

# Chapter 5

## Ancestor Worship in Early Śaiva Siddhānta

### 1. Introduction

Post-mortem ancestor worship (*śrāddha*) is an essential component of a brahmanical householder's ritual routine. As has been discussed above, Śaivism sought to extend its reach among the population of householders, adopting core features of the brahmanical ritual repertoire even if they created doctrinally awkward positions. This aspect was most notably reflected in the context of funerary rites. It is also seen in the Śaiva adapting of *śrāddha* rituals. Here, as in the case of Śaiva *antyeṣṭi*, Śaiva ritualists had to accept and work around a fundamental premise that was doctrinally problematic, namely, that during *śrāddha* rituals the soul is in essence being venerated as an entity which passes through various ancestral levels after death, and not as an entity that has attained ultimate liberation.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter contains a survey of early sources on Śaiva rites and explores their rationale. Notable is that amongst the early Śaiva Siddhānta scriptural sources, only the *Kiraṇa* (Kir) contains prescriptions for Śaiva rites for post-mortem ancestor worship. All the others avoid the topic, which is likely an indication that their respective tantric circles were not yet as integrated into the brahmanical mainstream while householder initiates consulted conventional *śrāddha* priests for their services if required. Sources that do contain descriptions of *śrāddha* rites date from the tenth century onwards and mainly belong to the genre of ritual manuals. This means that by this time tantric priests had more systematically started to encroach on this sphere of rituals. Another post-tenth-century source is the eclectic Śaiva scripture *Bṛhatkālottara* (BK). However, as mentioned above, here the *śrāddha* section, together with a chapter on funerary proce-

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. 33ff.

dures, is based on non-Śaiva material adopted, in some parts almost verbatim, from the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātriḱa scripture *Jayākhyasamhitā* (JāyS).<sup>2</sup>

The paucity of early material on Śaiva *śrāddha* rituals and the BK's heavy dependence on a Vaiṣṇava scripture suggest that the cycle of *śrāddha* rites was a relatively late addition to the ritual repertoire and took more time to be rationalized in Śaiva terms. It seems that there was long hesitation to introduce or formally acknowledge the performance of Śaiva *śrāddha* rites, probably due to the undeniable connection to the brahmanical original. This is noticeably different than the integration of cremation rituals into the Śaiva ritual repertoire, which as we have seen is found already in most of the pre-tenth-century scriptures. Nevertheless, our sources also show that once a framework for Śaiva *śrāddha* rituals had been created, this ritual cycle quickly became an integral component of the Śaiva tantric repertoire.<sup>3</sup> The manner of their integration, however, was not uniform. There were various ways in which the boundary between common brahmanical and purely Śaiva practices was negotiated, reflecting the doctrinally problematic position of such rites in the tantric context.

## 2. *Śrāddha* in its original brahmanical context

The obligation to regularly perform rites of post-mortem ancestor worship is one of the most important ritual duties of the brahmanical householder. It is well known that their performance is classified as one of the three debts a twice-born must pay during his lifetime. These are formalized as (1) sacrifice (for the gods), (2) learning (for the sages), and (3) *śrāddha* (for the

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<sup>2</sup> See Sanderson 2001, pp. 17 and 38–41 and p. 83. In his article, Sanderson points to traces of specifically Vaiṣṇava formulations that were overlooked by the redactors of the BK in the process of revising the passage to fit the Śaiva context.

<sup>3</sup> The earliest known epigraphic attestation of a royal *śivaśrāddha* is in a South Indian inscription of Rājarāja I (South Indian Inscriptions XII, No. 144 [A.R. No. 444 of 1918], Tiruvenkadu, Shiyali Taluk, Tanjore District). It registers in detail the several gifts made to the temple. In the third year of the reign of Rājarāja I, i.e. 987 CE, the queen of Uttama-Chol, Sorabbaiyar Tribhuvanamadeviyar, presented a gold flower in lieu of a gift of land for the *śivaśrāddha* of her husband. I am grateful to Alexis Sanderson for having pointed this epigraph out to me.

ancestors).<sup>4</sup> In essence, these *śrāddha* rituals are conceptualized as gratifying the male ancestors together with the ancestral deities, the Viśvedevas, through food offerings presented to so-called *śrāddha* Brahmins, who act as the proxies of both.

There are many occasions throughout the year in which *śrāddhas* are to be held. Accordingly, we find various groupings and variations in the brahmanical literature.<sup>5</sup> As concisely summarized by Vijñāneśvara in his commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (YājS), *śrāddha* rituals are broadly classified into those collectively referred to as *pārvaṇaśrāddha* (“*śrāddha* rites relating to certain lunar days”) and those referred to as *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha* (“*śrāddha* rites intended for a certain individual”). The first are performed for the three paternal ascendants – father (*pitṛ*), grandfather (*pitāmaha*) and great-grandfather (*prapitāmaha*) – on certain fixed days of the lunar calendar (*parvan*). The second are performed on days determined by the date a person died and are linked to him or her alone (*eka*). He further explains that all *śrāddhas* are performed either (1) at a fixed time (*nitya*), such as the daily food offerings to the ancestors which are part of the daily obligatory routine or the *śrāddhas* to be performed on fixed days such as the new moon days and on the three *aṣṭaka* days;<sup>6</sup> (2) on incidental days (*naimittika*), that is, *śrāddhas* that must be performed on non-calendrical occasions such as the birth of a son; or (3) optionally (*kāmya*), for instance, at astronomically prescribed times that are considered opportune for pursuing a specific goal such as entry into heaven. Lastly, Vijñāneśvara cites the fivefold division of *śrāddhas* that is found in the famous code of law by Manu, the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, namely: (1) the daily *śrāddha*; (2) the *pārvaṇaśrāddha*; (3) the *vṛddhiśrāddha* (“the *śrāddha* for prosperity”), performed in connection with auspicious events; (4) the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha*;

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<sup>4</sup> This formulation of the three debts is commonly found in Dharmaśāstric literature. Note that earlier texts define the debt to the ancestors also as the obligation to produce offspring, an obligation clearly linked to the maintenance of the patrilineage. For a detailed discussion of the development of the concept of debts, see Sayers 2008, pp. 62–80.

<sup>5</sup> See Kane 1953, pp. 380–383, for a short survey.

<sup>6</sup> The *aṣṭakas* are defined as the eighth day of the dark half of three months in the year.

and (5) the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*, a special *śrāddha* performed to incorporate a recently deceased relative into the line of ancestors.<sup>7</sup>

Hence, the range of *śrāddha* types is quite broad, with each of them including rites and formulations specific to the occasion. Here, however, the discussion will be restricted to those that feature in the Śaiva context of funerary practices, namely the *pārvaṇaśrāddha*, the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha* and the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*, the last two being essentially variants of the first.

## 2.1. Overview of brahmanical *śrāddha* rituals according to the YājS

In order to provide a point of reference for the analysis of Śaiva rites of post-mortem ancestor worship, a brief outline of the brahmanical *śrāddha* rituals will be given based on their description in the YājS 1.225–270. This brahmanical *dharma* treatise, composed sometime between the third and fifth centuries, was an authoritative and influential source for brahmanical socio-religious practices. For instance, its account of *śrāddha* rituals was incorporated into the *Agnipurāṇa* (2.163.1cd–42ab) and into the *Nārada-mahāpurāṇa* (51.101c–154b). It can therefore be considered to constitute a representative account.

### 2.1.1. *Pārvaṇaśrāddha*

#### Occasions

The days on which *pārvaṇaśrāddha* are to be performed are enjoined in the YājS as: (a) the *amāvāsyā*, the night of the new moon; (b) the *aṣṭakas*, the eighth day of the dark fortnight of the months Pauṣa, Māgha and Phālguaṇa according to the *pūrṇimānta* calendar, or Mārgaśīrṣa, Pauṣa and Māgha

<sup>7</sup> Cf. part of the *Mitākṣarā ad YājS* 1.217–218: *tac ca dvividhaṃ pārvaṇam ekoddiṣṭam iti. tatra tripuruṣoddeṣena yat kriyate tat pārvaṇam, ekapuruṣoddeṣena kriyamāṇam ekoddiṣṭam. punaś ca trividhaṃ nityaṃ naimittikaṃ kāmyaṃ ceti. tatra nityaṃ niyata-nimittopādhanu coditam aharahar amāvāsyāṣṭakādiṣu. aniyataṃ niyatopādhanu coditaṃ naimittikaṃ yathā putrajanmādiṣu. phalakāmanopādhanu vihitam kāmyaṃ yathā svargādikāmanāyāṃ kṛttikādinakṣatreṣu. punaś ca pañcavidham aharahaśrāddhaṃ pārvaṇam vṛddhiśrāddham ekoddiṣṭam sapiṇḍīkaraṇam ceti.*

A kind of *śrāddha* that is omitted from Vijñāneśvara's commentary is the *śrāddha* performed at certain sacred sites, such as Gayā. These receive separate treatments in the *Purāṇas*.

according to the *amānta* reckoning;<sup>8</sup> (c) certain days during the dark half of the lunar month (*kṛṣṇapakṣa*); (d) the winter and summer solstices; (e) the two equinoxes; (f) the sun's entry into a new sign of the zodiac (*sūryasaṃkrama*); (g) the *vyatīpātayoga*, that is, when the sun and the moon are equidistant from the solstice and on opposite sides of it; (h) days on which certain conjunctions occur, such as the *gajacchāyā*, when the moon is in the asterism Maghā and the sun in asterism *hasta* during the thirteenth lunar day (*tithi*) of the dark half of the month; (h) and days on which there is a solar or lunar eclipse.<sup>9</sup> This list as presented in the YājS is exhaustive, but over the course of time and according to different local traditions, it is unlikely that all of these days were observed. For example, according to this list, *śrāddha* would have to be performed at some point during the dark fortnight of every month, a prescription found in early sources such as the *Śāṅkhāyanagrhyasūtra*.<sup>10</sup> In contrast, however, later sources indicate that the *pārvaṇaśrāddha* is to be performed – as is still commonly done – only during a particular fortnight, namely the so-called *pitṛpakṣa* (“the fortnight of the ancestors”) in the month of Āśvina (according to the *pūrṇimānta* reckoning) or of Bhādrapada (according to the *amānta* reckoning). It is this later practice that we find reflected in the Śaiva sources.

## Procedure

**Invitation:** On the day before the *śrāddha* is to take place, the person sponsoring the rite, referred to as the *yajamāna*, should formally invite pious and learned *śrāddha* Brahmins who are free of any defect<sup>11</sup> to take part in

<sup>8</sup> There are two calendrical systems in the Indian tradition: the *pūrṇimānta* system, in which a lunar month begins with the day after the full moon (*pūrṇima*), and the *amānta* system, in which a lunar month starts on the day of the new moon.

<sup>9</sup> YājS 1.217–218: *amāvāsyaśṭakā vṛddhiḥ kṛṣṇapakṣo 'yanadvayam | dravyaṃ brāhmaṇasaṃpattir viśuvat sūryasaṃkramaḥ || vyatīpāto gajacchāyā grahaṇaṃ candrasūryayoḥ | śrāddhaṃ prati ruciś caiva śrāddhakālāḥ prakṛtitāḥ*. The passage also includes the incidental and optional times for *śrāddha*, such as auspicious occasions like the birth of a son, if one simply has the means for performing a *śrāddha*, when a Brahmin arrives, or if one has the desire to perform a *śrāddha*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Sayers 2008, p. 149.

<sup>11</sup> The choice of appropriate invitees is crucial to accomplishing the rite. The YājS first describes suitable candidates in 1.219–221, followed by a list in verses 1.222–224 of defects

the ceremony at his house.<sup>12</sup> For a regular *pārvaṇaśrāddha* he should ideally invite five Brahmins, of whom two represent the Viśvedevas and three, the three deceased ancestors, namely the *pitṛ* (father), *pitāmaha* (grandfather) and *prapitāmaha* (great-grandfather). If five suitable candidates are not available, the *śrāddha* may alternatively be performed with two Brahmins or one.<sup>13</sup>

**Arrival of the Brahmins:** On the afternoon of the next day, the Brahmins are to arrive at the *yajamāna*'s house, where they are ceremonially greeted with the expression *svāgatam* ("Welcome!") and with offerings of water to purify themselves by sipping it (*ācamana*), as well as water to wash their feet. The officiant should then invite the Brahmins to sit down on a purified area inclined to the south that is covered with purificatory substances, positioning the two representing the Viśvedevas toward the east and the three representing the three ancestors toward the north.<sup>14</sup>

**Invocation of the Viśvedevas:** Again, the *yajamāna* should offer them water to purify their hands, and then formally ask their permission to start the rite of summoning the Viśvedevas.<sup>15</sup> He then invokes these Viśvedevas into the invitees. Once this has been accomplished, he is to sprinkle barley around them. He should then pour water into a chalice with a blade of *kuśa* grass in it, add barley grains, and offer the Brahmins, on behalf of the Viśvedevas they now represent, water (*arghya*) from the chalice into their

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that must be avoided, including physical deformation, inappropriate birth, or the lack of propriety and good conduct.

<sup>12</sup> YājS 1.225: *nimantrayeta pūrvedyur brāhmaṇān ātmavāñ śuciḥ | taiś cāpi saṃyatair bhāvyaṃ manovākkāyakarmabhiḥ.*

<sup>13</sup> YājS 1.228: *dvau daive prāk trayāḥ pitrye udag ekaikam eva vā | mātāmahānām apy evaṃ tantraṃ vā vaiśvadevikam.* According to Vijñāneśvara's commentary on this verse, in the absence of five suitable invitees, the *yajamāna* is to invite one Brahmin for the Viśvedevas and another for the ancestors: *pakṣāntaram āha ekaikam eva vā. vaiśvadeve pitrye ca ekam ekam upaveśayet.* Later in the commentary it reads: *tantraśabdaḥ samudāya-vācakaḥ iti. yadā tu dvāv eva brāhmaṇau labdhau tadā tu vaiśvadeve pātraṃ prakalpya ubhayatraikaikam brāhmaṇaṃ niyuñjyāt.*

<sup>14</sup> YājS 1.226: *aparāhṇe samabhyarcya svāgatenāgatāms tu tān | pavitrapāñir ācāntān āsaneṣūpaveśayet.* See also YājS 1.227c–228b: *paristrte śucau deśe dakṣiṇāpravaṇe tathā || dvau daive prāk trayāḥ pitrye udag ekaikam eva vā.*

<sup>15</sup> YājS 1.229: *pāñiprakṣālanam dattvā viṣṭarārthaṃ kuśān api | āvāhayed anujñāto viśve devāsa ity ṛcā.*

hands, together with offerings of scented powders, garlands, incense and lamps, and clothes.<sup>16</sup>

**Invocation of the ancestors:** Now the *yajamāna* is to turn to the three Brahmins representing the ancestors, for which the officiant is to change the position of his sacred thread from the auspicious direction (over the left shoulder) to the inauspicious (over the right shoulder). He should first circumambulate the three Brahmins, offer them blades of *kuśa* grass folded in two, summon the ancestors, and with the permission of the latter recite a prayer.<sup>17</sup> He should then sprinkle sesame seeds around the Brahmins and perform the ceremonial greetings of the invoked ancestors in the same way as was done for the Viśvedevas, with the difference that sesame seeds are to be used instead of barley grains.<sup>18</sup> Additionally, the drops of salutary water that run down from the Brahmin's hands are to be collected in a chalice, which is then placed upside-down. After this, the *yajamāna* declares the Brahmins to be the locus for the ancestors with the words, "You are the place of the ancestors."<sup>19</sup>

**Agnaukaraṇa:** Next the sacrificial fire ritual, called *agnaukaraṇa*, is to be performed. Cooked rice soaked in clarified butter is to be offered into the fire with the permission of the Brahmins.<sup>20</sup>

**Prthivīpātra:** The leftovers of this offering are to be put into a vessel (*pātra*) of silver or some other material and empowered by reciting the mantra starting with the words *prthivīpātram* over them.<sup>21</sup> The *yajamāna*

<sup>16</sup> YājS 1.230–232b: *yavair anvavakṛyātha bhājane sapavitrake | śan no devyā payah kṣiptvā yavosīti yavāms tathā || yā divyā iti manreṇa hasteṣv arghyaṃ viniṣipet | dattvoda-kam gandhamālyam dhūpadānam sadīpakam || tathācchādanānam ca karaśaucārtham ambu ca.*

<sup>17</sup> YājS 1.232c–233: *apasavyam tatah kṛtvā pitṛṇām apradakṣiṇam | dviguṇāms tu kuśān dattvā hy usantas tveṣy ṛcā pitṛn | āvāhya tadanujñāto japed āyantu nas tatah.*

<sup>18</sup> YājS 1.234: *apahatā iti tilān vikīrya ca samantatah | yavārthās tu tilaiḥ kāryāḥ kuryād arghyādi pūrvavat.*

<sup>19</sup> YājS 1.235: *dattvārghyaṃ saṃsraṇvāms teṣāṃ pātre kṛtvā vidhānatah | pitṛbhyah sthānam asīti nyubjam pātram karoty adhaḥ.*

<sup>20</sup> It is further specified that this rite should be performed in the manner of the *pitṛyajña*, the *śrauta* rite of offering *pinḍas* to the ancestors. Cf. Sayers 2008, pp. 92ff.; Kane 1953, p. 201; see also Caland 1893.

<sup>21</sup> Kane (1953, p. 444) has identified the full mantra from the *Āpastambamantrapāṭha*.

should then take the hands of each Brahmin and have them stir the food with their thumb, while he recites the mantra *viṣṇur vicakrame*.<sup>22</sup>

**Offering the food to the Brahmins:** The *yajamāna* is then to recite the group of three mantras, the *gāyatrī* along with the mantra *om bhū bhuvah svāhā* pronounced beforehand (*savyāhṛtikām*), and the triplet *madhu vātā*.<sup>23</sup> He then is to invite the Brahmins to consume the suitable food as they please, which they are to eat silently until they are satiated. Then he is to recite purifying mantras and the same verses as before the meal. He then is to pick up the food with the words, “May you be satiated”, and with their permission take the rest of the food and scatter it around on the floor. Then the Brahmins are each given some water for rinsing their mouths. After this, the *yajamāna* is to gather all the leftovers and mix them with sesame seeds while facing south.<sup>24</sup>

**Offering of piṇḍas:** Next, he should place the rice balls (*piṇḍas*) for the ancestors close to the area of the leftovers; the manner of offering them is to be done in the same way as during the Vedic sacrificial procedure for ancestors, the *śrauta pitṛyajña*.<sup>25</sup>

**Dismissing the ancestors:** At the end he is to give the Brahmins the *ācamana* and address them with *svasti* (“May it be well!”), and present them “unfailing water”<sup>26</sup> and their ritual fee (*dakṣiṇā*). He should then formally request the Brahmins to pronounce the words *astu svadhā* (“May there be *svadhā*”), which they then do. After this the officiant is to sprinkle

<sup>22</sup> YājS 1.236–238: *agnau kariṣyann ādāya pṛcchaty annam ghṛtaplutam | kuruṣvety abhyanujñāto hutvāgnau pitṛyajñavat || hutaśeṣam pradadyāt tu bhājaneṣu samāhitah | yathālābhopapanneṣu raupyeṣu ca viśeṣataḥ || dattvānnam pṛthivīpātram iti pātrābhimantraṇam | kṛtvedam viṣṇur ity anne dvijāṅguṣṭham niveśayet.*

The mantra to be recited while the food is being stirred by the Brahmins is *Rgveda* 1.22.17 (see also Kane 1953, p. 444).

<sup>23</sup> See Kane 1953, p. 444, who gives the verse references *Rgveda* 1.90.6–8, *Vājasaneyasaṃhitā* 13.27–29 and *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* 4.2.9.3 for the mantra starting with the phrase *madhu vātā*.

<sup>24</sup> YājS 1.239–242b: *savyāhṛtikām gāyatrīm madhu vātā iti tryrcam | japtvā yathāsu-kham vācyam bhuñjiraṃs te 'pi vāgyatāḥ || annam iṣṭam haviṣyam ca dadyād akrodhano 'tvarah | ā tṛptes tu pavitrāṇi japtvā pūrvajapaṃ tathā || annam ādāya tṛptāḥ stha śeṣam caivānumānya ca | tad annam vikired bhūmau dadyāc cāpaḥ sakṛt sakṛt || sarvam annam upādāya satilam dakṣiṇāmukhaḥ.*

<sup>25</sup> On the topic of *piṇḍa* offerings, see also Buss 2006.

<sup>26</sup> In this procedure, the *yajamāna* offers them some water and formally requests the Brahmins to declare it unfailing, which they then proceed to do.



the floor saying, “May the Viśvedevas be pleased.” Then the Brahmins are to pronounce auspicious prayers for the family of the *yajamāna*, who should bow and dismiss each of the ancestors starting with the father.

**Dismissing the Brahmins:** The *yajamāna* now turns the vessel in which he collected the guest water (*arghya*) for the ancestors right side up and ceremonially dismisses the Brahmins, following them to the boundary of his land where he should circumambulate them a last time.

**Concluding procedures:** When the *yajamāna* returns home he is to eat the remains of the food that was served for the ancestors.<sup>27</sup> The *piṇḍa* balls should be disposed of by feeding them to a cow, a ram or a Brahmin, or by offering them to the fire or water.<sup>28</sup> Both the *yajamāna* and the Brahmins are to remain celibate that night.<sup>29</sup>

### 2.1.2. *Ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha* and *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*

The *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha* and *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* are special kinds of *śrāddha* procedures that take place in the period after a death. They are thus special variations on the above, with their beneficiary being the recently deceased person’s soul rather than the ancestral deities. In terms of procedure, they are considered variations of the regular *pārvaṇaśrāddha* and their account is thus reduced to listing the points in which they differ from the default. During the period between the day of cremation and the performance of these particular *śrāddha* offerings to the deceased person’s soul, the chief mourner is to offer libations of water and food to appease the deceased.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> YājS 1.243b–249b: *dadyād ācamaṇaṃ tataḥ | svastivācyam tataḥ kuryād akṣayyodakam eva ca || dattvā tu dakṣiṇāṃ śaktyā svadhākāram udāharet | vācyatām ity anujñātaḥ prakṛtebhyah svadhocyatām || brūyur astu svadhety ukte bhūmau siñcet tato jalam | viśvedevāḥ ca prīyantiṃ vipraiś cōktaṃ idaṃ japet || dātāro no ’bhivardhantām vedāḥ santatir eva ca | śrāddhā ca no mā vyagamad bahu deyaṃ ca no ’stu || \*ity uktvoktvā (em. Sanderson; ityoktvā Ed.) priyā vācaḥ praṇipatya visarjayet | vāje vāja iti prītaḥ pīṭpūrvam visarjanam || yasmimś te saṃsraṇāḥ pūrvam arghyapātre niveśitāḥ | pīṭpātram tad uttānaṃ kṛtvā viprān visarjayet || pradakṣiṇam anuvrajya bhūñjīta pīṭsevitam.*

<sup>28</sup> YājS 1.257: *piṇḍās tu gojaviprebhyo dadyād agnau jale ’pi vā | prakṣipet satsu vipreṣu dvijocchiṣṭaṃ na mārjayet.*

<sup>29</sup> YājS 1.249cd: *brahmacārī bhavet tām tu rajanīm brāhmaṇaiḥ saha.*

<sup>30</sup> For an account of the offerings during the ten days following a death, see Kane 1953, p. 262, and Mueller 1992, pp. 135–136.

The *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha* (also called the monthly *śrāddha*, i.e. *māsānumāsikaśrāddha*), as the term indicates, is performed for a single person (*ekoddiṣṭa*), namely the recently deceased who has not yet taken up his or her position in the ancestral line but is still a ghost (*preta*). Within this category there are two sets of rites. The first are the *navāśrāddhas*, which are to be performed during the first eleven days after the death.<sup>31</sup> Even though they are not mentioned in the YājS, Vijñāneśvara includes them in his commentary and teaches that in terms of procedure, they are a variety of the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha* with the special prohibition that the remaining food should not be consumed at the end of the rite.<sup>32</sup> According to his account, these *navāśrāddhas* are to be performed on the first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth and eleventh day after a death,<sup>33</sup> with the last of these widely accepted as the day the period of impurity caused by death ends for the chief mourner.<sup>34</sup>

After this, a set of more elaborate *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* is to be undertaken. According to the YājS, the procedure is the same as that of the *pārvaṇaśrāddha*, with the difference that the ritual actions are confined to serving only the recently deceased, represented by a single Brahmin, and not the three ancestral generations. Hence, the Viśvedevas are not worshipped, the substances for welcoming a guest, such as *arghya* water, are presented only once, and the invocation of the ancestors and the performance of the *agnaukaraṇa* are omitted. The mantras are moreover adjusted to the context of the recently deceased. Thus when offering him water, one is to say “May you come” (*upatiṣṭhatām*) instead of “Let it be inexhausti-

<sup>31</sup> See Kane 1953, pp. 262–263.

<sup>32</sup> *Mitākṣarā* on YājS 1.252: *navāśrāddheṣu yac chiṣṭam gr̥he paryuṣitam ca yat | dampatyor bhuktaśiṣṭam ca na bhuñjīta kadā cana.*

<sup>33</sup> *Mitākṣarā* on YājS 1.252: *prathame 'hni tṛtīye 'hni pañcame saptame tathā | navamaikādaśe caiva etan navāśrāddham ucyate.*

<sup>34</sup> The *Gāruḍapurāṇa* teaches further where these rites are to be performed. The first is to be held at the place the person died, the second at the place where the funeral procession stopped for a rest, and from the third onwards at the cremation site where the bones were collected during the *asthisamcayana*. See *Gāruḍapurāṇa* 2.5.67–70: *navāśrāddhasya te kālām vakṣyāmi śṛṇu kāsyapa | maraṇāhni mṛtisthāne śrāddham pakṣin prakalpayet || dvitīyaṅ ca tato mārge viśrāmo yatra kāritaḥ | tataḥ sañcayanasthāne tṛtīyaṅ śrāddham ucyate || pañcame saptame tadvad aṣṭame navame tathā | daśamaikādaśe caiva nava śrāddhāni vai khaga || śrāddhāni nava caitāni tṛtīyā ṣoḍaśī smṛtā | ekoddiṣṭavidhānena kāryāṇi manujais tathā.* See also Kane 1953, p. 263.

ble” (*akṣayyam astu*),<sup>35</sup> and the verbal endings are changed from the plural to the singular in the formulas used to address the one Brahmin representing the deceased person.

After the series of *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas*, the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa* is held, in which the deceased, who is still a ghost (*preta*), is incorporated into the ancestral line. According to the YājS, the basic procedure is again that of the *pārvaṇaśrāddha*, with an additional rite in which four vessels are prepared with water mixed with sesame seeds and perfume. Three of these vessels represent each of the ancestors. The fourth represents the newly deceased; from this vessel water is poured into each of those of the ancestors, signifying the deceased person’s incorporation into the ancestral line.<sup>36</sup> However, there are two significant features not mentioned in this text that are standard in many other accounts. First, in addition to the two Brahmins representing the Viśvedevas and the three representing the ancestors, another Brahmin is invited to represent the deceased. Secondly, there is another, later more common rite marking the incorporation of the deceased into the ancestral line, in which four rice balls (*piṇḍas*) are first offered to the three ancestors and the recently deceased, and then the *piṇḍa* for the recently deceased is divided into three parts, each of which is then combined with one of the *piṇḍas* for the ancestors.<sup>37</sup>

The timing of the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* and the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa* are interrelated, since the latter can be performed only after the series of *navaśrāddhas* and the sixteen *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* have been completed. In the brahmanical literature there is a great deal of divergence as to when these should be held.<sup>38</sup> The standard view expressed in the sources is that they are to be held throughout the year after death, according to the YājS, every

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<sup>35</sup> YājS 1.252–252: *ekoddiṣṭam daivahīnam ekārghyaikapavitrakam | āvāhanāgnaukaraṇarahitam hy apasavyavat || upatiṣṭhatām akṣayyasthāne vipravisarjane | abhiramyatām iti vaded brūyus te 'bhiratāḥ sma ha ||*

<sup>36</sup> YājS 1.253–254b: *gandhodakatilair yuktaṃ kuryāt pātracatuṣṭayam | arghyārthaṃ piṭrpatreṣu pretapātraṃ prasiñcayet || ye samānād iti dvābhyāṃ śeṣaṃ pūrvavad ācaret.*

<sup>37</sup> See, for example, Kane 1953, pp. 521–523; Sayers 2008, pp. 152–154; and Buss 2006. Even though this rite is part of many standard accounts of the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa*, both the *Agnipurāṇa* (2.163.26–27) and the *Nāradamahāpurāṇa* (51.136b–138c) incorporate this passage of the YājS and therefore also omit this rite. See Michaels 2005 for a comprehensive account, including video footage, of a present-day version performed in Nepal.

<sup>38</sup> See Kane 1953, pp. 517–519 for a summary of the brahmanical view on this matter.

month on the anniversary of the death.<sup>39</sup> However, the most common view is that found in Vijñāneśvara's commentary, which rules that sixteen *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* are to be performed: on the twelfth day after the death, after three fortnights, after six months, once every month, and on the first anniversary of the death.<sup>40</sup> Alternatively, to be able to perform the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa* before a year has elapsed, it is also possible to compress the performance of the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* into a shorter period.<sup>41</sup> The literature gives different days for the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa*, but most commonly – if the series of *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* are compressed in time – it is to be performed during the first month after the death. Vijñāneśvara, for example, quotes the *Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtra*, where it is ruled that the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa* can be performed either a year following the death or after twelve days. If the latter case is chosen, the entire series of *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* is to be performed on the eleventh day following the death. However, the YājS points out that if the day of the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa* takes place earlier than the end of the year, the daily or monthly offerings of food and water to the deceased person nonetheless must be carried out for the whole year.<sup>42</sup> The issue is thus very complex, and this is just a brief example of the various regulations. For our aim of comparing these procedures to the Śaiva *śrāddha* rituals, however, it is important to note that even within the brahmanical sphere there was no

<sup>39</sup> Cf. YājS 1.256ab: *mṛte 'hani tu kartavyaṃ pratimāsaṃ tu vatsaram*.

<sup>40</sup> See *Mitākṣarā* on YājS 1.255: *śoḍaśa śrāddhāni ca. dvādaśāhe tripakṣe ca ṣaṇmāse māsi cābdike | śrāddhāni śoḍaśaitāni saṃsmṛtāni manīṣibhiḥ*.

<sup>41</sup> *Mitākṣarā* on YājS 1.255: *yadā prāk saṃvatsarāt sapiṇḍikaraṇaṃ tadā śoḍaśa śrāddhāni kṛtvā sapiṇḍikaraṇaṃ kāryam*. Later in the commentary, Vijñāneśvara mentions that according to some, compressing the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* is done in times of need: *yadā tv āpatkalpatvena prāk sapiṇḍikaraṇāt pretaśrāddhāni karoti tad ekoddiṣṭavidhānena kuryāt*.

Neither the YājS nor Vijñāneśvara specify how these *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* are to be arranged in this case. The Kashmirian *Dvādaśāhavidhiḥ* (Srinagar ORL MS 1677 Pārthivapūjā, etc.), in which the sixteen *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* are compressed into twelve days from the eleventh day after the death, which marks the end of impurity, through to the twenty-second, by performing one of the monthly *ekoddiṣṭas* every day, and adding the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha* of the third fortnight on the second day, that of the fifth fortnight *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha* on the third day, that of the day before the end of the sixth month on the sixth day, and that of the day before the end of the year on the twelfth.

<sup>42</sup> YājS 1.255: *arvāk sapiṇḍikaraṇaṃ yasya saṃvatsarād bhavet | tasyāpy annaṃ soda-kumbhaṃ dadyāt saṃvatsaraṃ dvije. Mitākṣara ad loc.: saṃvatsarād arvāk sapiṇḍikaraṇaṃ yasya kṛtam tasya taduddeśena pratidivasam pratimāsam vā yāvat saṃvatsaram śaktyanusāreṇānnaṃ udakumbhasahitam brāhmaṇāya dadyāt*.

consensus and practices varied widely. As will be shown, the Śaiva sources, with the exception of Aghoraśiva's KKD, do not include detailed prescriptions for these categories of *śrāddha* rituals. Perhaps this is precisely because local practices varied so greatly, making it difficult to include them in texts intended to provide broadly applicable normative frameworks. These practices were therefore likely operating on a more local level.

### 2.1.3. *Śrāddha* for female ancestors

Although the *śrāddha* for female ancestors is not prescribed explicitly or in detail, the YājS does mention at two points that the procedures are the same for women: once in the account of the *pārvaṇaśrāddha*<sup>43</sup> and then at the end of that for *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*.<sup>44</sup> In his commentary on the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*, Vijñāneśvara also mentions that in the case of a woman, a *mātrīśrāddha* must be performed.<sup>45</sup> A significant difference to the *śrāddha* rituals for men is that in the case of deceased female family members, these are not worshipped according to the matriline but in association with their husband. Thus, with the exception of the mother, these are not the maternal ancestors, but the mother, the paternal grandfather's wife, and the paternal great-grandfather's wife.

## 3. Rationalizing *śrāddha* in Śaiva tantric terms<sup>46</sup>

In keeping with the principle that the soul of an initiate attains liberation at death, the worship of deceased ancestors in the Śaiva version is re-interpreted as the worship of the deceased in their increasingly potent Śiva manifestations,<sup>47</sup> the rites thus effectively becoming an act of Śiva worship. Hence, in what becomes the default version of the rite, the father becomes Īśa, the grandfather Sadāśiva, and the great-grandfather Śānta. Also the

<sup>43</sup> YājS 1.242c–243a: *ucchiṣṭasannidhau piṇḍān dadyād vai pitṛyajñavat || mātāmahānām apy evam*.

<sup>44</sup> YājS 1.253–254cd: *etat sapiṇḍīkaraṇam ekoddiṣṭam striyā api*.

<sup>45</sup> *Mitākṣarā ad YājS 1.254: striyāpi mātūr api kartavyam. evam vadatā pārvaṇe mātrīśrāddham pṛthak kartavyam ity uktam bhavati*.

<sup>46</sup> Parts of this section have been adapted from Mirnig 2013, pp. 285–288.

<sup>47</sup> Sanderson 1995, pp. 34–36.

Viśvedevas are given Śaiva identities, namely Kālāgnirudra and Ananta, who are the governors, respectively, of the lowest and highest levels of the impure universe.<sup>48</sup> Accordingly, all of the mantras employed during the ritual to invoke or address the *śrāddha* deities are modified.<sup>49</sup>

Some Śaiva sources define the function of the series of post-mortem rituals as assisting the deceased to ascend through increasingly elevated spiritual levels to liberation, therewith completing the process that was started by the initiation ritual. Based on this logic, we find statements in such texts declaring that Śaiva *śrāddha* has the same benefit as initiation and bestows union with Śiva. For instance, the Kir reads:

Of such procedure is the supreme *śivaśrāddha* that bestows union with Śiva.<sup>50</sup>

And further:

He should perform the *śrāddha* because the initiation ritual (*dīkṣā*) ends with it. [Thus] the *śivaśrāddha* that consists of the five *brahmamantras* has been taught in brief.<sup>51</sup>

The Saiddhāntika manual JR expresses a similar sentiment:

This *śrāddha*, since it is a form of initiation, bestows liberation in the manner stated.<sup>52</sup>

As discussed above,<sup>53</sup> the claim that *śrāddha* rituals are somehow necessary to achieve the initiate's liberation is highly problematic from a doctrinal

<sup>48</sup> See, e.g., Brunner-Lachaux 1979, p. 626.

<sup>49</sup> The mantras for addressing the ancestors are defined in the SP and KKD as consisting of the *om* syllable, the name of the ancestral deity in the dative form, and *namaḥ* at the end. Trilocana clarifies this by adding the heart mantra and the object offered to the ancestor in the accusative, as for example *om hāṃ tīāya pitre idam āsanaṃ namaḥ*. See Brunner-Lachaux, p. 647, [17b].

<sup>50</sup> Kir 61.34ab. For the text and annotated translation of the passage, see the appendices.

<sup>51</sup> Kir 61.41. For the text and annotated translation of the passage, see the appendices.

<sup>52</sup> JR ŚP 105ab. For the text and annotated translation of the passage, see the appendices.

<sup>53</sup> See pp. 33ff.

point of view. Even if one accepts the already problematic view that Śaiva cremation has merely an expiatory function, ensuring that the soul is not held back by transgressions performed since its *nirvāṇadīkṣā*, any further rites for guiding the soul through various divine manifestations should no longer be necessary. Theoretically, their performance should be virtually superfluous. In view of this, the tenth century Kashmirian non-Saiddhāntika Śaiva commentator Abhinavagupta was not hesitant in stating that the Śaiva *śrāddha* is potentially useless. While he includes an entire chapter of Śaiva *śrāddha* rituals in his *Tantrāloka* (TĀ), he nevertheless explicitly states that *śrāddha* serves no purpose for the truly enlightened, linking this to the case of a *jñānin*, that is, an initiate of the highest kind who has attained liberation through gnosis:

He (i.e. Abhinavagupta) states: But for a *jñānin*, no [rite] whatsoever is to be employed. [That is to say,] at no point is a ritual procedure such as cremation and *śrāddha* useful for someone for whom the darkness [that is ignorance] has been destroyed by the sun that is the [mystical] knowledge of the truth.<sup>54</sup>

While the Saiddhāntika authors are not as explicit in acknowledging the potential futility of Śaiva *śrāddha* rituals, we do find an echo of the same hesitation in some doctrinal justifications. Shifting the focus away from the importance of performing *śrāddha* rites for the deceased so that he may attain liberation, some passages simply formulate the obligation to perform Śaiva *śrāddha* in terms of the brahmanical principle, namely, that the ritualist is fulfilling his debt to the ancestors. With this reasoning in mind, the Kir states the following:

Therefore, O Garuḍa, one should perform this rite [of post-mortem ancestor worship] even when [the corpse] cannot be found. For how can anyone become free of debt as long as [the *śrāddha*] is not performed?<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> TĀ 25.10.

<sup>55</sup> Kir 61.39. For the text and annotated translation of the passage, see the appendices.

In its opening verses to the section on *śrāddha*, the JR propagates a similar sentiment, adapting the brahmanical principle of the threefold debt for its own purposes:

Next, I shall teach the *śrāddha* ritual, which removes the debt to the teachers and so forth. And [the following] has been taught: The initiate should pay [his] debt to the deities by fully performing rites of worship, oblations and the like; to the sages, too, [he pays his debt by] being of unwavering conduct at all times; and to [his] gurus and the like he should [pay the debt] by performing the rite of *śrāddha*.<sup>56</sup>

A notable difference from the brahmanical formulation of the triple debt, as we have seen above, is that in the JR, instead of only the ancestors (*pitṛ*), the *śrāddha* is offered to “gurus and the like” (*gurvādi*). This is quite a significant twist, since even though the term *guru* can also be used to refer to ancestors, none of the classical passages on the brahmanical triple debt use the term in this way; they explicitly refer to the *pitṛ*. This suggests that the intention of Jñānaśiva’s expression is to extend the group of beneficiaries of Śaiva *śrāddha* from the paternal ancestors to include Śaiva gurus as well, an injunction particularly significant with respect to tantric teaching lineages, possibly linked to monastic institutions.

In contrast to the earlier statements of the Kir and JR, this last injunction, echoing the brahmanical formulations, treats the role of Śaiva *śrāddha* merely as one more component of post-initiatory discipline rather than a soteriologically powerful and meaningful rite. The passage thus demonstrates how *śrāddha* rituals had been essentially absorbed and rationalized in terms of Śaiva obligatory practice. As such, the importance of their performance is reduced in this passage to the notion that their omission constitutes a transgression of an initiate’s discipline,<sup>57</sup> rather than having a positive meaning for the soteriological path.

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<sup>56</sup> JR ŚP 1–2. For the text and annotated translation of the passage, see the appendices.

<sup>57</sup> On this, see also Sanderson 1995.



#### 4. Śaiva śrāddha: On the ritual procedure

The tantric Śaiva theoretical and doctrinal adaptations of *śrāddha* rites were weak and had no major impact on the ritual procedure. Thus, the basic timing and structure of Śaiva *śrāddha* rituals remain that of the brahmanical model described above, with the main difference that all Vedic mantras are replaced by Śaiva ones and the invitees for the *śrāddha* meal are Śaiva *ācāryas* and *sādhakas* rather than ordinary Vaidika Brahmins.<sup>58</sup> This rigid preservation of the brahmanical ritual structure even includes ritual gestures that enact notions incongruous with Śaiva tantric ritual logic. For example, the brahmanical worship of the Viśvedevas is done in a ritual manner that reflects an auspicious occasion, that is, with the sacred thread on the left shoulder and by offering barley grains,<sup>59</sup> whereas the worship of the ancestors is done in a manner that reflects an inauspicious occasion, namely by putting the sacred thread over the right shoulder and offering not barley grains but sesame seeds, considered to have apotropaic powers.<sup>60</sup> This symbolic distinction makes little sense in the Śaiva context. Here the ancestors are represented by their Śiva manifestations in the pure universe, and the Vaidika Viśvedevas are replaced with Rudra and Ananta, the guardians of the cosmic levels in the impure universe. Rudra and Ananta are thus inferior to the ancestral deities. Nevertheless, the instructions for worshipping these two groups follow the brahmanical model, which treats ancestors with ritual symbolism associated with inauspicious occasions and the Viśvedevas, with that associated with auspicious ones.

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<sup>58</sup> In the Kir and the KKD, the *śrāddha* Brahmins are replaced by *ācāryas* for the ancestors and *sādhakas* for the Viśvedevas, who are now named Rudra and Ananta; see Kir 61.5–6 (see appendices). See also KKD T 370, p. 239: *tatra pītrārthaṃ deśikān viśvedevārthaṃ sādhakau [...] grhṇīyāt*. The SP specifies that ascetics are to take the roles of Īśa, Sadāśiva and Śānta; SP 11.3–4b: *lingino brāhmaṇādyāś ca śrāddhīyāḥ śivadīkṣitāḥ | īśaḥ sadāśivaḥ śāntaḥ śivaśrāddhe tapasvinaḥ || rudraś cānantanāmā ca viśvedevau sthītau dvayoḥ*. In the absence of suitable candidates, the *śrāddha* can be performed alternatively with two initiates or one, in whom the respective deities are installed on the head, shoulders and arms, just as in the brahmanical model. SP 11.6c–8b (in Brunner-Lachaux 1977): *pañcābhāve tu sarvatra yujyate puruṣadvayam || śiraḥskandhavibhāgena trayam ekatra kalpayet | bāhumūlavibhedena viśvedevau dvitīyake || ekatra bāhuyugmena saha vā pañca kalpayet*.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. YājS 1.229–232b.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. YājS 1.232c–234.

For detailed accounts of the Śaiva *śrāddha* rituals, the Kir and JR are representative, since structurally their procedures correspond to the brahmanical model described above, with only minor variations.<sup>61</sup> These do not, however, necessarily reflect modifications specific to the Śaiva setting; they are similar in kind to variations also found in brahmanical sources, such as differences in the number and shapes of *maṇḍalas* to be drawn for receiving the *śrāddha* priests.<sup>62</sup> The only notable Śaiva-specific addition is found in the JR. Here, a worship of the *liṅga*, the cult object in which Śiva is commonly venerated, is integrated into the ritual sequence, taking place after the invitees have been seated and before the rice balls (*piṇḍa*) have been offered to the ancestors.

An important category of brahmanical *śrāddha* rituals that is largely missing in the early Śaiva authoritative accounts is that of prescriptions for

<sup>61</sup> Other clear variations, such as differences in the order of ritual actions, will be discussed at the relevant places in the annotated translations.

<sup>62</sup> This concerns the procedure for welcoming the *śrāddha* priests, an occasion for which *maṇḍalas* are drawn in the eastern part of the ritual area where the invitees are ceremonially welcomed and presented with a mixture of earth and water to wash their feet, and water to perform the *ācamana*. We find the following variations: Kir 61.14c–15b enjoins that two *maṇḍalas*, one round and one square, be drawn for this reception in the south and north, respectively. In the first round *maṇḍala*, a mixture of water and earth for washing the feet is offered; in the second square *maṇḍala*, *ācamana* water is presented to the invitees. In contrast, in the early Śaiva Siddhānta manuals four *maṇḍalas* are enjoined at this point; two square *maṇḍalas* for Ananta and Rudra – the Śaiva equivalent of the Viśvedevas – and two round *maṇḍalas* for the divine Śiva manifestations representing the initiated ancestors. This step of drawing *maṇḍalas* to receive the *śrāddha* priests is omitted in the brahmanical YājñS and Vijñāneśvara's commentary, but appears in other authoritative brahmanical sources, such as the *Nāradyāpurāna*. Here it is enjoined that *maṇḍalas* be drawn for receiving the guests, with their shape depending on the *yajamāna*'s caste: if the *yajamāna* is a Brahmin, a square *maṇḍala* is drawn; if he is a Kṣatriya, a triangular *maṇḍala*; if he is a Vaiśya, a circular *maṇḍala*; and if he is a Śūdra, no *maṇḍala* is drawn, but the ground is prepared by sprinkling it with consecrated water. *Nāradyāpurāna* 1.28.32c–33: *śrāddhārthaṃ samanujñātaḥ kārayen maṇḍaladvayam || caturaśraṃ brāhmaṇasya trikoṇaṃ kṣatriyasya vai | vaiśyasya vartulam jñeyam śūdrasyābhyukṣaṇaṃ bhavet*. See also Kane 1953, pp. 456–457.

Another example of a ritual feature that varies is the standard brahmanical procedure of the invitees stirring food with their left thumb in the counter-clockwise direction (i.e. the direction signalling an inauspicious occasion). This is entirely absent in the Kir, JR and BK quoted therein. It is, however, found in the SP (11.26 *nyubjam savyam tadaṅguṣṭham amṛtāyānnaṣaṅgatam | vāmaṃ mṛtyujitam vāpi parito bhrāmayet paṭhan*) and the KKD (Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 655, [24b]: *teṣāṃ savyam aṅguṣṭham svahastena saṃgrhya, nyubjam annaṣaṅgatam kṛtvā, mṛtyuñjayaṃ vāmadevaṃ vā paṭhan paribhrāmya...*). A difference here, however, is that the Vedic mantra *viṣṇur vicakrame* recited over the food has been replaced by the tantric Śaiva mantras *mṛtyuñjaya* or *vāmadeva*.

female family members (*mātr̥śrāddha*). Amongst the Saiddhāntika sources examined, worship of female ancestors is only indicated in the KKD. Here, they seem to be worshipped either in conjunction with paternal ancestors or receive their own *śrāddha*, which follows the same procedure as that for the male ancestors except that the invitees are not fed.<sup>63</sup> However, the spiritual positions in which they are addressed and worshipped have not been rationalized in Śaiva terms, but remain those of the traditional order.<sup>64</sup> Deceased women are connected to the family of their husband, with the order of worship thus expressed through the paternal line, namely the mother (*mātr̥*), the wife of the grandfather (*pitāmahī*), and the wife of the great-grandfather (*prapitāmahī*).

#### 4.1. The period between death and the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*

The period between the end of the funeral rite and the performance of the first *pārvaṇaśrāddha* is not consistently treated in the early Saiddhāntika sources. The SP enjoins the performance of the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas*, but merely by explaining the occasions on which they are to be performed, without providing any description of the ritual procedure itself. The Kir provides a few more details, teaching that the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha* follows the same procedure as the *pārvaṇaśrāddha*, with the difference that the invocations of the Śiva manifestations and Rudra and Ananta are omitted. It further mentions the *navaśrāddhas*, but only states that they are part of the series of *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha* rites, again without any further details of procedure.<sup>65</sup> The offerings of *piṇḍas* and water during the ten days after death (*daśakriyā*) are not mentioned in either source. Only the KKD and the BK quoted in the JR enjoin procedures for this period before the first

<sup>63</sup> KKD (T 370, p. 244; T 403, p. 174): *mātr̥śrāddhaviṣaye bhojanavarjyam anyat sarvaṃ \*pūrvoktena* (T 370; *pūrvānte* T 403) *kuryāt*.

<sup>64</sup> This is not the case for the *śrāddha* rituals preserved in the manuals in use until recent times by Śaiva priests in Kashmir. There, the female ancestors, the *mātr̥s*, are incorporated as the three highest of the eight Śāktis surrounding Manonmanī, namely, Balavikaraṇī, Balapramathanī and Bhūṭadamanī at the highest level of the throne of Śiva. Nevertheless, while they have thus been given an independent spiritual identity, they are situated at a cosmic level below that of Īśvara, Sadāśiva and Śiva. See Sanderson 1995, p. 35.

<sup>65</sup> Kir 61.37: *ekoddiṣṭaṃ yad atroktam kāryam āvāhanaṃ vinā | navaśrāddhādikaśrāddham proktam etat samāsataḥ*.

*pārvaṇaśrāddha*. Moreover, in the case of the KKD it is not certain if these instructions were part of the original work, as will be discussed below.<sup>66</sup> The instructions are thus confusing and vague and it seems impossible to reconstruct the underlying practice. In fact, this vagueness of formulation and the absence of more material on rites to be performed in the period immediately after a death suggest that this sphere of funerary procedure was not fully integrated into the Śaiva ritual repertoire. Any rites in this period were probably conducted simply according to local practices and intertwined with existing socio-religious structures and belief systems. What is more, the only sources that do give any detailed instructions for this period, the KKD and the BK as quoted in the JR (see 4.1.1.), show no sign that a Śaiva structure was applied to these practices. Thus, unlike the ancestors, the recently deceased was not given a specific Śiva identity. The only known exception is found in later Kashmirian sources, where a recently deceased person is addressed as Rudra, this expressing that he has yet to rise to the level of Śivahood within the pure universe above Māyā.<sup>67</sup>

#### 4.1.1. *Śrāddha* rites in the *Jñānaratnāvalī*: an account from the BK

In the JR, rituals to be performed during the intermediary period between death and the incorporation of the recently deceased into the divine ancestral line are found in a passage quoted from the BK.<sup>68</sup> As discussed above, this in turn was adopted from the Vaiṣṇava JāyS.<sup>69</sup> The injunctions cover the rites for the first ten days after death as well as the series of *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas*, but do not mention the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*. A short overview will be presented here; the entire text and an annotated translation are available in the appendices.

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<sup>66</sup> See p. 198.

<sup>67</sup> See Sanderson 1995, p. 35.

<sup>68</sup> See NGMPP B24/57, ff. 224r2–227v5.

<sup>69</sup> See p. 83.

#### 4.1.1.1. Rites during the first ten days after death

According to the JR, during the first ten days after a death, daily offerings of rice pudding are cooked and offered either in the house of the deceased or at the waterside in the presence of an invited *ācārya*.<sup>70</sup> The *yajamāna* receives the invitee and performs worship of Śiva, followed by a simplified worship of Śiva in the fire, using only the heart mantra without its being installed. A *piṇḍa* is then offered to the recently deceased, with a formula constructed with a different mantra each day that incorporates the deceased person's name and ends with *svadhā*. For the first five days the officiant is to use the five *aṅgamantras* starting with the heart mantra (*hṛdayamantra*) and ending with the *netramantra*,<sup>71</sup> and for the last five days, the five face mantras starting with *sadyojāta*.<sup>72</sup> After offering the *piṇḍa*, the officiant is to pour some food mixed with sour milk, milk and clarified butter into the Brahmins' hands or a vessel made out of silver or gold. After sprinkling the *piṇḍa* and dismissing the recently deceased, he is then to pour a full oblation<sup>73</sup> and hand a jar filled with water and sesame seeds together with clothes and gold to the officiant. At the end he is to dispose of the *piṇḍa* into water or fire, and finish with the concluding rites at the site. After this he should return home for a communal meal with other initiates, at the conclusion of which he is to pronounce the *aghoramantra*, scatter white mustard seeds and prepare his bed.

#### 4.1.1.2. *Ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha*

On the eleventh day, the first of the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* takes place.<sup>74</sup> It is the first of a series of such *śrāddhas* to be performed at intervals of a month

<sup>70</sup> JR ŚP 42c–63. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices.

<sup>71</sup> Since there are actually six *aṅgamantras*, the injunction to recite those starting with the *hṛdaya* and ending with the *netra* implies that the weapon mantra, which would follow next, is not included.

<sup>72</sup> JR ŚP 63. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices. The five *aṅgamantras* are the *hṛdaya*, *śiras*, *śikhā*, *kavaca*, and *netra*; the five face mantras are *sadyojāta*, *vāmadeva*, *aghora*, *tatpuruṣa*, and *īśāna*. See Brunner 1963, p. 331, Appendix VI and s.v. *aṅga* and *aṅgamantra* in TAK 1.

<sup>73</sup> See p. 145, fn. 72.

<sup>74</sup> JR ŚP 64–79. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices.

or two weeks during the first year after a death.<sup>75</sup> As in common brahmanical practice, this kind of *śrāddha* is distinguished from the *pārvaṇaśrāddha* by the fact that only one person is invited for the ceremony to represent the recently deceased. The invocation of the ancestral deities is consequently omitted.

The *ācārya* is invited in. Seated facing north, he conducts the *piṇḍa* offering followed by an oblation into the fire. The *yajamāna* is then to offer the *ācārya* some food, and with the leftovers together with the *arghya* water, make a *bali* offering to appease the spirits (*bhūta*) near the ritual site. At the end he offers the guru some water, sprinkles the ground and pays the guru his ritual fee (*dakṣiṇā*). The guru then performs a worship of Śiva. The rite is concluded with a full oblation<sup>76</sup> poured into the fire while reciting the *śivamantra*.

#### 4.1.2. *Śrāddha in the Kriyākramadyotikā*

The KKD of Aghoraśiva is the only early Saiddhāntika source to contain a detailed treatment of the period leading up to the *pārvaṇaśrāddha*. A rite called the *pāṣāṇasthāpanavidhi* (“the rite for the installation of a stone [representing the recently deceased]”) is to be performed on each of the ten days after a death. On the tenth day, an offering called *rudrabali* is to be performed. After this, the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* are to be performed up to the day of the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*. Each of these procedures receives its own section except for the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*, whose instructions are included in those for the *pārvaṇaśrāddha*.

Before describing the KKD’s prescriptions, however, a word of caution is needed: the text is not entirely certain in this section. The transcripts T

<sup>75</sup> The text in JR ŚP 65–66 literally says that the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha* is to be performed on a monthly basis (*pratimāsika*). However, in light of standard practice, it is unlikely that Jñānaśiva meant this to imply that they were to be performed only once a month, but rather fifteen or sixteen times during the first year. Further, as we have seen, another term commonly used to refer to these *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* is *māsānumāsikaśrāddha*, which may have led to the expression *pratimāsika* in the current passage. In this case, however, the reading is awkward, so its interpretation remains uncertain. A similarly vague instruction is also found later in the passage, in JR ŚP 79a, where it is enjoined that the *ekoddiṣṭas* are to be performed every month through the thirteenth.

<sup>76</sup> See p. 145, fn. 72.

370 and T 403 contain slightly different chapter divisions and insertions at this point. It is therefore possible that some passages may not be part of the original work, but have been added by later redactors. For instance, we find quotations from the *Kāmikāgama* in this section. These are clearly later insertions, since the *Kāmikāgama* belongs to the second wave of Saiddhāntika scriptural texts that emerged only after Aghoraśiva's lifetime.<sup>77</sup> Further, a colophon marking the end of the funeral rites is found in these transcripts twice: at the end of the account of the *nirvāṇāntyeṣṭi* as well as at the end of the account of the *pārvaṇaśrāddha*. This introduces uncertainty as to where the end of the section on funerary rites was originally conceived. With these hesitations in mind, we can nonetheless note that Aghoraśiva included some rituals in his manual that appear to have been unique to the southern ritual context, similar to the *cūrṇotsava* discussed above.<sup>78</sup> Analogous to this case, it is therefore conceivable that the *pāṣāṇasthāpanavidhi* and *rudrabali* procedures, which we only find in the KKD, are in fact original. Further, the detailed and explicit instructions at this point leading up to the regular *śrāddha* rites would fit Aghoraśiva's general approach of providing elaborate instructions amounting to a comprehensive practical guide that could be used independently. In general, it appears that the KKD propagates a Śaiva system that was independent from the brahmanical and covers all rituals in detail. Therefore to include an outline of the procedures set out in these passages seems useful, despite the uncertainties regarding the text.

#### 4.1.2.1. *Pāṣāṇasthāpanavidhi*<sup>79</sup>

The *pāṣāṇasthāpanavidhi*, “the rite for the installation of a stone [representing the recently deceased]”, is a rite that is enjoined for the ten days after a death.<sup>80</sup> The beginning of the text states that the ritual procedure is to be performed immediately after the libations to the ancestors (*tarpaṇa*), but does not indicate whether this *tarpaṇa* refers only to the rite of gratifi-

<sup>77</sup> For the place of works such as the *Kāmikāgama* in Śaiva literature, see, e.g., Sander-son 2014, p. 89.

<sup>78</sup> See p. 119.

<sup>79</sup> KKD T 370, pp. 232–234 and T 403, pp. 160–62.

<sup>80</sup> KKD T 370, p. 233: ...*maraṇāhāt prabhṛti daśāhaparyantam evaṃ vidhāya*...

cation at the funeral site on the day of cremation, or whether it signifies the collection of rites involving the daily offerings of water and food to the deceased over the entire ten days after the death (the *daśakriyā*). Hence, it is not clear from the instructions whether the *pāṣāṅasthāpanavidhi* is to be performed in place of the brahmanical *daśakriyā* or as an addition to it.<sup>81</sup>

On the first day, immediately after the *tarpaṇa*, the officiant is to build a small construction called a *pitṛgrha* (house for the ancestors) either in-doors, in a courtyard, or in the open air. In this *pitṛgrha* he installs a throne for worship and next to it, digs a hole in the ground of the same size, whereupon he is to smear both with cow dung.<sup>82</sup> Next, he is to make a bundle of either seven blades of *darbha* grass or five blades of *kuśa* grass, and on it installs the *om* syllable as a throne. On this he invokes the body of the deceased with his initiatory name followed by the exclamation *svāhā*, and then invokes the soul using the *ātmamantra*<sup>83</sup> with the name of his clan (*gotra*) followed by *namaḥ*. He then greets the deceased person's soul with

<sup>81</sup> Of the available post-12<sup>th</sup>-century South Indian sources, only the *Dīkṣādarśa* (T 153, pp. 589–594) contains this procedure, which it attributes to the *Kāmikāgama*. However, the account is much shorter and most of the passage is either corrupt or missing and is thus not of much help for reconstructing this procedure. It appears that the redactor himself was unsure about the original contents. Further, it is unclear what the *Dīkṣādarśa*'s redactor understood the *pāṣāṅasthāpana* to be, since the surviving text does not mention a stone, and the section contains much more information than just the rite described in the KKD. In the same chapter, the *Dīkṣādarśa* also quotes the *Kāmikāgama* concerning rulings about the days of impurity for the various castes, and the timing of the *ekoddiśaśrāddhas* and the *navaśrāddhas*.

<sup>82</sup> KKD (T 370, pp. 231–232; T 403, p. 160): \**atha* (T 403; om. T 370) *prathamadivasa-tarpaṇānantaram eva grhe vā catvare vā bahir vā pitṛgrhaṃ vidhāya, \*tasmin* (T 403; *tasmāt* T 370) *mekhalātrayayuktaṃ pīṭham \*uttarābhimukhaṃ vidhivad* (T 370; om. T 403) *vidhāya, pīṭhasaṃnidhau tanmānena gartaṃ \*nikhanya* (T 403; *nighanya* T 370), *tad ubhayaṃ gomayenopalipya...*

According to T 370, the officiant is to place seven grains into a jar and invoke into it Rudra, Īśvara or Sadāśiva, presiding over the various *pādas* according to the level of initiation the deceased person has received and thus his spiritual level: *pīṭhamadhye ... \*saptadhānyoparikumbhaṃ saṃsthāpya tasmin dīkṣānurūpaṃ tattatpadādhiṣṭhāyakān rudreśvarasādāśivāṃś cāvāhya...*

<sup>83</sup> According to *Tantrikābhidhānaśāstra* Vol. I (p. 185), the *ātmamantra* is a synonym for the *ātmabīja* (= *haṃ*); the *ātmamantra* is hence *om haṃ ātmane namaḥ*. If the same applies here, one might speculate that the mantra in this context is to be recited in the form of *om haṃ ātmane amukagotrāya namaḥ*.



offerings of water for washing its feet, water for the ritual sipping (*ācamana*) and guest water, together with clothes, flowers, incense and lamps.<sup>84</sup>

From this point, the two transcripts provide different procedures. In T 370, the officiant is to dig a pit, install a jar in it and then place stones there. He then invokes the soul of the deceased onto the stones, sprinkles the pit with water and makes offerings such as scented powder. Then a woman who has taken a bath and is free of impurity should cook some rice with water or the guest water in a new pot. The officiant should then sweeten this with molasses and present this offering together with betel nuts. There are different options for when the offerings are to be presented, namely, during the morning, at dawn, or both.<sup>85</sup> In T 403, the order is reversed. First the food offerings are prepared and then a pit, into which, instead of several stones, a single brick (*iṣṭakā*) is placed. The brick is where the deceased person's soul is invoked.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>84</sup> KKD (T 370, p. 233; T 403, p. 160): ...*paścāt* (T 370; om. T 403) \**saptadarbhair* (T 370; *saptadarbhena*) *vā pañcabhiḥ kuśair vā prādeśamānena nirmitaṃ* (T 403; *nirmita* T 370) *kūrcaṃ saṃsthāpya, tadupari \*pranavenāsanam* (T 370; *pranāvāsane* T 403) *saṃkalpya, tasmīn mṛtasya dīkṣānāmnā \*svāhāntena* (T 403; *svāhoktena* T 370) *mūrtiṃ samāvāhya, \*tathaiva* (T 403; om. T 370) *tadgotranāmayuktenātmamantraṇa namontenātmānam sampūjya, pādyācamanārghyaṇi dattvā, \*vastrapuṣpair* (T 403; *vastrapuṣpa* T 370) *alamkṛtya, dhūpadīpau dattvā...*

<sup>85</sup> The times for the different offerings are not clear from the text. While they should be made in the morning and at dawn, the food and *piṇḍa* are either to be offered in the morning and at dawn, or twice in the morning. In either case, they are to be offered with a formula containing the heart mantra, the initiation name, and *svāhā* at the end.

<sup>86</sup> KKD (T 370, p. 233; T 403, pp. 160–161): ...{-T 370a/T 403b->} \**tato garte śarāvaṃ saṃsthāpya* (T 370; *pīṣhaṃ vinā garte śarāvaṃ saṃsthāpya* T 403), \**tanmadhye śilāḥ saṃsthāpya, tāsu \*mṛtasyātmānam* (conj.; *mṛtāmātmānam* T 370, T 403) *āvāhya* (T 370; *tasmīn \*iṣṭakām* [em.; *iṣṭakam* codd.] *saṃsthāpya tasmīn mṛtam ātmānam āvāhya* T 403) \**ābhiścya gandhādibhiḥ sampūjya* (T 370; *āvāhya sampūjya piṇḍatrayaṃ dattvā* T 403) {-T 370a/T 403b->}, {-T 370b/T 403a->} \**paścāt* (T 370; om. T 403) \**taṇḍulam udakena* (em. Sanderson; *taṇḍulā ukena* T 370; *taṇḍulādikena* T 403) *vā tadarghena vā \*prītyartham* (T 370; *taṇḍulā ukena* T 403) *navapātre \*āsaucarāhitayā* (conj.; *āsaucārahitayā* T 370; *agnau ca rahitayā* T 403) *snātayā pākam \*kārayitvā* (T 403; *karayitvā* T 370), *gulaghṛtatīlayuktaṃ kṛtvā, †\*sopadaśmaṃ* (T 403; *sopadeśam* T 370) *saṃnivedya* (T 370; *nivedya* T 403)† *tāmbūlam dattvā evaṃ \*prātaḥsāyāhṇayor* (conj.; *sāyāhṇayor* T 370; *prates sarayāhṇabhayo* T 403) *nivedya piṇḍam dattvā athavā, pūrvāhne vāpi kāladvayaṃ pratikuryāt. hrdbījayuktena tasya \*dīkṣānāmayuktena svāhāntena* (T 370; *dīkṣānāmnā svāhāntam* T 403) *sarvaṃ nivedya athavā \*prātar arghyaṃ* (T 403; *prātarghyaṃ* T 370) *dattvā, aparāhṇe \*nivedya piṇḍam dattvā* (T 370; *naivedyaṃ dattvā athavā* T 403) {-T 370b/T 403a->}...

The two transcripts then converge again. On the tenth day, after having offered the libations in the manner stated, the officiant, wearing the sacred thread over the right shoulder and holding a blade of *kuśa* grass, should go to a body of water, lay down *darbha* grass and install the mantras on his hands in the reverse order.<sup>87</sup> After this, the text becomes unclear and seems to be corrupt. From the available passage we can infer that the officiant is to offer libations to the deceased, whereby the deceased is addressed in the three divine ancestral manifestations that he will successively take on in the future.<sup>88</sup>

At the end of this, the officiant performs the *sakalīkaraṇa* and returns home, where he is to worship Śiva and offer another *piṇḍa* and some oblations, and then dismiss the deity. Then the officiant is to dispose of everything by taking the throne and stone together with the bundle of grass and the flowers on a bier, cover it with pieces of cloth and with incense, lamps and music, and take it to a pure site at a body of water. Then, facing north, he is to throw the stone, the *piṇḍas* and the throne over his shoulder into the water.<sup>89</sup> Finally, he should take a purifying bath and return home, where he performs some more concluding rites such as Śiva worship.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>87</sup> KKD (T 370, p. 233; T 403, p. 161–162): ... *dasāhe 'pi pūrvavat samtarpya \*jalatīre* (T 370; jale T 403) *darbhān \*astīrya* (T 403; *astārya* T 370) *apasavyopavitī \*pavitrapāṇir* (T 403; *pavitrapāṇī* T 370) *viparītakrameṇa karanyāsam kṛtvā...*

<sup>88</sup> The passage provides an incomplete list of mantras with which offerings to the deceased are to be made. While the available transcripts of the text preserve only the option for a deceased *samayin*, a list is given of Śiva manifestations that mixes up the terminology to be applied in the cases of a *samayin* and of a full initiate. It prescribes, in ascending order, the deceased person's future manifestations as Skanda, Caṇḍa and, instead of Gaṇeśvara, Śānta, who is the highest manifestation of Śiva and is only used at the great-grandfather level for the full initiate. KKD (T 370, pp. 233–234; T 403 p. 161): ...*samayinaś cet om hām śuddhātman skando bhava \*svadhā* (T 403; *svāha* T 370) *\*om śuddhātman caṇḍo bhava svadhā* (T 403; om. T 370) *om hām śuddhātman śānto bhava \*svadhā* (T 403; *svāha* T 370) *\*†tulam† kuśodakam svadhā, om vāsodakam svadhā, om tilodakam svadhā* (T 403; om. T 370) *iti samtarpya...*

<sup>89</sup> KKD (T 370, p. 234, and T 403, pp. 161–162): *kūrcapuśpasamāyuktaṃ pāśānaṃ ca tathaiva ca || pītham \*cā sahasoddhṛya* (T 370; *cāhasoddhṛya* T 403) *\*yānam* (T 370; *dhāmnā* T 403) *āropya śobhanam | vastrair ācchādyā bahuśo dhūpadīpasamanvitam || sarvātodyasamāyuktaṃ sarvaśobha\*samanvitam* (T 370; *-samantritam* T 403) | *utthāpya \*tena yānena* (T 403; *tena toyena* T 370) *puṇyātīrthe viniṣīpet || \*udaṇmukhas* (T 403; *udaṇmukhan* T 370) *tatas tasmin \*śīśyas* (T 403; *śīśyan* T 370) *tattīrthamadyame | \*pāśānaṃ* (T 403; *pāśāna* T 370) *piṇḍapīthe ca paścādbhāge viniṣīpet.*

<sup>90</sup> While there are some concluding instructions for when the officiant returns home from the water site, it is not clear from the witnesses available to me what these entail. First, some kind of worship of *yogins* takes place, followed by asking the deity for forgiveness.

#### 4.1.2.2. *Rudrabali*

The *rudrabali* is a rite prescribed for the tenth day after a death. It constitutes a *bali* offering to the eleven Rudras. It is not apparent from the text what the function and application of this rite are, and I have as yet not encountered any procedure in the brahmanical literature or in the pre-twelfth-century Saiddhāntika sources that correspond to it. Further, the two transcripts contain differing instructions at the beginning and end of this section that imply different functions for the rite. This suggests that there may have been confusion about this rite even amongst the redactors. Transcript T 370 treats the *rudrabali* as if it were an additional rite after the *pāsānasthāpanavidhi*. Transcript T 403, on the other hand, appears to treat this rite as a procedure performed in cases of inauspicious death (*durmarāṇa*).<sup>91</sup> The *rudrabali* would thus correspond to the sections on rites for inauspicious deaths found in the JR as well as, in an earlier section, in the KKD itself. However, these rites are embedded within the cremation procedure itself; they are not to be performed on the tenth day after it.

The instructions for the rite are as follows: On the tenth day, the officiant is to go to a pure site close to a body of water such as a river and prepare himself for the rite, holding a blade of *kuśa* grass and carrying out the *prāṇāyāma*. On top of a *sthaṇḍila* he should draw a lotus diagram with eight petals, and place a jar (*kumbha*) in the middle of it into which he is to invoke Rudra.<sup>92</sup> Then he is to install eleven jars, placing them in the anti-clockwise

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Next, T 370 seems to envisage a communal meal, T 403, some other kind of worship: KKD (T 370, p. 234; T 403, p. 162): *tataḥ snātvā gṛhaṃ gatvā sarveṣāṃ yoginām api | pūjāṃ kṛtvā kṣamāpyātha \*svayaṃ bhṛtyaiś ca bhojayet* (conj.; *svayaṃ bhūtyaiś ca bhojayet* T 370; *svayamantivyavai pūjayet* T 403).

<sup>91</sup> This passage is highly corrupt and so I have been unable to reconstruct it satisfactorily. After the list of the Rudras, in a series in the instrumental case, the text seems to list ways of dying that the manual earlier described as unfortunate deaths. At the end of the account, the passage seems to provide instructions concerning the timing of the *rudrabali*. KKD, T 403, pp. 163–164: *...oṃ hām devo haro rudraḥ śaṃkaro nīlaloḥita īśāno vijayo bhīmo devadevo bhavodbhavaḥ, kapālī ceti vijñeyā rudrā ekādaśās tathā sarpājagaravāyavagnibhiḥ śāstra-vṛkṣaviṣatoyahastinā. vatsare ṣaṭtrimāse pakṣayos taddinaṃ tu vidhaṃ rudrabaliḥ.*

<sup>92</sup> KKD (T 370, p. 234; T 403, p.162): *\*daśame 'hani* (T 370; *daśamevāhni* T 403) *\*nadyādipunyajalatīram* (T 370; *nadyādipunyatīrtheram* T 403) *āsādyā prāṇāyāmaṃ vidhāya \*sapavitro* (T 370; *pavitro* T 403) *rudrabalinimittam saṃkalpya \*śuddhabhūtale* (T 403; *śuddhatale* T 370) *\*sthaṇḍilopary* (T 370; *sthaṇḍilopari lakṣaṇam* T 403) *aṣṭadala-padmaṃ ālikhya tanmadhye kumbhaṃ saṃsthāpya tasmīn, \*oṃ hām* (T 403; om. T 370)

direction, starting in the northeast. Into each of these he is to invoke one of the eleven Rudras in the following order: Mahādeva, Hara, Rudra, Śaṃkara, Nīlālohita, Īśāna, Vijaya, Bhīma, Devadeva, Bhavodbhava and Kapālīśa.<sup>93</sup> Next to this place, he is to lay out plantain leaves with their tips towards the south and put two blades of *darbha* grass down, and then toss sesame seeds over them. On this he is to offer a *bali* offering to each of the Rudras. It is to be made of new rice mixed with crushed coconut, molasses and fruits of the plantain tree. Then he is to worship in a single vessel (*pātra*) the fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, and great-great-grandfathers and each of their wives, followed by the entire group of male and female ancestors. Then he is to present a further *bali* offering and have the three invitees stir the food counter-clockwise with their thumbs while holding a blade of grass. Next, he is to take the grass and place the vessel to his left side facing upside-down. After this he is to pick it up again, to take a small part of the food, smell it and then wash his hands. Then he is to circumambulate the vessel and the gurus, and pay obeisance to them. Having received the protection from the gurus, he should dismiss the deities that had earlier been installed in ritual jars (*kumbhakalaśasthān devān*).<sup>94</sup> At this point, the two transcripts again prescribe different procedures and both of them are corrupt. Transcript T 370

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*rudrāsānāya namaḥ, oṃ hām rudramūrtaye namaḥ, oṃ hām rudrāya namaḥ. ity abhy-  
arcya...*

<sup>93</sup> This list of eleven Rudras seems unique to the KKD. It differs quite substantially from the lists of the eleven Rudras in other Śaiva and brahmanical sources I have examined. For instance, note that Hara is the second Rudra in the list of transcript T 403, but that T 370 features Śivottama; while Hara is more commonly found in lists of eleven Rudras, Śivottama is never found.

<sup>94</sup> KKD (T 370, p. 235; T 403, p. 163): ... *tata \*ekasmin* (T 370; *ekasminn eva* T 403) *pātre, \*oṃ pitrbhyaḥ* (T 370; *śivapitr̥bhya svadhā* T 403) *svadhā, oṃ pitāmahebhyaḥ svadhā, oṃ prapitāmahebhyaḥ svadhā, \*oṃ vrddhaprapitāmahebhyaḥ svadhā* (T 370; om. T 403), *oṃ māt̥rbhyaḥ svadhā, oṃ pitāmahībhyaḥ svadhā, oṃ prapitāmahībhyaḥ svadhā, oṃ \*vrddhaprapitāmahībhyaḥ* (T 370; *vrddhapramātāmahībhyaḥ* T 403) *svadhā, oṃ sarvebhyaḥ pit̥rbhyaḥ svadhā, \*oṃ sarvebhyo māt̥rbhyaḥ svadhā* (T 370; om. T 403). *ity evaṃ baliṃ \*dattvā* (T 370; *dāpayitvā* T 403), *\*tat pātram t̥ṇasahitenāṃguṣṭhenāpradakṣiṇam* (T 370; *tat pātraguṇitakuśasahitenāṃguṣṭhenāpradakṣiṇan* T 403) *triḥ paribhrāmya \*tasmin* (T 370; om. T 403) *\*t̥ṇam* (T 370; *kuśau* T 403) *visr̥jya tat pātram \*svadakṣiṇapārśvam adhomukhaṃ* (T 370; *svadakṣiṇe pārśve 'dhomukhaṃ* T 403) *\*vidhāya* (T 370; om. T 403) *\*vikṣipya* (T 370; *vinikṣipya* T 403) *tat pātram uddhṛtya \*tad annam ekaṃ* (T 370; *tadekaśam* T 403) *grhītvāghrāya pāṇiṃ prakṣālyā kumbhagurvādīn pradakṣiṇam kṛtvā namaskṛtya guro rakṣām labdhvā \*kumbhakalaśasthān* (em. Szanto; *kumbhakalasthān* T 403; *kumbhakalastha* T 370) *devān udvāsya...*

seems to enjoin that the officiant should worship the stones, which have had the deceased person invoked into them, offer another *piṇḍa*, and dismiss the deities. Transcript T 403 appears to prescribe that the stones be worshipped a second time, but then continues with a corrupt passage listing again the eleven Rudras and what might be instructions for performing the *rudrabali* in the case of unfortunate deaths.

#### 4.1.2.3. *Ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha*

At the beginning of its treatment of the *pārvaṇaśrāddha*, the KKD rules that fifteen *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* are to be performed in the name of the recently deceased. These are to be performed as follows: one each month (the first on the eleventh day), one after three fortnights following the death, one at the end of the first six months, and one at the end of the year.<sup>95</sup> In addition, the chief mourner is to make offerings of food and water each day during the same period.<sup>96</sup> Alternatively, if the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* is to be performed on the twelfth day after the death, these rites can be compressed into a period of twelve days.<sup>97</sup>

As in the case of the brahmanical model, the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha* is a modification of the *pārvaṇaśrāddha*, differing in that it constructs its offerings and gestures around the recently deceased instead of the three ancestors. Hence, (a) only one invitee is requested for its performance to represent the deceased;<sup>98</sup> (b) two round *maṇḍalas* instead of four are drawn for the ceremonial reception;<sup>99</sup> (c) one *piṇḍa* is offered;<sup>100</sup> (d) any formal

<sup>95</sup> KKD (T 370, p. 238; T 403, p. 168): *evaṃ pratimāsaṃ tripakṣe śāṅmāsānte vatsarānte ca ekoddiṣṭāni pañcadaśa kartavyāni...* This list of fifteen *śrāddhas* is a little surprising, since in standard *śrāddha* accounts, sixteen *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* are prescribed.

<sup>96</sup> KKD (T 370, p. 238; T 403, p. 168): *maraṇāhāt samārabhya vatsarāntaṃ pratidinaṃ \*sodakakumbhāni bhojanāni* (T 370; *asenadakakumbhabhojanadāni* T 403) *dātavyāni, vatsarānte sapiṇḍīkaraśrāddhaṃ kartavyam...*

<sup>97</sup> KKD (T 370, p. 238; T 403, p. 168): *yad vā vatsarāntaṃ ātmano \*vasthādyasaṃbhāvād* (conj. Sanderson; *sthāpanāyasaṃbhāvayan* T 403; *vasthādyasaṃbhāvan* T 370) *dvādaśāhādiṣu māsiśrāddhasodakakumbhabhojanāni dattvā sapiṇḍīkaraṇaṃ kuryāt.*

<sup>98</sup> KKD (T 370, p. 235; T 403, p. 164): *tatra pūrvedyur deśikaṃ \*sādhakaṃ* (T 403; *sākaṃ* T 370) *\*putrakam* (T 370; *putram* T 403) *alābhe samayinaṃ \*voktalakṣaṇaṃ* (T 403; *yathoktalakṣaṇaṃ* T 370)...

<sup>99</sup> KKD (T 370, p. 235; T 403, p. 164): *grhājire gomayopalipe dakṣiṇottaraṃ sthānaṃ karāntaraṃ karamānaṃ \*vṛttamaṇḍaladvayaṃ* (T 370; *vṛttamaṇḍala* T 403) *krtvā...*

statements addressing the deceased are in the singular; (e) and the invocation and offerings are made to the deceased using his initiation name in the mantra.

At the end of the first *ekoddiṣṭasrāddha* on the eleventh day, the *yajamāna* may offer twenty-four presents to the invitee for the deceased.<sup>101</sup>

#### 4.1.2.4. *Sapiṇḍikaraṇa*

The *Sapiṇḍikaraṇa*, analogous to the brahmanical model, is performed either a year or twelve days after the death. As already mentioned, Ag-horaśiva does not treat this rite in a separate chapter, but includes instructions for the procedure in the account of the *pārvaṇasrāddha*, the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa* being a variant thereof. The procedure differs in the following ways. In addition to the *ācāryas* invited to represent the three deceased ancestors and the two *sādhakas* representing the Viśvedevas, another invitee from any of the initiatory classes, but preferably an *ācārya*, is invited

<sup>100</sup> KKD (T 370 p. 237; T 403 p. 163): *\*bhūmiṣṭhasavyajānur dakṣiṇābhimukho* (T 370; *bhūmiṣu savyaṅjanānuddakṣiṇābhimukho* T 403) *mūlayuktadikṣānāmnā \*svadhāntam* (T 403; om. T 370) *piṇḍam datvā...*

<sup>101</sup> The list in the KKD of the twenty-four presents to be given to the invitee representing the deceased contains the following: (1) a purifier (*pavitra*), (2) a sacred thread, (3) a water jar, (4) a rosary (*akṣa*- here for *akṣasūtra*), (5) sandals, (6) a staff, (7) a cloth worn to conceal the private parts, (8) a seat, (9) a yoga band, (10) a parasol, (11) a turban, (12) an upper garment, (13) pieces of cloth, (14) a golden ring, (15) a golden vessel, (16) clarified butter, (17) sesame oil, (18) a cow, (19) land, (20) food, (21) a jacket, (22) a bed, (23) grain, and (24) female and male slaves. KKD (T 370, pp. 237–238; T 403, p. 167): *pavitram yaj-ṇasūtram ca kamaṇḍaly akṣapāduke | daṇḍa<ṃ> \*kaupīnam āsanam* (conj.; *kaupīnabhasmāṅgam* T 370; *kaupīnabhasmāga* T 403) *yogapaṭṭāpatrakam || uṣṇīsam uttarīyam ca vastrahemāṅgulīyakam |\*hemapātram* (T 370; *hemapadmaṃ* T 403) *ghṛtam tailam gau bhūmir bhojanāṅgakam || śayanīyam \*sarvadhānyāni* (T 370; *sarvadhānādi* T 403) *dāsīdāsopahārakā | caturviṃṣati dānam syād \*ekoddiṣṭe* (T 403; *ekoddiṣṭeṣu* T 370) *saṃmatam*. The conjecture to emend to *kaupīnam āsanam* is made on the basis of a passage in the SP (I. 57–59b), which gives a list of offerings to be presented to Īśāna during the rite of *pavitrarohaṇa*; this contains a similar list of utensils to be given to an ascetic: *daṇḍākṣasūtrakaupīnabhikṣāpātrāni rūpiṇā | kajjalam kuṅkumaṃ tailam śalākāṃ keśa-śodhanam || tāmbūlam darpaṇam dadyād uttare rocanām api | āsanam pāduke pātram yogapaṭṭāpatrakam || aiśānyām īsamantreṇa dadyād īśānatuṣṭaye*. This part of the text has also been incorporated into the *Agnipurāṇa*; another parallel is found in the KKD.

The practice of offering gifts to Brahmins on behalf of the deceased mirrors brahmanical practice. Cf. Kane 1953, pp. 534–535; and Müller 1992, p. 151.

in order to represent the recently deceased.<sup>102</sup> This extra invitee is ceremonially received following the procedure prescribed for the ancestors:<sup>103</sup> he is seated facing east<sup>104</sup> and offered guest water prepared in the same manner as for the ancestors after the invocation.<sup>105</sup> The formulas used during the rite are revised according to the context, as for example, the officiant formally asks specific permission to perform the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* rite rather than the ordinary *śrāddha*.<sup>106</sup> The procedures for invoking the *śrāddha* deities and worshipping them are the same. Additionally, the recently deceased person is to be invoked and worshipped, again in the manner of worship for the ancestors.<sup>107</sup> The entire sequence – from declaring the vessel (*pātra*) with the ancestors' guest water the place of the ancestors, performing the *agnaukaraṇa*, offering food to the Brahmins, and offering the *piṇḍa*s to the ancestors – are the same, except that a fourth *piṇḍa* for the recently deceased is also offered.<sup>108</sup> From this point, the same rite is prescribed as in the brahmanical procedure, namely preparing four jars representing the three ancestors and the recently deceased, each of which is venerated – the ancestors with their mantras, and the recently deceased with the root mantra and his initiation name. After this, the water from the jar representing the deceased is poured into each of the other three jars, signalling the end of the

<sup>102</sup> KKD (T 370, p. 239; T 403, p. 168): *tatra pitrartham \*deśikān* (T 370; *deśikāt* T 403) *viśvadevārtham sādhakau tadabhāve \*dīkṣitān samayasthān* (conj.; *dīkṣitān samasthān* T 370; *adīkṣitān samayasthān* T 403) *vā grhṇīyāt* [...] *nimittāya \*yaddeśikādiṣu* (T 403; *devaśikādiṣu* T 370) *ekam grhṇīyāt*.

<sup>103</sup> After the section prescribing the ceremonial reception of the ancestors, the KKD enjoins the following (T 370, p. 240; T 403, p. 170): *nimittam api tathaiva pādām prakṣālyācāmya*...

<sup>104</sup> KKD (T 370, p. 240; T 403, p. 170): *nimittam \*atithyabhāyāgatau* (em.; *atithyabhāgatau* T 370; *atithyatyagatau* T 403) *ca pūrvānanān \*āsaneṣu* (T 370; *vāsaneṣu* T 403) *vāmadevenopaveśya*...

<sup>105</sup> KKD (T 370, p. 240; T 403, p. 170): *nimittārghyam pitrarghyavat kṛtvā*...

<sup>106</sup> KKD (T 370, p. 240; T 403, p. 170): *sapiṇḍīkaraṇaśrāddham kariṣya iti prārthya kuruṣveti tair anumatas*...

<sup>107</sup> Hence, after worshipping the ancestors following their invocation, the KKD (T 370, p. 241; T 403, p. 171) teaches that the recently deceased receives the same kind of worship: *evam nimittam api sampūjya*...

<sup>108</sup> KKD (T 370, p. 242–243; T 403, p. 173): *pitrartham\* piṇḍatrayam* (T 370; *traya* T 403) *\*mātrpakṣasyāpi* (T 370; *mātravarasyāpi* T 403) *trayam nimittāyaikam datvā* ... That the procedures for all the aforementioned rites are the same as those of the *pārvaṇaśrāddha* is inferred from the absence of any other specifications.

deceased person's status as a *preta*.<sup>109</sup> As in the YājS, the rite of combining the *piṇḍa* for the deceased with those of the ancestors is not found here.

### 5. Beyond the initiate community: The *Kiraṇa*'s *rudra-śrāddha* and *laukikaśrāddha*

On the topic of *śrāddha* rituals, the Kir offers us interesting insights into how services of Śaiva religious specialists spread beyond the initiate community, already before the ninth century. After the prescriptions for *śrāddha* rites for Śaiva initiates, the *śaivaśrāddha*, the Kir provides ritual templates that could be used for persons who were part of the mainstream community, specifically *śrāddha* rite injunctions for uninitiated lay devotees of Śiva (*rudrāṃśa*),<sup>110</sup> the *rudraśrāddha*, and for ordinary Vaidikas, the *laukikaśrāddha*. Hence, it seems its redactors were not only attempting to harmonize brahmanical and Śaiva practices, but were actively seeking potential clients in the uninitiated community. This approach fits the general character of the Kir, which we have seen to display signs of a community of tantric priests reaching out to the larger parts of society.<sup>111</sup>

The ritual procedure in these additional versions is the same as that of a regular *śaivaśrāddha*, albeit adjusted to suit the respective level of practice of the lay devotee or the Vaidika, that is, the orthodox Brahmin household-er. The differences are found in the choice of deities with whom the ancestors and Visvedevas are equated, as well as in the benefit to be procured by performing the rite. In the *rudraśrāddha* for Śaiva lay devotees, for exam-

<sup>109</sup> KKD (T 370, p. 243; T 403, p. 174): \**tataś* (T 370; *tatra* T 403) \**cocchiṣṭam* (T 370; *taccocchiṣṭam* T 403) \**uddhṛtya* (T 370; om. T 403) *saṃmārjya* \**saṃprokṣya* (T 370; om. T 403) \**pādau* (T 403; *pābhya* T 370) *prakṣālyācamya* \**sakalikṛtya* (T 370; *sakalikṛtvā* T 403) \**sāmānyārghyaṃ kṛtvā* (T 403; om. T 370) \**gomayopalipte* (T 403; *gomayopalipta* T 370) *maṇḍale pātracatuṣṭayaṃ* \**viśuddhaṃ* (T 370; *śuddhaṃ* T 403) \**vinyasya* (T 370; *vinyaset* T 403) \**teṣāṃ* (T 370; *teṣu* T 403) *gandhodakṣīratiladarbhāgragandhapuṣpāni* \**kṣipyā* (T 403; *vikṣipyā* T 370) *īśaṃ sadāśivaṃ śāntaṃ* \**caturthe* (T 370; om. T 403) \**mūlamantrayuktadīkṣānāmnā yuktaṃ* (conj.; *mūlamantrayuktadīkṣānāṃ ayukta* T 370; + *layuktadīkṣānāmnā yuktaṃ* T 403) *nimittaṃ cottarādīdākṣiṇāntaṃ* \**saṃpūjyārghyadhūpādi* (T 370; *saṃpūjyārghyadhūpādi* T 403) *dattvā nimittapātrajalaṃ mūleneśādīpātreṣu yojayet. tatas tatpātrāni* \**visṛjyācāmet* (T 370; *visṛjyācamya* T 403).

<sup>110</sup> For the term *rudrāṃśa* denoting lay devotees of Śiva in this context, see Sanderson 2003/2004, pp. 354–355, fn. 16.

<sup>111</sup> See pp. 72–73.



ple, the ancestors are identified, in ascending order, with Gaṇeśa (the chief of Śiva's attendants), Skanda (the son of Śiva) and Rudra (a manifestation of Śiva belonging to a lower level in the Śaiva tantric framework), collectively a group of deities representing the key figures of popular lay Śaiva mythology as one finds in the *purāṇa* genre. The Viśvedevas, in turn, are replaced with Caṇḍa and Mahākāla, the two attendants of Śiva.<sup>112</sup> The benefit gained from performing the *rudraśrāddha* for the *yajamāna* who commissioned the rite is declared to be attaining union with Rudra,<sup>113</sup> thus a spiritual level corresponding to the level of lay Śaivism. In the case of the *laukikaśrāddha*, during the ritual the ancestors are equated with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra; the Viśvedevas, with Sūrya and Yama;<sup>114</sup> and the *yajamāna* is declared to attain the world of Brahmā as a reward.<sup>115</sup>

### 5.1. The *Kiraṇa*'s model in the *Somaśambhupaddhati* and the *Kriyākramadyotikā*

That a demand developed for Śaiva priests to perform *śrāddha* rites for the uninitiated is indicated by the fact that the widely distributed manuals SP and KKD both adopted the Kir's flexible model of the three *śrāddha* levels.<sup>116</sup> The SP prescribes the *śivaśrāddha* for Śaiva initiates, the *rudraśrāddha* for *rudrāmśas*, and the *laukikaśrāddha* for the ordinary Vaidika.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Kir 61.7d–8. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices. Caṇḍa and Mahākāla, besides being names of attendants of Śiva, are also two names for Śiva himself when he appears in his wrathful manifestation. However, given the current context, it is more likely that the former is intended.

<sup>113</sup> Kir 61.34b–35a. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices.

<sup>114</sup> Kir 61.10. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices.

<sup>115</sup> Kir 61.36. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices.

<sup>116</sup> In the JR we may also have an indication that tantric priests could use the manual's instructions to perform post-mortem rites for a clientele beyond the initiate community. In one half-verse (JR ŚP 42ab), this text appears to teach that the *śrāddha* rituals as outlined can also be performed for those who wish to attain a different heaven or spiritual level; in this case, the *śrāddha* rites are simply performed using the names of whichever deities the client wishes. However, this interpretation must be considered with caution since the reading and interpretation are not clear. Further, there is no other passage to this effect in the JR. Nevertheless, given that we find such possibilities in both the SP and KKD, it would not be surprising to find such an option also included in the JR, even if added by later redactors.

<sup>117</sup> SP 11.3b–6b: *īśaḥ sadāśivaḥ śāntaḥ śivaśrāddhe tapasvinaḥ || rudraś cānantanāmā ca viśvedevau sthītau dvayoḥ | dīkṣitānām amī devā rudrāmśānām atho 'nyathā || tatra nandimahākālau viśvedevau gaṇau dvayoḥ | skandacaṇḍagaṇādhiśā viśvedevau yamāruṇau.*

However, by the time of the SP's composition, there seems to have been some ambiguity about who these *rudrāṃśas* were, a complication also reflected in today's scholarly interpretation of the term. It has been demonstrated that at the time of the Kir's composition, *rudrāṃśa* referred to Śaiva lay devotees.<sup>118</sup> Regarding the use of the term in the SP, however, various scholars have interpreted it as meaning "a part (*amśa*) of Rudra" and thus referring to lower level initiates, that is, *samayins*.<sup>119</sup> Indeed, it is not surprising if the meaning of a technical term, especially one designating classifications within the community of adherents, changed over time based on the structures envisaged by the respective authors. With the material we have at hand, however, it is not possible to determine with any certainty how this term was understood at the time of Somaśambhu, the author of the SP.

A slightly clearer picture of the intended clients emerges in Aghoraśiva's manual KKD. Adapting the three-level *śrāddha* model, in addition to the *śivaśrāddha*, he also teaches two more modes. They too follow the same procedure, but modify the deities equated with the ancestors and Viśvedevas. Here, the second level of *śrāddha* corresponds to the *rudraśrāddha*, but uses a slightly different set of Śaiva-related purāṇic deities: used for the ancestral deities are Skanda, Caṇḍa and Gaṇādhīśa (= Gaṇeśa) – none actually a manifestation of Śiva, but rather his son and attendants – and for the Viśvedevas, Nandin and Mahākāla, further attendants of Śiva. However, unlike the Kir and the SP, this level of *śrāddha* is explicitly linked to a deceased *samayin*.<sup>120</sup> By extension it is perhaps also intended for recipients of a *viśeṣāntyēṣṭi*, those who had received a slightly higher level of initiation during their lifetime but not yet ultimate liberation. As in the case of the *laukikaśrāddha* above, the third level of *śrāddha* in the KKD is explicitly linked to orthodox brahmani-

<sup>118</sup> Sanderson 2003/2004, pp. 354–355, fn. 16.

<sup>119</sup> Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 630, fn. 21. This interpretation is partly based on Nirmala-maṇi's commentary on the KKD.

<sup>120</sup> KKD (T 370, p. 244; T 403, p. 174): \**samayinaḥ* (em.; *samayinaṃ* T 370; *mamayina* T 403) \**skandacaṇḍagaṇādhīśāḥ* (em.; *skandañ caṇḍa*° T 403; *kaṣṭas caṇḍa*° T 370) \**piṭṛpitāmahaprapitāmahāḥ* (T 370; om. T 403) *pitaro nandimahākālau* \**viśvedevau* (conj.; *viśvedevau* codd.) *laukike* \**brahmaviṣṇvīśā* (em.; *brahmaviṣṇvīśa* T 370; *brahmāviṣṇuvīśāḥ* T 403) \**viśvedevau* (conj.; *viśvedevau* codd.) *yamavarauṇau*...

cal practitioners, with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Īśa as the ancestral deities, and Yama and Varuṇa as the Viśvedevas.<sup>121</sup>

Śaiva lay devotees are not mentioned separately here. There appear to be two possible explanations for this. First, it might be speculated that in the society being described by Aghoraśiva, lay Śaivas were offered the same type of post-mortem ancestor worship as orthodox Brahmins. Secondly, it is also plausible that lower-level initiates and lay devotees had simply collapsed into a single group by this point in time. After all, performing a full *śivaśrāddha* for a *samayin* and invoking superior forms of Śiva manifestations would have been problematic, and it is more likely that such a practitioner was assigned to a lower register. While this problem is not mentioned directly in the Kir or SP, in the KKD Aghoraśiva does not shy away from addressing these points. In fact, rites for *samayins* were clearly an important issue for him, perhaps suggesting that this lower-level initiation was quite common amongst the population at the time and that the boundaries between these and ordinary lay devotees had become blurred.

With this in mind, one might also consider whether a similar phenomenon was in fact also the case for the Kir and the SP, since neither of them specifies what kind of *śrāddha* a *samayin* is to receive. This omission is not surprising in the context of the Kir, which does not make any such distinction in its discussion of cremation either. But the SP is concerned about preserving a distinction between *putrakas*, who are to receive a full initiatory cremation, and *samayins*, who receive a simple cremation without initiation of the deceased person's soul.<sup>122</sup> It would thus not be surprising if different modes of *śrāddha* rituals were intended for these two groups. If so, also here the group of *samayins* and Śaiva lay devotees has been collapsed into a single group and spiritual level for the *śrāddha* rites. For lack of more conclusive evidence, however, these considerations remain speculative.

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> See p. 97.

## 5.2. How to choose the appropriate *śrāddha* level? Some practical considerations

The cycle of *śrāddha* rites involves several categories of people: the *yajamāna* in charge of commissioning the *śrāddha* rites for his relative, the recently deceased in need of being incorporated into the divine ancestral line, as well as the ancestors of the recently deceased, who are collectively addressed during the rites. In the context of a Śaiva initiatory community, the initiatory status of these actual and symbolic participants may have been quite different, indeed, if they were initiated at all. For instance, while the recently deceased may have been a full initiate, the next of kin stepping in as the chief mourner and taking on the role of the *yajamāna* during the *śrāddha* rituals may have not been an initiate or may have received only the *samayadīkṣā*. The same goes for the paternal ancestors of the deceased. Yet, during the *śrāddha* rituals the form of their worship has been subsumed into a single ritual system that implies all of the involved agents to be either initiates, lay devotees or ordinary Vaidikas, depending on the mode chosen.

So what is the determining factor in this choice of the appropriate level of *śrāddha* ritual? As has been shown, in some sources, performing a Śaiva *śrāddha* is framed as a meaningful ritual act with respect to a deceased initiated ancestor, as it assists him to attain the supreme Śiva state. On the other hand, there were also passages formulating the obligation to perform a Śaiva *śrāddha* in reference to the *yajamāna* rather than the deceased, making it explicit that their performance enables the living initiated practitioner to free himself of his debt, a ritual obligation tied into his post-initiatory duties. So was a *śivaśrāddha* for a deceased initiate commissioned by the *yajamāna* regardless of the latter's initiatory status? Or would only an initiate be able to arrange such a ritual? And if the deceased were not an initiate, would a Śaiva initiate have arranged a *rudraśrāddha* or *laukikaśrāddha* for him?

Theoretically, the choice of the appropriate type of *śrāddha* worship can thus be approached from two angles. The first is to choose it in reference to the status of the recently deceased, if he is regarded as the main beneficiary of the rite. In this case, it is, for instance, his status as a Śaiva initiate and

his respective spiritual level that is commemorated and worshipped during a *śivaśrāddha*. The second possibility would be to consider the performance of the *śrāddha* not as referring to the initiatory status of the deceased, but as reflecting the sponsor's spiritual status. It would thus simply be part of his tantric post-initiatory ritual obligations.<sup>123</sup> In other words, the mode of *śrāddha* chosen would reflect the *yajamāna*'s initiatory status rather than that of the deceased and would therefore also spiritually benefit him, maybe analogous to the notion sometimes expressed in brahmanical literature that the deities worshipped during the *śrāddha* rituals bless the *yajamāna* because they are pleased.<sup>124</sup> Accordingly, an initiate would perform a *śivaśrāddha*, thus attaining Śiva's ultimate divine manifestation; a *samayin* or lay devotee, a *rudraśrāddha*, thus attaining Rudra's world; and a Vaidika, in some cases including lay devotees, a *laukikaśrāddha*, thus attaining Brahmā's world. In this respect it is perhaps also significant to remember that in one passage of the JR, performing the *śivaśrāddha* was linked to the triple debt and also explicitly conceptualized as part of obliga-

<sup>123</sup> Sanderson 1995.

<sup>124</sup> In this sense, in the SP it is declared that the rite also benefits the *yajamāna* and his family; SP 11.36: *śivaśrāddhe kṛte devā †manuṣyāḥ† pitaro 'surāḥ | ṛṛptāḥ śivānubhāvena vardhayanti kuladvayam*. This verse is also quoted in the KKD (T 370, p. 245; T 403, pp. 175–176). Here it seems that *pāda* b is corrupt, since living people (*manuṣya*) are not satiated during the ritual; the mention of Asuras in the *śivaśrāddha* is also puzzling. However, this corruption may have arisen through confusion concerning the brahmanical formulation, which clearly served as the model. There, the *pitṛs* (ancestors) are equated with the sons of the group of *śrāddha* deities, namely the Vasus, Rudras and Āditis, and are opposed to the *pitṛs* of humans. See also YājS 1. 269–270 (which is incorporated into the *Agnipurāṇa* [2.163.40c–42b] and the *Nārada mahāpurāṇa* [51.152c–154b]): *vasurudrāditisutāḥ pitarāḥ śrāddhadēvatāḥ | prīṇayanti manuṣyānām pitṛn śrāddhena tarpitāḥ || āyuh prajām dhanam vidyām svargaṃ mokṣaṃ sukhāni ca | prayacchanti tathā rājyaṃ prītā nṛnām pitāmahāḥ*. “The *śrāddha* deities, which are the ancestors and sons of the Vasus, Rudras and Āditis, pleased with the *śrāddha* offerings, please the ancestors of men. [And] the [individual] ancestors (*pitāmahāḥ*), who are gratified, bestow long life, offspring, wealth, knowledge, heaven, liberation, pleasures and royalty on men.” In his commentary on these verses, Vijñāneśvara interprets that the divine ancestors and the directly named human ancestors are to be treated as different categories throughout the rite, but that they are nevertheless part of the same entity.

Kir 61.38 also declares the great benefit of performing a *śrāddha*. This is simply the result of performing the ritual well. This is achieved despite the fact that a human can do nothing to benefit supreme Śiva: *śivasya paramātmānaḥ kin nāma kriyate naraiḥ | kriyā sampūrnatām eti tad uddīṣya phalaṃ mahat*. For the apparatus and translation, see the appendices.

tory practices. Here, the injunctions were reformulated to define the *śrāddha* as the debt to the “gurus, etc.” (*gurvādi*), rather than to the ancestors (*pitṛ*).<sup>125</sup> In the initiatory context, this could mean that the family lineage has been replaced by the spiritual lineage, and thus performing a Śaiva tantric *śrāddha* simply represents an additional ritual obligation for the Śaiva ritualist: if a householder, he would perform a *śivaśrāddha* for his spiritual lineage and an ordinary *śrāddha* for his familial context. The forms of *rudraśrāddha* and *laukikaśrāddha* would then simply be additional services that Śaiva tantric *śrāddha* priests could offer, thereby reaching a wider audience.

It may also be considered that for the *śivaśrāddha*, which is after all primarily taught, the choice is not problematic if both the deceased and the *yajamāna* are initiates, since the former is then worshipped in his supreme divine state suiting his initiatory status and the latter is performing his post-initiatory duties, the accomplishment of which is believed to bring about his ultimate liberation at death. In this light, it is tempting to consider the hypothesis that in some areas, only the head of a joint household underwent initiation.<sup>126</sup> If this theory is correct, this would mean that an elder son would be initiated before his father’s death. This, in turn, would qualify him to undertake the performance of a Śaiva *śrāddha*. In fact, particularly the JR seems to support this model, since it also explains how to coordinate Śaiva postmortem rites with mundane practice.<sup>127</sup> This would make sense if we consider that some members of a household headed by a Śaiva initiate would not necessarily be initiated and thus would follow mundane practices in terms of post-mortem offerings and impurity regulations on the occasion of death.

## 6. Conclusion

These considerations raise more questions than they answer. Nonetheless, the texts do reflect the complex situation in which Śaiva ritualists found themselves as they expanded and adapted their ritual repertoire to include

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<sup>125</sup> See p. 192.

<sup>126</sup> See p. 17.

<sup>127</sup> See p. 171.

more communities. After all, especially in the sphere of *śrāddha* rituals, the Śaivas tantric priests were encroaching upon a major ritual area in the brahmanical world, a ritual cycle deeply rooted in its socio-religious structures and intrinsically connected with familial values and the image of ancestral deities. This involved notions that were difficult to project onto a world focused on the spiritual liberation of the individual. Especially at this level of mainstream practice, it is likely that how Śaiva rituals were integrated varied widely in response to well-established practices in different geographical and societal contexts. The doctrinal repercussions seem to have been too complex to have been completely resolved and rationalized in Śaiva terms. While not enough material is available to make more definite assessments about actual practices, it is nevertheless clear that the sources prescribing *śrāddha* rites transcend the closed world of the initiated elite. Indeed, this development, as well as the fact that various types of Śaiva cremations were firmly established by this time, points to a professionalized group of tantric funerary and *śrāddha* priests having emerged. While this group was likely to have been perceived as unwanted competition by its brahmanical counterparts, its existence is testimony to the success of Śaiva tantric communities in gaining firm footing in brahmanical mainstream society.

