

Chapter 4

The Cremation Ritual

1. Preliminary remarks

The scriptures and ritual manuals under consideration here describe various practical matters related to cremations. These include the choice of ritual officiants, outlines of procedures for the cremation rite itself, instructions regarding purification after being close to a dead person (*śāvāśauca*), as well as remarks on inheritance dealings within the monastic community. In analysing these cremation rites, the focus here will be on initiatory cremation, which by the time the ritual manuals were written was the standard procedure for Śaiva tantric cremations. The main textual sources chosen for this account are the scriptures SJU and Kir – which both teach a full funerary initiation (see chapter 2) – and the ritual manuals SP and JR. Where appropriate for comparison, parts of other early Saiddhāntika scriptures, such as the SvāSS and the SārK, will also be examined.¹ In a few instances, descriptions from the MatP regarding the preparation of the corpse and choice of burial site will also be compared, although this scripture teaches burial rather than cremation. The KKD is discussed here only with regard to the section on impurity regulations, not initiatory cremation, since it teaches a different model, as described separately in chapter 3.²

To avoid producing a hybrid account, I present here the instructions of each source separately. As a result, a certain degree of repetition is unavoidable. References to the various text passages are found in the main text. Many of these passages have been edited and translated in the appendices to this volume. However, whenever a textual source is not included there, the Sanskrit text is given directly in the footnotes.

¹ Note that the NaiKri and NaṭP, which have been discussed separately, are not integrated into this account, the former because it is incomplete and contains a rather unique account tailored towards a death within a monastic institution, and the latter because its structure is close to that of the SP (see pp. 100ff.), which is considered here.

² See pp. 110ff.

2. The officiant and other people involved in death rituals

In Śaiva tantric rituals, only an initiated person consecrated to the office of *ācārya* may act as the medium between Śiva and an individual's soul, the underlying logic being that Śiva only operates through an *ācārya*. Consequently, only an *ācārya* has the ability and power to perform a ritual such as initiation, whereby the soul is moved through space and manipulated in the process of the initiatory transformation of freeing the soul from its impurities. In the cremation context, this becomes relevant since, for the same reason, only a Śaiva tantric priest can perform a cremation that includes the initiation of the deceased person's soul.³ The DīU even states this requirement twice, as if to remove any doubt about whether a specialised Śaiva *ācārya* is really required for cremation rituals.⁴ This insistence on the need for a Śaiva *ācārya* may at first seem banal, but must be seen in the light of the traditional line-up of ritual agents involved in the original funerary context, in which the chief mourner and the brahmanical funeral priest were the key figures. The chief mourner traditionally acts as the *yajamāna*, the person sponsoring the ritual and acting as the sacrificer on behalf of the deceased person in long parts of the rite. Most significantly, it is he who lights the funeral pyre upon which the corpse and its implements are ritually offered as final oblation. This responsibility is closely tied to rules regarding inheritance and the performance of *śrāddha* rites for a deceased person during the first year after his passing.⁵ Hence, the role of the chief mourner is classically assigned to the closest relative of the deceased, starting with

³ Accordingly, the sources that explicitly designate who should be the main officiant in the cremation ritual use one of the various words that are synonyms for a tantric priest: this officiant is referred to as an *ācārya* in SvāSS 22.9, Kir 60.16 and DīU 16.37d. In the SJU, the officiant is referred to as *vicakṣaṇa* (SJU 13.14 and 13.17), *mantravid* (ibid. 13.18), *mantrajña* (ibid. 13.19) and *vidvant* (ibid. 13.21). While these terms are merely verse fillers and can refer to either an *ācārya* or a *sādḥaka*, here the context makes it clear that the former is meant. The JR uses the term *guru* for the officiant (JR AP 21, 56, 60, 63, 70 and 77).

⁴ DīU 16.37c–38 (T 17, p. 1061 and T 150, p. 158): *jñānavijñānasampanna ācāryas tattvapāragah || kālacakravindhārajñāḥ kālajñāḥ *so 'bhidhīyate* (conj. Sanderson; *sa vidhīyate* T 17 and T 150) **sa vai mocayate* (T 17; *sa vaimē +* T 150) **jantūddhārajño* (conj. Sanderson; *jantu dhārajño* T 17; *jantuḥ cārajño* T 150) *nātra saṁśayaḥ*. “An *ācārya*, endowed with knowledge and wisdom, who has mastered the *tattvas*, who knows the way of the cycle of time, is called a master of time. He alone liberates, being expert in the raising of souls [out of *saṁsāra*]. Of this there is no doubt.”

⁵ See, e.g., Olivelle 2009.

the eldest son.⁶ The funeral priest guides the chief mourner in the correct execution of the rites, showing him how to conduct the entire sequence of rituals – from the rites performed at the site of death, through the offerings for the deceased during the eleven days after death, and to the *sapīṅḍīkaraṇa*, the ritual through which the deceased person's soul is merged with those of his ancestors.

When the brahmanical structure was transposed into the Śaiva context, ultimately with a funerary initiation being added, the focus shifted to the tantric priest officiating throughout the ritual. Yet, as seen above, the function of Śaiva cremation remained ambiguous – oscillating between a powerful rite to free the soul and a simple act of conformity to dispose of the deceased person's body, this strongly linked to the householder context and its traditional structures. Hence, the question stands whether, or to what extent, a Śaiva officiant replaced the traditional one. Was the *ācārya* envisaged as conducting the entire ritual, or was he to conduct only those rites specific to the Śaiva religion, namely the initiation of the deceased person's soul before cremation?⁷ Most of the scriptural material describes a series of rites starting with the washing of the corpse and ending with the water offerings to the deceased just after cremation, which might be interpreted as meaning a Śaiva *ācārya* is to conduct all of these steps during the early stages. However, it is also possible that a brahmanical funeral priest or a family member was still involved in certain parts, such as the physical preparation of the corpse before the funeral procession.⁸ Further, the engagement of brahmanical funeral priests may have been particularly suitable

⁶ The regulations fixing degrees of proximity between relations vary according to Vedic school (see Kane 1953, pp. 256–260), but all agree that the eldest son is a person's closest family member.

⁷ Strictly speaking, the Śaiva scriptures and the rites enjoined in them are considered accessible only to those who have undergone Śaiva initiation. This implies that in a Śaiva ritual, the officiant, beneficiary and all other participants must theoretically be initiates. Accordingly, in traditional etymology (*nirukta*), the term Śaiva is explained as meaning “one who studies and follows the scriptures declared by Śiva”, rather than “one who worships Śiva”. See Hanneder 1998, p. 5, fn. 8, where also Sanderson is quoted on this matter regarding *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 4.3.101, 4.2.59 and 4.2.64.

⁸ The participation of potentially different agents in the preparatory procedures for the corpse is, for instance, suggested in JR AP 11. Here it is explicitly stated that not only the *ācārya* but also the *sādhaka*, *putraka* or *samayin* may wash and prepare the corpse in case of an initiatory cremation.

ble in cases when rituals were included that were particularly incompatible with Śaiva doctrine but a fixed element of the householder routine, such as the offerings to the deceased during the ten days after death. In such cases, the extant Śaiva scriptural material either remains silent on these procedures – which may indicate that precisely such operations took place but could not be acknowledged in the authoritative texts – or refers to the Vaidika tradition, thereby sanctioning that the procedures and choice of priests reverted to conventional brahmanical ones at this point. On the other hand, when there is a complete absence of any instructions it could also be a sign that the rites were dictated by local practice; rather than indicating a change of agency, this silence may have meant that who conducted which steps was up to the discretion of the officiating *ācārya*. With the ritual manuals, the situation changes slightly and the funerary prescriptions extend to the gathering of the bones (*asthisamcayana*) a few days after the cremation, suggesting that the guidance of the Śaiva *ācārya* lasted at least to this point in the ritual. Nonetheless, here too it is not specified who makes the offerings to the deceased in the days in between, leaving open the possibility that normal funerary priests may have been involved in some settings.

An extremely significant point is that there is no mention in any of the sources, with the exception of the KKD,⁹ of active participation of family members. Even with the transformation of the ritual into an initiatory cremation, it is striking that the chief mourner is never mentioned, given his commonly prominent role at various pivotal moments, such as lighting the funeral pyre, or his circumambulating the pyre while pouring water and then cracking the skull. If instructions for these rites are mentioned in our sources, the passages are formulated in a way implying that a tantric priest is carrying out these tasks; and no mention at all is made of some steps, such as the skull-cracking. It would indeed have been a decisive modification if an *ācārya* had taken over this chief mourner role. However, it might be speculated that the vagueness of these instructions was simply a means

⁹ There it is specified that the deceased person's family members are to follow the officiant in his circumambulation of the pyre after the cremation. KKD T 370, p. 213: ...*svabandhujanānuṣṭāto 'pradakṣiṇaṃ bhrāmya svasthāne 'dhumukhīm *tām* (corr.; *tān* Cod.) *nikṣipya...*, "... [the officiant] should move [the Vardhanī vase] around [the pyre] in the counter-clockwise direction, followed by [the deceased person's] own relatives, and then place it (or throw it) upside down on one's own place (i.e. where one is standing)...."

for masking aspects of procedures or practices that were doctrinally awkward to acknowledge in authoritative manuals. For instance, when Śaiva cremations took place outside the monastic domain and in the householder context, a reason for not explicitly mentioning a chief mourner may have been the fact that if he were not an initiate, strictly speaking he would not be entitled to participate in a Śaiva ritual.¹⁰ Such a scenario again highlights the difficulty of synthesizing existing structures with Śaiva ones. Similar cases would be the post-mortem offerings to the deceased in the first days after death, as well as impurity regulations, which through familial bonds affected a wider, perhaps non-initiated social circle. In such cases, we have seen that if nothing else was prescribed, it is enjoined to comply with the mundane order.

As pointed out above, amongst the early sources, the KKD is the only exception to the silence on this matter. In its section on the *samayāntyeṣṭi*, the manual specifies that if the deceased person is a householder, there is a change of agent: his son, a relative or a student is to light the pyre and circumambulate it with the water pot.¹¹ Further, in the prescriptions regulating

¹⁰ Thus, for choosing the person to carry out the ritual role of chief mourner, it had to be regulated whether initiatory level took precedence over the degree of family relation or caste.

¹¹ KKD T 370, p. 183, line 1ff (in the section of the *samayāntyeṣṭi*, pp. 161–185): ...*mṛte grahasṭhe tatsuto vā jñātī vā śiṣyo vā *snāto* (em.; *snātam* Cod.) *'pasavyopavitū śiva-kumbhaṃ śirasā vahan apradakṣiṇena *avicchinnapayodhārām* (em.; *avicchinnadhayodharān* Cod.) *trīḥ paribhrāmya śirodeśe kāṣṭhena luḥitam śeṣajalam saṃgrhya tajjale kṣīrasalilataṇḍulāni niḥsipya vardhanīm śirasā dhārya tasmāt prasaraṇajalam tato 'pradakṣiṇatrayam kṛtvā *svarṇam akṣatatilānvitam* (conj.; *svarṇākṣatam tilānvitam* Cod.) *āsyē niḥsipet kartā hastapṛṣṭhe viśeṣataḥ—agnim darbhais samāropya prajvālyā śirodeśe sthitas *sarpirmadhupayah* (em.; *sarpirmadhupah* Cod.) *pūrṇām sasruvām srucam utkṣipya *pūrṇām* (corr.; *pūrṇam* Cod.) *evam vākyam udīrayan kṣipet – oṃ tvam agne dakṣiṇaḥ kālāḥ kālenaivopapādītām – grhāṇa mantrasampūtām śāvyām enām mahāhutim | iti pūrṇām datvā*. “When the deceased is a householder, his son or a relative or a disciple, having purified [himself] by bathing and with the sacred thread in the reverse direction, circumambulating [the pyre] in the counter-clockwise direction carrying a Śiva vase on his head, [pouring] an uninterrupted stream of water, three times around, at the place where the head [of the deceased is], [the vase] should be hit with a wooden stick, [and] having gathered the remaining water, he should throw in milk, water and rice grains, carrying the vase on the head, then pour a stream of water three times around [the pyre] in the counter-clockwise direction. [And then] the ritual agent (*kartā*) should put gold together with unhusked barley grains and sesame seeds on the mouth [of the corpse] [and] in particular on the place of the hands. [Then] he should lift the fire with *darbha* grass and ignite [the pyre], standing where the head [of the corpse is situated] and [he should pour] a full oblation with clarified butter,

the purificatory rites for those who participated in the funeral, three categories of participants are named: those who followed the procession, those who carried the corpse, and the person who lit the funeral pyre (the *dāhaka*). The purificatory rites are the same for the latter two groups.¹² This is significant for interpreting the social context, since by equating, in terms of impurity, the corpse bearers with the person who lights the pyre, it seems unlikely that an *ācārya* is being envisaged as lighting the pyre, since there are different instructions for his purification and he is generally not considered to be affected by the impurity to the same degree as are the corpse

honey and milk [and] throw in the *sruc* and *sruvā* ladles, and pour [another] full oblation, saying: ‘om, O Agni, you are the South, you are Death, accept this great oblation of the corpse, which is the product of time alone and has been purified by mantras.’ Having said [this] he should pour [another] full oblation (*pūrṇām* for *pūrṇāhutim*).” Note that this specification is missing in the section on initiatory cremation (*adhvasuddhivihitānyeṣṭi*) (pp. 185–214), KKD T 370, pp. 212–213: *sthaṅḍilasthaṃ śivaṃ vahnisthena saṃyojya śivaṃ viṣṭjya śavaṃ dakṣiṇamastakaṃ citāyām āropya paṭenācchādyā sadindhanair vidhāya *kuṇḍamād* (conj.; *kuṇḍamat* Cod.) *jatāgninā prajvālyā śirodeśe sthitasarpirmadhupayaḥ pūrṇām sasruvaṃ srucam utkṣipyā. om tvam agne dakṣiṇaḥ kālaḥ kālenaivopapāditām | grhāṇa mantrasampūtām śāvīyām enām mahāhutim iti.* Before a critical edition of the text is available, however, it is not possible to say whether this was intended – perhaps because of the pivotal role of the Śaiva *ācārya* in the initiatory cremation – or whether this is an accidental omission.

Davis 1988, pp. 45–47, has argued that a Śaiva *ācārya* officiates only in those rites that are directly concerned with the soul of the deceased. Tasks originally for the chief mourner, such as lighting the pyre, and other actions usually performed by family members or professionals, such as washing the corpse, are still done by them. He apparently bases this observation on the funerary accounts in the *Rauravāgama*, SP, KKD, and *Uttarakāṃika* (ibid. p. 40, fn. 6). However, no references to texts are given. As far as I have seen, the above passage from the KKD is the only passage in these early sources where a change of agent is explicit. In fact, Brunner-Lachaux (1977, p. 604–606, fn. 78) also poses the question who lights the funeral pyre in the SP, where – as she notes – the reading suggests that it is an *ācārya*. Quoting the same passage from the KKD (ibid. p. 603, [32a], but from a different manuscript source), she also highlights this particular case, but points out that most sources appear to envisage an *ācārya*.

¹² KKD, T 370, p. 213: *paścād anavalokayan jalāśrayaṃ natvā snātvā tīrabhūmau kuśān āstīrya trīn nivāpāñjalīn om hām śuddhātman īśo bhava svadhā, evaṃ sadāśivo bhava śānto bhava iti datvā *punaḥ* (corr.; *puna* Cod.) *snātvā anugās sahitā aghoraṃ vā śatam skandhadātūro dāhakāś ca dviguṇaṃ japeyuh.* “After this, [the officiant] [should go] to a water site without looking back, bow and bathe, strew *kuśa* grass on the ground of the river bank and offer three handfuls of water libations [to the ancestors], [saying] ‘om hām, O purified soul, may you become Īśa, svadhā, and in the same way (*evam*) [afterwards] become Sadāśiva and become Śānta.’ [Then] everyone should bathe again, those who followed [the funeral procession] [should bathe reciting] a hundred *aghoramantras* and the corpse bearers and the person who lights the funeral pyre should recite twice as many.”

bearers. Further, different rules are explicitly stated for cases in which the person lighting the pyre is not a relative, an instruction that makes little sense if this person were an *ācārya*.

Indeed, these specifications are consistent with the KKD's character of presenting a ritual model in which initiatory Śaivism is firmly embedded within mainstream society, to the point that the problematic issue of insiders and outsiders to the initiated community becomes irrelevant. The text may thus represent the point at which the ritual repertoire of the Śaiva tradition had become entirely independent from the brahmanical and had spread throughout the various strata of society.

The issue of whether it is a Śaiva tantric priest or a family member officiating over a funeral ritual is less relevant in the context of a monastic institution, especially if members of monasteries were ascetics without active familial relationships. Moreover, we have seen that some sources – although not all¹³ – suggest that cremation with a funerary initiation is not required for monastic ascetics. The underlying logic is that these initiates are already of higher spiritual status. In such cases, the imperative that a Śaiva *ācārya* perform the funeral rite loses significance. We find this view expressed in the BK-passage quoted in the JR. Here, initiates of any rank may act as an officiant, under the restriction that they only perform rites for initiates of their own or an inferior rank. This concept mirrors brahmanical notions of inter-caste relations. In these two texts it is stated that an *ācārya* can officiate for all four groups; a *sādhaka* for anyone but an *ācārya*; a *putraka* only for other *putrakas* and *samayins*; and a *samayin* only for other *samayins*. However, if the appropriate person is not available, a *samayin* is permitted to officiate for all four castes.¹⁴ The grammatical construction of this injunction shows that the person officiating is different from the person organizing the cremation; it implies that the performance of funeral rites is delegated to a member of the monastic community by the head of an or-

¹³ For instance, the SP explicitly calls the recipient of an initiatory funeral an ascetic (*tapasvin*), in contrast to the JR and BK, which prescribe the simple cremation for ascetics, as discussed above on pp. 108ff.

¹⁴ See JR AP 101–102b (= BK, NGMPP B24/57, f. 214r2–214r3). For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices.

der.¹⁵ Another case to be considered is that of someone dying within the monastic institution who still maintained familial ties – as for instance described in the BP. None of the sources are explicit about what should happen in such a case, but at least in the BP it appears that a Śaiva tantric priest is still to officiate; the family is tasked with sponsoring the rite and organizing a feast at the monastery.

Nonetheless, not in all sources is simple cremation taught with the stipulation that it can be performed by any initiate. In the material under consideration, we find that in some sources, an *ācārya* is the officiant even here. For instance, this is stated explicitly in the SvāSS, the earliest extant source for Śaiva cremation, a text that keeps the boundaries between circles of ascetics and householders vague. It is also implicit in the SārK, which does not include a full funerary initiation but mentions a moment in which the soul is united with that of the officiant and moved through space, a task appropriate only for an *ācārya*.¹⁶ Lastly, the SP also implies that simple cremation is conducted by an *ācārya*, since it is merely classified as a variation of initiatory cremation with no change of agency indicated.¹⁷

¹⁵ One might argue that the rules determining who may act as an officiant could equally well apply to the familial context, albeit with initiatory rank taking precedence over familial order. For example, for the role of chief mourner, an initiated younger son would be given preference over an uninitiated older son. However, I find this idea unlikely because the passage goes on to designate who is responsible for performing the post-mortem offerings by mapping out the spiritual family relations within the community of initiates. This is followed by a discussion of the regulations to be observed when in an impure state (see pp. 161ff. below). Since performing post-mortem offerings is closely connected to impurity observances, this would imply that all such regulations would be observed according to this grid of familial relations. But the passage goes on to prescribe, in both the SvāSS source text and the BK/JR, that householders must observe their mundane practices. This imperative cannot be reconciled with what has just been prescribed, unless we assume that the preceding passage applies only to the monastic context, where members have left their family relations behind.

¹⁶ SārK 26.4ab: *citaś cittasya saṃyogād grahaṇaṃ pūrvavad bhavet*. See chapter 2 for a discussion of this passage.

¹⁷ The KKD, on the other hand, presents a different picture altogether. Here, all rites are performed by a Śaiva funeral priest and cremation without initiation is not associated with ascetics, but with the cremation of lower rank initiates. See chapter 3, pp. 113ff.

2.1. Other people involved in the ritual

There are also a number of practical tasks that are carried out during a funeral procedure, such as preparing and carrying the corpse, and arranging the site by digging, bringing firewood and piling the pyre. From contemporary accounts of cremation in India we know that such tasks are often carried out by members of professional groups specializing in such services.¹ It is not unlikely that this was also the case in the early medieval period. Unfortunately, the Śaiva textual materials under examination here contain very little information about such details. The following is what we can infer: in the context of the removal of death impurities caused by contact with the corpse, the manuals refer explicitly to corpse bearers, with the stipulation that they must be fellow initiates.² Further, in the JR we find one instruction for those responsible for washing and adorning the corpse before the funeral procession, again where the point is made that this be carried out by fellow initiates.³

Other than this, references to other active participants are found only indirectly in our sources. For instance, in the JR's section on the building of the funeral pyre, a switch from active to passive verbal constructions indicates a change of agency.⁴ It would, of course, not be surprising if it were professionals who undertook such steps and not the officiating priest, as in

¹ Contemporary anthropological research by Axel Michaels and Jonathan P. Parry has shown that an entire business has evolved around cremation in India. This is particularly the case in Varanasi, which is considered one of the holiest places to die. The numerous cremation grounds in this city are crowded with shops offering materials and services for death ceremonies, and there is even a special class of priests who only act as funerary priests. The regular profession of these priests is mainly as barbers; through their contact to the dead they are considered lower in status than other religious officiants. Due to the large number of such priests, Varanasi has had to develop regulations that allocate work and income by rotation to various priest lineages in certain cremation grounds. Although this modern evidence does not necessarily reflect practices in the early medieval period, it does suggest how important cremation rituals may have been. The rites performed today, though claiming to be based on ancient authorities, have certainly undergone significant changes over the centuries. Nonetheless, there are also many features that are surprisingly close to what is found in early accounts. See Michaels 1998, pp. 148–175 for a general description of Hindu death rites; see Parry 1994 for descriptions of the Varanasi funeral business.

² See, e.g., JR AP 14 and the passages discussed in section 4.2. in this chapter.

³ JR AP 11. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

⁴ E.g. JR AP 13–14. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

modern times. The JR also mentions the building of a pavilion around the funeral site,⁵ an instruction that is evocative of how sites are prepared for proper initiations and thus a step that would seem to require some specialist knowledge of the Śaiva tantric context. Nonetheless, the question arises whether such professionals also had to be initiates and trained in Śaiva ritual lore: this is not specified in any of our sources.

3. Ritual procedures: An outline

A feature found in both the Śaiva and brahmanical traditions in rites related to death is the inversion of procedures and ritual gestures: the sacred thread of the twice-born, usually worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm, is placed on the right shoulder and under the left arm; the rule that ritual sites and objects are circumambulated in the auspicious direction, that is to say clockwise, is reversed around a funeral pyre; during death rites the sequences of reciting mantras is reversed, as for example the usual order of reciting the *brahmantras* – *sadyojāta*, *vāmadeva*, *aghora*, *tatpuruṣa* and *īśāna* – is reversed; and the series of visualizations of the constituents of the mantra throne are inversed at each level.⁶ In a funerary initiation, the purification of the cosmic order also takes place in the reverse order, starting with the purest level of the universe down to the most impure. Especially in the case of the purification of the cosmos, this reversal does not make much sense. It seems simply to indicate the inauspicious nature of death. As soon as the funeral party has taken the ritually purifying bath signalling the end of the death rites, the sacred thread is returned to its correct posi-

⁵ See p. 138.

⁶ Cf. Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 590, fn. 41. Note that also in the Atimārgic ritual manual of Gārgya, the procedure of allocating *pavītras* to different body parts of Rudra and of the practitioner, this signifying their symbolic union during initiation, is reversed for a deceased person during the funeral procedure. See Acharya 2010 in reference to verse 22: *śivasādhakayoḥ karma dīkṣākāle tu niścitam | tathā rudre punaḥ kuryāt sādḥake tu viparyayam* ||. Note that this principle of inversion is also found in the short reference to cremation in the *Guhyasūtra* of the Ni. See p. 47.

tion. Analogous to this, the worship of ancestors during *śrāddha* rites is also performed with the sacred thread worn in the inauspicious direction.⁷

3.1. Preparation of the corpse before the funeral procession

The SvāSS, Kir and MatP contain no instructions for preparing the corpse before the funeral procession. This is not surprising, since this step was likely dependant on local householder practices, that is, regional practices, and therefore was probably subject to much variation and not suitable to be included in widely authoritative scriptures. The Kir starts its treatment with the moment the corpse is carried out of the house, as does the MatP,⁸ which adds the detail that a dead ascetic should be covered with a shroud. The only early scripture to provide detailed instructions on this part of the procedure is the SJU.⁹ Here, the officiant is to prepare the corpse¹⁰ by washing it with water mixed with mud empowered by the weapon mantra, smearing it with the fruit of the emblic myrobalan tree, washing it with Śiva water, smearing ash from its feet to its head, and then clothing it and adorning it with flowers and perfume. While these instructions are formulated as if the guru himself is the agent, given that these are general procedures, one might speculate, as mentioned above, whether these tasks were not carried out by others, with the role of the guru amounting to ritually empowering the materials being used with mantras and overseeing the procedure. In any case, after the corpse has been prepared, it is put on the ground with the feet to the north and covered with red scented powder, red flowers, cloth and a sacred thread.

It is somewhat surprising that the SP gives no instructions for any procedures prior to the description of the funerary procession. Only in a later passage, after the description of the corpse at the cremation ground, does the manual provide such prescriptions: the corpse is to be washed with water mixed with earth and cow dung, then smeared with ashes and a sa-

⁷ An exception to this is the *nāndīmukhaśrāddha*, which is performed on auspicious occasions such as the birth of a son. See Kane 1991, Vol. IV, pp. 526.

⁸ MatP 10.70. See p. 79, fn. 122.

⁹ SJU 13.2–4. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

¹⁰ As mentioned above, however, it is likely that the officiant had these tasks performed by others.

cred thread placed on it. Notable is that a sacred thread is fixed on the corpse regardless of the caste into which the initiate was born.¹¹

In comparison, the instructions in the JR are more precise and also enjoin that fellow initiates should carry out these tasks. Thus, any of the four initiate classes, that is, *ācārya*, *sādhaka*, *putraka* or *samayin*, may wash the deceased and adorn him, regardless of whether the deceased person was an ascetic or a householder. The corpse is then placed with its toes tied together with white thread on the bier for the funeral procession.¹²

The same steps are found in brahmanical literature. Altogether brahmanical texts commonly contain many more instructions for this part of the ritual, in fact even include procedures for the actual moment of death. For example, according to the *Garuḍapurāṇasāroddhāra*, a later influential text on death practices and beliefs composed by Naunidhirāma (perhaps eighteenth century)¹³ containing a great deal of material from the “section about the departed” (*pretakalpa*) of the pre-eleventh-century *Garuḍapurāṇa*,¹⁴ the dying person should be placed on the ground, pieces of gold and precious stones be put on his mouth, eyes and other bodily apertures,¹⁵ and water from the sacred river Ganges be presented to him.¹⁶ In his last moments, the dying person should recite some verses of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, or have them or the Veda recited into his ear.¹⁷ Another common recommendation is to perform a death bed renunciation in the last moments before a person

¹¹ SP 10.22: *mṛtaṃ mṛdgomayāmbhobhiḥ saṃsṅāpyoddhūlyā cānayet | dadyād yajñopavītaṃ ca pūrvavarnānapekṣayā ||*.

¹² JR AP 11–12. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

¹³ See Buss 2006, pp. 33–35 for an assessment of this date, and Rocher 1986, p. 177.

¹⁴ See Buss 2006, pp. 28–33 for an assessment of this date, and Rocher 1986, p. 175.

¹⁵ See, e.g., *Garuḍapurāṇasāroddhāra* 9.21–22: *liptabhūmyāṃ atah kṛtvā kharṇaṃ ratnaṃ mukhe kṣipet | viṣṇoḥ pādodakaṃ dadyāc chālagrāmasvarūpinaḥ || śālagrāmaśilātoyaṃ yaḥ pibed bindumātrakaṃ | sa sarvapāpanirmukto vaikuṅṭhabhuvanaṃ vrajet ||*.

¹⁶ Ibid. 9.23: *tato gaṅgājalaṃ dadyān mahāpātakanāśanam | sarvatīrthakṛtasnānādāna-puṇyaphalapradaṃ ||*.

¹⁷ Ibid. 9.31c–33: *tato bhāgavataṃ kiṃ cic chrṇuyān mokṣadāyakaṃ || ślokaṃ ślokārdhapādaṃ vā yo 'nte bhāgavataṃ paṭhet | na tasya punar āvṛttir brahmalokāt kadācana || vedopaniṣadāṃ pāṭhāc chīvaviṣṇustavād api brāhmaṇakṣatriyavaiśāṃ maraṇaṃ mukti-dāyakaṃ ||*.

dies in order to free him from *saṃsara*;¹⁸ in this procedure, sometimes referred to as *āturasaṃnyāsa*, “renunciation in sickness”, the body is smeared with ashes as a sign of this renunciation.¹⁹

3.2. The funeral procession

In the scriptural sources there is hardly any information regarding the funeral procession itself. The only instructions concern the directions in which the corpse is to be carried. The Kir²⁰ specifies that the corpse is to be taken out of the house through the door to the south; in the SJU²¹ it is enjoined that it be carried out in the northeastern direction.

The ritual manuals, on the other hand, do give detailed instructions for the funerary procession. The SP²² describes what appears to be a very elaborate procession in which the corpse is carried on a bier with the head facing south, accompanied by much music and banners; the bier is made of green canes bound with red cloth, is heavily ornamented with flower garlands and flags, and is referred to as a “ladder leading to heaven” (*svarga-sopāna*).²³ This suggests a ladder-type construction of bamboo canes for the bier, which would reflect also today’s most commonly used form of construction.²⁴ Another term is also used here to refer to the bier, *vimāna*, which commonly refers to divine aerial chariots and in an ordinary context usually signifies large carriages for dignitaries. Using this term thus indicates that the deceased initiate is considered to have an extremely high status. Since Somaśambhu, the author, was himself a pontiff of a monastic

¹⁸ Ibid. 9.34–35: *prāṇaprayāṇasamaye kuryād anaśamaṃ khaga | dadyād āturasaṃnyāsaṃ viraktasya dvijanmanaḥ || saṃnyastam iti yo prayat prāṇaiḥ kaṅthagatar api | mṛto viṣṇupuraṃ yāti na punar jāyate bhuvī ||*.

¹⁹ See, e.g., Olivelle, pp. 125–126.

²⁰ Kir 60.2ab. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

²¹ SJU 13.5a. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

²² SP 10.2–3: *kr̥te haritavaṃśādyair veṣṭite raktavāsasā | puṣpamālāpatākāḍhye śaṅkhatūryaravākule || vimāne svargasopāne samāropya śavaṃ nayet | dīkṣitais tulyajātyair apasavyopavītakaiḥ ||*.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ See Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 576, fn. 7. Two long pieces of bamboo are connected to each other by five more or less equidistant crossbars; the ends of the two long parallel bars are used to carry the bier. Brunner-Lachaux suggests that these crossbars literally represent the steps leading to the seven heavens.

institution, it is conceivable that when composing these instructions, Somaśambhu had a high-ranking ascetic or a head of a monastery in mind. The JR,²⁵ which also describes a large procession with flags and music, describes the bier's construction in the same way and also uses the same terms. Here, too, the *vimāna* is to be made of bamboo canes and richly decorated with red cloth, banners and flower garlands. Even the same reference to the crossbars of the ladder-type bier as “steps leading to heaven” is used.²⁶ Jñānaśiva adds one detail regarding the procession: halfway through, he prescribes a *bali* offering consisting of rice balls to appease the spirits. Such food offerings during funeral processions are commonly found in brahmanical sources and certainly mirror this established practice,²⁷ but are not found in any of the accounts prior to the JR. Lastly, the JR enjoins that once the funeral procession has arrived at the site where the cremation is to be performed, the corpse is placed on a purified patch of ground until the pyre site has been prepared and consecrated.

3.3. The building of the cremation site

Two features of the cremation site are described: (1) the location, and (2) the construction and layout of the three elements necessary for performing the cremation: the pit for the sacrificial fire (*kuṇḍa*), the earthen platform (*sthaṇḍila*) for worshipping Śiva, and the pit for the pyre (*citā/citi*).

3.3.1. The location of the cremation site

Except for the MatP, all of the sources stipulate that the cremation site must be pure. This means either that it is already pure by reason of certain attributes, or that it must be transformed by performing a rite of purification. Kir 60.3 mentions that the ground for the pyre should be level. MatP 10.70 merely states that the place should be deserted and entered only by Śaiva initiates.²⁸ The only scripture that gives specific injunctions concern-

²⁵ JR AP 12–14. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

²⁶ JR AP 12. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

²⁷ See Kane 1991, Vol. IV, p. 217.

²⁸ MatP 10.70cd: *vijanam deśam āsadya pracchannaṃ śivasamskṛtaiḥ*.

ing the site's location is the SJU.²⁹ This scripture instructs that the ground should be situated in the northeast (the direction of Īśāna),³⁰ presumably referring to the northeast of the village or town, and that the surface of the ground should be slightly inclined in such a way that water poured onto it will run off towards the southwest (*nirrtiplavanam*).

The SP³¹ adds only that the site should be close to water,³² which is also a standard requirement in brahmanical sources.³³ The JR³⁴ is a bit more precise, saying that the location should be on the bank of a sacred river, or at a sacred site near a lake with a slight incline to the northeast (as in the SJU).

3.3.2. Building the cremation site: Layout and scale

As mentioned above, three elements are needed for a cremation site: the *kunḍa*, a pit in which the Śiva fire is laid; the *sthaṇḍila*, a raised earthen platform or purified area that has been consecrated for Śiva worship; and the pit for the funeral pyre. From a practical point of view, it seems unlikely that the actual digging and piling of wood took place in the presence of the entire funeral congregation. It may be more reasonable to assume that such tasks were carried out by professionals before the arrival of the congregation, just as is the case today. However, there is no mention of this in any of the sources. Indeed, the ritual manuals give the measurements and layout as if the task of building the site were carried out at this point in the procedure. The scriptural material is silent on this matter. In any case, once the site has been prepared, the ground is purified by smearing it either with cow dung or a mixture of cow dung and water.³⁵

Layout: The scriptural material provides no precise details concerning the arrangement of the funeral site. According to the Kir,³⁶ a funeral pyre is

²⁹ SJU 13.5. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

³⁰ For metrical reasons SJU 13.5 uses the expression *śāṅkarīm āśām* to refer to the northeast, which is commonly referred to as the direction of Īśāna.

³¹ SP 10.4.

³² SP 10.4bcd: *dhārayec ca jalāntike | suviśuddhe mahīpr̥ṣṭhe mṛtaṃ dakṣiṇamastakam ||*.

³³ Towns in India commonly have cremation grounds at a nearby river; this is also where people from castes considered untouchable reside.

³⁴ JR AP 5. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

³⁵ Kir 60.3, SvāSS 22.10, SP 10.7, and JR AP 20.

³⁶ Kir 60.3c–4b. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

stacked; to its north a raised platform (*sthaṇḍila*) or lotus diagram is prepared as the foundation for the worship site. The *kuṇḍa* for the fire is not explicitly mentioned, but we may presume that one is to be prepared, and that this is where the ritual preparation of the fire (*vahnikārya*, also called *agnikārya*) is to be performed.³⁷ According to the SvāSS,³⁸ the fire is to be laid south of the *sthaṇḍila*. The position of the funeral pyre, however, is not mentioned. The SJU³⁹ contains no instructions about the relative positions of these elements, but does give the measurements for the pyre pit, saying that it should be four times the length of a forearm, that is, four *hastas*⁴⁰ in length and two in width.

A clearer layout is given in the ritual manuals. The SP⁴¹ and the JR⁴² specify the following arrangement: A square *kuṇḍa* is to be dug out and a ridge built around its top edge. To the northwest of this *kuṇḍa*, the earth that has just been dug out should be used to form an earthen platform for the *sthaṇḍila*; this is to be six finger-breadths, that is, six *aṅgulas*⁴³ high. To the south of the *kuṇḍa*, the pit for the pyre is prepared; it should measure four *hastas* in length, two *hastas* in width, and eight *aṅgulas* in depth. The JR⁴⁴ gives the additional option that the pit for the pyre may be built to the southwest of the *kuṇḍa*. The only major difference between the manuals is that the JR includes the construction of an elaborate temporary pavilion, called *kṛtāntamaṇḍapa* or *avasānakamaṇḍapa* (i.e. a “death pavilion”), for enclosing the funeral site. This feature of building a pavilion for the ritual

³⁷ Kir 60.4d. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

³⁸ SvāSS 22.10cd. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

³⁹ SJU 13.6–9. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

⁴⁰ The unit of measure *hasta*, lit. “hand”, denotes a standardized length representing the length from the tip of the middle finger to the elbow, in essence the forearm; according to Monier-Williams (*s.v. hasta*), in Indian literature this is a standardized length equaling about 18 inches (= 45.72 cm), or 24 *aṅgulas* (see fn. 43 below).

⁴¹ SP 10.5–7ab.

⁴² JR 16cd–20. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

⁴³ The unit of measure *aṅgula*, lit. “finger”, usually denotes a finger’s breadth, further specified in Monier Williams (*s.v. aṅgula*) as the length of eight barley corns. Based on the calculations of a *hasta* (see fn. 40 above), this would amount to one *aṅgula* equalling about 0.75 inches (= 1.9 cm).

⁴⁴ JR AP 16cd–20. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

mirrors the procedure for a proper Śaiva initiation.⁴⁵ The construction is to measure nine *hastas* by nine or seven *hastas*; it is to have a single exit to the south.

3.4. Ritual preparations

Once the funeral site has been set up, the guru must ritually prepare himself and the area and materials involved so they are suitable for worshipping Śiva. Overall, in their basic structure the procedures mirror the general Śaiva rites for preparing Śiva worship: the installation of water jars, the invocation of mantras into the jars to protect and consecrate the site and the visualization of the throne of mantras. There are, however, two points in which these procedures differ from the norm. First, as already mentioned, sequences used in the rituals are inverted. Secondly, the installation of the water jars is different. The regular preparation of a Śaiva site includes the installation of the Śiva water jar (*śivakumbha*) in which all of Śiva's mantras are installed, of the weapon water jar (*astravardhanī*) in which Śiva's weapon is installed, and of the jars for the *lokapālas* (guardians of the directions) together with jars for their respective weapons. In the case of the funeral site, however, only the weapons are installed. There is no *śivakumbha* and there are no jars for the *lokapālas*.⁴⁶

A complete set of preparatory rituals is laid out only in the manuals, with the following sections: (1) the preparation of the guru; (2) the protection of the Śiva site by installing the weapon water jar (*astravardhanī*) and the weapons of the *lokapālas*,⁴⁷ as well as performing certain ancillary rites

⁴⁵ For instance, SP 1.29–31a: *jñānakhadgakarāḥ sthitvā nairṛtyām udagānanah | ardhyāmbupañcagavyābhyām samprokṣya makhamaṇḍapam || catuṣpathāntasamskāraiḥ samskūryād dīkṣaṇādibhiḥ | vikṣipya vikirāms tatra kuśākūrcyopasaṃharet || tānīśadiśi vardhanyā āsanāyopakalpayet |*

⁴⁶ Cf. Brunner-Lachaux 1977 (p. 590, fn. 39). She points out that the *Dīkṣādarśa* has an explanation for this. It claims that Śiva and the *lokapālas* do not need to be protected when funeral rites are performed since they are already inauspicious. This reasoning seems strange, and Brunner-Lachaux does not find it convincing. She suggests that the absence of Śiva and the *lokapālas* may be due to the fact that the need to protect the funeral rite is emphasised and therefore only the weapons are invoked.

⁴⁷ In the SP the preparation of the *vāstumaṇḍala* also takes place prior to the Śiva worship, though the text does not make it clear where this is done. The JR stipulates that it is done on the ground of the pit for the pyre. Also the SJU seems to combine the creation of a

of protection; and (3) the installation of the circle of *śaktis* (divine powers) and the throne of mantras through visualization, followed by the invocation and worship of Śiva. The scriptures allude to these procedures only briefly. The Kir⁴⁸ and SvāSS⁴⁹ merely give injunctions to perform Śiva worship, but offer no further details, thus implying that the reader is to refer to earlier parts of the text. Once again, the SJU⁵⁰ is a little more informative, adding instructions for installing the throne of mantras. However, this procedure is described at a later stage, namely after the preparation of the funeral pyre, the Śiva fire and the corpse. For the sake of comparison, the SJU's description will nevertheless be discussed here, although this does not represent the order as originally intended by the text.

3.4.1. Preparation of the guru and material prior to the *śivapūjā*

The preparation procedure for the guru is not explicitly enjoined in the Kir or the SvāSS; it is only implied by referring to the *ācārya* as pure, or purified, signalling that by this point in the ritual the guru has already performed the ancillary purification rites. The SJU does not mention anything to this effect, but since these rites are obligatory, they are probably considered implicit in the instructions for preparing the Śiva site.

The SP, on the other hand, is more precise.⁵¹ This manual provides instructions for the guru to prepare himself by taking a ritually purifying bath, after which he is to place the mantras on his own body. He is then to take the small weapon jar and approach the *sthaṇḍila* from the left while facing north. There he installs the mantras of Śiva on his hands in the reverse order; with his Śiva hands he then protects himself with the weapon mantra.⁵² After this, he is to perform internal worship by summoning the deity into his heart and making mental offerings.

Śiva site, and thus possibly preparing the *vāstumaṇḍala*, with the building of the pyre. This step in the SP will thus be discussed below in the section on constructing the pit for the pyre.

⁴⁸ Kir 60.4. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

⁴⁹ SvāSS 22.10. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

⁵⁰ SJU 13.12–14. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

⁵¹ SP 10.7c–9b.

⁵² SP 10.7c–8: *atha snātaḥ kṛtanyāso grhūāstrāluko guruḥ || adakṣiṇakramād gatvā sthaṇḍilāntam udanmukhaḥ | viparītakaranyāso hetimantreṇa rakṣitaḥ ||*.

The JR includes a few more details. In addition to the ritual purifying bath, the guru is also instructed to sip water and venerate the junction of the day.⁵³ Similar to the SP, the guru then approaches the *sthaṇḍila* from the left with the weapon jar, facing north, but here with the additional specification that he wear a cloth over his shoulder. Then he sits down next to the *sthaṇḍila* and performs the preliminary rite of purifying the elements that constitute his body in order to transform it into a suitable locus for worship (the *bhūtaśuddhi*),⁵⁴ installs the mantras on himself, and performs internal worship.

3.4.2. The protection and consecration of the site and the materials for the rite

The following account of the protection and consecration of the site and the materials for the rite is taken from JR AP 23–29 and SP 10.9–10b; none of the scriptural sources deals with this topic. Where no specification of the source is made, it should be understood that both manuals follow the same procedure.

To protect the site, the *astravardhanī* is empowered with Śiva's weapon mantra. In the JR this is done by reciting the mantra over the jar seven times. In the SP, it is mentioned that the mantra is to be recited in silence.⁵⁵ Next, all of the materials about to be used in the sacrifice are sprinkled with the water from this jar to make them suitable for the ritual and protect them from hostile forces. After this, the guru worships himself as Śiva. Then, the throne for the jar is prepared by scattering a mixture of *kuśa* grass, ash and sesame seeds – substances believed to have apotropaic properties – over the ritual area. The scattered materials are then swept up into a small pile in the northeastern corner and the jar is placed upon it. The JR adds further that before scattering these substances, the officiant should sprinkle the ground

⁵³ JR AP 21–23ab. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

⁵⁴ This is one of the rites preceding the *śivapūjā*; here the material nature of the body is eliminated after it has been transformed by means of the purification of the five elements.

⁵⁵ See SP 10.9ab: *kr̥tāntaryajano maunī mantrayitvāstravardhanīm*. That the officiant is to mutter the mantra in silence presumably refers to the common distinction of three kinds of *japa* (recitation), namely, “*vācika* (audibly uttered), *upāṃśu* (inaudibly uttered) and *mānasa* (mentally revolved)” (see Kane 1953, pp. 41–46). Here the officiant seems to be enjoined to perform a *japa* of the last kind.

with water from the weapon jar, together with the five products of the cow.⁵⁶ Then the so-called *pāśupata* mantra is installed in the jar. The JR specifies that this be done with the spout of the *astravardhanī* facing south. The SP only states that the jar is to be placed to the northeast of the cremation site, but given that this is the direction in which the weapon jar was earlier installed, it is likely that this is where the installation of the *pāśupata* mantra is to take place. Next follows the installation of the eight weapons of the guardians of the directions (*lokapāla*) through the weapon mantra. The JR specifies that they are to be worshipped in jars that have been placed in the eight directions, starting with the northeast. The manual further explicitly instructs the standard procedure of Śaiva rituals of pouring a stream of water around the site from the weapon jar, which is then put back in its original position. The weapon mantra is next installed on a mobile seat, on which the mantra is worshipped. This seat is carried around the site, while each weapon-Lord is asked to protect the site for the duration of the ritual.⁵⁷ Next, *kuśa* grass, ash, and sesame seeds are strewn on top of the *sthaṇḍila* for protection. After this, the *dvārapālas* (the guardians of the gates) are to be worshipped with the weapon mantra and the heart mantra.⁵⁸

3.4.4. Installation of the mantra throne, and the invocation and worship of Śiva⁵⁹

Of the various scriptural sources, only the SJU⁶⁰ refers to the installation of the throne. It enjoins performing, in the reverse order, a series of visualizations of the four lordly powers of Ananta, which are the four qualities of

⁵⁶ This refers to the *pañcagavya*, consisting of milk, coagulated or sour milk, butter, as well as the liquid and solid excreta of the cow.

⁵⁷ JR AP 27–28. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

⁵⁸ JR AP 29cd seems to indicate the worship of other figures in addition to the *dvārapālas* (i.e. *dvārapālādi*, “the guardian of the directions etc.”), but it is not clear who: *astreṇa dvārapālādīn hṛdā sampūjya pūrvavat*. If *pūrvavat*, “as before”, refers to the worship of the weapons of the guardians, it could be the guardians who are being indicated. But this would be surprising, since there was no mention of the *dvārapālas* being worshipped earlier in this section.

⁵⁹ An outline of the invocation of Śiva can be found in Davis 1991, pp. 122–134. Further, a clear account of the visualisation of the throne is provided in Goodall et al. 2005, which contains an edition of and detailed notes on the *Pañcāvaranastava* of Aghoraśiva, a 12th-century work on the visualization of Sadāśiva and his throne for Śaiva worship.

⁶⁰ SJU 13.12b. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

the intellect (*buddhigūṇa*) and constitute the four feet of the throne, that is, *aiśvarya*, *vairāgya*, *jñāna* and *dharma*. Once the throne has been installed and Śiva invoked onto it, the guru is instructed to install the five *brahma-mantras* onto his own body, and then to pour oblations for Śiva and the Śiva throne into the fire. This is followed by the offerings of welcome together with scented powders, flowers and the sacred thread.

The SP also alludes briefly to these steps for installing the throne by visualization to be performed at this point, namely, the installation of the throne with its corners starting with *aiśvarya*, with the added note that this should be done on a lotus diagram on the *sthaṇḍila*.⁶¹ Then the circle of Śaktis is installed by visualizing them consecutively, again in the reverse direction, beginning with Manonmanī⁶² and ending with Vāmā. After this, sesame seeds and ash are scattered around. At this point, Śiva and his ancillaries (*bhogāṅgas*)⁶³ are invoked on the site, where they are worshipped.

The procedure enjoined in the JR⁶⁴ is similar, although it is more precise. First, the Śaktis, here starting with Ādhāraśakti, are installed on a lotus that has been drawn with seeds, rice and coloured powder, or alternatively in a richly decorated jar filled with seven kinds of grain. Then Ananta's lotus throne is installed, with the following items: the four feet of the throne, again starting with *aiśvarya*; the four cross struts of the throne starting with *anaiśvarya* (i.e. the opposite of the four qualities of the intellect); the two coverings; the lotus, with Manonmanī at the centre on the pericarp and around it on the filaments, the circle of Śaktis, starting with Sarva-bhūtaḍamanī and ending with Vāmā (i.e. the reverse direction); and the seat with the three circuits, in the reverse order, starting with the fire, then the moon, and finally the sun. Onto the sun he is then to invoke the two divine bodies, Sūkṣmamūrti and Vidyādeha, and install the *kalās* one by one, in the reverse order starting with Nivṛtti and beginning at the feet of the deity. Then the officiant is to invoke Śiva together with all his parts, starting with the weapons,⁶⁵ and install him on the throne by reciting the root mantra.⁶⁶

⁶¹ SP 10.17.

⁶² Davis 1991, p. 125, refers to Manonmanī as “the undifferentiated Śakti of Sadāśiva”.

⁶³ The *bhogāṅgas* are the series of mantras envisaged as constituting Śiva's body.

⁶⁴ JR AP 30–36. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

⁶⁵ Again, starting the installation of the members of Śiva with the weapons indicates that this installation is in the reverse order, since the weapons are usually the last entity to be

Offerings of welcome and worship are presented to the deity with declarations of welcome, followed by the worship of Śiva's *bhogāṅgas* in the reverse order. Then the officiant is to recite the root mantra and offer it to Śiva.

3.5. The Śiva fire (*agnikārya*), the *vāstumāṇḍala* and the funeral pyre (*citā/citi*)

The rites for preparing the Śiva fire (*agnikārya*), the *vāstumāṇḍala* (the drawing on the bottom of the pyre) and the funeral pyre are outlined in the ritual manuals and briefly alluded to in the SJU. However, each of these sources presents a different arrangement. Since the JR has the most detailed account, here the rites will be presented in the order as found there: (1) the preparation and starting of the fire, (2) the preparation of the *vāstumāṇḍala*, and (3) the building of the pit for the pyre.

3.5.1. Preparation and starting of the fire

In each of the sources that mention this stage, the preparation of the Śiva fire is enjoined at a different point of the ritual procedure. According to the SP⁶⁷ this is to be done after the preparation of the site and the worship of Śiva; in the JR⁶⁸ it is to be done after the worship but before the preparation of the site; and in the SJU,⁶⁹ after the preparation of the site but prior to the worship. The only timing shared by these sources is that the fire is to be prepared before the pyre is piled up.

visualized. See also Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 593, where the commentary of Trilocana is cited: *śivam āvāhyāstrādibhis sakalīkrtya bhogāṅgāni prapūjayet*.

⁶⁶ Through the method referred to as *uccāraṇa* (see also *s.v. uccāra, uccāraṇa* in TAK 1), which denotes the repeated recitation of the mantra after the visualization of Śiva has been completed, the divine energy of Śiva is made to rise to the top of the body. This upwards movement is also implied in the term *uccāraṇa* itself, derived from the causative of the verbal root *uccar-*, “to move upwards”.

⁶⁷ SP 10.18–19.

⁶⁸ JR AP 37–38ab. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

⁶⁹ SJU 13.9. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

The ritual applied here is outlined similarly in all three sources. According to the JR,⁷⁰ the fire that has been brought to the funeral site from the house of the deceased, for example in the form of coals, is taken around the cremation site in the reverse direction (i.e. anti-clockwise) and then placed in the fire pit. There the fire is ritually transformed into a Śiva fire with a procedure generally referred to as *agnikārya*,⁷¹ which consists of rites of giving birth to Agni and invoking Śiva, but these are not explained here in detail. Once the fire has been consecrated, oblations to gratify Śiva are poured into it, ending with a full oblation (*pūrṇāhuti*).⁷² Similarly, though with a bit less detail, the SP⁷³ instructs the guru to throw the materials needed for the fire into the fire pit to the south of the *sthaṇḍila*, where he is to produce the Śiva fire. Then he worships Śiva in the centre of the fire with oblations, ending with a full oblation, as in the JR. The SJU⁷⁴ enjoins only that the officiant is to produce the fire according to the rules, and to strew *darbha* grass around it in the reverse direction while muttering the weapon mantra. A series of oblations is then to be offered into the fire. After this, the *sruc* and *sruva* ritual ladles owned by the deceased person are put on the corpse so that they can later be burnt together with it.

3.5.2. Preparation of the *vāstumāṇḍala*

A *vāstumāṇḍala* is a diagram drawn at the bottom of any construction, whether a house, a temple or, as in the present case, a funeral pyre. Various

⁷⁰ JR AP 37–38ab. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

⁷¹ The series of rituals to be performed for producing a Śiva fire are described in the SP (edited and translated by Brunner 1963, pp. 240–256).

⁷² Ordinary oblations involve offering clarified butter from the little ladle (*sruva*). The *pūrṇāhuti*, “the full oblation” is the final oblation within a series of oblations. According to SP 4.52c–57 the officiant uses both ladles for this oblation, as opposed to the single ladle that is used for ordinary oblations. He is to stand up and place the *sruc* and *sruva* on top of each other, place a flower at the tip, press the end of the sacrificial ladle against his navel, and fixing his gaze on the tip of the ladles, visualize the *kāraṇa* deities leaving one by one. Then, steadily placing the end of the ladles on his left side and reciting the *mūlamantra* followed by the term “*vauṣaḥ*”, he pours the oblation into the fire. See also *s.v.* *pūrṇāhuti* in TAK 3.

⁷³ SP 10.18–19: *vikīrya tilabhasmādi sāṅgaṃ sampūjya śaṅkaram | prakṣipyā dakṣiṇe kuṇḍe janayet prāg ivānalām || hṛdy agneḥ pūjayitveśaṃ hutvā pūrṇāvasānakam | apra-dakṣiṇam agnyādikoṇeṣu nikhanet kramāt ||*.

⁷⁴ SJU 13.9. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

deities are installed in this diagram as guardians of the site.⁷⁵ The procedure of preparing the *vāstumaṇḍala* is given here according to JR AP 38cd–43ab and SP 10.10d–15. It is not found in the scriptural sources. The JR has two additional specifications at the beginning of the account, namely that the *vāstumaṇḍala* at the site for the funeral pyre is called *vetāla*,⁷⁶ and that before tracing the *maṇḍala* the guru must worship the *vāstupuruṣa*, that is, “the man of the site” who is believed to inhabit the space.⁷⁷ Both manuals then enjoin the division of the area into twenty-five equal segments onto which bamboo canes and strings are placed, although neither text gives instructions on how these are to be arranged. Then the *vāstudevatās*, “the deities of the site”, are installed by being invoked together with the element with which each is associated in segments filled with coloured powder.⁷⁸ The order is as follows:

- centre: five segments – Brahmā with the earth; yellow powder
- southwest: four segments – Viṣṇu with water; white powder
- southeast: four segments – Rudra with fire; red powder
- northwest: four segments – Īśvara with the wind; black powder
- northeast: four segments – Sadāśiva with the ether; white powder
- east: one segment – Indra; yellow powder
- south: one segment – Yama; black powder
- west: one segment – Varuṇa; white powder
- north: one segment – Kubera; red powder

⁷⁵ Cf. Brunner 1998, pp. xxxv–xxxviii for *vāstumaṇḍalas* in general. For diagrams of the *citāvāstumaṇḍala*, see Brunner 1977, Pl. XVII and Pl. XVIII.

⁷⁶ See JR AP 39b. Also Nirmalamāṇi refers to the *citāvāstumaṇḍala* as *vetāla* in his commentary on the KKD. See Brunner 1977, p. 585 [11a]: *pañcaviṃśat padaṃ yac ca vetālākhyam citau matam*.

⁷⁷ See also the *Siddhāntaśekhara* in Brunner 1977, p. 585 [12b], which provides a myth about why the *vāstupuruṣa* is tied to the ritual site.

⁷⁸ Unlike the JR, the SP does not explicitly mention the colour coding. However, a comparison with the colours associated with the various deities in SP 3.18–27 shows that they are based on the same scheme.

Sadāśiva & the ether white	Sadāśiva & the ether white	Indra yellow	Rudra & fire red	Rudra & fire red
Sadāśiva & the ether white	Sadāśiva & the ether white	Brahmā & the earth yellow	Rudra & fire red	Rudra & fire red
Kubera red	Brahmā & the earth yellow	Brahmā & the earth yellow	Brahmā & the earth yellow	Yama black
Īśvara & the wind black	Īśvara & the wind black	Brahmā & the earth yellow	Viṣṇu & water white	Viṣṇu & water white
Īśvara & the wind black	Īśvara & the wind black	Varuṇa white	Viṣṇu & water white	Viṣṇu & water white

Fig. 2: *Vāstumaṇḍala*, with the east at the top

It is specified that all of the mantras for invoking the deities are to include their proper names and end in *namaḥ*.⁷⁹ The JR adds an extra mantra before each,⁸⁰ in which the officiant is to venerate the corresponding element. After they have all been installed, *bali* offerings are presented to each.⁸¹ According to the SP⁸² this is done with the same mantra, only using the new ending of *svāhā*. The JR further specifies that welcome offerings are to be given at the end of this sequence.⁸³

3.5.3. Building the pyre

The SJU (13.7c–8) and JR (AP 43c–44) enjoin a rite before the pyre is piled up that is not mentioned anywhere else. At the bottom of the pyre

⁷⁹ According to SP 10.15, the mantras recited for the guardians of the cardinal directions (including the centre as a direction) are: *oṃ hām vāstvadhipataye brahmaṇe namaḥ. oṃ hām viṣṇave namaḥ. oṃ hām rudrāya namaḥ. oṃ hām īśvarāya namaḥ. oṃ hām sadāśivāya namaḥ.*

⁸⁰ JR AP 42. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

⁸¹ These are food offerings of balls based on rice. JR AP 42cd specifies that the *bali* offering be made of boiled rice and lentils, and anointed with ghee.

⁸² SP 10.15cd.

⁸³ JR AP 43ab. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

(presumably on top of the *vāstumāṇḍala*), a square of yellow powder is to be drawn within a triangle of red powder. According to the JR, this diagram is for worshipping Brahmā within the square and Kālāgni within the triangle, the latter being Rudra as the embodiment of the fire that consumes the world at the end of this eon.

According to all of the examined sources, four pegs (*kīla*) empowered with the weapon mantra are to be inserted at the corners of the intermediate directions, starting with the southeast (i.e. in the reverse direction). A red thread is then tied around the outside of these pegs to enclose the area of the pyre. The SJU⁸⁴ adds that this is to be done in the reverse direction while reciting the armour mantra, suggesting a protective purpose for the thread.⁸⁵ The pit is then filled with firewood considered suitable for a sacrifice, such as sandalwood, and covered with a cloth. According to the SP,⁸⁶ this cloth should be spread across with its inside out; the JR⁸⁷ specifies that its fringe be at the south end. The SJU, which as mentioned above has a different order than all the other sources, requires the pit for the pyre to be prepared at an earlier stage. The pyre itself is to be erected later, after the corpse has been prepared and the Śiva worship is complete.

Finally, sesame seeds and various substances are strewn over the pyre – according to the SP, *kuśa* grass and flowers, according to the JR, ash and *darbha* grass. The latter text gives the further specification that these substances are to be strewn from left to right, after which the deities of the funeral pyre are to be worshipped and gratified.

3.6. The preparation of the corpse at the site

All of the available sources give similar information about the final procedures for preparing the corpse before the deceased person's soul receives

⁸⁴ SJU 13.7ab. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

⁸⁵ For sealing off the area from evil forces, applying the armour (*kavaca*) mantra together with this thread is appropriate, since, as its name indicates, this mantra is commonly used for protection and enclosure (see Brunner 1963, p. xxxvi). Cf. also the *Dīkṣādarśa* (cited in Brunner 1979, p. 581 [6a]), where the *Kālottara* is cited: *ūrdhvamūlān adhograsthān astra-labdhān sakṛt sakṛt || pañcaraṅgitasūtreṇa kavacena ca veṣṭayet.*

⁸⁶ SP 10.21.

⁸⁷ JR AP 74ab. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

the rite of initiation.⁸⁸ First the corpse is to be washed with purificatory substances. For this, the SP specifies water mixed with earth and cow dung, the JR, water mixed with mud and *pañcagavya* (the five products of the cow). The SvāSS seems to require that the corpse first be rubbed with mud, ash and cow dung, and then washed with water. After having been washed, the corpse is smeared with ashes according to all of the sources except the SJU, which omits this detail. Smearing with ashes suggests that upon the death of a householder initiate, the corpse is treated as that of an ascetic.

The corpse is then brought to the place for the initiation ritual. In the case of the Kir,⁸⁹ SP,⁹⁰ and JR,⁹¹ this is next to the pyre; in the SJU⁹² this is on top of the pyre. The JR further specifies that the corpse be placed to the south of the fire pit, on the “seat of *om̐*”, with the head to the south and the feet to the north. The SvāSS⁹³ enjoins that the corpse be placed directly on the pyre, as in the SJU, but in this case the pyre is ignited with no initiation rite being conducted.

Once the corpse has been put in this place, certain attributes are laid on top of it. However, most of the sources do not specify the number or identity of these attributes. The Kir specifically mentions a loincloth, and the manuals add that a sacred thread should be placed on the corpse, regardless of the deceased person’s previous caste (*jāti*).⁹⁴ Other attributes, left unspecified, might be the ritual implements of the deceased such as the fire sacrifice ladles (*sruca* and *sruva*), since in the brahmanical tradition these are always incinerated together with the corpse. Even though the SJU does not specifically mention any attributes, it does mention placing the ritual ladles onto the corpse in the context of its preparation and purification, as

⁸⁸ Or in the case of the SvāSS (10–12ab), before the final visualisation of Śiva in the corpse before its incineration. These instructions are found in Kir 60.5–7a, SvāSS 22.10–12b, SJU 13.10–11b, SP 10.22 and JR AP 48c–49b.

⁸⁹ Kir 60.6. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

⁹⁰ Changing the position of the corpse is not explicitly enjoined in the SP, but we know from the instructions in 10.31bcd that the corpse is lifted onto the pyre only after the initiation ritual: *śavaṃ dakṣiṇamastakam | citāṃ uttānam āropya vidadhīta sadindhaniḥ ||*.

⁹¹ JR AP 49. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

⁹² SJU 13.16. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

⁹³ SvāSS 22.11. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

⁹⁴ Note that such a statement is rather radical in terms of transgressing the inter-caste boundaries set out by the brahmanical tradition.

noted above. It is noteworthy that the SvāSS does not explicitly mention placing any attributes on the corpse.

The scriptural material adds that the corpse is to be sprinkled with various substances. The Kir has the corpse sprinkled with Śiva water, as does the SvāSS, which adds the dusting of the corpse with ash. The SJU has the corpse sprinkled with clarified butter from the feet to the head.

3.7. The funerary initiation of the dead

Amongst the scriptural sources, the funerary initiation of the deceased person's soul is briefly enjoined in Kir 22.7–12b and SJU 13.17–18. It is outlined more elaborately in the manuals, namely in SP 10.23–30 and JR AP 50–61. In all cases, the soul is visualized and invoked into the heart of the corpse, whereupon the sequences of the initiation ritual are performed. These mirror the rites of a proper initiation ritual, with the difference that in this case all of the karma of the soul is eliminated, including the so-called *prārabdha karman* that fuelled the individual's present life and were left intact during the proper initiation ritual when alive.⁹⁵ The purpose of funerary initiation is the same in all the sources, but its execution differs according to the various accounts, especially regarding the cosmic units used for the gradual purification of the soul. The respective sources divide these into the five cosmic levels (*kalā*), into the levels of reality (*tattva*)⁹⁶ or into the range of letters of the alphabet as conceptualized in eight groups (*varga*). Since they are different in this regard, the following provides a basic outline of the ritual stages in the individual sources.

Kiraṇa 22.7–12b. The guru sprinkles the corpse with Śiva water and visualizes Śiva in its heart in his transcendental form (*kevala*). In the centre of the heart, he visualizes the deceased person's soul in the form of a pure and subtle point of light. He then transforms the soul into Sakalaśiva, that is, Śiva with all his attributes. This procedure is not explained in detail, but is to be understood from an earlier passage. In this scripture the levels of the universe are perceived as the alphabet grouped into eight phonetic categories (*varga*), i.e. vowels, velars, palatals, retroflexers, dentals, labials,

⁹⁵ See p. 24.

⁹⁶ On the evolution of the *tattva* system, see Goodall 2015c.

semi-vowels, sibilants and the aspirate “h”. The guru visualizes these levels of reality, lifts them out of the soul and installs each of them in the fire, where he performs the expiation of all karmas at each level. At the end, he liberates the soul by fusing it with his own and leading it to union with the *śivamantra*.

***Sarvajñānottara* 13.17–18.** The SJU enjoins the funerary initiation in very general terms and in only two verses. First, the guru should meditate on the central channel of the corpse and enter the heart of the deceased with his own consciousness. He then installs the different cosmic levels in the form of the various *tattvas* into the corpse, starting with the feet, and then is to cut them out one by one to take them to the fire and burn them for purification. At the end, the guru fuses his soul with that of the deceased and unites it with Śiva. The precise procedures are presumably to be inferred from the initiation rite proper. Note that the brevity of this description is in stark contrast to the long and detailed treatment for a *mṛtadīkṣā* in the SJU’s chapter 12.⁹⁷

***Somaśambhupaddhati* 10.23–30.**⁹⁸ The guru captures the deceased person’s soul (*jīva*) with the *mahājālaprayoga*, “the great net method”, through which the great net mantra (*mahājāla mantra*) is envisaged as acting as a net in which the soul can be captured during its recitation (“*om hūṃ haum hām hām hūṃ* veneration to the soul of X”). He then places the soul in the corpse. He continues by installing the following entities: In the corpse he installs the *vidyādeha* (the body of mantras). Then he installs the five cosmic levels called *kalās* on the head, face, heart, navel and feet, respectively, starting with the highest, which is called Śāntyāfīta. After this, three additional elements are placed into the corpse, namely, the level of

⁹⁷ See pp. 67ff.

⁹⁸ SP 10.23–30: *athātra dhāraṇāśuddhe gandhapuṣpādīpūjite | mahājālaprayogeṇa jīvam ādāya vinyaset || om hūṃ hām haṃ hām hūṃ amukātmane namaḥ | vidyādehaṃ ca taddehe mastake vadane hr̥di | nābhāv adhaḥśarīre ca śāntyāfītādītaḥ kalāḥ || vidyātattvaṃ ca vinyasya śakticakraṃ tathā śivam | caitanyasannidhānāya mūlena juhuyāc chatam || nīrṭtyādi samādāya yugapad vā krameṇa vā | agnau saṃyojya sampūjya śivādyāvāhanādīkam || kṛtvā tāḍanaviśeṣau jīvasyākarṣaṇādīkam | karmātmasthaṃ ca tatrasthaṃ dīkṣāvata sarvam ācaret || janmādhikārabhogam ca layaṃ srotovīśodhanam | niṣkṛtiṃ ca tirodhānaṃ paśoḥ pāśavimocanam || mardanaṃ varulīkāraṃ pāśadhādīkāṃ kriyām | kāraṇāvāhanaṃ tadavadhikārasamarpaṇam || ātmoddhāraṇakarmādi kṛtvā guṇavivarjite | yojayed bhāvanāṅgite śive caitanyam avyaye ||.*

reality *vidyā* (*vidyātattva*),⁹⁹ the circle of Śaktis, and finally Śiva. Next, a hundred oblations are offered with the root mantra in order to ensure the presence of the soul. Next, the guru performs the expiation for each of the *kalās* by taking them either simultaneously or consecutively and installing them in the fire, where they receive oblations. Then the deities that preside over each level of reality are invoked. After this the guru performs a rite called the *tāḍana*, “beating”, in which the *kalās* are activated by tapping them with mantras and subsequently separated. Next, the soul is installed in the *karmātmān*, “the identity [as circumscribed] by action”, that is, the soul’s manifestation in a form in which all the karmas can be expiated. The soul is thus visualized as going through all of the transformative rituals, starting with its conception on the respective cosmic level, and subsequently experiencing the fruition of all past, present and future actions, which are then excised from the soul and placed in the fire for destruction. At the end of the ritual, the soul is united with Śiva’s consciousness.

Jñānaratnāvalī Antyeṣṭiprakaṛaṇa 50–61. Here the procedure is very similar to that of the SP. The corpse is first transformed into the mantras of Śiva, with the soul being placed in the corpse’s heart after having been captured by the guru with the great net mantra. Then the guru installs the same series of divine entities in the corpse as in the SP, starting with the *vidyādeha*. After this he is to gratify the channels of vital energy running across the body (*nāḍī*)¹⁰⁰ in the fire. He is then to take the *kalās* one by one, starting with Nivṛtti, employing the same series of rites as just seen in the SP for activating the respective *kalā*, starting with tapping (*tāḍana*)¹⁰¹ and then worshipping them. Then, the guru is to tap the soul, merge with it, and introduce it into all the incarnations at all levels, starting with Nivṛtti just as in the regular *dīkṣā*. He then performs the rites of conception, birth, the experiences, the bestowing of capacity/consecration,¹⁰² dissolution, purifi-

⁹⁹ The placing of the *vidyātattva* seems particular to the SP. Brunner-Lachaux notes that the commentator Trilocana states that the *vidyātattva*, considered the highest reality level of the impure universe, is invoked so that the soul manifests on the corpse.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 599, 25a.

¹⁰¹ See the table listing the series of rites in Brunner-Lachaux 1977, plate 1, and p. 261, fn. 226.

¹⁰² This is the act of equipping the soul with the instruments for experience, i.e., in particular, the place, time, length of life and condition (or place of its birth). See SP 3 Nir-

cation of the streams, purification of the *tattvas*, expiation, the suppression of the power of impurity, the cessation of all past karma, with the addition of the remaining present karma that needed to be experienced (*prārabdha karman*), the cutting of the thread with the Śiva weapon mantra, the burning of it, and the imparting of the payment (*śulka*) for all *kāraṇadevatās* beginning with Brahmā. At the end, the guru is to extract the consciousness again and unite it with Śiva at the *dvādaśānta* meditative level, envisaged as situated in a twelve-finger wide space above the head, through the yogic method called *viśuvat*.¹⁰³ However, at the same time the text stresses that there are various methods for uniting the soul with Śiva and that the guru should follow the practice of his teacher in this matter.

3.8. Lighting the funeral pyre

In the original brahmanical context, the lighting of the funeral pyre and the ritual actions immediately following it are, as discussed above, carried out by the chief mourner rather than the funeral priest.¹⁰⁴ In our early sources the guru features as the agent of these procedures. The SJU¹⁰⁵ has the shortest instructions regarding the lighting of the funeral pyre. In its treatment, the corpse, as mentioned above, is to be placed on top of the pyre already before the initiation ritual. The guru is to light the funeral pyre while circumambulating it in the counter-clockwise direction. After this, he undertakes the *āgneyī dhāraṇā* (the fire meditation) while reciting the weapon mantra. He is then to go around the funeral site reciting the same and pouring an uninterrupted stream of water from the jar that was empowered with the *aghoramantra* and weapon mantras. The basic elements outlined here are found in all of the other sources, but here they are more elaborate. It is

vānadīkṣāvidhi 102: *śirasā janma kurvīta yugapatsarvadehinām | tathaiva bhāvayed eṣām adhikāraṃ sikhāṇunā*. See also Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 268, fn. 246.

¹⁰³ The *viśuvat* method is a technical term from Śaiva yoga that signifies the fusion of the guru's soul with that of the candidate through the in- and out-breaths, with the guru's out-breath usually timed together with the in-breath of the candidate (Brunner-Lachaux discusses seven kinds of *viśuvats* in a long note in the *dīkṣā* section of the SP [Brunner-Lachaux 1977, pp. 358–362, fn. 412].) Through this the guru can enter the candidate's body. As this is obviously impossible in the case of someone who is dead, in this context, it must refer to the fusion of the guru's and the deceased person's soul.

¹⁰⁴ See p. 124.

¹⁰⁵ SJU 13.19–20. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

also added that the corpse is to be placed on the funeral pyre. In the Kir,¹⁰⁶ the officiant first scatters some *kuśa* grass on top of the pyre while reciting the weapon mantra, and then while reciting the *īśānamantra* places the corpse on the pyre with its head to the south. Then sandalwood, agarwood, camphor, sesame seeds and milk are strewn on top of the pyre before the fire is lit using appropriate woods. As in the SJU, the guru is then to carry the weapon jar around the site, with the additional instruction that he should start his round in the east and that he should throw the jar down from his shoulder at the end. This is a standard feature in brahmanical sources.

The manuals SP and JR¹⁰⁷ follow a similar procedure in the beginning, namely that the corpse is placed on the pyre and covered with firewood. The JR adds two details, namely that a cloth be placed over the corpse and that the guru is now to install Śiva in the fire. Then the funeral pyre is lit. According to the SP, this is to be done beginning in the west with fire from the centre of the fire pit. According to the JR, the guru should be facing north and should light the pyre from the south. Next, a full oblation (*pūrṇāhuti*)¹⁰⁸ is to be poured onto the head of the corpse, in the JR starting from the head. The corpse is offered into the fire while reciting the following special mantra: *om tvam agne dakṣiṇaḥ kālāḥ kālenaivopapādītām | grhāṇa mantrasampūtām śāvyām enām mahāhutim ||*, “Om, O Agni, you are the south, you are death, accept this great oblation of the corpse which is the product of time alone and has been purified by mantras.”¹⁰⁹ After this, the deceased person’s sacrificial ladles *sruc* and *sruva* are placed on the burning pyre, facing downwards. The JR now prescribes the dismissal of Śiva in the fire, to be done while uttering the weapon mantra. Finally, as above, the guru takes up the weapon jar, places it on his left shoulder (according to the JR), and walks around the pyre in the counter-clockwise direction pouring a stream of water behind him from the jar. When he reaches the northeast corner again, he puts the weapon jar back in its original place.

¹⁰⁶ Kir 60.12–14. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

¹⁰⁷ SP 10.31b–35; JR AP 62–67b. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

¹⁰⁸ See p. 145, fn. 72.

¹⁰⁹ This mantra is found for the first time in the SvāSS 22.13cd in a reduced form (*pratigrhṇīṣva bhagavan śāvyām enām mahāhutim*); it was incorporated into the BK through this source; it is found in the manuals in this more elaborate form, e.g. SP 10.33 and JR AP 64c–65b.

3.9. Departure from the cremation grounds and the purificatory rites at the waterside

At the end of the cremation, all of the sources instruct the guru to go to the waterside close to the cremation grounds. The Kir¹¹⁰ seems to indicate that before going to the waterside, the officiant should wait at the funeral site until the corpse has been reduced to ashes. The SP¹¹¹ and JR¹¹² specify that the officiant should proceed without looking back at the funeral pyre. The JR specifies further that the guru is to be accompanied by the relatives of the deceased, who should wait at the waterside until the skull of the corpse has burst. Then the guru takes a ritually purifying bath; where the relatives are mentioned, they presumably are to do the same. The manuals add at this point that this is the last action to take place with the sacred thread on the left shoulder, that is, in the inauspicious direction. After this bath, the guru returns the sacred thread to its usual position on the right shoulder, signalling the end of the inauspicious rites. The JR specifies that after having returned the sacred thread to its original position, the guru should perform the purificatory rite of sipping water (*ācamana*). According to the manuals, blades of *darbha* grass are then to be placed on the ground. The JR specifies that they are to be laid out with their tips to the south. After this, offerings of water to the deceased person's soul (*udakakriyā*) are made. The Kir¹¹³ adds that one should do this with three handfuls of water (*añjali*), the water being mixed with *dūrvā* grass and rice corns. In a similar fashion, the manuals prescribe three handfuls of water being offered to Īśa, Sadāśiva, and Śānta while their respective mantras are pronounced.¹¹⁴ The water offerings to these manifestations of Śiva signify the increasingly potent godly identities the deceased person's soul is believed to gradually assume, and

¹¹⁰ Kir 60.15. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

¹¹¹ SP 36–38a: *tato jalāntikaṃ gatvā paścād anavalokayan | snātvā prastūrya saddarbhān apasavyaṃ vidhāya ca || oṃ hām śuddhātman īśo bhava svadhā | oṃ hām śuddhātman sadāśivo bhava svadhā | oṃ hām śuddhātman śānto bhava svadhā | iti nivāpāñjalitrayaṃ dadyāt | deśiko bahurūpasya punaḥ snātvā śataṃ japet | dviguṇaṃ skandhadātāras tato yāyān nijāśramam || tatra devārcanaṃ kuryāt tam uddiśya tapasvinam |.*

¹¹² JR AP 67c–71b. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

¹¹³ Kir 60.16. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

¹¹⁴ Cf. JR between verse 69 and 70. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

through which it is subsequently worshipped in the rites of post-mortem ancestor worship.¹¹⁵

After this, all of the sources except the SJU prescribe further purificatory rites that involve repeating a mantra for a certain amount of time in order to cleanse the impurity that has come about by performing rites related to a corpse and the soul of a dead person. The most common mantra for this purpose is the *aghoramantra*.¹¹⁶

Finally, the SP¹¹⁷ and JR¹¹⁸ prescribe that the guru is to return to his hermitage and perform Śaiva worship, which the SP tells us should be done on behalf of the deceased ascetic. In the early scriptural material there is no mention of such rites.

3.10. The gathering and disposing of the bones

The procedure of gathering and disposing of the bones is not mentioned in any of the early Saiddhāntika scriptures. In the ritual manuals it is alluded to only briefly.¹¹⁹ According to the SP, the bones are to be collected on either the first or the third day; they are put into a vessel filled with milk or water that is then to be placed on top of a wooden tripod. The JR seems to give two options: the first is to throw the bones into a body of sacred water, either on the day of the cremation or the third day thereafter. The second is similar to the instructions in the SP, namely that the bones are to be collected and put into a jar filled with milk. This jar is then to be placed on a sacred mountain or some other sacred ground, or thrown into a body of sacred water. The JR continues with instructions for purifying the officiant after having collected the bones, giving prescriptions for performing a purifying bath, sipping water, and touching ghee and fire. After this he is to place mantras on his body, bathe again and crush white mustard seeds.

¹¹⁵ See chapter 5.

¹¹⁶ For a more detailed description of the regulations concerning death pollution, see below, pp. 161ff.

¹¹⁷ See fn. 111 above.

¹¹⁸ JR AP 71ab. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

¹¹⁹ SP 10.38c–39; JR AP 71c–73.

4. Death pollution

The immediate effect of a person's death on the community around him is related to the impurity the death is believed to cause in those connected to him. The focus shifts from the deceased to mourners, for whom this impurity has consequences regarding their social and religious status, if only for a limited period of time. The concept of impurity is deeply rooted in the brahmanical belief system, the context in which it was originally conceived. Since Śaivas consider themselves spiritually transcended out of this system, from a strictly Śaiva point of view, impurity, defined as it is as part of a mundane, brahmanical setting, should have no effect on a Śaiva initiate. While this notion of an initiate's immunity to mundane impurities is occasionally expressed, we find plenty of injunctions that reveal how such concerns nevertheless still existed and continued to be regulated through religious practices. Not only do all the manuals contain sections on reparatory rites (*prāyaścitta*), but even entire digests dedicated to this topic were composed, such as the two works of the same name *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* ("The collection of reparatory rites"), written respectively by Trilocana and Hṛdayaśiva.¹²⁰ These sources also show concern for caste-related impurity regulations, which doctrinally contradict the fundamental Śaiva premise that Śaiva initiation transcends brahmanical socio-religious structures so that all initiates are equal and spiritually superior, regardless of caste status. Strictly seen, such reparatory rites thus function according to the very principles the Śaivas rejected.¹²¹ The sphere of death impurity is no exception to this.

4.1. Death pollution in the brahmanical context: A brief overview

In order to contextualize the Śaiva injunctions regarding impurity, a brief overview of the brahmanical context is needed. Concerns about purity are ubiquitous in brahmanical religious literature and intrinsic to brahmanical ritual life, operating in almost all ritual and social activities. Impurity is

¹²⁰ Trilocana's *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* has been edited and translated by R. Sathyanarayanan, who also includes a transcription of Hṛdayaśiva's *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*. See Sathyanarayanan 2015.

¹²¹ See Goodall's introduction to Sathyanarayanan 2015.

believed to arise either through contact with people or substances considered impure, or because of events that give rise to impurity, principally the occasions of birth and death.¹²² In the case of pollution caused by death, two aspects are relevant: first, contact with the corpse, considered highly impure, and secondly, the event of death itself and the mourner's relationship to the deceased that connects the two. The regulations in place for removing death pollution will be examined here according to these two aspects. This distinction is not formally drawn in brahmanical literature, and regulations concerning the former are also applicable to the latter. But examining them based on these categories is useful with regard to the Śaiva materials, in which the two aspects do receive different treatments.

First, there are purificatory acts that must be performed immediately after the funerary rites and that are intended to counteract the impurity contracted through direct physical contact with the corpse or being near it. This concept closely follows the literal translation of one of the terms used to

¹²² Whereas it is easy to understand how purity can be lost through physical contact with the impure, it is less obvious how an event in itself can cause impurity in people. The metaphysics behind the arising of impurity and its ontological status are vague throughout the literature, which revolves rather around the imperative to remove this pollution. Kane (1953, p. 270) mentions a passage by Hārīta on this matter (the original of which I have unfortunately been unable to locate), translating it as “the family incurs death impurity because by the death the family feels overwhelmed (or frustrated), while when a new life appears the family increases and there is gratification or joy.” This would imply that the extreme degree of emotions felt on such occasions leads to a vulnerability that allows impurity to arise. Along the same lines, Michaels (1998, p. 155) and Olivelle (1998, pp. 211–212) approach the topic from a sociological angle and explain that death and birth cause such a change and disruption to the regulated life of a family, its purity is affected. All of these ideas seem to be, however, rather weak theoretical explanations, given how great the impact of impurity is on a ritualist's life.

One emic attempt to provide an ontological explanation of the nature of impurity, which has also been adopted in later sources, was made by Vijñāneśvara in his commentary on YājñS 3.1, where he defines impurity (*āśauca*) as *puruṣagataḥ kaścanātiśayaḥ*, “some positive entity that attaches itself to a person”, rather than as a figurative expression that signals a person's temporary inability to engage in ritual life. This entity, considered of an almost physical nature, can only be removed through ritual acts: *āśaucaśabdena ca kālasnānādyapanodyaḥ piṇḍodakadānādividher adhyayanādiparyudāsasya ca nimittabhūtaḥ puruṣagataḥ kaścanātiśayaḥ kathyate. na punaḥ karmānadhikāramātram*. “Moreover, the term *āśauca* refers to some positive entity added to a person that can be removed [only] by such things as time and ritually purifying baths, and which occasions both certain injunctions such as those requiring one to give water and *piṇḍa* offerings to the ancestors, and certain prohibitions such as that concerning the Veda. So [impurity] is not simply [a negative entity, namely,] the absence of qualification to perform rites.”

of three categories: relationship to the deceased, spiritual status of the mourner, and a number of circumstantial factors related to the manner and place of death.

Regarding the degree of relationship to the deceased, the closer an individual was to the deceased the greater the pollution and the greater the number of days during which he is subject to the regulations triggered by the death. The person most affected by this kind of impurity is the chief mourner, classically the deceased person's eldest son. Since he is also the person responsible for performing the rites of post-mortem ancestor worship (*śrāddha*), the length of the period is intertwined with the respective regulations concerning the number of days or months that must pass between the death and the first *śrāddha* ritual performed for the deceased as an ancestral deity. This furthermore signifies the end of the impurity period for the chief mourner.¹²⁸ As for the length of the impurity period for other family members, there are a multitude of regulations, but a general principle that is applied is the distinction commonly made between *sapiṇḍas* ("having the same *piṇḍa* [i.e. rice ball offered in *śrāddha*]"), i.e. those who share a common patrilineal ancestor for seven generations back and thus are more strongly affected by the death, and *samānodakas* ("having the water libations [performed for the deceased] in common"),¹²⁹ i.e. who are more distantly related and therefore less affected.¹³⁰ But there are also relationships outside this familial context that generate pollution, such as those established through teaching, friendship or, as in the case of servants or the subjects of the king, dependence.

A second factor that determines how susceptible an individual is to the impact of impurity is the degree of the mourner's religious purity, as de-

¹²⁸ Cf. chapter 5.

¹²⁹ The range of those considered *samānodakas* is ill-defined. Cf. Manu 5.60, in which *sapiṇḍas* are defined as those sharing the same patrilineage for seven generations and *samānodakas* as anyone outside this group, up to those whose birth in the family is no longer remembered. Kane 1993 (p. 752 ff.) has collected more passages that define this, and refers also to Vijñāneśvara's commentary on the YājS, in which *samānodakas* are defined as seven male generations above the *sapiṇḍas*.

¹³⁰ For example, Manu 5.59 teaches four different possibilities: *daśāhaṃ śāvam āsaucaṃ sapiṇḍeṣu vidhīyate | arvāk saṃcayanād asthnām tryaham ekāham eva vā*. "Ten days of death impurity are prescribed for *sapiṇḍas*. Alternatively, up to the collecting of the bones, or for three days, or for one day."

terminated by his caste and the quality of his religious life. The degree of sanctity increases with higher castes and lifestyles that are more pious. This means that within the society of householders adhering to the caste system, a pious Brahmin who has diligently studied the Vedas and devoutly performs his ritual obligations is at the top of this hierarchy; a non-observant Śūdra is at the bottom. The number of days increases the lower an individual is on the purity scale; a pious Brahmin is affected by impurity for fewer days than a non-observant Śūdra.¹³¹ A separate category is that of the ascetic, who has left mundane life as well as any familial relationships, dedicating his life entirely to religious practices leading him to liberation. This places him on an altogether higher level of sanctity, through which he is believed to be unaffected by impurity.

Lastly, the duration of the state of impurity can also be determined by what I collectively refer to as “circumstantial factors”, that is, factors related to the condition of the deceased at the time of death as well as the individual’s relation to the event. These include the age of the deceased,¹³² whether the death happened under auspicious or inauspicious circumstances, the individual’s spatial proximity to the place of death, and the time that passed between the death and the individual hearing about it. The last two factors operate in a manner analogous to kinship, namely that closeness increases the number of days during which the regulations of impurity must be observed. Thus, the closer the proximity to the place of death and the sooner the news of the death has reached an individual, the longer the period of impurity.¹³³

4.2. Death pollution: The Śaiva context

As shown in the following sections, most of the categories of impurity found in the brahmanical context also feature in the early Śaiva tantric

¹³¹ Within the dharmaśāstric literature there is a great deal of variance about how many days of impurity this regulation amounts to, but a general rule is found in Manu 5.83: *śuddhyed vipro daśāhena dvādaśāhena bhūmipah | vaiśyaḥ pañcadaśāhena śūdro māsenā śudhyati*. “A Brahmin is purified after ten days, a Kṣatriya after twelve days, a Vaiśya in fifteen, and a Śūdra after a month.”

¹³² Basically, this concerns whether the death has occurred during childhood, and before or after the person’s Vedic initiation (*upanayana*).

¹³³ Cf. Kane 1953, pp. 273–274.

sources,¹³⁴ although here they are often accompanied by statements and injunctions that are contradictory to Śaiva doctrinal notions.

4.2.1. Purificatory actions immediately after cremation rites

Most of the early Śaiva sources under consideration teach rituals for removing impurity after the cremation ceremony.¹³⁵ For the most part, these purification rituals comprise bathing and pronouncing a certain Śaiva mantra a given number of times. For instance, the SvāSS teaches that the officiant is to purify himself by bathing and reciting the *śivamantra* together with its auxiliaries, which he is to pronounce in the reverse order starting with the *sadyojātantra* and ending with the *netramantra*.¹³⁶ The same instructions are found in the JR.¹³⁷ Further, Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṅṭha, in his commentary on the SārK – which itself does not contain any instructions on this topic – refers to the SvāSS at this point, with instructions for bathing and reciting the *śivamantra* and its auxiliaries in the reverse order.¹³⁸ The Kir,

¹³⁴ Incidentally, Nirmalamāṇi, commenting on the KKD, defines impurity in completely brahmanical terms, echoing the wording of Vijñāneśvara’s definition of impurity (see fn. 122 above), namely that it is a positive entity residing in a person which results in the inability to perform certain rites (Sanskrit text quoted in Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 683): *āśaucam nāma karṁiṇaḥ kriyānarhatvalakṣaṇam puruṣastham kiṁcid aprāyatyam*. “Impurity is some pollution that is attached to a person and is the incapacity of a ritual agent (*karṁiṇaḥ*) [to perform] rites.” He further substantiates this with a quote from the *Āśaucaśataka*, which provides exactly the same list of measures to be taken to remove this impurity as found in Vijñāneśvara’s treatment – performing a collection of post-mortem offering rites as well as purificatory rites such as bathing and waiting a certain amount of time: *nimittam piṅḍadānādeḥ puruṣastham āsuddhikṛt | kālasnānāpanodyam yat tad āśaucam itiṣyate* (ibid.). “[This entity] attached to a person renders him impure and is the occasion for such [ritual actions] as offering *piṅḍas*. It is taught that this impurity is removed by the passage of time and by bathing.”

¹³⁵ The exceptions are the scriptures SārK, SJU, and DtU.

¹³⁶ SvāSS 22.15: *snātvodakam tato dattvā punaḥ snātvā śivam jayet | sadyādi netraparyantaṁ śāvakarmaviśuddhaye*. For the apparatus and annotated translation see the appendices.

¹³⁷ JR AP 109c–110b. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

¹³⁸ Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṅṭha *ad* SārK 26.1–6b: *yad uktaṁ śrīmatśvāyambhuve: snātvodakam tato dattvā punaḥ snātvā śivam jayet | sadyādinetrāparyantaṁ śāvakarmaviśuddhaye || iti*.

SP and JR instruct that the person who has officiated at a cremation must purify himself by repeating the *aghoramantra* one hundred times.¹³⁹

The corpse bearers are treated separately in the SP and JR.¹⁴⁰ The degree of their impurity is considered higher – probably through the direct contact with the corpse – with the result that they are to recite two hundred *aghoramantras*, thus twice as many as the officiant. In the burial account of the MatP there are no purificatory instructions for the person officiating, but it does include injunctions for the corpse bearers, namely that they are to recite the *aghoramantra* a hundred and eight times.¹⁴¹ The absence of any purificatory rites for the officiant in the MatP might be due to the ascetic burial practice we find here, in which the officiant does not have to conduct a cremation or any of the other funerary rites we find in other sources.¹⁴²

The KKD also contains regulations for removing impurity after the ceremony, although they contain a slight, but structurally meaningful difference. Here, the corpse bearers as well as the person who ignites the pyre are to recite two hundred *aghoramantras*; those who follow the funeral procession are to recite half as many.¹⁴³ The KKD thus singles out the person who ignites the fire, a role that in the brahmanical context is traditionally carried out by the chief mourner. In the other sources, as shown, there is never a change of agent indicated, also when it comes to the moment of lighting the pyre. Thus one might assume that here, the person lighting the fire is not the chief mourner, but still the Śaiva tantric priest in charge of the rest of the ritual. One could argue that the KKD does not necessarily teach a different procedure, since it does not explicitly mention the chief mourner either, only referring to a person who ignites the fire (called “the igniter”, *dāhaka*). Theoretically this person could also be the Śaiva priest. Looking

¹³⁹ Cf. Kir 60.17ab: *śatajāpād aghorasya śāvaśuddhir ihoditā*; SP 10.37ab: *deśiko bahurūpasya punaḥ snātvā śataṃ japet*; JR 70ab: *punaḥ snātvā samācamya saṃdhyām āvāndya pūrvavat*.

¹⁴⁰ SP 10.37cd: *dviḡṇaṃ skandhadātāras tato yāyān nijāśramam*. See also JR AP 70cd: *dviśataṃ skandhadātāro gurur ghorasatam japet*.

¹⁴¹ MatP *Caryāpāda* 10.73: *śucim āyānti voḍhāro [mantrasya] bahurūpiṇaḥ | śatam aṣṭottaraṃ japtvā †śeṣān āśīta† svrata*.

¹⁴² For an account of funerary procedures in the MatP, see pp. 100ff.

¹⁴³ KKD, T 370, p. 213: *anugāḥ sahitā aghoraṃ vā śataṃ skandhadātāro dāhakāś ca dviḡṇaṃ japeyuh*. “The followers who accompanied [the corpse] should recite a hundred *aghoramantras*, and the corpse bearers and the person incinerating [the pyre], two hundred.”

at the impurity regulations, this is unlikely, however, since if the Śaiva priest were intended here, we would expect, analogous to the other sources, him to be less affected by impurity than the corpse bearers. In the KKD this is not the case: the igniter (*dāhaka*) is considered highly affected by impurity and required to recite the same number of *aghoramantras* for purification as the corpse bearers.

In addition to reciting mantras, the manuals JR and KKD mention other purificatory actions such as bathing, sipping water, touching ghee and fire, placing mantras on the body and crushing white mustard seeds. In the JR these actions are to be performed upon returning home after collecting the bones.¹⁴⁴ The KKD prescribes them immediately after the cremation itself:

Having put aside sorrow, he should return to the entrance of his house, chew *nimba* leaves, sip water, touch fire, water, cow dung and white mustard seeds, place his foot on a stone, and enter the house.¹⁴⁵

These steps correspond closely to the purificatory actions in the brahmanical tradition for the relatives of the deceased upon their return home after a cremation. As found, for example, in the famous brahmanical treatise on *dharma*, the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (YājS), composed between the third and fifth centuries CE,¹⁴⁶ these are:

Having listened to this, they should go to the house preceded by the children. Restrained, [standing] in the doorway of the house, they should chew *nimba* leaves. Having sipped water, touched fire, etc., water, cow dung and white mustard seeds, they should step on a stone and enter [the house] in silence.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ JR AP 73: *tadā snātvā samācāmya ghrtaṃ sāgñiṃ saṃrakṣayet | punaḥ snātvā kṛtanyāso mardayed gaurasarṣapān*. For the apparatus and translation, see the appendices.

¹⁴⁵ KKD, T370 p.184: *śokam apanīya gṛhadvāram āgāmya nimbapatrāṇi khātvā ācāmyāgnim udakaṃ gomayaṃ gaurasarṣapān saṃsprśyāśmani* (em.; *saṃsprśyātmani* Cod.) *pādaṃ nidhāya mandīraṃ praviśya*.

¹⁴⁶ Kane 1953, p. 215, lists more examples.

¹⁴⁷ YājS 3.12–13: *iti saṃśrūtya gaccheyur gṛhaṃ bālapuraḥsarāḥ | vidaśya nimbapatrāṇi niyatā dvāri veśmanaḥ || ācāmyāgnyādi salilaṃ gomayaṃ gaurasarṣapān | praviśeyuḥ samālabhya kṛtvāśmani padaṃ śanaiḥ ||*.

These brahmanical methods for counteracting death impurity, as well as the principle that a certain amount of time needs to pass after a death before one's ritual purity is restored, appear to have been so deeply embedded in the ritual behaviour at the time that the more Śaiva-specific element of purificatory ritual, namely, reciting a mantra, is even left out in some sources. This is the case, for instance, in Trilocana's digest on penance regulations, the *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*, postdating the JR and the KKD but probably not by much. Here, the recitation of specific Śaiva tantric mantras, as found in the early sources, has disappeared and the emphasis has returned to the conventional brahmanical methods.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, at the end of this section in the *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*, it is also stressed that worldly regulations must not be transgressed.¹⁴⁹ This is an injunction that we have already frequently encountered in the context of tantric funerary practices, which clearly are involved in complex socio-religious settings due their essentially communal nature.

4.2.2. Removal of the impurity incurred by participating in a funeral procession

The JR and KKD, both drawing on the earlier NaiKri, contain a further passage concerning death impurity that addresses regulations for those participating in the funeral of a non-relation.¹⁵⁰ The entire passage appears to be strongly influenced by the brahmanical tradition, echoing concepts and formulations found there and embracing caste distinctions as a meaningful category, despite Śaiva claims of having transcended them.¹⁵¹ The first

¹⁴⁸ See Trilocana, *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* 596–601. Only in the case of the obligatory worship of a *samayin* during a period of impurity is the recitation of *aghoramantras* to be carried out after the worship, see *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* 603c–605b.

¹⁴⁹ Trilocana's *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* 602ab: *gr̥hasthānām yad ācāraṃ laṅghanīyaṃ na laukikam*.

¹⁵⁰ JR AP 91–93, and KKD T 370, p. 213.

¹⁵¹ Further evidence that caste distinctions were meaningful for tantric communities in the context of practiced religion can be gleaned from instructions that regulate eating arrangements. For instance, JR ŚP 57–61 gives instructions for the communal meal after the departure of the *śrāddha* invitees. The passage prescribes that during the meal, initiates of different castes must never sit in the same row and must also face different directions; fur-

verse of the passage, which is the same in both texts, concerns the regulations for accompanying a deceased person to the cremation ground and takes into consideration the brahmanical rule that one should not accompany someone of a lower caste who has died:¹⁵²

Someone from a higher caste should not follow [to the cremation ground the deceased] of a lower caste, unless the latter is an ascetic. If someone does accompany [the corpse of such a person], he should bathe in water and recite the mantra of the deity of his own caste one hundred times.¹⁵³

This injunction clearly disregards the Śaiva context and echoes brahmanical injunctions such as a very similar one in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*:

A Brahmin should not follow anyone to the cremation ground, whether Śūdra or twice-born, [unless the Brahmin is a close relative of the deceased (a *sapiṇḍa*)]. If [a Brahmin] does accompany [a corpse to the cremation ground], he becomes pure after having taken a bath, touching fire and eating clarified butter.¹⁵⁴

ther, the *maṇḍalas*, which are prepared for protecting each initiate's vessel that is placed upon it, differ in design according to caste status.

¹⁵² Cf. Kane, p. 214. For example, *Viṣṇusmṛti* 19.1–4: *mṛtaṃ dvijaṃ na śūdreṇa nīhārayet. na śūdraṃ dvijena. pitaraṃ mātaraṃ ca putrā nīhāreyuḥ. na dvijaṃ pitaraṃ api śūdrāḥ*. “A *śūdra* may not carry a deceased twice-born, nor a twice-born, a deceased *śūdra*. Sons should carry their father and mother. [But] a *śūdra* may not carry a twice-born, even if he is his father.” See also *Manu* 5.104ab: *na vipraṃ sveṣu tiṣṭhatsu mṛtaṃ śūdreṇa nāyayet*. “When one's own people are present, one should never let a *śūdra* carry a Brahmin's corpse” (translation Olivelle 2005, p. 143).

¹⁵³ JR AP 91 (= KKD T 370, p. 213, and NaiKri fol. 88v, 1.2–3): *nottamenānugantavyo hīnavarṇo vratojjihitah | anugamyāmbhasi snātvā svajātīśaśatam jayet ||*.

¹⁵⁴ YājS 3.26ab: *brāhmaṇenānugantavyo na śūdro na dvijaḥ kva cit | anugamyāmbhasi snātvā sprṣṭvāgnim ghr̥tabhuk śucih ||*. Note that the additional information that the Brahmin is only to be part of the funeral procession if the deceased is his relative is inferred from Vijnāneśvara's commentary on the text, see ad 3.26: *brāhmaṇena asapiṇḍena dvijo viprādīḥ śūdro vā preto nānugantavyaḥ*. A similar injunction regarding purificatory rites is also found in *Manu* 5.103. Here, however, it is not specified that a Brahmin should not join a funerary procession, nor that it matters whether the deceased is a relative or not; in both cases we have the same set of purificatory actions of bathing (with one's clothes on), touching fire and eating ghee: *anugamyecchayā pretam jñātim ajñātim eva vā | snātvā sacallāḥ sprṣṭvāgnim ghr̥taṃ prāśya viśudhyati*.

Two verses following the above cited passage in the JR – also drawn from the NaiKri¹⁵⁵ but not found in the KKD – then return to a Śaiva context and again introduce the notion of Śaiva superiority. Here, the JR proclaims how meritorious it generally is to carry a deceased Śaiva Brahmin or *yogin*:

Whoever carries a dead Śaiva initiate Brahmin, regardless of whether [the deceased] is an ascetic or not, will be spared untimely death. If someone carries a dead Śaiva *yogin* who had no assistant or protector [to carry out the funeral rites for him] and has [the cremation ritual] performed for him, he will be freed from all ills.¹⁵⁶

While the text does not explicitly exclude the arising of impurity (*āśauca*) and we can expect the same set of obligatory purificatory rites to apply here too, this passage makes clear that acting as a corpse bearer in the case of a Śaiva Brahmin or an ascetic is commendable rather than polluting – especially if compared to the passage cited just above. However, even if we accept the premise that it is meritorious to carry a deceased initiate, then from a Śaiva point of view the caste of the deceased should not be a determining factor for how meritorious this action is. Rather, we would then expect that carrying an initiate of any caste is meritorious, since caste is one of the bonds that are ritually destroyed during a Śaiva initiation and is thus theoretically meaningless in the context of initiates. Hence, it appears that restricting this injunction to Brahmins and *yogins* has rather been motivated by the brahmanical view that Brahmins and ascetics represent the purest level in the socio-religious hierarchy. This has been revised to Śaiva-initiated Brahmins and *yogins*. In fact, the injunction closely mirrors the brahmanical rule that carrying a deceased Brahmin generates merit, as found for example in the *Parāśarasmṛti*, a brahmanical text on agreed behaviour (*ācāra*) and penance (*prāyaścitta*) probably dating to the seventh or eighth century CE.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ NaiKri fol. 88v, l. 2–3.

¹⁵⁶ JR AP 91c–93b: *vratastham avratasthaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ śivadīkṣitam | vipannaṃ yo vahet tasya nākāle maraṇaṃ bhavet || asahāyam anāthaṃ ca gatāsuṃ śivayoginam | nītvā saṃskārayed yas tu so 'niṣṭair viprayujyate ||*. For the apparatus, see appendix A.

¹⁵⁷ See Olivelle 2010, p. 67.

Those twice-born who carry a deceased Brahmin who is without a protector acquire progressively the fruit of a [Vedic] sacrifice with every step they take. These virtuous men are freed of all misfortune and sin.¹⁵⁸

4.2.3. Impurity regulations for the immediate period after a death

In contrast to the type of impurity discussed above, which results from direct contact with a corpse (*śāvāśauca*), the impurity arising through a relationship with the deceased – the second category above – lasts for a longer time and involves a larger circle of people. Given its wider socio-religious implications, it is thus more difficult to regulate. Instructions regarding this type of impurity sometimes inadvertently offer glimpses into the underlying social realities of the period and specific groups. It is probably due to these wider implications that the early scriptural sources are silent on precisely this point, with the exception of the SvāSS and MatP. But these two texts address impurity regulations only within the monastic context and its initiatory lineages, as we will see below. If the context is moved from this domain, familial relations enter the picture, relations that likely extended beyond the initiate community. In essence, such a scenario offers two possibilities: either the initiate defers to common brahmanical regulations for the sake of conformity, or he does not get involved in conventional procedures at this point at all, but rather distances himself from the others who are affected by impurity and so avoids having to fulfil any ritual expectations. Amongst the early scriptural sources, only in the SvāSS are there allusions to how this interface between the initiate and the mainstream brahmanical householder may have been negotiated. It can be found more concretely in the ritual manuals, as will be shown below. On the whole, however, the material is quite ambiguous concerning the boundaries between the initiate and lay community in the familial context, often making it difficult to interpret or reconcile the various views expressed.

The MatP, for instance, whose prescriptions are conceived purely for the monastic community, enjoins that if a guru dies, the daily study of the Śai-

¹⁵⁸ *Parāśarasmr̥ti* 3.39–40b: *anāthaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ pretaṃ ye vahanti dvijātayaḥ | pade pade yajñaphalam ānupūrvyāḥ labhanti te || na teṣāṃ aśubhaṃ kiṃcit pāpaṃ vā śubhakarmaṇām.*

va scriptures¹⁵⁹ must be stopped for a specified number of days, with the number corresponding to the ascending order of initiatory rank. But at the same time, it is prohibited to interrupt daily rites:

For deceased ascetics [beginning with *samayins*] and ending with gurus, one must observe an interruption of one's daily study of the Śaiva scriptures for one, two, three, or four days respectively. [But] an interruption of the rites for the deity, the fire, and the guru (i.e. one's daily obligatory rites) is not recommended.¹⁶⁰

Here, the effect of impurity is restricted to interrupting one's daily study. The SvāSS, on the other hand, which provides instructions mainly concerned with regulations connected to the death of a guru, extends the effect of impurity from a mere break in study to the interruption of all rites except those that are a daily obligation;¹⁶¹ this interruption is to last for three days for the students of the guru, just as prescribed in certain brahmanical sources.¹⁶²

The SvāSS also specifies that those who are not directly related to a guru, be they ascetics or householders, are to observe one day of impurity upon his death, an injunction probably directed to initiates who were members of the same monastic institution but not part of the guru's direct teach-

¹⁵⁹ It is the daily duty of the initiate to study the Śaiva scriptures, and of the guru, to teach them to his pupils.

¹⁶⁰ MatP 75–76b: *ekaṃ dve trīṇi catvāri vipannānām tapasvinām | prakartavyo hy anadhyāyo gurvantānām yathākramam | devāgnigurukāryānām vicchedo na praśasyate ||*

¹⁶¹ These regulations are analogous to those referred to in the brahmanical tradition as *adhikārasamkoca*, “the curtailment for one's entitlement [to perform rituals]”, as discussed above (see pp. 159ff.). While neither the scriptural material nor the early manuals are specific about the implications of impurity on obligatory rituals, the later *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* of Trilocana provides a glimpse of how such injunctions may have been applied in practice. In the instructions regarding death impurity, Trilocana distinguishes between *samayins*, *putrakas* and ascetics. The *samayins* seem to be the only initiatory category actually affected by death impurity; it is specified that they perform the *sandhyāvandana* without mantras, do not touch the *liṅga* and perform Śaiva worship internally, followed by eating only at night, repeating the *aghoramantra* a thousand times, and then bathing. See Trilocana's *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* 602c–605b. For the text and a translation, see Sathyanarayanan 2015.

¹⁶² SvāSS 22.16. For the brahmanical regulation, cf., for example, Manu 5.80ab: *trirātram āhur āśaucam ācārye samsthite sati*.

ing lineage.¹⁶³ Such initiates are referred to as *śivamārgastha*, established in the path of Śiva, contrasted to people who are *lokamārgastha*,¹⁶⁴ established in the path of worldly, that is, Vaidika religion. This clearly acknowledges a position in which initiates may have commonly found themselves: between the tantric initiatory community and the worldly context of a householder. The SvāSS teaches that if the initiates are *lokamārgastha*, they should follow mundane conventions. As discussed above, there are two possibilities for interpreting this injunction: either that householder initiates are to receive Vaidika funerals themselves,¹⁶⁵ or that they are to observe all the impurity rules concerning brahmanical mainstream society when a death occurs outside the initiatory community and in their householder context.¹⁶⁶ The latter interpretation would be in keeping with the principle that Śaiva householders were to adhere to all mundane practices in addition to Śaiva ritual obligations. They would thus not attract opprobrium by offending social norms. Nevertheless, they were to remain aware that these external observances were irrelevant in the quest for liberation.¹⁶⁷

The context of the monastic institution and related initiatory lineages, implicit in the SvāSS, is more explicit in the related passages in the BK and JR.¹⁶⁸ In fact, here the text has been modified in order to make the quasi-familial relationships within the initiatory community clearer. One's own disciples are like sons, a fellow *putraka* in the teaching lineage is like a brother, *putrakas* and *sādhakas* are also brothers,¹⁶⁹ the *samayin* is like a grandson to the *ācārya*, and the *ācārya* is the father of all.¹⁷⁰ In changing this passage, the redactor(s) of the BK and Jñānaśiva dropped the terminol-

¹⁶³ See p. 51.

¹⁶⁴ SvāSS 22.18. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices.

¹⁶⁵ Since the SvāSS only prescribes a simple cremation and does not contain an elaborate form of initiatory cremation, the importance of receiving a Śaiva funeral in terms of function is less pronounced than in works such as the JR.

¹⁶⁶ See pp. 55ff.

¹⁶⁷ Sanderson (forthcoming b), pp. 2–18, contains a detailed examination of this scripturally enjoined compliance with mundane practice.

¹⁶⁸ See pp. 53ff.

¹⁶⁹ Note that within the hierarchy of initiatory levels, a *sādhaka* is clearly subordinate to the *ācārya*, being equated with a *putraka*.

¹⁷⁰ JR AP 111c–114. For the text and translation, see the appendices.

ogy and regulations concerning the *śivamārgastha* and *lokamārgastha*, as well as the rule that students are to observe three days of impurity upon the death of their guru. Instead, the passage in these two texts enjoins a one-day period of impurity for all initiates in the teaching lineage.¹⁷¹

As for the regulations for the initiate community in mundane society, the JR contains a clear statement that an initiated householder must conform to the impurity regulations based on their status in society:

A householder must not transgress the mundane religion even in his thoughts, [and therefore] the period of impurity arising from one's caste is in accordance with the practice of the mundane religion.¹⁷²

Nonetheless, the JR also insists that any belief in impurity is groundless, thus further stressing the purely conventional function of following impurity regulations:

Truly speaking, there is [however] no impurity for the initiated.¹⁷³

Indeed, by declaring any kind of impurity regulations groundless, the JR undermines its own instructions regarding consequences of impurity found throughout the funeral chapter. This injunction thus clearly demonstrates the friction that existed between doctrine and practice.

But there are still other inconsistencies. In contrast to the absolute immunity to impurity expressed in the above verse, an earlier passage portrays a quite different picture. There, a distinction is made between the effect of impurity on an ascetic and on a householder, namely that the former is completely untouched by impurity, while the latter is subject to it, but only for a moment. This impurity is removed immediately by bathing, whereupon the householder's capacity to perform any ritual (*adhikāra*) in the

¹⁷¹ JR AP 114cd. This is an example of the JR's eclectic character. Later, in the treatment of post-mortem ancestor worship, JR ŚP 4cd implies observing a three-day period upon the death of ascetics, since the first regular *śrāddha* signalling the end of the impurity period is to be performed on the next suitable day in the moon calendar after the third day following the death.

¹⁷² JR AP 114. For the text and annotated translation, see the appendices.

¹⁷³ JR AP 115. For the text and annotated translation, see the appendices.

Śaiva context is restored.¹⁷⁴ A similar instruction is found in Trilocana's *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*, which declares ascetics, renouncers and those who have received a *nirvāṇadīkṣā* to be free of impurity,¹⁷⁵ but then continues, in contradiction to what has just been said, that a full initiate is in fact affected by death impurity, but only for a moment. Similar to what is enjoined in the JR, this is removed through bathing:

Because of the fact that [through initiation] he has cast aside [innate impurity, which is] the seed of transmigratory existence, a man possessed of knowledge and observant of true rituals (*satkriyāvataḥ*) will be subject to that [impurity] only for an instant, and that [impurity] will cease after merely bathing.¹⁷⁶

This concept of instant restoration of purity through bathing is also found in the brahmanical tradition, where it is referred to as *sadyaḥśauca*. There it is applied in the case of individuals who are exempted from the full force of pollution because they are either in a heightened state of purity or have obligations that prevail over the effects of impurity. Such persons are, for example, Vedic students (*brahmacārin*) who in order to study the Vedic scriptures temporarily adopt the life of an ascetic and who by default are untouched by impurity; *śrauta* sacrificers, that is, those who have undergone a consecration and are acting as the sponsor (*yajamāna*) of a Vedic public sacrifice (*śrautayajña*) that takes several days and may not be interrupted (for example, the *agnicayana* sacrifice);¹⁷⁷ or those who cannot neglect their duties by removing themselves from society, such as the king, soldiers at war or servants.¹⁷⁸ In the above passage from the JR, the initiate

¹⁷⁴ JR AP 93–95. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices.

¹⁷⁵ See Trilocana's *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* 605c–606b and 608c–609b. For the text and a translation, see Sathyanarayanan 2015. Note however that it is specified that the householder initiate remains free of impurity only if he eats and cooks separately and does not touch anyone affected by death impurity.

¹⁷⁶ Translation by Sathyanarayanan 2015, p. 370. See also Trilocana's *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* 609c–610b: *astasaṃsārabījatvāj jñāninaḥ satkriyāvataḥ || kṣaṇamātraṃ bhavet tac ca snānād eva nivartate* .

¹⁷⁷ See, e.g., Staal 1983.

¹⁷⁸ See Kane 1992, Vol. IV, pp. 295–296.

corresponds most closely here to the *śrauta* sacrificer¹⁷⁹ who cannot neglect the ritual obligations to which he is already committed in the superior Śaiva tantric context.

4.3. Shunning the impure: The *Somaśambhupaddhati*

In the SP's chapter on expiatory rites (*prāyaścitta*), we find instructions that give us some insight into a practical matter when attempting to coordinate impurity regulations in a household where both initiated and uninitiated persons live. These are special rules related to the consumption of food in such a setting.¹⁸⁰ Accordingly, it is enjoined that initiates are immune to impurity only if they are fully initiated and eat food that has been cooked separately from that of those affected by impurity,¹⁸¹ or if their position requires them to carry on with their duties, as in the case of kings, workers and slaves.¹⁸² However, if the initiate does consume food prepared for and by those affected by impurity, he is contaminated and required to purify himself by fasting and reciting the *aghoramantra* a thousand times. If he has consumed the food while fully aware of this infringement, he must recite the mantra twice that number of times.¹⁸³ The same rule applies when food is received from a person affected by impurity who is not a family member, with the difference that then the *vāmadevamantra* is to be recited.¹⁸⁴

These injunctions are yet another example showing how in practice, initiates' immunity to impurity was not as consistently respected in practiced religion as suggested by the principle that Śaivas are untouched by impurity by virtue of their initiation. Further, by insisting that these rules apply to

¹⁷⁹ Sanderson (forthcoming) has, in fact, drawn together evidence for the presence of initiated Śaivas in the domain of Vedic public rituals of Varanasi and in the South, both areas with which the author Jñānaśiva is associated.

¹⁸⁰ SP *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* 92–94.

¹⁸¹ Cf. also Trilocana's *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* 608c–609b.

¹⁸² See SP *Prāyaścittavidhi* 92–94: *dvidhāpi sūtake bhuktvā samupoṣya viśuddhyati | vāmaśya tu sahasreṇa kāmāt tu dviguṇaṃ caret || bhuktvā tatra svakīye ca sahasraṃ dakṣiṇaṃ japet | upavāsasamopetaṃ kāmāt tu dviguṇaṃ caret || kārudāsīnarendrāṇāṃ sūtakam naiva vidyate | nirvāṇadīkṣitānāṃ tu pṛthakpākabhujāṃ na tat.*

¹⁸³ SP *Prāyaścittavidhi* 93.

¹⁸⁴ SP *Prāyaścittavidhi* 92. Alexis Sanderson has pointed out to me that Bhojadeva's *Siddhāntasārapaddhati*, which is the source for Somaśambhu's manual, also prescribes that on such occasions the initiate must interrupt the performance of his obligatory rites.

those who have received the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*, they also raise the question of the regulations in case of a *samayin*, who has only received the lower-level initiation and is thus situated in the spiritual hierarchy somewhere between the uninitiated and the fully initiated. But the sources in question do not specify any special regulations for him.¹⁸⁵

5. Disposal of property

The only two sources offering instructions regarding the disposal of a deceased initiate's property are the MatP¹⁸⁶ and the JR.¹⁸⁷ Both texts deal only with the property of an ascetic within a monastic institution; inheritance within the family is never mentioned. Indeed, this is not surprising given that such matters in mainstream society were regulated according to customary laws already in place and were not of religious significance.

The rulings for inheritance amongst ascetics, who by virtue of their renunciation possessed only a few personal items such as clothes and sandals, is analogous to the principles found in brahmanical sources. There, such property is given to the guru of the deceased or his co-disciples within the same initiatory lineage, who are effectively considered his spiritual relatives.¹⁸⁸ Hence, the JR rules that such property is to be inherited in the following order: by the guru, by a co-disciple, by another member of the same initiatory lineage, or by someone within the same initiatory clan (*gocara*); alternatively, the possessions of the deceased may also be offered to Śiva, offered into a Śiva fire, or donated to the temple.¹⁸⁹

Similarly, the scripture MatP rules that the property of a disciple should be given to Śiva, the Śiva fire or other disciples. The passage also contains other, more specific instructions; these are difficult to understand, since the

¹⁸⁵ However, see fn. 161 above, for some specific rules for *samayins* in Trilocana's *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*.

¹⁸⁶ MatP Caryāpāda 10.76–82.

¹⁸⁷ JR AP 96c–99b. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices.

¹⁸⁸ See, for example, YājS 2.137: *vānaprasthayatibrahmacāriṇām rikthabhāgiṇaḥ | kramenācāryasacchiṣyadharmabhrātrekatīrthinaḥ*. “The people receiving the property of a forest hermit, ascetic and [permanent] *brahmacārin* are, respectively, the teacher, a good disciple, a religious brother (i.e. a co-disciple), and someone inhabiting the same hermitage.”

¹⁸⁹ See fn. 187 above.

text is corrupt. Nonetheless, it is possible to deduce that any property is to be divided into three parts; what these parts consist of is only specified for the last. The first part is to be offered to Śiva, the second to the fire, and the third, constituting personal utensils such as vessels, is to be given to the poor.¹⁹⁰ Next, the text gives regulations concerning the property of a deceased guru. His manuscripts are to be put in the care of appropriate disciples and his wealth is to be offered to Śiva for things such as building temples.¹⁹¹ This implies that gurus potentially exercised power over vast amounts of property, as was common with monastic institutions of various religious traditions. The wealth accumulated by monasteries through donations by pious devotees and the ritual fees (*dakṣiṇā*) paid to a guru in return for conducting initiations and consecrations was theoretically not a guru's personal property, but belonged to the monastery. Thus, upon the death of a guru the responsibility for such property was passed on to a person who had been selected and consecrated as the new head of the monastic institution (*maṭha*).¹⁹² The regulation of such legacies is therefore really a ques-

¹⁹⁰ MatP Caryāpāda 10.76c–79b: *svaśiṣyakas tu yaddravyaṃ yat kiṃ cit pustakādikam || tad guror vaśam āpannam anyebhyo dātum arhati | †guror abhāvāt tadbhāvabhāvāc chāstrāṇi kāraye† || †mahad dhi† devadevāya dviṭīyaṃ cāpy athāgnaye | bhājanādi trīyaṃ tu *nihsve* (corr. Minkowski; *nisve* Ed.) *syād athavā yadi || tanmātraṃ yasya tan nāsti tat tasya tu pradāpayet*. There are several problems with translating this passage. *Pāda* 77cd seems corrupt; I find no way to emend and translate it. Perhaps it refers to the order of the people to whom belongings are to be passed on: first to the guru, and in his absence (*guror abhāvāt?*) to other disciples. Or it might contain information for the next verses defining how this threefold division of the property is to be understood. Further, the phrase *mahad dhi* at the beginning of verse 78 is puzzling. Given that the text goes on to mention the second (*dviṭīya*) and third (*trīya*) part of the property, one would expect the term *prathama* (the first) at this point. In the light of these difficulties, I offer the following tentative translation: “[The guru’s] own disciple should give any property, such as manuscripts, that have come into the possession of the guru to others. †...†. The largest [part] should be given to Śiva, and the second [part should be offered] into the fire. The third [part] consisting of things such as bowls should be [bestowed upon] someone poor, or alternatively he should give that [property] to someone who does not even possess that much.”

¹⁹¹ MatP Caryāpāda 10.79c–81b: *svaryātasya guror dravyaṃ devāya vinivedayet || kartavyaṃ ca vibhos tena prāsādādikam ādarāt | pustakānāṃ yathājyeṣṭhakrameṇa paripālanam || kartavyaṃ abhiyuktaiḥ tu śiṣyair nyāyena sarvadā*. “The guru’s own property should be offered to Śiva. With that [wealth], temples and the like should be built zealously for the Lord [Śiva]. [His] manuscripts should be taken into the care (*paripālanam kartavyam*) of appropriate disciples on the basis of seniority (*yathājyeṣṭhakrameṇa*), always in accordance with correct procedure (*nyāyena*).”

¹⁹² See Kane, vol. II, p. 908.

tion of power and succession. Indeed, it was common practice that a successor was appointed and consecrated to office by the guru himself before his death in order to avoid tension.¹⁹³ It is likely that Śaiva *maṭhas* functioned according to the same principle. However, the MatP does not mention the guru appointing his own disciple, but enjoins only that a senior co-disciple is to take over the guardianship of the lineage, reminding the reader that the authority of this successor is not to be questioned by anyone who desires to attain Śiva-hood.¹⁹⁴ It seems probable that this ruling was a means for avoiding internal disputes in the case of a guru dying before he was able to appoint and consecrate his own successor.

¹⁹³ See Kane, vol. II, p. 909.

¹⁹⁴ MatP Caryāpāda 10.82: *śānto vātha bhaved bhrātā jyeṣṭhaḥ* (conj.; *jyeṣṭhā* Ed.) *saṃtānapālakaḥ* | *śeṣais tadājñayā sarvaiḥ sthātavyam śivakāṅkṣibhiḥ*. “A senior ascetic co-disciple who has subdued his passions (*śānto*) should become the guardian of the lineage. [And] all the other [disciples] should remain under his authority, if they desire to obtain Śiva-hood.”