point, it has earlier indicated that the priest should be fasting. The *guru* is described as one who has taken a vow of fasting (2.17, the *sthāpaka* fasts according to 3.9).

Fasting and offerings play a central role. The *deśika* might be fasting in order to keep his distance from the *bhūtas* he is presenting the offerings to, who he asks to leave the plot (6.16cd-17ab). Fasting is, as Oldenberg has shown, one of the most common precautionary measures against harmful and hostile powers<sup>1650</sup>. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* (9.21) seem to say that, as an alternative, *kuśa*-grass and flowers, along with unhusked grain, could be substituted for all other offerings. This particular verse may be a later interpolation or addition. It is only one single line. It may, however, have been a Vaiṣṇava redactor's way of dealing with inherited prescriptions, no longer acceptable theologically. Vegetarian substitutes for animal sacrifice are typical of Vaiṣṇava adaptations of Vedic worship<sup>1651</sup>.

Om Prakash has shown that during the post Gupta period, which he defines as 750-1200 CE, people ate all kinds of meat such as buffalo and fish for Brāhmaṇas<sup>1652</sup>, that *ksatriyas* enjoyed meat such as fish and sheep<sup>1653</sup>, and that birds, goats and venison was also enjoyed<sup>1654</sup>. And though some kinds of meat of cows, horses, mules, asses, camels, elephants, tame poultry, crows, parrots, nightingales and eggs were avoided, they were used in times of scarcity<sup>1655</sup>. Om Prakash notes that while at this time vegetarianism increases in popularity, meat eating continues to be popular, especially among *kṣatriyas*. Among people who took to vegetarianism on religious grounds, even when animals were to be sacrificed for a religious rite, it was replaced by an image of an animal made of flour<sup>1656</sup>. The *Bhagavata Purāṇa* tells us that slaughter of animals is not necessary in the

<sup>1649</sup> Hermann Oldenberg, *The Religion of the Veda/ Die Religion des Vedas*, Motilall Banarasidass, Delhi, 1894/2004:193, See also *Śatapata Brāhmaṇa*, 2. 4.2.24.

<sup>1650</sup> Oldenberg, 1894/2004: 224.

<sup>1651</sup> See, for example, Michael Witzel, "Inside the texts, beyond the texts : new approaches to the study of the Vedas ; proceedings of the International Vedic Workshop, Harvard University, June 1989", *Harvard oriental series; opera minora*, South Asia Books, Columbia, MO, 1997:360, and Jan E M Houben and K R Van Kooij, *Violence denied : violence, non-violence and the rationalization of violence in South Asian cultural history*, Brill's Indological library, v. 16., Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 1999:156.

<sup>1652</sup> Om Prakash, *Food and drinks in ancient India, from earliest times to c. 1200 A.D.*, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Delhi, 1961: 258,260,475, based on the *Samaraiccakahā*.

<sup>1653</sup> Prakash, 1961:258,262, from the *Samaraiccakahā*.

<sup>1654</sup> Prakash, 1961, based on *Moharājaparājaya, Naiṣadha* XVI. 95, 76, 87, Kav.mim. XVIII.107

<sup>1655</sup> Prakash, 1961:210, Al Beruni, ch 68, and *Kathāsaritsāgara*, III.9-10.

<sup>1656</sup> Prakash, 1961:215, based on *Samaraiicca Kahā*, p. 210-3.

*kali* age<sup>1657</sup>. Instituting a vegetarian substitute for meat offerings is thus typical of the transition from Vedic cult to Vaiṣṇava cult, and the presence of both sorts of instruction in the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* indicates the hybrid character of the text. Far from being static and unchanging, Hindu ritual responds to a variety of different pressures: historical, sociological, theological, and aesthetic.

## 10.5 Rules of composition - a *maṇḍala* for planning the layout of the temple

Refined architecture is characterized by symmetry, in most cultures<sup>1658</sup>. Here we will explore how the layout of the Hindu temple follows the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* discussed above. I have already discussed the purpose of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* (above), concluding that, at least according to the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*, the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is used to plan the temple layout. As I mention in my introduction, it is not a unique feature of the Hindu tradition to use grids as the basis for architectural planning. In the first few pages of Tzonis and Lefavre's *Classical Architecture*, there are several grid plans<sup>1659</sup> reminiscent of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. I have discussed the planning, execution, usage and possible purpose of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* in the last sections. The textual support for a connection between the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and the layout of the temple is vague. This may be interpreted as a reflex of the flexibility accorded to the architect<sup>1660</sup>, a license exemplified by the *Agni Purāṇa* verse that lets us know that various sizes of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* are fine to use but that the one corresponding to the size of the plot is the best (*Agni Purāṇa* ch. 93.42<sup>1661</sup>).

As noted above, the *Agni Purāṇa* (ch. 39-40) and the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* (ch. 8-9 and 13) both discuss the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. Most *śilpa śāstra* texts do not articulate an explicit connection between the *maṇḍala* and the actual layout of the temple. This absence may be the main reason for the academic speculation and discussions referred to above with reference to the work of Kramrisch, Meister, Bafna, and so forth<sup>1662</sup>. I would argue that the *Agni Purāṇa* chapter 42.1cd-4, and the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* chapter 13.1cd-4, return implicitly to the *maṇḍala*.

Now he should divide the field, sixteen-fold, made into squares. 1cd

With the four in the middle [of that field] he should prepare [an inner sanctum] made of iron, which is connected with those four. And he should arrange twelve sections for the purpose of the wall. 2

<sup>1657</sup> *Bhagavata Purāṇa* 7.15-7.

*na dadyād āmiṣam śrāddhe na cādyād dharmatattvavit/  
munyannaiḥ syāt parā prītir yathā na paśuḥiṃsayā//*

<sup>1658</sup> See discussion in chapter 3.

<sup>1659</sup> See Tzonis, Alexander and Liane Lefavre, *Classical architecture: the poetics of order*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1986:12, 21-22, 29-33.

<sup>1660</sup> See Sinha's book *Imagining Architects: Creativity in the Religious Monuments of India* for further discussion of the artistic creativity, particularly Sinha's concluding chapter (Sinha, *Imagining Architects: Creativity in the Religious Monuments of India*, University of Delaware Press, 2000).

<sup>1661</sup> See also discussion in chapter 10.3 above.

<sup>1662</sup> See chapter 2.

The height of the wall should be made with one fourth of [its] length. The wise he should design the height of the spire twice the height of two walls. 3

The *pradakṣiṇa* path should be made correctly, four times the spire. He should make a passage having the same measurement on both sides. 13.4<sup>1663</sup>

Though neither the *Agni Purāṇa* nor the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* calls this the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, it is clear that there is a connection between this *maṇḍala* and the layout of the temple. The text of the *Agni Purāṇa* is similar to that of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. The texts use a grid to plan the layout of the sanctum with concern for proportions rather than size. The rest of the temple structure, besides the door and the *śikhara*, and especially the finial, are given only a cursory treatment. The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (chapter 269) provides a similar account to that found in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, though not actually copied. The chapter begins, “Having made the *bali* to the Vāstu, one should divide [the plot] into sixteen parts”<sup>1664</sup>. The text then goes on to discuss the plan for the temple and its foundation.

The text tells us that a separate field (*kṣetra*), which is a square, should be divided into 16 parts (13.1). This is an obvious discrepancy: the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* discussed earlier contains sixty-four squares. The text is, at this point, only concerned with the temple proper, the rest of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is left out to be used for the area surrounding the temple proper. Of these 16 squares, the sanctum, or *garbhagrha*, should be made up by the four central squares (13.2a). These may be identified with the *Bhrāmasthāna* of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. Around the sanctum, on the next set of 12 squares, the wall (*bhitti*) should be raised (13.2b). The sanctum described would have thick walls, reminiscent of Gupta period temples. The text goes on to instruct the architect to make the height of the wall (*jaṅgha*) one fourth of its length (13.3)<sup>1665</sup>. Thus, placed on the four center squares, surrounded by a thick wall, the inner-sanctum would have the form of a cube. This description tallies with how the inner sanctum looks in many temples, particularly early ones, though for much of the history of temple construction the inner sanctum has been a small, plain cube shaped space<sup>1666</sup>.

The spire (*mañjarī*) should be twice that of the wall (*jaṅga*) (13.3b). That is, it should be made up of eight *pādas*. Finally the *pradakṣiṇa* path with entrances on both sides should be made four times the *mañjarī*, that is 32 *pādas* (13.4). The *pradakṣiṇa* pathway would therefore be rather large in comparison to the sanctum. The wall is thus a *pāda* wide on all sides of the temple.

32 *pādas* do not fit nicely into the outer edge of the *maṇḍala*. There are 28 *pādas* at the outer edge of a 8x8 square grid. The sum 32 *pādas* works nicely in a grid of 9x9 (eighty-one) squares. It seems as if the text, at this point, is not clear as to which grid we are using. However, if we remember that the corner *pādas* in a sixty-four square *maṇḍala*

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<sup>1663</sup> I repeat the translation of these verses here for the ease of the reader. The rest of the chapter can, of course, be found in chapter 7 above.

<sup>1664</sup> *Matsya Purāṇa* 269.1

<sup>1665</sup> Note also that the wall (*jagati*) has several options as to its height and in the end it may be made “conforming to beauty” (13.5)

<sup>1666</sup> See discussion in Meister (1985) and Williams (1982).



should be split then we have the right number of *pādas*<sup>1667</sup>. Thus either a 8x8 with split corner *pādas* or a 9x9 tallies correctly. While this discussion makes it clear that the *maṇḍala* is used to plan the temple structure and its proportions, it is also clear that only certain proportions are of importance, namely that of the inner sanctum. Others are variable, and may be left up to the artist/ architect.

After the temple proper is constructed, the *maṇḍapas* will be built. It is clear that there should be a *maṇḍapa* (or *mukhamaṇḍapa*) in front of the temple, with the breadth the same as the *garbha* (checked with “a pair of [parallel] strings” (*sūtradvayena*)). The length is to be made an additional *pāda* or the same as the *garbha*, and it should be decorated in the middle with pillars (13.6).

In connection with the *maṇḍapa* the *Ḥayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* tells the officiant to make an oblation to the Vāstu with the eighty-one *pādas*. Earlier the text explicitly stated that the sixty-four *pāda maṇḍala* is for temples and the eighty-one *pāda maṇḍala* is for houses (8.16). Here the text merely states, “Then having honored the Vāstu with the eighty-one *pādas*, he should commence the *maṇḍapa*” (13.7cd). It does, in fact, seem like the eighty-one *pāda maṇḍala* is here used for planning a *maṇḍapa*. This fact supports the broad connotation of Kramrisch and Meister, that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* was used as a practical design tool.

The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* also provides a connection between the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and the temple layout. The text states that:

O Śanaka I will describe the characteristics of temples, please listen to that.  
One should make sixty-four *pādas*, which are distinguished by the cardinal and intermediate points. 47.1

And the doors [should be made] at the four corners and four more according to the observation of the sun. In addition 48 [*pādas*] should be for the fashioning of the wall. 47.2<sup>1668</sup>

The text then goes on to explain the height and length of plinths and walls. In verses 6-7 it returns to the grid.

Or thus having made the same *vāstu* having sixteen parts, in the middle of that one should make the *garbha* in four parts. 6

According to authority the height of the wall should be [made] with four parts. 47.7ab<sup>1669</sup>

This account is similar to the description in the *Ḥayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, (chapter 13 discussed above). *Garuḍa Purāṇa* states that

A wall (*prakāra*) should be fixed outside measuring five *hastas*, so the abode of Viṣṇu (*viṣṇvāśramam*) should be made endowed with forests and gardens. 46.19<sup>1670</sup>

<sup>1667</sup> See illustration in appendix as well.

<sup>1668</sup> *prāsādānām lakṣaṇam ca vakṣye śaunaka tacchr̥ṇu/*  
*catuḥṣaṣṭipadaṃ kṛtvā digvidikṣūpalakṣitam//1*  
*catuḥkoṇam caturbhiṣca dvārāṇi sūryasamkhyayā/*

*catvāriṃ śāṣṭabhiṣ caiva bhittinām kalpanā bhavet //47.2, text from DCS.*

<sup>1669</sup> *caturbhāgena bhittinām ucchr̥yāḥ syāṭpramānataḥ //47.7 text from DCS.*

<sup>1670</sup> *prākāram tadbahir dadyāt pañcahastapramānataḥ /*

In this manner, come forth from a part of the exterior with the measure, the foundation of the wall (*nemiḥ*), which is broad (*visṭīrṇā*), is on all sides of the temple (*prāsāda*).47.19<sup>1671</sup>

These verses indicates that a *pradakṣina* pathway was an important feature of the temple at this point.

After the walls are completed, the *śikhara* and the images of the gods should be made. These images are placed in the eight cardinal points: Mahavarāha in the east, Narasiṃha in the south, the god Śrīdhara (Viṣṇu) in the west, Hayaśīrṣa in the North<sup>1672</sup>, Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma) in the southeast and Rāma in the southwest, in the northwest Vāmana and in the west Vāsudeva (13.31-32). At the end of chapter 42 of the *Agni Purāṇa* there is a similar account. In the *Agni Purāṇa*, it is clear that the text is discussing a Viṣṇu temple. The Garuḍa *maṇḍapa* should be placed in front of the temple and eight spaces for images around the temple should be constructed (*dvipratimāyāmaṃ*): Varāha – east, Nṛsiṃha – south, Śrīdhara – west, Hayagrīva – north, Jamadagni –SE, Rāma- SW, Vāmana NW, Vādudeva NE. (*Agni Purāṇa* 24-25ab)<sup>1673</sup>. The text says nothing about where on the temple these images should be placed. I would interpret the absence of instruction as artistic license, following Ajay Sinha, whose theory I introduce in the next subsection (10.6).

## 10.6 Flexibility and the architect

He should cause the image to stand in the middle space and he should fix that middle one. Because of different desires, this excavation is remembered as common (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 14.15).

Verse 14.15 Here the text articulates the creative license of the architect. Both individual “will” and “common tradition” are acknowledged. The central image is a sort of fixed ‘pole star’ around which a constellation of secondary images is subject to variation according to the artist’s will, albeit subject to shared traditions. It is interesting that there seems to be much more freedom in the placement of the constellating gods than in the ritual for purification of the earth. Perhaps that fact indicates that archaic ritual pertaining to possession and use of land is more central to maintaining and legitimating social order than the arrangement of the pantheon.

Kramrisch articulates the creative role of the artist:

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*evaṃ viṣṇvāśramaṃ kuryādvanaīscopavanairiyutam // 46.19, text from DCS.*

<sup>1671</sup> *itthaṃ kṛtena mānena bāhyabhāgavinirgatam*

*nemiḥ pādena visṭīrṇā prāsādasya samantataḥ // 47.19 text from DCS.*

<sup>1672</sup> As discussed in chapter 4.1, Hayaśīrṣa is placed in this direction at two temples in Khajuraho.

<sup>1673</sup> Note that I will not take in account chapter 104 of the *Agni Purāṇa* here, that chapter seems to be obtained from a different source, as they have no correspondence in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and they present a different way of planning the layout based on a division of the plot in four or five sections. It is interesting, from a historical point of view, however to note that in this chapter the *pradakṣina patha* is optional.

The priest has the guidance; the architect, who builds the temple, works in conformity with the knowledge of the priest.<sup>1674</sup>

An underlying assumption in this dissertation conforms to Ajay Sinha's conclusion in *Imagining Architects*, where he emphasizes the role of the architect and artist in the stylistic development of Hindu art and architecture. "It is generally assumed that the making of sacred art, as much as its use, is determined by the enduring norms of India's age-old religious traditions or the ambition of kings. While the role of patrons, priests, and worshipers cannot be underestimated ... it must be recognized that it is the designers who synthesize the two [making and use of shrines] in the visible form of the temple."<sup>1675</sup> Here, following Kramrisch and Sinha, I will explore how the architect's adherence to tradition left room for creative play with shape and form. While the traditional texts, such as the *Āyāśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, are filled with rules for the artist or architect to follow, they still leave much up to imagination and creativity. While the architect makes sure that no walls or columns are placed on the *marma* points of the *Vāstupuruṣa*, as well as conforms his design to proportions, he still has great flexibility, especially in decoration of the temple. The *Āyāśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, for example, gives minimal instructions concerning the decoration of the temple. Only the door-guardians, some directional deities, a sculpture of Lakṣmī and the ten *avatāras*, as well as foliage, are specified decorations on the doorframe. In regard to the *śikhara*, only a lion and some *gavakṣa* windows are specified. Thus the architect may decorate the walls, the *maṇḍapa* and other parts of the structure in any way he desires. With regards to Khajuraho, Desai says:

The *Vāstu* texts mention the place where the *rathikā*<sup>1676</sup> is to be made, but do not mention the deities to be placed in it. The placement of particular deities was presumably left to the architect who would consult the religious *ācārya* or assign deities according to the sect for whom the temple was built<sup>1677</sup>.

While *ācāryas* probably guided them in terms of placement of gods, the architectural styles were most likely developed by the architects themselves<sup>1678</sup>.

While, we will have discussed the layout of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* above, there is, with respect to ritual-architectural orientation and alignment, the question as to why and how Hindu builders and architects adhere to these stipulations<sup>1679</sup>. At first glance these questions may not seem too difficult to answer. It is clear that the *śilpa śāstra* tradition places great importance on the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and other elements in the construction process. It is also clear that the *maṇḍala* has been used differently in different periods as discussed above.

Kramrisch has noted that "texts" (which she does not specify) says that the artist may work "according to his own intellect"<sup>1680</sup>. In the first fourteen *paṭalas* of the *ādikāṇḍa* of the *Āyāśīrṣa Pañcarātra* (that is the section that deals with temple

<sup>1674</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/2007, vol. 1, p. 8,

<sup>1675</sup> Sinha, 2000:188.

<sup>1676</sup> Niche

<sup>1677</sup> Desai, 1996:161.

<sup>1678</sup> For further discussion regarding the *ācārya* see chapter 8.1 and pg. 260 below.

<sup>1679</sup> Jones, 2000:56.

<sup>1680</sup> Kramrisch, 1983:265.

construction) this is only said in regard to the expanse (*vistaram*) in front of the temple<sup>1681</sup>. As with Indian drama (and all varieties of art everywhere no doubt) the interest, and what the spectator would get out of a particular work of art, varied only with education in art. Kramrisch quotes an unnamed source “The masters praise the *rekhā*’s... (delineation and articulation of form), the connoisseurs praise the display of light and shade..., women like the display of ornaments, to the rest of the public richness of colors appeals”<sup>1682</sup>. The temple artist must work hard to appeal to the taste of each register of participants.

Looking at some of the more complex, later, temples of North India, Meister asks if these have any connection to the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. Using the Viśvanātha temple at Khajuraho, dated CE 1002, as an example, he shows that there was still an attempt to fit the temple to something close to the *maṇḍala*<sup>1683</sup>. It is in the *vedibandha* that the proportions are easiest detected. Meister suggests that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* guided the architects in a practical way, and in the same time the architects were able to adjust to the grid with great flexibility to meet the need of faith and empire<sup>1684</sup>. Faith and empire are, of course, not aesthetic criteria. Thus the basic form was kept – the *marmas* were still avoided, the inner sanctum was a square, proportions were essentially the same, but the architect’s flexibility was, at the same time, great<sup>1685</sup>. It is of course, important to underline the temple’s function within state religion. This is, particularly, a strong point of Romila Thapar’s scholarship<sup>1686</sup>. If one looks at a text such as the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and assumes that this text gives us the information that an *ācārya* needed the in order to check if a temple is correctly planned, and that all else is left up to the architect (who of course will be following/ working with in an architectural tradition/ community), then the flexibility is indeed great. The texts mainly deal with floor plans, and give some proportions regarding walls and superstructure, as well as directions regarding placement of doors, circumambulatory pathways and placement of a few deities. However, details are generally not mentioned. Nothing is said in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* or the *Agni Purāṇa* about projections – where on the wall certain images should be. At times, the text guides the direction the projections should be facing. Nor do the texts direct how to decorate the superstructure besides the *kailāśa*, a lion, and windows. The *Agni Purāṇa* mentions lines (42.15, this could indicate the *bhūmi* style). The texts both mention the placement of *maṇḍapas*, but say nothing of their form or construction, except for the placement of pillars inside (*Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 13.6, 41, *Agni Purāṇa* 42.6).

Desai sees a “*yantra*-like rhythm” in the location of sculptures in the Kaṇḍāriya Mahādeva temple<sup>1687</sup>. The idea that the text leaves license to accommodate sectarian variation does, admittedly, qualify or threaten my assertion (following Kramrisch and Sinha) that omission is a reflex of the designer’s artistic freedom. There is unfortunately a

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<sup>1681</sup> *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* 13.5

<sup>1682</sup> Kramrisch, 1983:267.

<sup>1683</sup> Meister, 1979:209-210.

<sup>1684</sup> Meister, 1979:210.

<sup>1685</sup> I wonder if Meister names faith and empire particularly in reaction to Kramrisch’s focus on spirituality and aesthetics.

<sup>1686</sup> Discussed in chapter 1.2.

<sup>1687</sup> Desai, 1996:165.

long history of European scholarship (and popular cultural) portraying of Hindus as sectarian automatons.

The art of Khajuraho is inspired by the Tantra-based religious systems of the *Pāñcharātra* and *Śaiva Siddhānta* schools incorporating *vedic-purāṇic* elements<sup>1688</sup>. Desai suggests that the architect-priest, who had the qualifications of a *ācārya*, guided the artisans. Thus the pantheon shown on temples follows the religious system to which the temple patron(s) belong(s). In the case of Khajuraho, Desai sees connections between the multi-layered hierarchy of Śaiva philosophy and the carved images on the temples<sup>1689</sup>. The Tantric presence is confirmed by images of Vaikuṇṭha, a deity linked with the Pāñcarātra-school and Sadāśiva, associated with Śaiva Siddhānta, found in Khajuraho. Another Pāñcarātra deity that occurs repeatedly is Viṣṇu as Yogeśvara, expounding the mysteries of the Pāñcarātra to the sages surrounding him. Desai attributes the set of nine planetary deities in the basement niches to the Pāñcarātra system of cosmology<sup>1690</sup>.

Desai shows that each temple-pantheon is connected with the main deity, and is concerned with depicting a hierarchy among the deities. The art is thus connected to the Tantra-based religious systems of the Pāñcharātra and Śaiva Siddhānta schools incorporating *vedic-purāṇic* elements<sup>1691</sup>. Desai suggests that the architect-priest, who had the qualifications of a *ācārya*, guided the artisans<sup>1692</sup>.

Ajay J. Sinha has argued that “architectural inventions in Karnataka as well as ... sacred structures in India, as buildings everywhere, evolve and change because of the way their designers engage with their tradition”<sup>1693</sup>. Sinha uses the Vesara Temples of Karnataka as an example of local architect’s inventions and elaborations on local temple traditions. He asserts that the *Drāviḍa* form was the basis for the temples, and that new styles were inventions by local architects; not, as often thought, a mingling in of Nāgara elements<sup>1694</sup>. Sinha’s point is often lost in discussing *śilpa śāstra*. Scholars tend to think that all the rules are laid out in the texts, when in fact there is a lot of room to invent and be creative. For example, with regard to temple construction, the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra*, as well as the *Agni Purāṇa*, mention proportions of the ground plan and its relation to the plinth, height of the wall, platform, pillars, and also gives options “as the law of beauty may require”<sup>1695</sup>. It is interesting that the text directs conformity to “the law of beauty” where we (post-moderns) may be inclined to think of artistic practice as antinomian. The *Agni Purāṇa* also discusses how to build a temple from the proportional measure of the image, which is to be installed in the temple<sup>1696</sup>. These instructions, presumably, are the most important features that a temple needs to have in order to be considered an auspicious abode for the god who will be installed there. The ornaments of the temple are rarely spoken about. The *Agni Purāṇa* only mentions the ornament at the very top of the

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<sup>1688</sup> Desai, 1996:199.

<sup>1689</sup> Desai, 1996:3.

<sup>1690</sup> Desai, 1996:199.

<sup>1691</sup> Desai, 1996:199.

<sup>1692</sup> Desai, 1996:200.

<sup>1693</sup> Ajay J. Sinha, “Architectural Inventions In Sacred Structures: The Case of Vesara Temples of South India” in *JSAH* 55:4. (Dec. 1996), pp. 382-399, 382.

<sup>1694</sup> Sinha, 1996:387.

<sup>1695</sup> *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra*, ch. 13 *Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 42.1-9.

<sup>1696</sup> *Agni Purāṇa*, ch 42.10-14.

*śikhara*, the *kalaśa*, but does not say anything about it except that it has to be conical<sup>1697</sup>. As mentioned earlier the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* gives a fairly elaborate description of the door decorations, but leaves virtually all other decorations up to the architect/ artist. The architect would therefore have some restrictions imposed by the sacred tradition, primarily proportions, while he would have others imposed by the *yajamāna* or patron, such as size of the construction, or material to be used (which would also be determined by location). But with regard to embellishments, he may probably have been able to use his creativity. It is even possible that the actual layout may have been subject to variation according to the architect's ideas. The simple square inner sanctum is the norm for several centuries, but the outside wall may not follow the same square form. We end up with temples with numerous projections, even temples that almost appear to be round.

Sinha's point is supported also by looking at what the *śilpa śāstras* do not say. These texts leave much up to the architect. The architect, though involved and trained in a tradition broader than beyond what is written in the *śilpa śāstra* text, had license to use his own creativity in the temple construction. This seems to be how different temple styles developed.

Meister argues against Kramrisch's claim that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* became a rite by the time of the great temples<sup>1698</sup>. He says that the grid was a tool, flexible in its application. By "preserving the ritual grid the architect preserved the sanctity of the ritual altar, mimicking in his act that of the priest constructing the altar, itself the re-creation of a continuing cosmic creation"<sup>1699</sup>. Meister guesses that the transformation that the plan of the Hindu temple in north India underwent between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries "required a flexible and probably increasingly secret application of the grid's ritually vital proportions"<sup>1700</sup>. The idea that the grid's proportions became a secret is supported by Alice Boner's "Extracts from the *Śilpasāriṇī*"<sup>1701</sup>. If the proportions of the grid were secret, it may help explain why the layout of the temples became increasingly complicated. The early plan of the temple would make the proportions easily detectable even for the non-architect, while the later, increasingly elaborate embellishments would make the surface the focus for the one not initiated into the secret. Boner's argument is similar to the argument made about the usage of *yantras* in the erotic sculptures on the temples of Khajuraho: the *yantras* used for meditation are expressed by sculptures, which give several levels of usage or enjoyment. The uninitiated sees the beauty and erotic image, while the initiated sees the *yantra*, proportionate and beautiful<sup>1702</sup>, but related to esoteric mantra and particular divinities. Meister has also argued for the "increasingly secret application of the grid's [*vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*'s] ritually vital proportions"<sup>1703</sup>.

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<sup>1697</sup> *Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 42.19.

<sup>1698</sup> Kramrisch, 1946/1980: vol 1, p. 37, note 58.

<sup>1699</sup> Meister "Measure and Proportion in Hindu Temple Architecture" in *IRS* vol 10, nr 3 (Sep.1985): pp 248-58, p. 249, 251.

<sup>1700</sup> Meister, 1985:253.

<sup>1701</sup> Meister, 1985:254, and Boner, Alice "Extracts from the *Śilpasāriṇī*" in Chandra (1975): *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, pp 57-79, American Institute of Indian Studies, New Delhi.

<sup>1702</sup> Desai, 2000.

<sup>1703</sup> Meister, 1985:253.

## 11 Conclusion

The principal aim of this study was to explore the rituals connected with planning a temple according to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*; specifically, to research the background, significance of and use of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* in the building process according to the text. Before describing rituals pertaining to the construction project the text gives a rather lengthy description of the *ācārya* and his qualifications and disqualifications. Ajay Sinha, in his book *Imagining the Architect*, focuses on the role of the architect and creativity in the development of the Hindu temple. “It is generally assumed that the making of sacred art, as much as its use, is determined by the enduring norms of India’s age-old religious traditions or the ambition of kings”<sup>1704</sup>. While the role of the patron is important for the temple building project, patrons play a minor, even insignificant, role in ritually focused architectural texts such as the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. In this type of text the *ācārya*, in his function as an architect – priest, is the protagonist. Carrying out many of the rituals at various stages of the temple building project, the *ācārya* also guides the architect with regard to the important moments of the temple’s planning. Central to planning of the temple is the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*.

In order to explore the rituals connected to temple construction this dissertation presented a translation of fourteen *paṭalas* (chapters) of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. The following discussion focused on the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, its possible background, the connection to the Vāstupuruṣa, as well as its ritual and practical functions. In that discussion, besides a number of Sanskrit texts from the Pāñcarātra, Purāṇic and *śilpa śāstra* traditions, I have also utilized, primarily, the works of Kramrisch and Meister, both art historians who focus more on temple than text. With a focus on one single text, I have shown a precise connection between the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and the temple layout; offering evidence for the thesis, that, at the time of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* was not merely a ritual device but an integral part of the architectural planning. The text clearly states that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* should be drawn on the ground and it also specifies how many squares of the grid should be allocated to a particular part of the temple’s ground-plan. The fact that this ritual practice, clearly central to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, appears in the *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa*, a subsequent work, indicates, that it carried some significance for that text’s authors. However, one cannot determine the strength of that significance, for one cannot determine from the *Hari Bhakti Vilāsa* whether or not the ritual also continued to be used as a practical device for the planning of temples. Furthermore, the text leaves much room for architects to develop and change the way a temple looks; thus temples identified as adhering to various artistic styles could follow the same *maṇḍala*.

I believe, as stated earlier, that Meister is right in his assumption that the *maṇḍala* continued to be used for the planning of temples. As Bafna suggests in his article, the *maṇḍala* is used to locate places where building may not happen: *marma* points that must be left alone. This I think means that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* was not only a ritual device but practical as well. Avoiding construction on certain places naturally leaves other places free for building, a fact that, in the last instance, shows that the *maṇḍala* had a practical function. At the same time, “the makers of religious art in India claim a lot more initiative for its form and meaning than we have been willing to

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<sup>1704</sup> Sinha, 2000:188.

grant them so far”<sup>1705</sup>. Ritual texts, such as many of the Pañcarātra texts on architecture, including the *Padma Saṃhitā* and the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, as well as pure *śilpa śāstra* texts, such as the *Mayamatam*, leave much room for the *ācārya* and the architect to interpret and develop styles. Naturally, artists and priests lived (and live) and practiced (and practice) within a tradition which has unwritten, but practiced conventions and ideas that also need to be taken into consideration. Given the textual analysis put forward it is clear that Sinha is correct to assume that styles of temples develop primarily because of the local artists’ creativity. The artists and priests as well as the patron for the project were also part of a community (even though they could be traveling to work and thus not necessarily part of the local community) and had a view of their temple building project which was not limited to the “birth” of the temple but also to its future use. Thus, the scheme of the images in the temple, for example, would have to be carefully thought out to match its future usage. In close connection to the architect’s artistic freedom in design, is his freedom in planning the layout of the temple. We might think of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* as a general plan or frame with which architects and *ācāryas* may work in order to beautify and so please the god whom they will invite to live in the temple. (Obviously, they also seek to please the patron.)

While the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* clearly displays Vedic influences, it is not clear if these should be termed Vedic “roots”. That is to say, that while there are early Vedic hymns that indicate the presence of rituals pertaining to house construction, there is nothing that specifically links the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* to Vedic ceremonies. While the Vāstupuruṣa has many similarities to Vāstoṣpati, the two figures also show some significant differences; primarily that the Vāstupuruṣa is a demon to pacify, while Vāstoṣpati is viewed mainly as a protector. Vāstupuruṣa is a chthonic, nature demon, which must be subdued by divine culture powers – *samskṛti*. The opposition between Vāstupuruṣa and the *devas* is related symbolically to the relationship between the *dvija ārya*, the twice-born nobility, and the *anārya asaṃskṛta*, the common people, *loka*, and the relationship between the male “culture-ritual” sphere and the female “natural” sphere. The vocabulary used to describe the temple is male (the *Agni Purāṇa* even equates the temple with the body of Viṣṇu) while the female goddess earth is characterized as a rather weak woman who needs protection and wears lots of jewelry, and who is saved (cultivated) by Viṣṇu<sup>1706</sup>. While probably unverifiable, it is not impossible that the figures of Vāstoṣpati and Vāstupuruṣa represent a deity/ demon whose character has changed over the centuries.

Earth in Indian cosmology/ metaphysics is portrayed as being the residence of many different sorts of chthonic/ malevolent beings. Constructing the Vāstupuruṣa unites them so divine forces can be coordinated and thus hold down the demonic forces. The notion that a military array, like a phalanx, takes on a bodily character is a common metaphor describing united action (as in many soldiers, one army). The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is a sort of bodily image for a military array of gods and demons

<sup>1705</sup> Sinha, 2000:189.

<sup>1706</sup> The notion that the unbuilt world is a hostile person is common to both the old Norse myth of Ymir, who is killed by the divine Aesir (cognate Asura) and whose body parts are the building blocks of the finished cosmos, and the myth of Vāstupuruṣa, who is bound by the gods and whose fettered form is the foundation for the finished temple, house, village or city. Ymir is a giant, a chthonic nature figure, contrasted with the divine Aesir, builders, and thus representations of culture.



protecting the earth. The *maṇḍala* could be seen as an image for divine soldiers who set up camp. A *maṇḍala* is also a political-military image in Sanskrit thought, suggesting an agonistic metaphor rather than an idealist metaphysical one. Organizing them *anthropo-eides* ‘like a man, in human form’, these forces seem understandable and controllable.

Comparing the Vāstupuruṣa trope with similar, possibly, cognate examples of anthropos rhetoric is one way of explaining the rhetorical function of Vāstupuruṣa. The explanation is obviously speculative, skeptical and etic. One cannot emplace the Hindu temple on a rhetorical analysis of the anthropos myth. Rhetorical analysis may, however, help us characterize the hierarchical nature of the cognitive map onto which the Hindu temple ought to be emplaced.

The hierarchy of jobs from initiated and enlightened *ācārya* down to polluted *śūdra śilpi* reproduces the heavenly/divine: chthonic/mundane Vāstupuruṣa logic, which is articulated most famously in the *Puruṣa Sūkta* (Ṛg Veda 10.90). Simplified in a table the relationships can look like this.

Head	Heavenly saving knowledge <i>ācārya</i>	Hayaśīrṣa, Viṣṇu
Feet	Earthly work <i>śilpi, śūdra</i>	Vāstupuruṣa

At the head of the Puruṣa is knowledge, revealed by Hayaśīrṣa. The *ācārya* or Brāhmin priest is the human who has this divine knowledge. This level is associated with Viṣṇu as the highest divine being. On an inferior level, we have the earthly work associated with the feet of the Puruṣa, and – as in the *Puruṣa Sūkta* – the *śūdras* who originate from the feet execute this work in their profession as *śilpis*, a work associated with the chthonic Vāstupuruṣa.

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is exciting partly because it gives a window into the religious experiences and significance of the earth in an agricultural society. Attention to soil types and conditions (such as elevation, drainage), classification of oxen and cows, and their products, are all emphasized and articulated as sacred facts. The field is susceptible to sin and capable of being purified (by excavation, irrigation, plowing and cultivation). The settlement and agricultural activities are interpreted as purificatory, religious and sacred events. Natural features (rivers, mountains, lakes etc.<sup>1707</sup>) may be *tīrtha*-s, meeting places for earthlings and gods, or they may be divine beings themselves<sup>1708</sup>. While the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is oriented toward the worship of Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu, as creator and maintainer of the cosmos and revealer of all sacred

<sup>1707</sup> The Hindu temple is frequently compared to a mountain, heaven on earth or a palace for the gods. Though these ideas all convey important aspects of the temple structure with its mountainous peaks (for the North Indian *śikhara* superstructures), their abundance of gods, goddesses, semi-divine beings and other creatures depicted on the walls and in niches, as well as with their inner chambers reserved for the main god or goddess and his/her consort. According to Granoff these features characterize the inner apartment of royal palace (Granoff “Heaven on Earth”, discussed in chapter 2.1 above).

<sup>1708</sup> On the relationship between deity and territory and the many ways it is manifested see Gerard Colas article “Images and Territory of Gods: From Precepts to Epigraphs”, pp. 99-139, in Daniela Bereti and Gilles Tarabout, *Territory, Soil and Society in South Asia*, Manohar, 2009.

revelation, a diverse assortment of phenomena (teachers, rivers, the elements, and the directions) are acknowledged as divine and worshipped as well.

It is clear in the Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra that the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is first of all a tool for organizing. Organizing meanings is essential for human existence. The culture versus nature idea is essentially about organizing; while culture is organized, nature before divine craftsmanship is (supposedly) chaotic. The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is a ritual and architectural representative of the Puruṣa or *anthropos* motif. According to Rudolf Bultman<sup>1709</sup>, the anthropos motive “was originally a cosmogony...designed merely to explain the permanence and structure of the world...the figure of the Mediator is the cosmos itself conceived as a person, and contrasted with its own parts as an independent whole; this is a view that can be traced back to Plato in the Greek world”<sup>1710</sup>. The human body is an organizing type seen in the Puruṣa (as in the *Puruṣa Sūkta*), the Vāstupuruṣa, and Viṣṇu. The structure, unity, and permanence of the world, state, temple/ church, society, and city are represented as a male body.

The problem with Indo-European speculation, as with Titus Burkhart’s dogmatic – metaphysical interpretation of the Temple, is that they obscure the historical situation, the *sitz im leben*, of particular ritual- regimes for constructing the temple. Not every ritual regiment or organizing motif, or theological notion is attested, obvious, or accessible in every period or place. Even lacking details about where, when and why, scholarship should leave open spaces for the necessary further research and scholarly speculation, rather than wrapping all the various texts and requests for temple construction in one thick woolen blanket.

### 11.3 Ritual

Discussing the ritual of the Vāstupuruṣa it is also important to keep separate what the myth of the Vāstupuruṣa does with the Vāstupuruṣa, and what the temple foundation rituals do with the Vāstupuruṣa. The myth describes Vāstupuruṣa as a demon who wants to devour the universe. In the end, he is held down by gods and demons<sup>1711</sup> in their attempt to save the universe. To pacify the demon Vāstupuruṣa, Śiva promises that the Vāstupuruṣa will get a sacrifice at every construction. In the construction ritual, however, there is nothing that states that the Vāstupuruṣa gets a specific offering. The offerings made are directed to the deities and demons that hold him down. In the ritual, focus seems to be on strengthening the beings that hold the Vāstupuruṣa down rather than on pacifying him. At the same time, it is important not to agitate the Vāstupuruṣa unnecessarily. One ought not to locate walls, pillars, or other constructions on the *marma* points, which one might think off as his vulnerable points; particularly his belly, the center of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. Thus, while the myth focuses on the Vāstupuruṣa as a demon who requires offerings, the actual ritual focuses on this connection to earth and the offerings to the deities that hold Vāstupuruṣa down, i.e. who stabilize the earth. The permanence of the temple depends on the triumph of the gods against the demons, a

<sup>1709</sup> Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1971:27.

<sup>1710</sup> Bultman 1971:27-28.

<sup>1711</sup> In some texts only gods, see chapter 10 above.

motive repeated over and over again in Indian myth from the time of the Vedas (Rāma against Rāvaṇa, the Pāṇḍavas against Kauravas etc.). In most retellings of the Vāstupuruṣa myth there are both gods and other beings that cooperate to conquer the Vāstupuruṣa. Vāstupuruṣa can thus be seen as a kind of ur-demon who, if not conquered, will destroy the universe (again a common motif). This is, of course, the reason that gods and other demons or beings cooperate to hold him down. Then one can see the offerings to the *pāda* deities as insurance against them letting the Vāstupuruṣa loose. The *pāda* deities need to the offerings to live. There is a sort of *do ut des* (give and get) logic implicit in this transaction. In this context we may also consider the *śalya*. The *śalya* is, as we have seen (ch. 10), a disturbing or evil object in the ground which needs to be removed. One locates the *śalya* through a variety of ways (different in different texts). What they all have in common, however, is that the signs for the presence of a *śalya* is an inadvertent action, either by a human or an animal. The notion that inadvertent actions like scratching, stumbling, etc. indicate forces produced by chthonic beings that need to be dug up, countered by divine characters (foils) etc., suggests a possession framework. Here it is noteworthy that the objects that are considered to be *śalya* when specified are such things as nails or bones. That is, signs of previous habitation. It is thus, (as discussed in chapter 8 above), important that the soil be restored to a condition like untouched or virgin soil<sup>1712</sup>. Malevolent chthonic powers govern human action unless they are neutralized and a conduit (channel) for heavenly divine reign/ influence is constructed. The *śalya* is neutralized by removal (nothing is said about what one should do with it after that). Subsequently, the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is laid out; the rituals connected to that, as well as the consecration deposits, ensured divine influence.

Metaphysical interpretation of ‘the Temple’ does not comprehend the agonistic/possession framework of temple construction ritual. As with Old Norse myth and myth in the Book of Revelation (Christ’s army against beasts and dragons) heaven and earth imagery is a cipher for a war for domination regarding who will reign. This is a concern of much of the Vaiṣṇava religious myth too: establishing the reign of Viṣṇu through his *avatāras* (like Rāma) or representatives (such as Vibhīṣana).

At the time of the compilation of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, and within the community in which it was composed, people believed that the earth was inhabited by different kinds of spirits, some good, but mostly not. One needed to force the *bhūtas*, *rākṣasas* and other malevolent beings to depart, or else appease them before doing anything with the soil. Otherwise, disaster would follow. At the same time, the earth was regarded as a goddess, a mother. She too had to be revered. There is ambivalence in regard to the earth and its powers, ambivalence which creates opportunities for ritual specialists. Thapar reads the tantric/ brāhminical tension that this represents as class antagonism<sup>1713</sup>. It may be that the ambivalence reflects the inclusion of different groups’ ideologies within a single system. Ambivalence does not necessarily reflect social

<sup>1712</sup> Installing the consecration (*garbha*) deposit might then be seen as an act of impregnation.

<sup>1713</sup> Thapar typically interprets Hindu religious traditions as manifestations of class phenomena, i.e. the ideologies of brahmanical, royal, professional, popular or outcaste groups. "The devotional cult represented the more puritanical protest of the professional classes. The popular cults and sects sometimes demonstrated their protest in a more startling manner such as the rites of the Kalamukhs and Kapalikas. Some of their rituals, however, were rooted in the primitive, unbroken ritual of the outcaste sections of society" (Romila Thapar, *A History Of India volume 1*, Penguin Books 1966:261, see also p. 188-9).

antagonism, however. It can also be interpreted as a psychological fact pertaining to drives, individual development, etc.

As we have seen, the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* instructs the priest(s) to cleanse the earth before the temple construction is begun. This is accompanied by digging until water or a solid surface, such as rock, is found (10.26-8). Any impure objects, bones, metal objects etc., are removed. Then the foundation pit is refilled with soil, stone and brick. Before constructing the foundation of the temple a consecration deposit is placed in the ground. This deposit consists of various valuable objects such as rice, gems etc.<sup>1714</sup>. The text also tells us to invoke certain deities over, or, in the pot (11.7, 10). The ground is purified, set apart, and made holy by the cleansing and by inviting the deities. The next step is to build the temple with its high superstructure reaching up to heaven. There is a clear connection between the underground consecration deposit and the purified earth, the temple and heaven. The temple is a large vertical axis connecting the three realms: subterranean, terrestrial, and celestial. This is further clarified through a consecration deposit in the *śikhara* as well. However, the temple is not only a connection between gods and humans, it is also a space for gods and humans to meet on a real level, not a symbolic one. God actually inhabits the image in the temple, and people come to visit him or her.

According to Jens Peter Schjødt<sup>1715</sup> the phenomenon of religion is characterized by invocation of an “other world, a world that is only defined in relation to our world, the here and now. The other world is everything that our world is not”<sup>1716</sup>. Schjødt<sup>1717</sup> has pointed out with regards to Pre-Christian religion in Scandinavia, that this ‘other world’ is not restricted to one world but “will in fact be several other worlds. With regard to Scandinavian religion, it is not only a matter of the world of the gods, but also the world of the giants, of the dwarfs, of the dead and of many other worlds”<sup>1718</sup>. Schjødt also points out that some sort of communication normally takes place between these worlds<sup>1719</sup>. In the South Asian context, this communication is exemplified by the gods visiting earth: incarnations such as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, or just walking on earth, such as Indra's many visits, or less directly through inhabiting images (anthropomorphic or otherwise), as well as gifts of food (*prasāda*) from humans to gods, offerings, exchange of gifts, boons, power and knowledge. The worlds are not isolated entities but all exist in a common universe. There are not only good worlds and beings that connect to ours. The Vāstupuruṣa is a good example of a malevolent being in our world. This is, in Schjødt's

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<sup>1714</sup> In the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* the consecration deposit is mentioned in verses 11.1-8. See Ślaczka (2006) for a discussion on consecration deposits and findings of these in South and Southeast Asia.

<sup>1715</sup> Jen Peter Schjødt (2008): *Initiation between two Worlds: Structure and Symbolism in Pre-Christitan Scandinavian Religion*, translated by Victor Hansen, The University press of Southern Denmark. p 380

<sup>1716</sup> Leach 1976: “The topographical details of such metaphysical cosmology may vary greatly. The “other world” may be above the sky, below the sea, in the mountains, in the forest, across the bay, across the desert. The only think that can be said about it in general is that it is *not* here and now! Frequently, it is differentiated into layers and contrast – e.g. Heave, Hell and Purgatory.” Similarly expressed by Rudolf Otto (1963) in the classical term *Das ganz Andere* “*the completely different*”.

<sup>1717</sup> Schjødt, 2008:380.

<sup>1718</sup> Schjødt, 2008:380., Schjødt compares this to Boyers *le monde du double* ‘the world of the double’ (1986:29-32

<sup>1719</sup> Schjødt, 2008:380.

theory, the second criteria of religion<sup>1720</sup> (the first being that there is *another* world). The communication must be of a reciprocatory kind: human beings pray, offer and sacrifice; the gods answer by signs, intervention etc., which are interpreted by human beings as manifestations of the ‘other world’<sup>1721</sup>.

By exploring some features of the site planning, the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and the Vāstupuruṣa that are found in other cultures, I am not suggesting a common origin but rather suggesting that ideas common to many rhetorical and ritual traditions may indicate characteristics of orientation in hierarchical societies. Emplacement as a theoretical concept privileges place or social hierarchy as explanation. The gods on the demon – and the movement from head to feet both articulate brāhmaṇical caste rule – and, even more essentially, privileged Pāñcarātra mediation of Lord Nārāyaṇa’s domination.

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is a ritual text which emplaces temple construction on a tantric Vaiṣṇava Brāhminical cognitive map, organizing social classes on the model of the male body, where the Pāñcarātra *ācārya* is at the very head of the hierarchy. The gods repressing the demonic chthonic Vāstupuruṣa is a forceful expression of Nārāyaṇa’s sovereignty, mediated on earth by the wise Pāñcarātra *ācārya* who oversees the construction of Nārāyaṇa’s house.

Jones stresses the use and knowledge of the rules of orientation and proportion in relation to hierarchy<sup>1722</sup>. He thinks that rules in the *śilpa śāstras* were probably only known by a select few. Jones calls this the “highly idealized protocols of ritual-architectural apprehension, which correspond primarily with the initial intentions and expectations of designers and only imperfectly, if at all, to subsequent, ... experiences of multivocal religious architecture”<sup>1723</sup>. That is, architectural orientation is part of the perfection of architecture meant for divine and not popular consumption. This resonates with the general notion, argued by Bronkhorst<sup>1724</sup>, that Brāhmaṇas alone have power over sacred knowledge (of the Veda); power is primarily sacred, the objects of brāhminical power are secondarily sacred. Finally, what is sacred is defined as secret. The temple foundation rituals of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, like architectural traditions in other hierarchical societies, emplaces new temple construction on the cognitive map of its sacred technicians, a map organized according to the male body from head down to feet.

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<sup>1720</sup> Schjødt, 2008:380.

<sup>1721</sup> Schjødt, 1990:140-3.

<sup>1722</sup> Jones, 2000:64.

<sup>1723</sup> Jones, 2000:64.

<sup>1724</sup> Bronkhorst, 2011:52.

## *12 Epilogue - Idealist and Anti-idealist Theorizing of Sacred Space.*

In the theoretical sections of this dissertation, I have introduced three sorts of theorists whose relationship to idealist thought I will, by way of epilogue, attempt to clarify. The current intellectual climate is postmodern, that is to say anti-idealist, and anti-idealism poses a particular challenge, I will argue, to the interpreter of the Hindu Temple. In general, Indian philosophy has been interpreted as a variety of philosophical idealism; and the founder of Hindu Temple studies, Stella Kramrisch, has articulated the meaning of the Hindu Temple along distinctly idealist lines. I believe we can understand Stella Kramrisch's, as well as Ananda Coomaraswamy's and Titus Burkhardt's, work better if we keep in mind the role that Lindsay Jones assigns to symbol-making. That is that the process of symbol-making opens the mind and fosters suspension of disbelief<sup>1725</sup>. It is important, it seems to me, to identify symbol-making and the sort of stream of consciousness technique adopted by Kramrisch as an important intermediate step in her process of articulating the characteristics and significance of the Hindu temple to a European and American audience. Abstract and symbolic articulations deterritorialized from their native cognitive maps foster suspension of disbelief in Kramrisch's reader giving Kramrisch room to reorient her reader in relation to the Hindu temple. This move was probably very necessary considering the racist, Christian and Eurocentric perspectives dominating European and American academic writing at the time her book *The Hindu Temple* was composed<sup>1726</sup>. At the same time, we can identify Kramrisch's symbol-making process as having an anti-Platonic character, in spite of the fact that her results have a perennial idealist taste, insofar as she begins with details and motives and eschews definitions. The attempt to fix a general definition is the starting point for idealist attempts to characterize the sacred or holy, as Plato makes clear in his dialogue, *Euthyphro*. Euthyphro, who claims to know everything about the holy and unholy begins his floundering toward definition with an example of a holy act, while Socrates demands that he starts by defining the idea of the holy:

Socrates: Now call to mind that this is not what I asked you, to tell me one or two of the many holy acts, but to tell the essential aspect, by which all acts are holy; for you said that all unholy acts were unholy and all holy acts holy by one aspect (*auto to eidos*). Or don't you remember?<sup>1727</sup>

Kramrisch, it seems to me, never reaches a definition of the holy, but juxtaposes a series of image-rich articles in her book *The Hindu Temple*. The articles, vigorously though somewhat flightily written, have a stream of consciousness character, as well as many important observations and details about Hindu Temple architecture, but avoid positing any conclusion. If the reader permits the anachronism of genre-jumping, one may say that, in this respect, Kramrisch's book *The Hindu Temple* is organized like a *śilpa śāstra*,

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<sup>1725</sup> Jones theory is discussed in more detail in chapter three.

<sup>1726</sup> It was published the first time in 1946.

<sup>1727</sup> Translation by Harold North Fowler, *Plato Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus*, Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1914/1999:23. All Socrates quotes are from this edition.

Burkhardt, unlike Kramrisch is eager to define the essence of sacred space “the here and now”. Burkhardt, thus, is a better idealist than Kramrisch.

Mostly unlike Kramrisch, but likewise reacting against the idealist tradition, we can observe in Jonathan Smith and Grimmes’s work a refusal to fasten on a singular definition of the idea of the holy – they refuse both Rudolph Otto’s definition of holiness as alterity and Eliade’s binary sacred/profane – but articulate an uneven, multi-textured terrain of sacred place, related not to an abstract idea, but emplaced in a particular cultural-ideological hierarchy. Like Euthyphro, Smith and Grimmes, begin with examples and leave off before they identify a singular aspect or idea. Their anti-idealism is, of course, better thought out than Plato’s representation of the ridiculous Euthyphro’s.

The *Euthyphro*, which heads the lists of Plato’s dialogues, is, like the *Īśa Upaniṣad*, which begins most traditional collections of Upanishads, a relatively short dialogue raising and leaving unresolved a central question about the nature and means of religious observance and avoiding sin. Where the *Īśa Upaniṣad* pits the argument for non-harming (*ahimsā*) against the argument for *karma*, the *Euthyphro* contrasts Socrates with Euthyphro, a figure who claims “to know exactly all the sorts of things”<sup>1728</sup> concerning what is holy and unholy, and the right way to serve the gods. Euthyphro, confronted by Socrates’ analytic skill, is unable to fix a definition of holiness and, annoyed, says to Socrates, “You seem to me to be Daedalus”<sup>1729</sup>. In calling Socrates “Daedalus”, Euthyphro invokes the mythical inventor who makes motionless, inanimate things move. Both Socrates and Euthyphro agree on the value of stability. Socrates praises immobility, saying “I would rather have my words stay fixed and stable than have the wisdom of Daedalus”<sup>1730</sup>. Socrates, on the other hand, says that Euthyphro is himself the Daedalus whose words “do not remain fixed but walk about”<sup>1731</sup>. Moreover, Socrates accuses, Euthyphro is “like Proteus, who may not be let loose if he is to speak”<sup>1732</sup>. The construction of a logical argument, as Plato presents it, is like the construction of the Temple, as the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* presents it, insofar as both prioritize fastening down elements that have a tendency to run loose. According to Socrates, it is Euthyphro’s definition of the holy and the unholy that refuses to sit fast, but walks about hither and thither, like Proteus, or like one of Daedalus’s inventions. According to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, malevolent chthonic powers tend to range freely before they are amalgamated and bound as the Vāstupuruṣa. Both Plato’s text and the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* use mythical images to valorize immobility and deplore mobility. This reverence for the immobile and unchanging is indeed one of the characteristics of perennial idealist philosophy.

The central argument of the *Euthyphro* is directly relevant to the several discussions of the nature of the sacred I have contrasted in this dissertation. As is usually the case, Plato’s treatment of the topic is briefer and may seem to grasp the fundamentals better than contemporary scholarship. Plato convincingly rejects *do ut des* religion, central to Vedic ideology (though Plato does not know it), lampooning the idea that

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<sup>1728</sup> *ta toiauta panta akribos eideien*, 5A

<sup>1729</sup> *su moi dokeis ho daidalos* 11D

<sup>1730</sup> *eboulomen gar an moi tous logous menein kai akinetos idrusthai mallon he pros te daidalou sophia*, 11E

<sup>1731</sup> *me menovtes alla badizontes*, 15B

<sup>1732</sup> *ouk apheteos ei, hosper ho proteus prin an eipes* 15D

“holiness is trade carried on between gods and men”<sup>1733</sup>. While Socrates and Euthyphro seems to agree “that piety and holiness is the part of right concerning service to the gods”<sup>1734</sup>, Euthyphro is never able to spell out what humans have that they can give to the gods. It seems clear that Plato wants the reader to figure out, though Euthyphro never does, that each person’s gift to the gods is his or her engagement in questioning and cross-examination in order to find out what is true, and then in practicing the good. The holy the, for Plato, is the same as the true and the good. Euthyphro is silly to believe that he could please the god by mere religious observances. Thus Plato presents an ancient philosophical critique of religious cult.

Plato’s dialogue ends on a strongly ironic note, one that resonates too well with the conclusion to a dissertation aiming to contribute toward clarification of the character of the sacred in relation to Hindu Temple architecture.

Socrates: “But now I am sure you think you know what is holy and what is not. So tell me, most excellent Euthyphro, and do not conceal your thoughts.”

Euthyphro: “ Some other time , Socrates. Now I am in a hurry and it is time for me to go.”

Socrates: Oh my friend, what are you doing? You go away and leave me cast down from the high hope I had that I should learn from you what is holy, and what is not, and should get rid of Meletus’s indictment by showing that I have been made wise by Euthyphro about divine matters and am no longer through ignorance acting carelessly and making innovations in respect to them, and that I shall live a better life henceforth”<sup>1735</sup>.

Like Euthyphro, I have failed to provide any unmovable definition of the sacred. I introduced my dissertation voicing my unease with the rhetorical moves of Stella Kramrisch and Ananda Coomaraswami, which strike me as unverifiable and ultimately inappropriate to the Indic material, while I saw their relevance in terms of articulating the significance of Hindu architecture to a non-Sanskritized western scholarly audience. In concluding this dissertation, I feel like I can contribute more insight into these mutually aggravating facts though more by way of commentary than by definition. One of the central problematics I have attempted to address in this dissertation is the unsatisfactory character of Kramrisch, Burckhardt and Coomaraswami’s use of metaphysical terms to interpret the significance of the Hindu Temple. Lindsay Jones’s notion that symbol-use is a sort of hermeneutical play fostering suspension of disbelief seems to me to be a helpful way of explaining this stream of scholarship. Besides the obvious linguistic hurdle, the ritual character of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* makes it hard for contemporary scholars to sympathize with. Foreign mythological notions and precise ritual instructions make this text of temple construction ritual harder to appreciate than, say, Vedānta or Mahāyāna philosophy. Kramrisch’s difficulty, her stream of conscious writing and her appeal to perennial philosophy, can be interpreted as her strength too; namely, her ability to shift from detail-oriented analytic thought to a more playful meaning-making hermeneutical zone, before she lands again with her feet on the ground, so to speak, making the sorts of conclusions that art historians and Sanskrit scholars can incorporate in historical

<sup>1733</sup> *texne he hosiotēs theois kai anthropois par allelon*, 14E

<sup>1734</sup> *to meros tou dikaiou einai eusebes te kai hosion to peri ten ton theon therapeian* 12E

<sup>1735</sup> Plato’s Euthyphro, trans. Harold North Fowler, *Plato Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus*, Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1914/1999:59.



narratives and architectural surveys. I think the belief suspending symbol work is probably necessary for scholars coming from outside the tradition to make meaning from the facts. On the other hand, I think symbol talk and the use of metaphysical terms is ultimately unsatisfactory once one has more or less oriented oneself within the text and the tradition. Ultimately we want to articulate “thick descriptions” of the Hindu temple, emplacing Hindu temple architecture on native ‘emic’ cognitive maps. More and more in my future work I hope to relate the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*’s construction prescriptions to Pāñcarātra theology and soteriological practice. Symbol talk and perennial philosophy is like the automobile’s transmission, a mechanism for shifting gears. Kramrisch is remarkable in the degree to which she shows this aspect of the scholar’s work, and annoying insofar as it is idiosyncratic, unverifiable and hard to comprehend. Perhaps the most difficult task of the translator of a text like *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* is to articulate its significance to people that might like to make use of the translation. After finding my way around the text, I, probably like so many other Sanskritists, do not really see any need to talk of symbols or the sorts of perennial metaphysics deployed by Burkhardt and Coomaraswami. The people that used the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* conceived of its details as meaningful and salvific in and of themselves, and chiefly in relation to Lord Nārāyaṇa. (To a non-Christian baptism is a symbol, but to a Christian baptism is primarily a means to salvation.) The myths and rituals details of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* ought, ideally, to be understood wholly in relation to terms relevant to a practitioner of the Pāñcarātra; namely, its origination with Nārāyaṇa, its usefulness in attaining both *mukti* and *bhukti*, and, particularly, its authority as a compendium of right ritual in temple construction. Notions of the temple as a palace of the god and as the navel of the universe are relatively peripheral to this tradition, but I think scholars have made a good case that these notions would at least have comprehensible to some of the readers of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. Other notions, like Burkhardt’s articulation of the temple as the here and now, have no relevance to the ‘insider’ readers of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, but may be useful as formulations for the intermediate process of shifting gears (letting the cows roam free), exploring significance while orienting oneself to the culture of the text. Eventually, however, I feel that this latter sort of etic analysis is disposable.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1 – Glossary of technical terms in the Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra<sup>1736</sup>

#### A

- ācārya** – architect and priest, see discussion on page 198.  
**ākotanam** – foundation (11.14).  
**āsana** – particular floor or temple type (13.34).  
**āgneya** – southeast, the place of Agni (eg. 5.17)  
**aindra** – east, the place of Indra (eg. 5.17).  
**aiśāna** – northeast, the place of Īśana (eg. 5.19).  
**akṣatā** – virgin – (12.8, 47)  
**āya** – proportions (13.38).  
**āyata** – length (13.3)  
**āyasa** – “iron”. See further discussion in note to verse 13.2 of the translation (13.2).

#### B

- bhramaṇa** – walkway (13.12)  
**bhājanam** – repository (12.39)  
**bhaumika/ bhumika** – floor (13.28ff).  
**bitti** – wall (13.2).  
**bhāga** – The term is used in two slightly different ways, thus translated as “part” and “section”, frequently it seems that the term is identical to the *pāda* of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*. (See also notes to verses 8.17, 11.2, 12.27, 13.3, 13.38)

#### G

- garbhagrha** – inner sanctum  
**garbhabhājana** – consecration deposit repository (or box) (12.19, 21, 22, 39).  
**garbha** – consecration deposit 12.42 or in 13.6 and 13.10 is used as a short version of *garbhagrha* – inner sanctum or aytum (12.42, 13.6, 13.10).  
**garbhanyāsa** – consecration deposit. While this term is not used in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* it seems to be a synonym to the *garbhādānam* which the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* uses.  
**garbhādānam** a synonym of *garbhanyāsa* – ritual of installing the *garbha*. (12.10, 12.50)  
**gopura** – wall (13.26) compare *torāṇa* (13.40).

#### I

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<sup>1736</sup> The words that occur in the Sanskrit text of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* have the reference to the verse in which they occur at the end of the definition, in brackets, for example (11.14). The glossary is organized in the English alphabetical order. All references to Acharya are to his dictionary (Prasanna Kumar Acharya, *A dictionary of Hindu architecture : treating of Sanskrit architectural terms, with illustrative quotations from silpāśāstras, general literature, and archaeological records*, Bharatiya Pub. House, Varanasi, 1946:vol. 7, republished in 1979) . M refers to the *Mānasāra Śilpa Śāstra* in Acharya’s edition.

**iṣṭakā** – brick

*J*

**jagatī/jagati** –moulding of the base (13.5).

**jaṅghā** –wall (13.2, 13.3).

*K*

**kauberyā** – north, the place of Kubera (eg. 5.18).

**kunḍa** – holes for consecration deposit (11.3).

**kumbha** – pot

**kalasā** – pitcher (12.2ff).

**kailāśa** a type of building which is 28 cubits wide, has eight storeys, and turrets.

**karkara** - limestone

*M*

**mañjarī** – spire (13.3-4)

*N*

**nirgamaḥ** –projection (13.13)

**nairṛtā** – southwest, the place of Nairṛta (eg. 5.17).

*P*

**prathameṣṭaka** – the laying of the first brick (12.57).

**pīṭhabandha** – base for a pedestal (12.53).

**pratiṣṭhā** – base 11.1, 12.9, 12.56

**pīṭha** – pedestal (of an image) (12.53, 54, 55).

**piṇḍaka** – pedestal (the subject of chapter 19 of the text, see appendix 4).

**prāsāda** – temple

**pratimā** – image

**pūjā** – institution of worship performed daily and occasionally within the temple after its completion.

**purāṇa / purāṇas** – a genre of important Hindu religious texts, primarily consisting of narratives of the history of the universe from creation to destruction, genealogies of kings, heroes, sages, and gods, and descriptions of Hindu cosmology, philosophy, and geography as well as the arts. The Purāṇas usually give prominence to a particular deity, such as Viṣṇu in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*.

*R*

**rathaka** – niche - a meaning not supported anywhere else, as far as I can tell (12.14).

*S*

**śaṅku** –gnomon (6.15 and specified in chapter 7 of the translation).

**śalya** – an inauspicious object in the ground that has to be removed before construction starts. What exactly the object consists of is not clear in the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* (chapter 8 of the translation).

**śikhara** - superstructure

**sampātājyam** – *sampāta* are refer to a particular set of hymns, the term *sampātājyam* refers to the ghee secured at the end of an oblation (Rangachari, 1931:125) (12.39).

**śākha** – part (13.24).

**sukhanāsa** – parrot note – a particular ornament on the temple tower. 13.15-6

**sutala = adhiṣṭhanā** – the lowest part of the foundation (11.19)

**śayana** – lying down, the temples in which the idol is in the recumbent posture.

**sthānaka** – a class of buildings in which the height is the unit of measurement, the temples in which the idols are placed in the erect posture.

**sthāpaka** – see chapter 8.1.

**śilpa śāstra** – a term used as an collective term for all the technical texts regarding the arts in the Hindu tradition, such as painting, architecture, sculpture.

## V

**vāyavya** – northwest, the place of Vāyu (eg. 5.18).

**vāruṇya** – west, the place of Vāruṇa (eg. 5.18).

**vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala** – a ritual planning grid used in construction of temples (and other buildings). *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, as syntactic unit, is made up of three words: *vāstu* (the building site), *puruṣa* (man), and *maṇḍala* (plan or a closed form, generally square). The *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is an essential part of the preparation of the plot selected for temple construction within the Pāñcarātra tradition<sup>1737</sup>. Though there are many different versions of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, ranging from simple grids of just a few squares to those with over a thousand squares, the most common are 8 x 8 (sixty-four squares) and 9 x 9 (eighty-one squares). See further discussion in chapter 10, illustration in appendix.

**vistara/vistāra** – breadth (13.5-6).

**vedi(kā)** – the term is used in three different ways; basemoulding (11.1), top moulding (13.18) and pavilion (13.41).

## Y

**yāmya** – south, the place of Yāma (eg. 5.17).

**yāna** – a temple type where the god is in a moving posture (13.34).

**yoganidra** – a temple type where the god is in a sleeping posture (13.34).

**yogāsana** – a temple type where the god is in a yogic posture (13.34).

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<sup>1737</sup> And many other temple traditions as well, though there are other plans followed, such as the *yantra* for Śakta temples or the *nāga* based orientation used in Orissa.

## Appendix 2 – Figures of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*

Figure 1- *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* according to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra ādikāṇḍa paṭala* 8.

North							
Roga Pāpa	Naga	Sukhya	Bhāllāṭa	Yajñeśv ara	Nāgara	Srīmahā- devī	Aditī Śiva
Śeṣa	Rudra		Dharāha ra			Āpa	Parjanya
Asura		Yañmā			Āpavats a	Jaya	
Yādasa mpati	Mitra		Prajapati		Aryamā,		Sureśa
Puṣpada nta							
Sugrīva		Indrajay a	Vivāṣva n		Sāvitrī	Satya	
Dauvātik a	Indra					Savitā	Bhṛṣa
Pītara Mṛga	Bhṛṅga	Gandhar va	Vaivasv ata	Gṛhakṣat a	Vitatha	Pūṣan	Vyoma Hutāśan a

See chapter 10 for a discussion regarding the drawing of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* and the placement of the deities within it, as well as the possible identification of the deity.

Figure 1- *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* according to the *Agni Purāṇa* ch. 40<sup>1738</sup>

North

Roga Papa	Nāga	Mukhya	Bhallaṭa	Soma	Ṛṣi	Aditi	Diti Īsan
?	Rudra		Mahīdhara			Apa	Parjanya
Asura		Pakṣa			Apavatsa	Jayanta	
Varuna	Indra		Brahmā		Marici		Mahendra
Puspa- Danta							Ravi
Sugriva		Indra	Vivaśvata		Sāvitr	?	Satya
?	Indrajaya					Savitṛ	Bṛṣa
Pitr	Bhṛṣa	Gandh- arva	Dharmeśa		Vivata- tha	Pūṣana	Vyoma Vahni

Naga = Vāsuki, Apa = Himalaya according to the Samarangana Suthradhara, Mahendra is the Lokapala of the East, Soma is the lord of the *nakṣatras* and a *lokapāla* and *āditya* all in one, Indra is of the west.

<sup>1738</sup> There is also a short discription of a *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* in chapter 93. The main difference between chapter 40 and 93 of the *Agni Purāṇa* is that 40.13 gives four squares for *Marici* and the other deities around *Brāhma* and 93.6 says 6. I have chosen to follow chapter 40 mainly because it gives more details it is simply not possible to construct a diagram from the information provided in chapter 93. Also, chapter 40 provides a better comparison with the way the *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* is described in the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* as it is contextualized in a similar way, and perhaps even taken from the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra*.



### Appendix 3 – Offerings to the Pāda deities

Deity	Offerings according to the <i>Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra</i>	Offerings according to the <i>Agni Purāṇa</i>
Śiva (Īśana)	Pāyasam with honey	Īśa ghee ( <i>ghṛta</i> ) and <i>akṣata</i> (sundried rice)
Parjanya	Indigo plants or fragrant flowers	Nor specified
Sureśa	Jewels	
Jayanta	Yellow flag (not in VPM list but in offering list)	Water and lotus flowers
Bhāskara	Ghee	
Mahendra		Banner
Satya	Incense and yellow color	Sacrificial offerings and ghee
Ravi (sun)		Sarvaraktapade
Bhṛṣa	Bird's flesh	
Vyoma	Sacrifice in fire	Bird's flesh
Vanhi (fire)		Sacrificial ladle
Pūṣa	Fried barley and parched grain	Pūṣan fried paddy
Vitatha	Gold	Gold, churn and sundried rice
Gr̥hakṣata	Sweet food	
Dharmeśa		Meat and rice
Vaivasvata (yama)	Flesh and boiled rice	
Gandharva	Sandalwood	Perfume and birds tongue
Bhṛṅga	Birds	Blue cloth

Mṛga	Sesame and barley	
Pitara	Milk, sesame and rice	Pitrs – same as <i>Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra</i> + toothbrush in the next square
Sugrīva	Barley	Yāvaka
Puṣpadanta	Kuśagrass	Barley
Yādasāmpati (Varuna)	White and blue lotuses	Lotus
Asura	Sugar	Wine
Śeṣa	Boiled rice with ghee	Water and ghee
Pāpa	Barley	Barley
Roga	Ghee and cake	Maṇḍa (liquid)
Nāga	Nāgapuṣpani	Same
Sukhya	Eatables	Same
Bhallāta	Various foods	Kidney beans and rice
Yajñeśvara (soma)	Sweet payasam	Kidney beans and rice
Nāgara (nāga)	Waterlilly root	
Two rsis		Pāyasam and honey
Śrīmahādevī (Śrī)	Pāyasam	
Diti		Anointing
Aditī	Cake (pūikā)	Perhaps the same as Diti
Āpa	(milk and water?)	Milk and cake
Āpavatsa	Milk	Curd
Aryamā	Laddhukas	Same
Savitā	Kuśa-water	
Sāvitrī	Molasses-cake	Red flowers and in the next spot water and kuśa grass

Vivāsva (vivasvata)	Red flowers and red sandalwood	Red sandalpaste
Indra	Food with turmeric	Rice with turmeric
Indrajaya	Food with ghee	Rice with ghee
Mitra	Sweetmeats	
Indra		Payasam with sugar
Rudra	Payasam with molasses	Boiled meat
Yajñmā (same as Rāyayakṣmaṇa?)	Raw and roasted meat	
Yakṣa		Wet fruit
Dharāhara (Pṛthvīdhara) Mahidhara	Raw meat and half ripe barley	
Prajāpati/ Bhrama	Sundried rice with sesame,	Sesame and rice
Outside the Diagram		
Skanda etc.	Raw meat and all kinds of food	The <i>Agni Purāṇa</i> is more precise and names multiple deities and their offerings.

## Appendix 4 – Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra contents

This appendix gives a short summary of the remaining *paṭalas* of the first *kāṇḍa* of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* (for *paṭalas* 1-14 see chapter 7).

Paṭala 15. The Characteristics of Stones (and other materials) to be used for making images.

Paṭala 16 Auspicious times etc. to go get the stone (or other materials) and making of *maṇḍapa* in which to keep the stone in while it is being worked on.

Paṭala 15. Characteristics of stones.

Paṭala 16 *Vanayāga* – offerings to *bhūtas* and other beings that may be residing in the place.

Paṭala 17. *Garuḍa* Essential points in an image of *Vāsudeva* and other deities, rules to be observed, measurements to be followed.

Paṭala 18. General characteristics of images.

Paṭala 19. General characteristics pedestals (*piṇḍaka*).

Paṭala 20. Essential points in an image of *Śrī*.

Paṭala 21. Essential points in an image of.

Paṭala 22. The twentyfour manifestations of *Viṣṇu*, and their characteristics.

Paṭala 23. The ten *avatāras* of *Viṣṇu* and their characteristics.

Paṭala 24. Essential points in an image of the nine *vyūhas*.

Paṭala 25. The essential points in images of attendants, such as *Garuḍa*.

Paṭala 26. Characteristics of the *grha*.

Paṭala 27. Essential points in an image of the *Mātr̥s*

Paṭala 28. Essential points in an image of *Lokeśa* (the lord of the world, *Brahmā*).

Paṭala 29. Essential points in an image of *Rudra*.

Paṭala 30. Essential points in an image of *Gaurī*.

Paṭala 31. Essential points of the *liṅga*.

Paṭala 32. The relative measurements between the pedestal and the image.

Paṭala 33. Installation ceremony.

Paṭala 34. *Planing of the Maṇḍapa* (using strings), size of the same, measurements are in hastas, *maṇḍapas* for various purposes, sacrifice, bathing and storing, the decoration of the *maṇḍapa* (since cloth is used for roof this is probably still during construction.) Purification of the area. Getting rid of non-believers before commencing the ceremonies. *Pūjā*, placement and measurement for *toraṇas*.

Paṭala 35. Taking possession of the sacrificial ground. Consists mainly of a description of deposits in pitchers (*ghaṭa*, *kumbha*, *kalasā*) in the 8 directions and the order to place them.

Paṭala 36. Moving the image from the sculpture's shed to the temple, washing it, installation ceremonies, offerings.

Paṭala 37. *Adhivāsa* –preliminary consecration (*prathiṣṭhā*) of an image. Explanation of the fundamental principles of the universe; mainly by *mantras*.

Paṭala 38. Placing of jewels.

Paṭala 39. Worship of images. *Pratiṣṭhā*

Paṭala 40. The rite of *asvabhṛtasthāna*

Paṭala 41. The *balidāna*.

Paṭala 42. The installation and consecration of the door.

Paṭala 43. The consecration of the temple (*hṛtpratiṣṭhā*).

Paṭala 44. The placing of the flag at the top of the *śikhara*, and other symbols such as the *cakra*. Gifts to be given by the *yajamāna* to the *ācārya*.