

Nina Mirnig

LIBERATING THE LIBERATED

Early Śaiva Tantric
Death Rites

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Early Śaiva Tantric Death Rites

Nina Mirnig

With editions and annotated translations
of *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha* 22.9–20,
Sarvajñānottara chapters 12 and 13,
Kiraṇatantra chapters 60 and 61, and
Jñānaratnāvalī Antyeṣṭiprakaraṇa
and Śrāddhaprakaraṇa



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Preface

This volume, dedicated to the investigation of death rites in our earliest Śaiva Siddhānta tantric sources as a mirror of the social expansion of early tantric communities, is a revised version of my DPhil thesis, which I completed at Oxford University. Conducting my graduate studies at that renowned institution under the supervision of Alexis Sanderson, I was fortunate to have been exposed to a vibrant community of scholars editing early Śaiva and Buddhist tantric texts and contextualizing them in the religious world of early medieval India. Inspired by their work, I developed an interest in the socio-religious history of early Śaivism, in particular the fascinating transformation from traditions based on asceticism and an ideology demanding that practitioners live and practice their religion on the fringes of society, to the various tantric schools that increasingly developed a ritual repertoire enabling tantric priests to take on public and political ritual roles. The present survey is informed by the question of how this development was reflected in the formation of death practices for tantric initiates and to what extent religious propagators were willing to accept doctrinal compromises in order to include a wider audience of practitioners within their fold.

This study does not claim to be a comprehensive socio-religious history of early Śaiva tantric traditions. It rather presents one piece of the puzzle in reconstructing the complex dynamics that influenced our texts. It also cannot be considered a historical work in the sense of pinning down developments to certain historical circumstances and events. While some of the texts under examination can be linked to particular places through the names of their authors, for others we know almost nothing of their provenance. Thus it is only possible to establish some general developments as they can be found in the ritual repertoire. It is however my hope that this work will contribute towards larger histories of early Śaivism

which are historically more contextualized. The method adopted in this book is a philological one, focusing on a close reading of text sources followed by their translation and interpretation; it is not embedded in discourses on ritual theory, apart from a few reflections in chapter 1. Nonetheless, I hope the materials and observations found here may inform such studies in future for scholars in the field of ritual studies.

The book is divided into an introduction and five chapters, followed by two appendices, with edited Sanskrit texts in appendix A and English translations in appendix B. The sources of this survey are the early Śaiva Siddhānta scriptures, which contain the earliest extant passages on tantric death rites, as well as early Saiddhāntika ritual manuals. Studies of rituals are necessarily quite repetitive, especially when it comes to discussions concerning ritual details. In order not to tempt the reader's patience too much, the chapters are therefore conceived as individual units, with concluding observations contained within each one, rather than their being summarized again in a concluding chapter. An exception is chapter 4, which contains a descriptive outline of Śaiva tantric cremation.

The introductory chapter contextualizes the study within early Śaiva history and presents the factors that determined the chosen timeframe of the materials under investigation. It includes observations on the constitution of Śaiva communities, also considering the distinction between lay and initiatory communities as informed by my current research on the *Śivadharmā* in the context of the FWF-funded project "The Śivaliṅga Worship on the Eve of the Tantric Age: A Study and Critical Edition of the *Śivadharmasāstra* Chapters 1–5 and 9" (P-27838-G15). Chapter 1 provides the theoretical framework and outlines the fundamental doctrinal tenets at play in the development of Śaiva tantric death rites, particularly regarding the tension that arose when ideals of ultimate liberation met deeply embedded anxieties about ghost-hood and afterlife, as well as established ritual cycles to ensure the continuity of the family line on the occasion of death. Chapter 2 focuses on the early tantric scriptural sources for reconstructing early medieval death rites; each source receives a separate treatment before they are considered collectively and chronologically to illustrate the elaborate tantric initiatory cremation as it developed up to the ninth century. Chapter 3 investigates the earliest extant Saiddhāntika ritual

manuals, which due to their more detailed explanations offer further insights into the socio-religious environs of the tenth to twelfth century, a time in which tantric groups had become well established across the sub-continent. Here, too, each source is treated separately in order to remain source specific. Chapter 4 provides an analytical outline of tantric cremation as was standard at least by the ninth century; it is only here that several sources are considered together to provide an overview of their shared features and differences, as well as to handle the question of the officiants involved in these rituals. The last chapter is then dedicated to the emergence of post-mortuary ancestor worship. It illustrates how by the ninth century there were tantric priests who sought to provide services even beyond the initiatory community.

Some of the sources investigated in this volume have not been published until now, or if so, only in the form of editions that do not take the early Nepalese manuscript tradition into account. For this reason selected text editions and annotated translations are published here in the appendices. To prepare these editions, importance was given to using early Nepalese manuscripts when available. Where works were not available, or only available in South-Indian editions difficult to access, I have referred to transcripts from the Department of Indology at the Institut Français in Pondicherry that are available online via the Muktabodha Indological Research Institute website (<https://muktabodha.org/digital-library/>). This website will enable the reader to access the cited texts directly. This concerns in particular the twelfth-century South-Indian ritual manual *Kriyākramadyotikā*, which has a complex and as yet insufficiently studied textual tradition. Its critical edition is still a desideratum. I also refer to the passages on death rites in the twelfth-century *Brhatkālottara*, a complex eclectic text that needs further research for an edition, a task beyond the scope of this book. When necessary, for this work I refer to a Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript (NGMPP B24/57), which forms part of a preliminary edition by Alexis Sanderson, who kindly shared his text.

I have adopted various conventions to present the material as consistently as possible. In the main body of the text I present the English translations of the cited passages, while the footnotes give the Sanskrit, or, if the quote is from one of the selected edited texts, a reference to the

appendices. The Sanskrit spelling has generally been normalized, unless listed in variant readings. In the case of the *Naimittikakarmānusandhāna*, I have generally provided diplomatic transcriptions. Abbreviations have been used for Sanskrit texts after their titles have been mentioned the first time in full; when the initial mention is too remote, the title is mentioned in full again. In order to avoid repetition, cross references are used to direct the reader to earlier or later discussions of certain aspects.

In publishing this volume, I am extremely grateful to Birgit Kellner, the series editor, and the publication commission of the Austrian Academy of Sciences Press for having accepted my manuscript to be included in the series “Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens”. Many thanks also go to the staff at the Press office, in particular Robert Püringer, who oversaw the production process and helped immensely along the way.

This volume was written in several stretches between various projects I was fortunate to have been involved in, but which also meant that its completion was postponed several times over the years. In its basic form the work was conceived during my graduate studies. I was enormously fortunate to have profited from the supervision of Alexis Sanderson, the person who initially introduced me to the field of early Śaiva studies and who generously shared his knowledge with me at every step of the way. I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to him for all the time he dedicated to reading texts with me, elucidating them with his vast knowledge, and guiding me through my doctoral studies with generosity and inspiration. The work also profited greatly from the detailed feedback I received from my examiners at the time of my doctoral *viva voce*, namely Dominic Goodall – who also carefully looked at the Sanskrit texts and made numerous very helpful comments – as well as Christopher Minkowski, who provided me with many stimulating remarks.

Parts of the ideas developed in chapters 1 and 5 were worked out and further formulated in the course of my postdoctoral position at the Institute for Indian Studies at Groningen University, where I was employed as part of the project *A Historical Enquiry Concerning the Composition and Spread of the Skandapurāṇa* funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research. During that time, in 2012, Peter Berger and Justin

Kroesen invited me to participate in a conference on death and liminality; they provided me with much helpful feedback on my article included in the volume of collected papers, on which I draw here in chapter 1. Further, I was also fortunate to receive feedback and thought-provoking comments from Hans Bakker, who acted as the official respondent at that time.

Large parts of the book were prepared during my ten months in the FWF-project “Visions of Community” (SFB F42-G18), to which Vincent Eltschinger invited me in 2014 for the purpose of revising my book manuscript and working on early tantric communities in the early medieval period. It was thanks to these ten months that I made more substantial progress in completing the manuscript; I am indebted to him for having had that opportunity, as well as thankful for his encouragement. The final push not to delay the publication any further was from Diwakar Acharya, to whom I am grateful for his support as well as the many opportunities we have had for inspiring academic exchange.

I am also grateful to the reviewers of this book, whose suggestions helped greatly to improve the manuscript. In particular, reviewer number one must have taken a great deal of time to carefully read through the entire manuscript, resulting in many valuable suggestions, as well as a considerable list of typos, all of which I took to heart in my final revisions.

In addition to the people and institutions mentioned above, there are various friends and colleagues I would like to thank for their academic exchange, for reading parts of the manuscript at certain stages, as well as for their personal support throughout the years, in alphabetical order: Oliver Frey, Csaba Kiss, Gergely Hidas, Nirajan Kafle, Marion Rastelli, Isabelle Ratié, Bihani Sarkar, Adheesh Sathaye and Péter-Dániel Szántó. The same goes for Helmut Krasser, who is greatly missed; the engaging and challenging discussions I had with him honed many of my ideas.

For the final phase of producing this book, I am particularly indebted to Cynthia Peck-Kubaczek. She not only thoroughly proof-read my English, polishing the entire work, and helped me cope with the intricacies of layout in Word, but she also often challenged and pushed me to sharpen certain arguments with her intelligent remarks – a form of inspiring exchange and support that helped me immensely to get through the final revisions. I am

extremely grateful to her for having seen me through these last stages, in a role far exceeding that of a proof-reader.

I would also like to acknowledge my gratitude to the scholarly community of tantric studies; much of this work to contextualize textual sources within Sanskrit literature and tantric writings in particular would not have been possible without the generous scholarly atmosphere that promotes the sharing and exchange of texts (whether e-texts or manuscripts) to help scholars to advance their research. As for the Nepalese manuscripts, it is through the generosity of the National Archives of the Government of Nepal and the digitizing projects within the framework of the Nepalese–German Manuscript Cataloguing Project that these precious materials are available for study.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my mother Ilse Mirnig, whose encouragement in my research endeavours and unfailing and loving support was absolutely central to producing this manuscript.

Nina Mirnig

Vienna, December 2018

Introduction

On Śaiva Tantric Death Rites in the Early Medieval Religio-historical Context

1. Preliminary remarks

In the early medieval period Śaivism was an influential religious force throughout the Indic world, even rising to constitute the principal religion of the ruling elite at that time, that is, from approximately the fifth to the thirteenth century. An instrumental factor in Śaivism's success in becoming so dominant on the Indian sub-continent and in Indianized South-East Asia was the emergence and impact of so-called Śaiva Tantrism. This was a set of doctrines and rituals accessible only to initiated practitioners and centred on propitiating mantra deities in order to attain magical supernatural powers (*siddhi*) and ultimate liberation (*mokṣa*). Despite the originally esoteric nature of tantric lore, its propagators were successful in spreading these teachings widely, as well as institutionalizing themselves and developing ways of interfacing with mainstream society. As Alexis Sanderson has shown in his monumental work *The Śaiva Age*, decisive for the success of these tantric schools was their strategy of offering expertise for ritual activities linked to key developments in South Asia during the early medieval period. This included the establishing of new dynasties, territorial expansion, and the promotion of agriculture.¹ One significant factor in this development was the tradition increasingly embracing more adherents of varying socio-religious strata into their initiated circles, including both ascetics and active householders. In particular, this engagement with wider segments of the society is reflected in the development of the Śaiva repertoire of rituals. Over time, these rituals were changed and adapted to accommodate the

¹ See Sanderson 2009, in particular pp. 252–350, for concrete examples of Śaiva followers' involvement in various social, economic and political processes.

ritual needs of a new clientele, amongst whom the most significant and visible target group was that of the brahmanical householder (*grhastha*).

In this process of expansion, one of the most important yet doctrinally problematic types of ritual to be included into the repertoire were those having to do with death and the post-mortem period. The ritual cycles prescribed in surviving texts on Śaiva tantric funerary rites are permeated by contradictory notions of the ontological status of a deceased person's soul: while the soul of an initiated person was considered a liberated entity that had lost its individuality and immediately realized its god-hood in the moment of death, in the funerary ritual context that same soul was also considered a spirit that had separated from the corpse and entered a state of ghost-hood, where it had to be fed by the living and in due course be ritually transformed into a divine ancestor.² These conflicting notions were the result of long-standing brahmanical beliefs about post-mortem existence being consolidated with tantric soteriological premises, premises originally formed in esoteric circles of tantric practitioners. These premises were difficult to synthesize with the ritual needs of the brahmanical mainstream of householders.

These changes in the Śaiva ritual world happened gradually. The degree to which prescriptive texts silently accept such doctrinal and ritual inconsistencies offers us insights about the intended clientele and socio-religious setting of certain tantric schools at given times. The realm of funerary practices is particularly revealing in this respect, since rituals related to death and post-mortem ancestor worship are essentially of a communal nature and designed to help the community of mourners deal with the emotional and social ruptures resulting from someone's death. This volume will thus explore various aspects of the early history of the Śaiva tantric traditions by tracing the emergence and formation of tantric cremation and post-mortem rites in the earliest extant tantric scriptures, dating to about the fifth to the eleventh centuries, as well as the earliest extant Śaiva tantric manuals, dating from about the tenth to the twelfth centuries. These textual sources will be analysed for clues about the increasing institutionalization of Śaiva tantric communities as represented in their respective prescriptive sources, as

² On this, see Sanderson 1995, as well as chapter 1 of this volume.

well as about the tradition's gradual inclusion of active initiates from the brahmanical mainstream of society.

The focus of this volume will be on the scriptures and manuals of the Siddhānta school. In part, this is because the earliest material we have on Śaiva death rites emerged from this branch of the so-called Śaiva tantric schools. Further, amongst the broad range of schools that formed in the early medieval period, the orthodox Siddhānta sought to align itself more visibly with the brahmanical system. Thus, it retained brahmanical notions of pure and impure, and generally remained congruent to the norms taught in the Vedas in its prescriptions as opposed to the various streams of non-Saiddhāntika traditions, whose practices transgressed and challenged orthodox notions of purity. It was also the Siddhānta in particular that pursued an agenda of moving beyond private ritual practice and into the sphere of public religious life, finally growing into a religious tradition that offered services for public temple worship and public festivals. This was especially the case in South India from approximately the tenth century onwards. Moreover, by founding a network of monasteries, the propagators of the Siddhānta were extremely successful in institutionalizing themselves across large areas of the sub-continent. These monasteries were often sponsored by kings and also acted as points of interface between initiatory and lay communities. For these reasons, early Saiddhāntika sources offer a good case study for examining the development of tantric funerary practices in the context of the processes accompanying the establishment of an institutionalized religion in early medieval South Asia.

2. Śaiva communities in the early medieval period

In early Śaiva religious history, we find that Śaiva communities can be broadly divided into those that practiced Śiva devotion but belonged to the general mainstream of society, and those that focused on specific Śaiva cults only accessible through initiation. This division can also be described as that between lay and initiatory communities, with the latter including the tantric groups. These two groups often intersect and they clearly affected each other's development, especially when initiatory traditions tried to reach a wider audience. At the same time, it must be kept in mind that they

are separate categories, each with their own complex subdivisions, and were not necessarily intrinsically connected to each other at all points of their development. Notwithstanding how central the tantric groups were to become, it is important to remain aware of this dichotomy to keep from adopting the simplistic approach of seeing the initiatory communities as chiefly responsible for choreographing the rise of Śaivism and downplaying independent aspects related to the sphere of lay devotionism, especially in the early phases of Śaiva dominance. This awareness puts the synergy between the two sides in focus, as well as specific points of interface that contributed towards establishing Śaivism as an institutionalized religion with great appeal to royalty. However, especially for the early stages of Śaivism's rise, our material gives us little insight into the precise nature of the relationship between lay and initiatory communities. In part, this is due to two factors. First, the normative texts that explicitly speak of the practices and structures of a lay Śaiva community, i.e. the Śivadharmā literature (see 2.1. below), were only produced in the sixth century, that is, about two to three centuries after art-historical and epigraphical material show signs that Śaiva devotion had become popular in the mainstream. Since brahmanical literature contemporaneous with this early evidence offers almost no insight into the practices of early Śaiva lay communities, we are left with no tangible textual sources for this early phase. Secondly, the early prescriptive texts of the initiatory traditions, which may go back to the second/third century, focus more on the spiritual and ritual path of the individual being initiated into the tradition, stressing their exclusivity with a tendency to conceal matters of interaction with the mundane sphere. Such features only come through, if anywhere, in epigraphical material or occasional scriptural passages on royal rituals. This leaves open, for instance, basic questions such as whether Śaiva officiants in the early phases of lay Śaiva devotionism were members of existing initiatory groups (i.e. initiated Śaiva *ācāryas*) or were rather part of the existing brahmanical structures (i.e. Brahmin priests with Śaiva leanings, but not initiated into a cult). Another question is whether the body of scriptures belonging to certain initiatory traditions represented the religion of a few amongst many, or the other way around. Further complicating the picture is the fact that amongst the initiatory groups we find a broad range of schools – from those that

were orthodox to those that were non-conformist, each with their own scriptural corpus. The Śaiva scholastic circles represented by these schools were clearly demarcated from each other, yet we have little insight into the extent these boundaries were a historical reality and actively experienced by the practitioners,³ or only theoretically imposed for polemical purposes. And to all of this we must add that beyond a few surviving inscriptions, we have little that enables us to introduce a geographical dimension into our historical reconstructions.

Notwithstanding these limitations, major advances in the field of Śaiva studies in the last decades have already produced a quite differentiated picture of early Śaiva history. This will serve as the starting point for the following investigation into early tantric death rituals and their role in this historical development. What follows is thus not intended as a comprehensive treatment of all the complex topics alluded to above, of which each merits its own study, but rather as a brief outline of the basic historical parameters that have been established in recent scholarship and within which the sources presented in this book are to be understood. In outlining these parameters, I maintain the dichotomy between lay communities (2.1.) and initiatory traditions (2.2.). A topic that is highly relevant in the study of early Śaiva religious history but not addressed here is the inter-religious dynamics between Śaiva and non-brahmanical religious traditions such as Buddhism and Jainism. This has been explored extensively by a number of scholars, including Alexis Sanderson, Ronald Davidson and Vincent Eltschinger.⁴ But since the question of the evolution of tantric funerary rites

³ For instance, several contributions in the volume *Tantric Communities in Context* (Mirnig, Rastelli & Eltschinger [forthcoming]) show that the social reality of different tantric orders was negotiated through various means, many based on institutions and guru lineages.

⁴ See e.g. Sanderson 2009, Davidson 2002 and Eltschinger 2014 on aspects of the historical dynamics between Śaiva and Buddhist traditions, Goodall & Isaacson 2016 on the shared ritual matrix of early Śaiva and Buddhist tantric traditions, and Sanderson's handout on "The Jaina Appropriation and Adaptation of Śaiva Ritual: The Case of Pādliptasūri's Nirvāṇakalikā" (SOAS, 19 March 2015, available on his oxford.academia.edu page) on textual relationships between Śaiva and Jaina tantric literature.

relates directly to Śaivism's interaction with the brahmanical tradition, this remains the context under examination here.⁵

2.1. Śaiva mainstream devotion

The early centuries of the first millennium saw a shift away from Vedic ritualism – and the elitist socio-religious structures it entailed – to devotional cults (*bhakti*). These focused on religious practices for merit making that had the potential for cutting across socio-religious boundaries. Devotion to Viṣṇu is strongly represented in the religious iconography of the ruling elite of these first centuries, as well as in the existing story literature. Notably, this includes the great epics *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*; in both the god Viṣṇu holds a dominant position. This is also the case in the famous work *Bhagavadgīta*, in many ways the epitome of early Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* literature. But towards the end of the Gupta period (ca. fourth–fifth cent. CE) Śaiva devotion becomes increasingly visible, also in the new rising kingdoms.⁶ A growing tendency can be seen amongst the mainstream to favour modes of worship and merit production that centred on the worship of Śiva, classically in the form of *līṅga* worship,⁷ over that of other deities or the Vedic ritual system. While epigraphic and art-historical evidence bears witness to this trend already as early as the third century,⁸ it is

⁵ There are also a few surviving textual passages on early Buddhist tantric funerary rites. These have been collected and edited by Tanemura (2004, 2007, 2012b, 2013a, 2013b and [forthcoming]). They share some features with Śaiva tantric cremation rites; indeed, Sander-son (2009, pp. 126–127) has argued that the Buddhist rites were clearly influenced by the Śaiva tantric model. A closer analytical comparison between the two will be a task for the future.

⁶ This development has been systematically analysed by Bakker 2014. For signs of Śiva devotion towards the end of the Gupta period, see also Bisschop 2010.

⁷ See Bakker 2001 and Mirnig's study on early *līṅga* worship in the ŚDh (Mirnig [forthcoming c]).

⁸ For the most current treatment of the earliest evidence of Śaiva devotion, see Sander-son 2013. In terms of material evidence, there are many early *śivalīṅgas*, in particular in Mathura (Kreisel 1968 and Bakker 2001), going back to the 3rd century CE. Epigraphic evidence in the form of donative inscriptions and records of Śaiva officiants in the sphere of public worship start to appear in the 4th century CE, such as the Valkha plates of Bagh (Ramesh and Tewari 1990), as well as those of several newly emerging dynasties that declared themselves Śiva worshippers. By the 5th century, we find inscribed *śivalīṅga* pedestals in the Kathmandu Valley that bear witness to Śaiva devotional activities of a broad

only in the sixth and seventh centuries that we see the sudden appearance of literature being produced exclusively for a Śaiva laity. The trend towards Śiva devotion was finally channelled into various canonizing texts appearing around this time – the *Skandapurāṇa*, *Śivadharmasāstra* (ŚDh) and *Śivadharmottara* (ŚDhU). Of these, the *Skandapurāṇa* is the first work to systematize Śiva mythology, with the myth cycles arranged as events finally leading to the birth of Śiva's son Skanda.⁹ While many myth cycles already existed for Viṣṇu devotees at the time, the *Skandapurāṇa* was the first work to give weight to the Śaiva mythological world, with Śiva as the supreme deity, venerated even by Viṣṇu and prominent brahmanical deities such as Brahmā. On the other hand, the ŚDh and ŚDhU are more focused on socio-religious aspects of the Śaiva community, including political matters. They promote and systematize the theology, rites and social structures for an entire Śaiva social order, and contain road maps, as it were, for creating strong links to the ruling elite.

The ŚDh and ŚDhU are currently being edited,¹⁰ so for now, only preliminary observations can be made about their genesis. Having been composed around the sixth or seventh century, these works were clearly produced at a time when Śaivism was already widespread, a circumstance confirmed by epigraphical and art-historical material.¹¹ One of the motivations for writing these texts may have been to give an authoritative voice to practices not formally acknowledged by the established religious elite at the time, whose literature makes hardly any reference to this sphere of prac-

range of social levels – Brahmins, the ruling elite, as well as the merchant class (Mirnig 2016).

⁹ For critical editions of parts of this text, see Adriaensen et al. 1998; Bakker et al. 2004; Bakker et al. 2014; Bisschop 2006; and Yokochi 2013.

¹⁰ These texts are currently being studied by an international group of scholars. Hazra (1952–3 and 1956) published an overview of the chapter contents and Naraharinātha (1998) a kind of edition, some of it hand-written. There are a large number of manuscripts in Nepal (see De Simini 2016a), South India and Kashmir (see Sanderson [forthcoming c]). For a critical edition of ŚDh 6, see Bisschop 2018. Critical editions of other parts of the text are currently being prepared by Mirnig (ŚDh 1–5 and 9); Kafle and Mirnig (ŚDh 7–8); Kafle (ŚDh 10); Bisschop, Kafle and Lubin (ŚDh 11); and De Simini (ŚDh 12). Chapter two of the ŚDhU has been edited and analysed in the context of De Simini's study on the cult of the book (De Simini 2016b), and critical editions of other parts of the ŚDhU are in preparation by De Simini, Goodall and Yokochi.

¹¹ See Sanderson 2013, pp. 220–223. For a recent discussion regarding the dating of the ŚDh and ŚDhU, see Bisschop 2018, pp. 9ff.

tices.¹² With regard to the initiatory traditions, the time of composition of the ŚDh and ŚDhU postdates by at least two centuries the first epigraphical and textual evidence for initiatory Śaivism in the form of ascetic cults (i.e. the Atimārga, see pp. 13ff.), but coincides with the production of the first tantric scriptural works. The only trace of Śaiva initiatory traditions having concretely influenced the ŚDh and ŚDhU are sparse references to practices characteristic of the Pāśupata religion.¹³ While this has led to some speculation that Pāśupata propagators were responsible for the composition of these texts,¹⁴ Sanderson was the first to draw attention to the fact that in their doctrinal outlook, the Śivādharma literature continues to represent the lay practices and mythical world as found in the *purāṇas*, overlapping that of the initiatory traditions remarkably little.¹⁵

In their choice of topics and their style, the ŚDh and ŚDhU look like a socio-religious counter-model to the Vaiṣṇava devotionalism that was widespread amongst the brahmanical mainstream and in the royal courts of the Gupta period.¹⁶ But the works represent more than the simple replacement of Viṣṇu by Śiva as the highest deity. More substantially, they challenged some of the existing norms and values that had been institutionalised by the brahmanical religious elite. In contrast, the early Vaiṣṇava works continued to adhere closely to the brahmanical socio-religious mod-

¹² See, for instance, Bakker 2001, pp. 402–403, who points to the discrepancy between the material evidences for *liṅga* worship as early as the 4th century and the very sparse references to these practices throughout the epics.

¹³ For instance, the ŚDh mentions at several points the Pāśupata-specific offerings to Śiva collectively referred to as *upahāras*, including laughing, singing, dancing, making the *huḍuk* sound, prostration and muttering mantras (see *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.8.). These are prominent in ŚDh 5.8–9 and 5.158. The ŚDh also mentions the “mouth music” characteristic for Pāśupatas (ŚDh 5.8. and 5.129); for the meaning of *mukhavādya*, see Bisschop & Griffiths 2007, p. 34, fn. 155. See Mirnig (forthcoming b) for connections between the ŚDh and the initiatory traditions.

¹⁴ Cf. Hazra 1956, p. 44. While he is silent about the affiliation of the ŚDh itself, he classifies the later ŚDhU as a Pāśupata text, probably based on these references to Pāśupata practices, but does not substantiate this claim further.

¹⁵ Sanderson forthcoming b, pp. 87–88 and forthcoming c, p. 157.

¹⁶ The following Vaiṣṇava works can be seen as roughly contemporaneous: the *Viṣṇudharma* (Grünendahl 1983, 1984, 1989) and two works known as the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra*, one a Kashmirian text on general topics on Dharma (Olivelle 2009), the other classified as part of the southern recension of the *Mahābhārata* recorded as the appendix to 14.96.15, but surviving in a single early Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript, as has been identified by Grünendahl (1984, pp. 52–54).

el, namely the *varṇāśramadharmā*, which imposes spiritual hierarchies and behaviour according to life-stages and inherited caste status, with the Brahmin male at the top. The ŚDh, on the other hand, explicitly claims to transcend this brahmanical order and the importance it gives to spiritual hierarchies. It proposes a spiritual life that derives its power from Śiva devotion alone and that is far superior, being theoretically even independent of caste status, a principle most provocatively expressed in the statement that even a dog-eater (*śvapaca*) devoted to Śiva (*śivabhakti*) is superior to a Brahmin who knows the four Vedas.¹⁷ While the notion of emphasising *bhakti* at all costs would become a hallmark in South Asian devotional traditions, at that time such explicit anti-establishment statements were exceptional.¹⁸ However, the implementation of this ideal is not consistent and other teachings in the ŚDh and ŚDhU are less radical. For instance, in the ŚDh we find the spiritually elevated position of Brahmins also retained in some contexts, such as Śaiva Brahmins being promoted as holy receptacles for ritual offerings.¹⁹ Yet in other parts of the work, the exceptional position of the Brahmin is challenged; the ŚDh even declares the Śaiva ascetic to be equal or even superior to a Brahmin.²⁰

Why this lengthy digression on the Śivadharmā literature at this point? The reason is that the socio-religious milieu for which these texts were intended potentially represents a sphere of lay devotees that formed part of the initiatory orders' environment and therefore constituted a significant realm for interaction. This may be of importance when determining the possible clients for tantric funerary priests or the community of mourners involved when an initiate died. Of course, we do not know the historical reality, nor the extent the social order as formulated in the ŚDh and ŚDhU

¹⁷ ŚDh 1.28–29: *bhaktir aṣṭavidhā hy eṣā yasmin mlecche 'pi vartate | sa viprendro mu-niḥ śrīmān sa yatiḥ sa ca paṇḍitaḥ || na me priyaś caturvedo madbhaktaḥ śvapaco 'pi yaḥ | tasmai deyaṃ tato grāhyaṃ sa ca pūjyo yathā hy aham ||*. Critical edition and translation in preparation by Mirnig (forthcoming c).

¹⁸ See Mirnig (forthcoming b).

¹⁹ Timothy Lubin sees this development as having contributed to establishing a Brahmin ritual identity at the time. This was the topic of his paper “On Feeding *śivabhaktas* and other rules of *śivāśrama-dharma*,” presented at the annual American Oriental Society meeting in Los Angeles, 18 March 2017. I am very grateful to him for having shared a draft of his paper with me prior to its publication.

²⁰ See Mirnig (forthcoming b).

was actually implemented in different places. But we do know that these two works were successful. This can be inferred from the number of manuscripts that have survived, their strong reception history, and inscriptions indicating that these texts spread to many regions in South Asia and even beyond.²¹

At the same time, especially when analysing the evolution of the tantric ritual repertoire in relation to a wider society, one must distinguish between the socio-religious sphere as represented by the Śivadharmā literature and Śaiva devotion within the brahmanical mainstream. After all, the brahmanical tradition, with the ritual and social systems it provided, kept a strong hold on Indian society, a fact also reflected in the Śaiva tantric scriptures and commentaries. They often go to great lengths to acknowledge the authority of the Vedic scriptures and brahmanical social structures (often generically referred to as *laukika*, “worldly”), with the orthodox brahmanical system recognized as the source of the Śaiva traditions. The initiatory cults are then described as constituting a higher domain of religious practice, one that has been added to the Vedic.²² In fact, an explicit injunction in most Śaiva tantric scriptures is that, contrary to what is found in the ŚDh, initiates are to follow the authority of the Vedic scriptures within their own domain, namely, the duties incumbent on persons as members of castes and

²¹ For an extensive account of the prevalence and impact of the Śivadharmā corpus, see Sanderson (forthcoming c), pp. 82–85; for the popularity of Śivadharmā literature, particularly in Nepal, see De Simini 2016a.

²² The Śaivas were of course not exceptional in this respect; also Vaiṣṇava traditions and non-brahmanical religious groups such as the Buddhists and Jains offered soteriologies and forms of worship that were described as superior to the Vedic. However, unlike the Śaivas, the Buddhists and Jains turned against Brahmanism entirely and developed separate religious traditions that did not need a brahmanical environment for their development and spread. The Śaiva community, in contrast, was dependent on the Vedic religious background. This manifested itself, for example, in rules such as the Śaiva offices of *ācārya* or *sādhaka* only being held by initiates who entered the religion from brahmanical society as unmarried students (*brahmacārin*) or married householders (*grhastha*). Others, such as the Buddhists, Jains and also brahmanical ascetics, followed different theologies concerning liberation. While they were still able to enter the Śaiva religion and attain liberation through it, they were not allowed to receive consecration (*abhiṣeka*) or hold a Śaiva office (*ācārya* or *sādhaka*). See, for instance, the *Sarvajñānottara* on this topic as edited and translated in Sanderson (forthcoming b), pp. 5–10.

adherents of the brahmanical disciplines.²³ In the tantric world, the scriptures revealed by Śiva were considered the only means for attaining ultimate liberation as well as the most effective means of achieving other benefits, both spiritual and material, that is, in addition to the spiritual life within the brahmanical sphere.²⁴ As we will see, the theoretical problems regarding Śaiva tantric death rites are, in fact, a result of the attempt to integrate brahmanical ritual life into the Śaiva ritual matrix. The spiritual and ritual premises implied by the final brahmanical *saṃskāra*, including cremation and the following post-mortem rituals, had to be synthesized with the Śaiva soteriological path as taught in the Śaiva scriptures.

It thus appears that when examining the rise of Śaiva initiatory traditions and their connection to the wider society,²⁵ we must consider two groups in particular: on the one hand, the orthodox brahmanical mainstream and, on the other, communities following the Śivadharmā model. Although these likely intersected and even overlapped at various times and places,²⁶ we must bear in mind that these two groups, at least theoretically, represented different socio-religious spheres to whom tantric officiants catered. Within the extant tantric texts themselves, we find signs that the two groups were considered distinct religious spheres also by some Śaiva ritual specialists and theoreticians. For instance, the eleventh-century Kashmirian Saiddhāntika commentator Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha makes such a distinction in his commentary on the Śaiva scripture *Kiraṇa*, a pre-ninth-century text

²³ See Sanderson 2005, pp. 231ff. That the religion of normal society found a legitimate place in the Śaivism of the Mantramārga is confirmed by the fact that their authoritative scriptures recognize ways to attain heavenly rewards or liberation as taught in brahmanical literature. Cf. also *Niśvāsa* in Sanderson 2006a, p. 156. For an in-depth account of the brahmanical Āśrama system, see Olivelle 1993.

²⁴ The Vedic scriptures are comprised of primary revelation (*śruti*), the corpus of scriptures collectively referred to as the Vedas, and secondary revelation (*smṛti*), which includes the literature of the epics, Purāṇas, and Dharmasāstra. Sanderson's article "Śaivism and Brahmanism" (forthcoming) examines the relationship between the Śaiva and brahmanical order, identifying scriptural and exegetical passages in the Śaiva literary corpus that explicitly address the topic of the validity of Śaiva and Vedic scriptures. See also Ratié 2013 on scriptural authority in the Śaiva Pratyabhijñā system.

²⁵ The intersections between tantric communities and the wider society is the topic of the volume *Tantric Communities in Context*, Mirnig, Rastelli & Eltschinger (forthcoming).

²⁶ We have seen that even the ŚDh itself holds a somewhat ambivalent stance on how much it distances itself from the brahmanical structures, both maintaining and transcending this brahmanical order.

already representative of a more institutionalized Śaiva tantric order. When discussing those special initiates who received the full spiritual benefit of the initiation ritual but are freed of the obligation to perform post-initiatory rituals (*samaya*) – such as the king – he specifies that in their place, they must support the Śaiva religion and worship Śiva, either according to the brahmanical or the Śivadharma mode of worship:

Then what [kind of rituals] do those [who have been freed of the obligation to perform tantric post-initiatory practices] have to carry out regularly? [They] only [have to do things] such as attending to the God, the guru and devotees, either in person or by sending [in his place] a son or servant or others, [and using] either the ordinary (i.e. brahmanical) form [of worship] or [the form of worship] that has been taught in the *Śivadharma*.²⁷

Another place in which we see the brahmanical mainstream and more specific Śaiva lay devotees as two separate groups being addressed by tantric ritual specialists is in the sphere of post-mortem offerings (*śrāddha*). The first example of this is found in the same scripture commented on by Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, namely the *Kiraṇa* (see below, chapter 5). Here we find injunctions showing that Śaiva *ācāryas* not only offered their services to Śaiva initiates, but also to uninitiated Śaiva lay devotees – a group that might be considered to follow the *Śivadharma* corpus – and members of the brahmanical mainstream (*loka*).²⁸

2.2. Śaiva initiatory traditions: From the cremation ground to the public sphere

The earliest signs of initiatory Śaivism were in the form of esoteric ascetic circles living outside society, religious traditions that were collectively

²⁷ *Kiraṇavṛtti* ad 6.11d–12: *tarhi kiṃ tair nityam anuṣṭheyam? laukikena vā rūpeṇa śivadharmodītena vā yathāśakti devagurutadbhaktaparicaraṇādīkam eva svataḥ putra-bhṛtyādipreṣaṇena vā.*

²⁸ See pp. 208ff.

referred to as the Atimārga²⁹ (“the path beyond [the brahmanical socio-religious order]”) and characterised by their “counter-cultural” ascetic code.³⁰ These groups focused on attaining liberation through ascetic meditative methods and unusual practices and behaviours, such as living in cremation grounds and smearing the body with ashes. Such practices challenged the norms imposed by orthodox brahmanical society. There is little surviving textual evidence about these Atimārgic traditions. But based on the few extant sources, also from outside the Atimārga, as well as epigraphic evidence, Sanderson has been able to identify three groups within the Atimārga: (1) the Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas, (2) the Lākulas, also referred to as Kālamukhas, and (3) the Kāpālikas, also referred to as Mahāvratins or as followers of the Somasiddhānta.³¹

Of these traditions, we only have surviving texts from within that of the Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas.³² These include the *Pāśupatasūtra* together with Kauṇḍinya’s commentary on it, the *Pañcārthabhāṣya*. These two texts depict an individual path to liberation based on a set of practices that includes eccentric behaviour and yogic methods, all of which is to take place in complete isolation from mainstream society.³³ A collection of as yet undated manuals by a certain Gārgya have been discovered and edited by Diwakar Acharya.³⁴ These give insight into the ritual life of a certain branch of Pāśupatas that principally venerated Śiva’s incarnation on earth as Lakulīṣa (which is why Acharya refers to them as the “Lākulīṣa Pāśupatas”). This

²⁹ Here I adopt the term Atimārga to refer to the systems of Kapālavratins and Pāśupatas that Sanderson (2006) has shown are mentioned in the early Śaiva scripture *Niśvāsa* (pp. 158–169).

³⁰ See Sanderson 2013, p. 213.

³¹ For Sanderson’s classification of the various Atimārga groups, see Sanderson 2014, pp. 4–5 as well as pp. 8–12, and Sanderson 2013, p. 213.

³² See Acharya 2011 for a characterization and overview of the Pāśupata religion.

³³ The *Pāśupatasūtras* were translated by Hara (1966), and many points of their doctrines are examined in a series of articles collected in Hara 2002. See also Bisschop 2006 for the Sūtrapāṭha of the *Pāśupatasūtra* and 2014 for Kauṇḍinya’s role in systematizing Pāśupata Pāñcārthika doctrine, as well as Bisschop & Griffiths 2003 on Pāśupata features in the *Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa*. In the earliest evidence that can be found, Acharya has shown that these practices go back to a Vedic observance called the *govrata*, in which the practitioners adopt the behaviour of a bull, an observance explicitly connected to the description in the *Mahābhārata* of a group of Brahmin men who worshipped Śiva Maheśvara. See Acharya 2011, p. 458 and Acharya 2013.

³⁴ See Acharya 2007, 2010, 2011b and (forthcoming).

group of manuals also contains a section on death rites, which will be examined below.³⁵ For the Lākulas as well as the Kālamukhas, no texts have survived from within the tradition. Some information about these cults can be gleaned from literary sources,³⁶ as well as from some tantric scriptures that make occasional references to them.³⁷ In addition to these sparse textual materials, there are a few surviving inscriptions that shed some light on the historical reality of Atimārgic groups. Some of the practices recorded in epigraphs are quite different from what the authoritative scriptures envisage. For instance, the early prescriptive sources forbid Pāśupata ascetics from holding public religious offices. And yet – as Sanderson has demonstrated – a great deal of epigraphic material bears witness to early activities of Pāśupata officiants at temples.³⁸ Further, in contrast to the stipulation in the authoritative scriptures of an ascetic lifestyle, some Pāśupata *ācāryas* are depicted as having wives and being in charge of larger properties that they appear to own.³⁹

From perhaps as early as the fifth century, a new form of initiatory Śaivism emerged.⁴⁰ It called itself the Mantramārga (“The path of mantras”), to distinguish itself from its purely ascetic antecedents. This type of Śaivism, also commonly referred to as Āgamic or Tantric Śaivism by modern scholars, continued to accommodate the practices of ascetics, but also clearly admitted married householders (*gṛhastha*) into its tradition.⁴¹ As

³⁵ See below, chapter 2.

³⁶ For the Kapālikas and Lākulas, see, e.g., Lorenzen 1991 (¹1972), Sanderson 2006a, Törzsök 2012 and Ferstl (forthcoming).

³⁷ An important tantric source for reconstructing some of the Atimārgic traditions is the *Niśvāsa* (see also below, p. 42), which gives descriptions of various Śaiva traditions known to the authors, including the Pāśupatas and Lākulas. See Sanderson 2006a.

³⁸ See Sanderson 2013, pp. 226–234.

³⁹ Sanderson 2013, pp. 228–229.

⁴⁰ There is still a great deal to be explored regarding the genesis of Tantrism and how tantric ideology and ritual practice is related to preceding traditions. The *Niśvāsa* has been identified by Sanderson (2006) as a valuable source for such an investigation. On the basis of the section called *Mukhasūtra*, he investigates the nature of the development from the Atimārga to the Mantramārga, in particular tracing the Atimārgic Lākulas in the tantric milieu. For an investigation on the role of the *Śivadharmasāstra* in providing conceptual frameworks that are developed in Tantrism, see Mirnig (forthcoming b).

⁴¹ See Sanderson 2006, pp. 147–148, for an overview of the fundamental differences between Atimārgic practices, in particular those of the Pāñcārthika system, and those of the Mantramārga. Particularly relevant in this context is the fact that members of the Atimārgic

will become apparent in the context of the development of Śaiva tantric death rites, this integration of the brahmanical mainstream became a common characteristic of the early medieval Śaiva tantric traditions.⁴² However, here again this integration appears to have happened only gradually. The earliest extant tantric scripture, the *Niśvāsa*, dating perhaps to sometime between the fifth and sixth centuries CE,⁴³ describes the ritual world of a group of power-seeking practitioners (*sādhakas*) at the edges of society rather than active householder initiates fully integrated into society. Also, as Dominic Goodall mentions in the introduction to his edition of this work, it describes no social rituals at all.⁴⁴ He states that “the *Niśvāsa* reflects an earlier phase in the evolution of the social dimension of the religion of the Mantramārga.”⁴⁵

The *Niśvāsa*’s lack of social engagement was, however, soon overturned. A wide array of scriptural traditions emerged within the Mantramārga; many introduced rituals of wider social value – including also funerary practices. This quickly growing Mantramārgic scriptural corpus developed into two larger groups. One was the Śaiva Siddhānta, the more conservative strand, which focused on the worship of Śiva in his benign manifestation. For the most part, this group remained, in its choice of substances offered in worship, within the boundaries set by brahmanical norms of purity. On the other side were Āgamic systems focusing on the worship of Śiva in his wrathful manifestation as Bhairava, including, or sometimes solely focused on, the worship of his female consort. Here brahmanical notions of the pure and impure were not taken into account, but were rather challenged through the inclusion of practices considered extremely transgressive from a brahmanical point of view.⁴⁶ Both strands were based on

traditions were required to be permanent ascetics (*naiṣṭhikavratin*); in the case of the Pāśupatas, these were even further specified as Brahmin men who had undertaken the *upanayana* ritual (i.e. brahmanical initiation). The Mantramārga, as just mentioned, also included householders (*gr̥hastha*) as well as temporary ascetics (*bhautikavratin*).

⁴² See Sanderson 2013.

⁴³ See p. 42.

⁴⁴ See the prolegomena in Goodall 2015 (pp. 19–84).

⁴⁵ See Goodall 2015, p. 47.

⁴⁶ On how the dualistic theology of the Siddhānta and non-dualistic theologies of non-Saiddhāntika traditions are reflected in ritual observance, see, for instance, Sanderson 1995, p. 17.

private worship, but the former extended its ritual repertoire to worship in temples for the wider good.⁴⁷ As mentioned in the preface, it is this tradition – the Siddhānta – that is the focus of the present volume.

It was thus mainly in the form of the Mantramārga that the Śaiva initiatory traditions finally moved into the orthodox brahmanical domain. In addition to developing a ritual repertoire that proved appealing for wider parts of the society, this process of increasing popularity was also assisted by the success of the traditions' propagators in forging close ties with kings. They offered pacifying and empowering rites, acted as royal chaplains, and initiated kings into the cult.⁴⁸ The Siddhānta in particular was successful in securing royal support and as a result, created a large network of monastic institutions across the sub-continent, largely sponsored by kings.⁴⁹ Archaeological evidence of monastic sites⁵⁰ together with inscriptional evidence proves that this form of initiatory Śaivism was already present and to some extent institutionalized by the seventh century.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Following the Śaiva Siddhānta's engagement with public worship, Saiddhāntika Tantras gradually introduced rituals for installing *śivaliṅgas* for public worship. The *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa* corpus contains probably the earliest surviving account regarding the installation of *śivaliṅgas*. However, it is not clear whether these were set up for private or public worship (see Goodall 2015, pp. 64–5); not only does the text not specify this, but other early Saiddhāntika sources that mention *śivaliṅgapūjā* do so in the context of appropriating existing *liṅgas* for the private worship of the *sādhaka* to obtain the power of special mantras (Takashima 2005, pp. 136–8). As Takashima has pointed out, the first surviving Saiddhāntika source that clearly mentions *liṅgapraṭiṣṭhā* for public worship is the *Kiraṇatantra* or a later recension thereof (Takashima 2005, p. 136). For more on the topic of *liṅgapraṭiṣṭhā* in the early Mantramārga, see Goodall (forthcoming). For early Śaiva sources on temple construction, see Mills 2014 and her doctoral thesis “Dating and placing early Śaiva texts through *prāsādalakṣaṇa*. A study of *prāsādalakṣaṇa* material in six early Śaiva texts: the *Brhatkālottara Mahātantra*; the *Niśvāse Mahātantra Pratiṣṭhātantra*; the *Mayasaṃgraha*, with its commentary, the *Bhāvacūḍāmaṇi*; and the *Brahmayāmala Jayadrathādhikāra Piṅgalāmata*” (Mills 2011).

⁴⁸ Sanderson has provided abundant evidence demonstrating such Śaiva involvement with the state in the early medieval period, as well as the accompanying spread into the domain of the householder society. See, e.g., Sanderson 2005, 2009 and forthcoming b.

⁴⁹ See, for instance, Goodall 2000, which discusses the Siddhānta monastic networks of medieval South India.

⁵⁰ See Sears 2008 and 2014. Sears 2008 examines the archaeological remains of a Śaiva *maṭha* founded in 973 CE in Candrehe, arguing that the layout of the site betrays monasteries having a public function in addition to their primary function as a residence for Śaiva ascetics.

⁵¹ See Sanderson 2006, pp. 148–149 and Goodall 2004, p. xix. Fn. 17 gives the most important epigraphic evidence for the presence of the Śaiva Siddhānta across India starting

2.3. Methodological limitations when reconstructing the social reality of Śaiva initiate communities

Looming over any socio-historical study of the early Śaiva tantric world are the limitations of our material, which consist mainly of prescriptions. There are very few descriptions. Questions such as the exact size and nature of the various Śaiva initiate communities at given times are therefore impossible to answer, as mentioned above, nor can we reconstruct how these prescriptions were performed in reality. Crucial questions are left unanswered, including how often certain rites were performed, or why, by how many, or whom.⁵² Theoretically the Śaivism of the Mantramārga was open to all caste classes and to both men and women,⁵³ but the question remains whether this principle was translated into practice and how large the actual initiate community was. On the basis of evidence from the pre-tenth-century Śaiva Siddhānta scripture *Sarvajñānottara*, Sanderson asserts that the initiated Śaiva was “[...] not merely a married man but also the married head of the household”, and thus one who had succeeded to the headship of the joint household, taking on the deceased person’s father’s ritual duties.⁵⁴ This hypothesis would confine initiated practitioners of Mantramārga Śaivism in the early medieval period to a small elite who could afford to undergo the expensive rites and sustain the complicated post-initiatory discipline. According to Sanderson, such people most likely belonged to “wealthy, land-owning households”.⁵⁵ Based on such considerations, he has further hypothesized that in the socio-religious setting as envisaged by the *Sarvajñānottara*, active initiates were likely to have been few in number and Brahmin men, though not restricted to them.⁵⁶ But for lack of more

from the late 7th century, also including that mentioned earlier in Sanderson 2001, pp. 8–10, fn. 6. More evidence is mentioned in Sanderson 2013. On a 6th-century Saiddhāntika monastery, see Bosma 2013.

⁵² As Sanderson puts it, “[...] it is possible, I would say necessary, to read the literature and inscriptions with the sort of questions in mind that a social historian would wish to ask.” (Sanderson 2005, p. 230). See also Sanderson 2013, pp. 215–217, on the limitations of using prescriptive literature to evaluate a tradition’s historical reality.

⁵³ Sanderson forthcoming b, pp. 147–148.

⁵⁴ Sanderson forthcoming b, p. 22.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Sanderson forthcoming b, pp. 19ff.

material, such considerations remain hypothetical and may or may not be representative of other Śaiva tantric schools at the time.

Another point concerns the role of female members of the community. On this, Sanderson asserts that women “[...] in the Siddhānta were for the most part purely passive beneficiaries,” even though they were theoretically able to receive initiation.⁵⁷ In fact, I have not found any reference to death rites performed for women in this early corpus of Saiddhāntika texts, other than in the relatively late scripture *Brhatkāḷottara* of the eleventh/twelfth century, which is not only later but also an eclectic work, integrating a variety of traditions.⁵⁸ Other than this, women are practically invisible in the early texts on Śaiva Siddhānta funerary practices. While this may tell us something about the constitution of Śaiva tantric communities at the time, we also must keep in mind that this silence about their presence may simply be due to the position commonly assigned to them in the medieval Indian context, one that was usually passive.⁵⁹ It is therefore a common feature in brahmanical religious literature that women are never autonomous at any stage of their lives, which is also reflected in the prescriptions being centred on men’s ritual duties.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, we do find instructions for post-mortem rites for women in the brahmanical sphere – even if mainly as variations on those for men. Their complete absence in the early Śaiva tantric sources before the twelfth century is notable.⁶¹

A further matter about which our sources are not completely clear for this early period is whether Śaiva gurus were only ascetics or could also be married householders. We do know that there was a strong pan-Indian system of monasteries (*maṭhas*) under the direction of ascetic gurus. But there are also indications, though no explicit references in the textual passages examined here, of the existence of *gurukulas*, that is, guru households in

⁵⁷ Sanderson 2006, pp. 147–148.

⁵⁸ See p. 83.

⁵⁹ See Olivelle 1993, p. 36, quoting Gonda (1965, p. 206).

⁶⁰ Cf. YājñS Ācārādhyāya 85d (*na svātantryam kvacit striyaḥ*).

⁶¹ Note that in later tantric ritual manuals of Kashmir, women are integrated into the deification process. See p. 195, fn. 64.

which new disciples could live.⁶² The distinction between ascetics and married householders is particularly relevant when interpreting rules of inheritance or impurity caused by death (*śāvāśauca*) for those related to the deceased. This topic will be discussed below in chapter 4, but the available material actually does not offer enough information to make any decisions on this issue.

A last difficult point that affects decisions regarding the potential clients of tantric funerary rites is the extent to which the tradition was supported by lay devotees rather than initiates proper. Were the initiatory traditions similar to the Buddhist monastic model, where an uninitiated laity supports a community of religious specialists, receiving services from them in return? Or did the social opening of the Śaiva Mantramārga lead to a situation in which those connected to and supporting the order were initiates, but active in society? If so, was there a tendency to remain exclusive and to initiate only select people, or was the community expanded by offering more neophyte initiations (*samayadīkṣā*), which were more easily accessible than full initiations (*nirvāṇadīkṣā*)? It is, for instance, conceivable that there was a large community of neophytes (*samayins*) who had received a first initiation into the religion but who were not full initiates (*putrakas*). Again, the available sources do not allow us to determine the relative size of such a *samayin* community. There are only hints in the ritual repertoire suggesting that at some point in time, conditions were created for accommodating lower initiatory levels. In the ritual manuals of the tenth century onwards, the system of initiation is divided into several stages that mirror different initiatory levels. This suggests that more categories had become necessary to accommodate a wider range of initiates. In her annotations to the *Somaśambhupaddhati*, H       Brunner-Lachaux has noted that this increase of initiatory ranks has caused considerable confusion regarding the function and structure of the various initiation rituals, even from an emic point of view. This seems to suggest that despite claims of exclusiveness,

⁶² Note that a system of married gurus still survives today in South India, for example, amongst the Ādi       priests serving at the M         temple in Madurai, as described by Christopher Fuller in his anthropological study on South Indian temple life. See Fuller 1984, pp. 25–27.

the historical reality had seen a broadening of the base of initiates.⁶³ How early this development started, however, cannot be determined with any certainty from our sources.

Hence we know little about the historical reality of the Śaiva initiate community's makeup. And means of finding out more seem limited in the absence of the kind of historical data needed for this purpose. However, what we can do is read these texts while asking questions such as the following: Who were the beneficiaries? What was the relative distribution between ascetics and householder initiates? Were Śaiva *ācāryas* mainly ascetics, as in the Atimārga, or were they married? Were all caste classes represented or were the twice-born prevalent? And was proper Śaiva initiation reserved only for an elite? For some of these questions, the sphere of death rites does reveal aspects of the social reality, since death affects not only the individual who has died, but also his environment, and this at emotional, personal and logistic levels. The prescriptions for the rituals that take place on this occasion thus also inadvertently give information about the deceased person's social status and his immediate environment, the objects of our inquiry.

3. The early Siddhānta literature under consideration

In the past few decades, a great deal of new insight has been gained on the historical development of the Śaiva Siddhānta. For a long time, this tradition was mainly associated with the religious movement that developed under this name from approximately the twelfth century onwards in Tamil-speaking South India. However, major scholarly advances of the past four decades have established that its roots reach much further back, into the early medieval period, when a body of scriptures related to the Siddhānta was composed in Sanskrit.⁶⁴ While it was initially believed that this early stratum of composition contained a large number of scriptures, thanks to pioneering research carried out on these texts based on text critical methods, it has been established that only a few were definitely composed be-

⁶³ See Brunner-Lachaux 1977, pp. 416–418, fn. 457.

⁶⁴ See, for example, the preface to Goodall 2004 for an extensive treatment and review of this topic.

fore the twelfth century. Notably, Sanderson, in his 2001 article “History through Textual Criticism”, established parameters for determining the age of these scriptures, which has helped identify a list of pre-twelfth-century works. He further made the observation that a corpus of Śaiva Siddhānta scriptures must have been well established by the seventh century.⁶⁵ Moreover, Goodall, first in the introduction to his critical edition of chapters of the Saiddhāntika scripture *Kiraṇatantra*, and later in his introduction to the scripture *Parākhya*, uses material evidence as well as cross references to establish a relative chronology of the pre-twelfth century Saiddhāntika scriptures that have been identified. Among the deciding factors are whether texts exist as Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts dating to the ninth or tenth centuries, and whether they contain certain archaic expressions and usages. These include archaic structures, such as not being organized into the four-*pāda* division, a division that has been shown to be a sign of a relatively late date of composition, as well as the use of so-called *aiśa* language, a type of Sanskrit that contains grammatical anomalies and is considered an archaic linguistic form, as it seems to have been later purged from texts in order to transform the language to a higher level of Sanskrit.⁶⁶

The focus of this book will be on the accounts of funerary procedures in these early works. It will first examine scriptures composed before the tenth century: the *Guhyasūtra* of the early *Niśvāsa* corpus (i.e. the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* [Ni]), the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha* (SvāSS), the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* (SārK), the *Sarvajñānottara* (SJU), the *Kiraṇatantra* (Kir), and the *Dīkṣottara* (DīU) of the *Niśvāsakārikā* associated with the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*. Secondly, the earliest extant ritual manuals, dating to between the tenth and the twelfth century, will be considered. These include the *Naimittikakriyānusandhāna* (NaiKri) of the *Brahmaśambhupaddhati*, the *Somaśambhupaddhati* (SP) (or *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī*), the *Kriyākramadyotikā* (KKD) (or *Aghoraśivapaddhati*), and the *Jñānaratnāvalī* (JR). The dates of these will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3.

Two appendices contain, respectively, editions and annotated translations of selected texts, namely, the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha* 22.9–20,

⁶⁵ Sanderson 2001, in particular pp. 2–7.

⁶⁶ Goodall 1998, pp. lxxv–lxxi and 2004, pp. lxxviii–lxxxv.

Sarvajñānottara chapters 12 and 13, *Kiraṇatantra* chapters 60 and 61, and the chapters on funerary rites (Antyeṣṭiprakaraṇa [AP]) and post-mortem ancestor worship (Śrāddhaprakaraṇa [ŚP]) of the *Jñānaratnāvalī*.

Chapter 1

Doctrinal and Structural Premises for Śaiva Tantric Funerary Practices

1. The conundrum of Śaiva death rites: liberating the already liberated

Rituals related to the event of death and the afterlife hold a somewhat ambiguous position in the ritual world of early medieval tantric Śaivas. This has to do with one essential question: what could be the purpose of any kind of post-mortem ritual targeted at rescuing and guiding the soul after death, since the basic paradigm of tantric Śaivism is that initiation (*dīkṣā*) itself bestows ultimate liberation (*mokṣa*) on the individual directly at the time of initiation? After all, one of the central claims of tantric Śaivas – unlike in the Vedic context – is that initiation is not merely a rite of passage, a *samskāra*, that advances the initiate socially and grants him access to a new level of spiritual practice. Rather, it is an act that transforms the soul itself, purifying it of its impurities and bonds so that it can attain ultimate liberation.¹ Thus, at the end of the full tantric initiation, the *nirvāṇadīkṣā* (lit. the “initiation that bestows liberation [*nirvāṇa*]”), the *ācārya* guides the soul to the supreme Śiva state, enacting the initiand’s liberation by union with this Śiva-hood.²

Theoretically, one could argue that the principle of liberation at the time of initiation cancels the need of any kind of practice essential to the soteriological path performed after that initiation. Indeed, in the *Kiraṇatantra* (Kir), Garuḍa – who in this scripture is the interlocutor in a divine dialogue with Śiva – questions the existence of the newly initiated after he has undertaken the liberating initiation, arguing that if the liberation were really

¹ See, for instance, s.v. *dīkṣā* (by Goodall) in TAK 3: “Arguably this is the defining feature of early tantric Śaivism, for it is this that sets it apart from the religious traditions from which it emerged: *dīkṣā* is no longer merely a preparation for a particular religious undertaking, but has become also a transformative rite that purifies the soul [...]” Further, see Brunner-Lachaux’s introductory notes, translation and annotations of the *dīkṣā* chapters in the *Somaśambhupaddhati* (SP 3, Brunner-Lachaux 1977).

² For a summary of the *dīkṣā* ritual in the SP, see Brunner-Lachaux 1977, pp. xxx–xliii.

effective and *mokṣa* attained, the initiate's body should not continue to exist.³ The answer to this question is that even though the initiation ritual destroys all karmic fetters that would keep the candidate's soul bound to the cycle of rebirth (*saṃsāra*), the karmas that have already been activated (*prārabdha karman*) and determine the candidate's current life are not destroyed. Thus the initiate continues to live until the end of his present existence. Then, at the moment of death, the soul realizes its true divine identity and liberation manifests itself. In order to gradually reduce this experience or karma that has been left intact, the initiate is required to follow certain post-initiatory rules (*samaya*), such as performing daily Śaiva worship. These ritual actions are believed to gradually consume all the karma until none is left at the end of the individual's present existence. Thus, according to this doctrine liberation manifests itself at the time of death and the transition of the soul to its final destination is considered completed. In the scripture's own words, the essence is as follows:

“The action of many existences has its seeds burnt, so to speak, by mantras [in initiation]. Future [action] too is blocked; [but] that by which this body is sustained can be destroyed only by experience.
[Only] when the body collapses, [does the soul attain] liberation.”⁴
(Translation Goodall 1998, pp. 383–384.)

While this doctrinal reasoning thus explains the need for the Śaiva initiate to maintain post-initiatory practices, this logic cannot be applied to anything that happens after death, when the soul is explicitly said to realize its ultimate liberation. In fact, no sound doctrinal position was fully developed for death rites, reflecting their problematic status within the Śaiva tantric

³ Kir 6.18: *aśeṣapāśaviśeṣo yadi deva sa dīkṣayā | jātāyām arthanīṣpattau katham syād vapuṣaḥ sthitiḥ* || “If, Lord, all the bonds are removed by initiation, then, once the accomplishment of that object is attained, how can the body remain?” (translation Goodall 1998, p. 382).

⁴ Kir 6.20–21a: *anekabhavikam karma dagdhavijam ivāṇubhiḥ | bhaviṣyad api saṃruddham yenedam tad dhi bhogataḥ || dehapāte vimokṣaḥ syāt*.

ritual world.⁵ Nonetheless, early in Śaiva tantric history, death rites appear in Śaiva scriptures as well as in ritual manuals and constitute a clearly defined area of practice in the Śaiva ritual repertoire. It was not one that grew from an internal doctrinal need, however, but rather reflected the ritual needs of the communities that the Śaiva tantric initiatory traditions had started to engage with, foremost of these, as we have seen in the introduction, mainstream brahmanical householders. As such, the development of Śaiva tantric death rites is fundamentally linked to Śaivism's move from its ascetic origins outside of society to an increasingly public domain. Thus Śaiva tantric funerary practices constitute an ideal case study for exploring the larger mission occupying Śaiva ritual specialists at that time, namely to adjust their ritual repertoire to accommodate a wider range of ritual needs in order to facilitate the incorporation of a diverse clientele into the tradition. The increasing presence of Śaiva tantric communities allows us to trace the development of an increasingly elaborate system of death rites, a system that in the end mirrored the structure, timing and socio-religious function of brahmanical rites. As mentioned above, this social openness towards the brahmanical mainstream was a strategy that contributed to the Śaiva traditions securing a dominant position within the socio-religious and political world of the early medieval period. As history shows, this project was successful, with Śaivism establishing firm roots in Indian society.⁶

However, when examining the textual sources closely, we also see that in some cases, one price of this development was the compromising of the very beliefs that had justified the separate existence of the Śaiva system. As a result, discrepancies arose between Śaiva doctrine and practice. As already mentioned, nowhere is this as evident as in the case of death rites, and it is precisely at this point of juncture and rupture that we can sometimes glimpse the social reality within which Śaiva tantric communities moved.

⁵ See pp. 34ff., p. 62 and pp. 73ff. for attempts to formulate emic doctrinal positions on the purpose of Śaiva *antyeṣṭi*.

⁶ For an extensive discussion of Śaivism's success in the early medieval period, see Sanderson 2005, pp. 231–233 and 2009.

2. Śaiva funerary rites: A tantric upgrade of the brahmanical model

Of the brahmanical *saṃskāras*, that is to say the transformative rituals that advanced twice-born males through the various stages of their religious life, only the final rite, the *antyeṣṭi*,⁷ takes place after initiation. Of the preceding *saṃskāras* – the ceremonies performed around birth, from conception to the first feeding, the rituals of investiture and religious observance and, for married householders, the rite of marriage – none features in the ritual life of a Śaiva initiate. This is because a candidate for initiation is specified as being either a male ascetic student (*brahmacārin*) or a married householder (*gṛhastha*). In either case, prior to initiation they would have undergone the *saṃskāras* up to the rite of investiture (*upanayana*) or, optionally, marriage.⁸

In other ritual areas that can be traced as having been gradually adapted from the brahmanical sphere – rites of incidental worship (*naimittikakarman*), penance (*prāyaścitta*) and regular daily worship (*nityakarman*) – the process of adaption consisted simply of using Śaiva mantras, deities, visualizations and maṇḍalas instead of their Vedic equivalents while nonetheless maintaining the basic structure and function of the Vedic rituals.⁹ The transformation was straightforward because these rites did not involve premises based on either the brahmanical or Śaiva doctrine of the soul, but functioned merely as rites of obligatory worship and expiation of transgres-

⁷ Note that the alternative spelling *anteṣṭi* is also found in manuscripts, most commonly in old palm-leaf manuscripts preserved in Nepal.

⁸ To this effect, the *Sarvajñānottara* (*Liṅgoddhārādīprakaraṇa* 24) teaches: “[Moreover,] O Skanda, it is only after he has gone through all the brahmanical rites from that of conception to that of marriage that he may [take initiation and then] devote himself exclusively to the teachings of Śiva” (translation by Sanderson in his forthcoming article “Śaivism and Brahmanism”). Sanderson (2006, pp. 4–10) points out that this was of course only the case for the married householder, not for the unmarried student (*brahmacārin*), whose last rite of passage would have been the *upanayana*, his initiation as a celibate student of the Veda.

⁹ An analysis of this transformation of *smārta* rites into Śaiva versions is presented in Sanderson 1995. These rituals must be distinguished from those that fulfil ritual needs unique to Śaiva theology and ritual logic, such as the initiation ritual (*dīkṣā*), rites of consecration to Śaiva offices (*abhīṣeka*), rites for installation (*pratiṣṭhā*) of substrates of Śaiva worship, and those accompanying Śaiva meditative practices (*yoga*, *dhyāna*).

sions through ritual practices. It was therefore easy to adjust them to fit Śaiva ritual terminology.¹⁰

However, unlike these ordinary obligatory rites, the brahmanical cremation ritual (*antyeṣṭi*) has clear implications for the ontological state of the deceased person's soul. This model therefore required a fundamental restructuring, one that did more than merely substitute mantras and materials. On such an important point, the Śaivas could not defer to the brahmanical practices; they had to make the ritual more meaningful in a Śaiva sense, despite apparent doctrinal inconsistencies.

2.1. Brahmanical death rites: A brief overview

The origins of cremation and ancestor worship go back as far as the Vedic period.¹¹ They were always associated with ritually active householders, or more exactly, twice-born males wealthy enough to sustain a family household and – intrinsically connected with that – a ritual life of regular (*nityakarman*) as well as incidental (*naimittikakarman*) worship and prayers. The cremation rite (*antyeṣṭi*) itself is considered the sacrificer's own final oblation (literally the “last [*antya-*] sacrifice [*-iṣṭi*]”),¹² which is carried out by the chief mourner (typically the eldest son) on his behalf. While there are countless variations regarding details of procedure, in essence we find the following structure:¹³ The chief mourner offers the corpse together with

¹⁰ Sanderson 1995.

¹¹ The Vedic period is usually defined as the era when the Vedas were composed, around the middle of the second millennium BCE until the 6th century BCE. Vedic treatments of funeral rites are outlined in Caland's *Die Altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche* (Caland 1893). Sayers 2013 discusses the connections between the Vedic *pitṛyajña* and later *śrāddha* practices.

¹² The theory that cremation is a sacrifice is based on the ancient cosmogonic myth of the *Puruṣasūkta* (*Rgveda* 10.90), in which the cosmic man (*puruṣa*), the first born encompassing everything that exists, performed the first sacrifice. For this sacrifice, he made his own body the offering material (*havis*) and through it, all visible and invisible things were created. At some interpretative level, the cremation ritual is considered a microcosmic repetition of this self-sacrifice. Cf. Evison 1989.

¹³ Material on funerary rites is found throughout brahmanical religious literature, especially in the *Śrautasūtras*, *Grhyasūtras*, *Dharmasūtras*, and *Dharmaśāstras*. Until now, the most widely consulted have been the texts on death rites in the *Garuḍapurāṇa* and *Garuḍapurāṇasāroddhāra*, of which the latter has been translated in *Der Pretakalpa des Garuḍa-Purāṇa* by Abegg (1921). Mueller (1992) presents a detailed treatment and transla-

the ritual implements of the deceased into the consecrated fire that was used for daily offerings and worship during his lifetime. He lights the funeral pyre on behalf of the deceased, and cracks open the skull in order to enable the soul to exit the corpse. When the deceased person's soul (*preta*) leaves its former body, it is believed that it enters a ghost-like state, in which it is tormented by hunger and thirst.¹⁴ This ghost is considered an extremely dangerous entity. In order to appease and sustain it, offerings of rice balls (*piṇḍa*) and water are made immediately after the cremation, as well as during the first days after the death. Through these offerings it is believed that the ghost can gradually build a post-mortem body, with which he completes his journey to the world of Yama (i.e. the deity of death) and then, to heaven or hell.¹⁵

At a certain time after the death – ranging from twelve days to a year, depending on which Vedic school is followed – the soul is then incorporated into the line of ancestors by means of a ritual called the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa*,¹⁶ in which three rice balls are offered. These represent the three ancestral generations: the father (*pitr*), grandfather (*pitāmaha*) and great-grandfather (*prapitāmaha*). A fourth *piṇḍa* is made to represent the deceased; this is divided into three parts, and these are combined with the

tion of the South Indian 16th-century *Antyeṣṭipaddhati* of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa in *Das Brahmanische Totenritual nach der Antyeṣṭipaddhati des Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa*. A helpful overview of death rites in Vedic, Dharmic and Purāṇic sources can be found in Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. IV (Kane 1953). Another work providing an overview of death practices is Evison's doctoral thesis *Indian Death Rituals: The Enactment of Ambivalence* (Evison 1990), which presents three accounts: one based on recent material from Indian gazetteers, another on the *Garuḍapurāṇa*, and the last on Caland's material on Vedic death rites. An overview of brahmanical rites of ancestor worship is offered by Sayers (2013) in his *Feeding the Dead: Ancestor Worship in Ancient India*. Contemporary accounts of Indian cremation rituals are found in Parry's extensive account on the funeral business in Benares in *Death in Benares* (Parry 1994) and Michaels' *Der Hinduismus: Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Michaels 1998, pp. 148–175) and *Handling Death* (Michaels et al. 2005). The latter describes Nepali death rites in great detail. A close examination of archaeological evidence of North Indian funerary monuments is found in Bakker (2007), in his article "Monuments to the Dead in Ancient North India".

¹⁴ See Michaels 2016, p. 203–204, for a characterization of the *preta*.

¹⁵ The topic of the various hells is very popular in *purāṇic* sources. For instance, a very early account is found in the old *Skandapurāṇa* (Bakker et al. 2014). However, it was also already part of the *Mahābhārata* narrative, and may have originally entered the Indic world of beliefs from Buddhist circles.

¹⁶ See Sayers 2013 and Michaels et al. 2005.

three rice balls of the three generations of fathers. The deceased person's soul is now considered to have entered the first stage of ancestorship as the *pitṛ* (father). The previously deceased male ancestor moves up a level in the hierarchy, so that the former *pitṛ* becomes the *pitāmaha* (grandfather), and the former *pitāmaha*, the *prapitāmaha* (great-grandfather). The former *prapitāmaha* now leaves this threesome and joins the group of undifferentiated ancestral deities called Viśvedevas that reside in the ancestral heavens. The souls remain in these positions until the next male descendant dies and is incorporated.¹⁷

The *śrāddha* rites constitute the worship addressed to these ancestors. They are performed regularly: on dates related to the individual's death, on fixed days in the calendar, on auspicious occasions such as the birth of a son, and during pilgrimages to holy places.¹⁸ Their performance is obligatory for the orthodox Brahmin and is even included in the list of the three debts from which any twice-born man must free himself during his lifetime.¹⁹ It is taught that failing to perform them incurs a great sin – not only for the ritualist himself, but also for many generations above and below him in the patriline.

It is evident that these death rites imply somewhat conflicting ideas about life after death: the soul is first believed to travel to the world of Yama and enter a heaven or hell, but at the same time it is worshipped soon after death as an ancestor in the eternal ancestral heavens. Further, though not ritually represented, but nevertheless a major feature of brahmanical ideas concerning the afterlife, there is the belief in the cycle of rebirth (*saṃsāra*), which is incompatible with the soul's eternal status as one of the Viśvedevas after death. These inconsistencies were the result of two theologies being merged into a single doctrine during the evolution of the brahmanical religion – namely that of the original Vedic system, which was

¹⁷ Should someone in the younger generation die before the older, there are special rites for ensuring the correct order of ancestorship.

¹⁸ For more on *śrāddha* rituals, see below, chapter 5.

¹⁹ The three debts with which men are born are those to the sages (*ṛṣi*), gods (*deva*) and ancestors (*pitṛ*). During his lifetime, the individual must fulfil the debt to the sages through learning, to the gods through worship, and to the *pitṛs* through post-mortem ancestor worship. For a detailed discussion of the origins of this concept, see Sayers 2008, p. 61–75; for the Śaiva *śrāddha* rites, chapter 5 of this volume.

strictly ritualistic, and that of a more philosophically motivated system based on the cycle of rebirth (*saṃsāra*), which was introduced around the time of the Upaniṣads' composition.²⁰ In the former, the ritualist is solely concerned with correctly performing the ritual action, on whose execution the maintenance of the entire universe depends. The reward for adhering strictly to the rituals was access to heaven after death, ensuring the soul's eternal state of bliss.²¹ In the latter, this eternal existence at one level of reality is replaced by the concept of the eternally wandering soul that moves up and down the cosmic scale, a scale reaching from various hells, through earthly existence to a variety of heavens.²² It was in this system that liberation-based theologies offering ways to escape this endless cycle emerged for the first time.²³ The fusion of these two concepts had far-reaching consequences on the brahmanical belief system. This was particularly visible in the beliefs and practices related to death, with a multitude of implied beliefs and simultaneously enacted practices. Thus, the Śaivas adopted a system of funerary practices that in itself was already inconsistent in its implied theological and ontological notions. These notions, however, were so deeply embedded and essential to mainstream society that they are still in place today.

2.2. The Śaiva upgrade: (Re-)initiating the dead

The basic structure of the Śaiva funeral ritual as we find it in ritual manuals from at least the eleventh century onwards is very similar to its brahmanical counterpart, namely the dead person's body being cremated with his ritual implements in a consecrated fire, followed by offerings of *piṇḍas* and water

²⁰ See, for instance, the remarks in Michaels 1998, pp. 148–175.

²¹ Cf. e.g. Bodewitz 1994 on Vedic perceptions of afterlife.

²² Cf. Michaels 1998, pp. 164–165 for contradictory ideas about afterlife in “Hinduism” and their insignificance in the light of ritual practice.

²³ For example, Olivelle (1993, p. 66) cites the *Chāndogyaopaniṣad* 5.10.1–10, which prescribes the stages of the path of the soul after death: ritualists eventually arrive at the moon, where they live until their merits are exhausted and return to earth by the same course along which they came. But the soul of the deceased ascetic escapes this cycle and follows a path leading up to Brahman, the highest universal principle that is the ultimate reality of the cosmos and existence, at which level it resides from then on. The *Bṛhadāraṇyakaopaniṣad* 6.2.15–16 presents a similar view.

and the rite of the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa*.²⁴ Vedic mantras and materials are replaced by their Śaiva equivalents.²⁵ But even though the timing, structure and socio-religious function remained the same, the Śaiva version was thought to operate at a different and much more powerful level, namely, as a form of liberating initiation.²⁶ Richard Davis sees this as an example of old ritual structures being innovatively re-thought.²⁷ For this purpose, an additional ritual was performed before the incineration of the corpse. Here, the soul (*jīva*) is envisaged as being caught and placed back into the corpse, after which an initiation ritual is performed for it, which secures the individual's final liberation. In this way, the cremation rite, which in the brahmanical tradition served as the ritual processing (*saṃskāra*) and disposal (*pratipatti*) of the sacrificer's body and implements, was rendered more meaningful and effective in Śaiva terms. The focus now shifted from the burning of the corpse to the initiatory destruction of the soul's bonds in the Śiva fire (*śivāgni*), that is to say a fire that had been transformed into Śiva by ritual means.²⁸

Similarly, the subsequent offerings to the ancestors (*śrāddha*) were infused with the language of liberation. Instead of being incorporated into a line of ancestors, the deceased Śaiva initiate is manifested in increasingly potent forms of Śiva that signify stages on his path to liberation (see chapter 5). First the deceased turns into Śiva in the form of Rudra in the period between death and the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa* – corresponding to the ghost (*preta*) state – and then he is incorporated into the hierarchy of the Śiva clan (*gotra*), whereby he successively assumes the identity of Īśvara, Sadāśiva and Śiva. This is in place of, respectively, his father, grandfather

²⁴ For details about these ritual procedures, see chapter 4. See also Brunner's richly annotated translation of the SP (Brunner-Lachaux 1977), which explains many puzzling points on aspects of the procedures in its detailed footnotes and the rich citation apparatus.

²⁵ On the creation of Śaiva equivalents of brahmanical rituals by substituting Vedic *mantras* with Śaiva ones, see Sanderson 1995.

²⁶ See also Davis 1988 and Sanderson 1995, p. 32.

²⁷ Davis 1988.

²⁸ This fire is produced through a series of rites collectively referred to as *agnikārya*. Cf. SP, *Samayadīkṣāvidhiḥ*, 47b–78 (Brunner-Lachaux 1977). It is an elaborate ritual in which the fire is born, preceded by a series of *saṃskāras*: the conception of fire, the development of its embryo, its being given a name, and then its transformation into a Śiva fire by giving it five faces and so forth.

and great-grandfather.²⁹

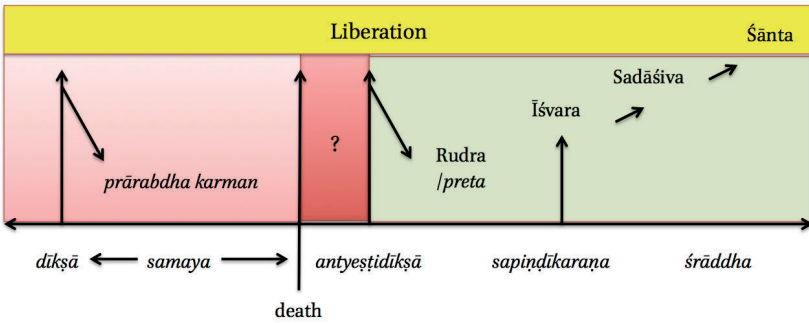
The following table shows the main structural changes in Śaiva funerary rituals:

Brahmanical cycle of funeral and post-mortem rituals	Śaiva additions and conceptional changes
Rites at the site of death	
Funerary procession	
Preparation of the cremation ground and the pyre	
	Funerary initiation: Preparation of the corpse for initiation; Capturing the deceased person's soul; Fixing the consciousness in the corpse; Destruction of all the soul's bonds; Liberation of the deceased person's soul
Preparation of the corpse for incineration	
Lighting of the funeral pyre	
(Skull cracking and/or pot-breaking)	
Departure of funeral party from the cremation ground	
Mourners' bath and water offerings to the deceased	
Return home, rite of purification	
Start of the series of post-mortem offerings to the deceased (<i>navaśrāddha</i> and <i>ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha</i>)	
Integration of the deceased into the ancestral line (<i>sapiṇḍikaraṇa</i>)	> Integration of the deceased into a line of increasingly potent Śiva manifestations
Post-mortem food offerings to the group of ancestors (<i>śrāddha</i>)	> Post-mortem offerings to the group of increasingly potent Śiva manifestations

²⁹ See Sanderson 1995, p. 35 and Mirnig 2013.

3. Theoretical problems in terms of Śaiva doctrines³⁰

From this account, we see that the cycle of Śaiva funerary rites combines two functions: an initiation of the deceased person's soul, and an originally brahmanical ritual that processes the corpse and ritually guides the deceased to a post-mortem sphere resembling the brahmanical ancestral heavens. This twofold purpose of liberating the soul and guiding the ghost makes it difficult to detect a coherent structure in the rituals. Between the moment of death and the incorporation into a stable environment during the rites of *śrāddha* there are several occasions on which the soul might be considered as having transformed and reached the state of ultimate liberation. First, at the demise of the body (*dehapāte*); secondly, at the guru's enactment of liberation during the initiation before cremation; and thirdly, in the period in which the soul gradually ascends to Śiva-hood during the rites of post-mortem ancestor worship.



In terms of ritual structure, the first and second moments of liberation are bridged by the theory of the *prārabdha karman* being removed through post-initiatory practice, or in other words – as discussed above³¹ – the gradual removal of the karma that was responsible for the present life. Without this *prārabdha karman*, the unattractive alternative would be the initiate dying immediately after liberation is achieved at the end of the initiation procedure proper, the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*. As a consequence, the event of death

³⁰ Parts of this section have been drawn from my article “Hungry Ghost or Divine Soul? Postmortem Initiation in Medieval Śaiva Tantric Death Rites” (Mirnig 2015).

³¹ See, p. 24.

becomes an important moment in the transition from the ordinary to the divine, as was made explicit in the above-quoted passage from the *Kiraṇa*.³² At the same time, the rituals after cremation imply that the soul remains a ghost-like entity that needs appeasing and being sustained by feeding, a state certainly not befitting a liberated soul. Thus, there are *de facto* two transitional periods with a single destination for the initiate: one that ends with death and one that begins with death, the two bridged by the funerary initiation.

This raises a number of theoretical problems. The fundamental issue concerns the ontological state of the deceased person's soul. Whereas the brahmanical model operates on the premise that the soul passes through several stages of post-mortem existences, from a hungry ghost to an ancestral deity, the soul of a Śaiva initiate supposedly transcends this system. After all, we have seen that the core doctrine of tantric Śaivism is that Śiva grants liberation from an individual's cycle of rebirths through the liberating rite of initiation (*nirvāṇadīkṣā*). Strictly speaking, this claim renders rituals such as cremation and post-mortem ancestor worship superfluous: there would be no need to cremate a corpse if the soul has already attained liberation, since this renders the corpse itself meaningless. And even if one were to ignore the doctrinal inconsistency of liberating the already liberated and accept the function of Śaiva cremation as claimed, performing rites addressed to a hungry ghost that travels to the underworld and finally becomes an ancestor after its liberation by cremation presents a further contradiction.³³

This paradox is seen even from an emic point of view. Theoretical expositions accounting for the funerary initiation are rare, regardless of the fact that a claim as major as liberation is at stake. In order not to fundamentally undermine the efficaciousness of the original initiation rite while alive, or to pass off the funerary initiation as a mere formality, some sources present the notion that the rite acts as some sort of expiatory ritual (*prāyaścitta*) which counteracts transgressions during post-initiatory practices or oth-

³² See, p. 24, Kir 6.20–1a; for the text and translation, see Goodall 1998, pp. 152–3 and 383–4.

³³ See also Sanderson 1995.

er impurities incurred at that time.³⁴ However, we never find this explanation pressed too far. Reasons for this may be that from a doctrinal point of view, it would seem surprising that an individual who was initiated into such a sanctified state would be capable of falling from this status – that the religion’s core ritual of bestowing liberation through initiation while alive could be threatened by comparatively trivial errors or that these could not be taken care of by common expiatory rites during his lifetime. It appears to be this type of criticism that Nirmalamāṇi, a South Indian Śaiva of the sixteenth or seventeenth century³⁵ who wrote a commentary on Aghoraśiva’s twelfth century manual *Kriyākramadyotikā* (see chapter 3), had in mind when he postulated that the stumbling blocks on the path to liberation concern only transgressions that the individual performs *without* being aware of them:

[The objection is] that the purification of all karmas is [supposed to be] achieved through such things as [their ritual] experiencing and consummation [that is, accomplished by pouring offerings into the ritual fire at the time of] the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*. And the karmas that are already active [as the cause of the initiate’s current life] (*prārabdha karman*) are destroyed through experiencing [them during this lifetime]. Every day some part of this impurity that comes about as a result of this [process] is destroyed through [the performance of post-initiatory] rites (*saṁaya*) such as bathing, visualizations, worship and oblations. [Any impurities that may result from] forbidden practices or impious conduct performed knowingly are destroyed by the performance of expiatory rites (*prāyaścitta*) [during the initiate’s lifetime]. What, then, is the purpose of cremation? [This objection is] true. [But] the purification of [impurities resulting from] forbidden practices and impious conduct that were performed unknowingly is achieved by [performing] cremation.³⁶

³⁴ Thus, see SārK 26.6c–8b (see p. 62), SJU 13.1, and 13.22 (see p. 66) and DīU 16.32cd–33ab (see pp. 73ff.).

³⁵ See Sanderson 2014, p. 25, for Nirmalamāṇi’s dates.

³⁶ Nirmalamāṇi’s commentary on the *Kriyākramadyotikā*, Sanskrit text quoted from Brunner 1977, pp. 569–571: *nanu nirvāṇadīkṣayā bhogabhojanādīdvāreṇa samastānām karmaṇām śuddhiḥ kṛtā | prārabdhasya tu bhogena kṣayaḥ | tatsahakāribhūtasya malāmśasya pratyahaṁ snānaśivikaraṇārcanahomādīnā kṣayaḥ | buddhipūrvavaprāptavihi-*

Thus, we see that a certain ambiguity regarding the performance of these rites remained through the medieval period and at least until Nirmalamāṇi's lifetime. The reasoning that *antyeṣṭi* is a purificatory ritual also implies that theoretically initiates exist who are not in need of such ritual rectification, a possibility that is acknowledged in the systematizing work of the authors of ritual manuals (see chapter 3). By this time, for instance, the JR teaches the option of performing a Śaiva cremation without initiation if the deceased person's spiritual state allows it, that is, if he is so spiritually advanced that he does not need an expiatory ritual.³⁷

The most striking part of this development is the later inclusion of rites for post-mortem ancestor worship (*śrāddha*). As described above, practitioners worship a deceased initiate as embodying differentiated and increasingly potent divine Śiva identities in place of ancestral deities,³⁸ regardless of the fact that at this point, theoretically, the deceased person's soul has been guided to the goal of ultimate liberation already twice. Further, structurally closely intertwined with the performance of *śrāddha* rituals are the rites that govern the period between the death and the incorporation of the deceased person's soul into the line of ancestors. Since tantric ritual specialists adopted the original structure of *śrāddha* rituals without any changes, they thus also – perhaps inadvertently – accepted the performance of rites operating on the premise that the individual is a ghost during this period. However, this ritual cycle of post-mortem ancestor worship is deeply embedded in the socio-religious structure of the brahmanical householder society, since it implicitly functions as a ritual for securing the patrilineal structures that regulate inheritance.³⁹ The chief mourner, whose task it is to

tānācaraanīṣiddhācaraanayoḥ prāyaścittena kṣayah | tataḥ kim artham antyeṣṭiḥ? satyam | abuddhipūrvam dikṣottarakālakṛtayoḥ vihitānācaraanīṣiddhācaraanayoḥ antyeṣṭyā śuddhiḥ kriyate.

³⁷ See pp. 108–109.

³⁸ See p. 31.

³⁹ Also much of Indian mythology is concerned with the paradigm that a person needs offspring – ideally male – in order to be saved from the tortures of hell, since only one's own descendants can perform the necessary rites to avert such misery. See, for instance, the story in the *Mahābhārata* (e.g. 1.13.9–22) of a Brahmin who has taken a vow of chastity. One day he finds his ancestors hanging upside down from a tree, dangling over the hole that

carry out the post-mortem rituals for the deceased, is also defined as the person who will inherit his property.⁴⁰ Catering for an audience of householders, for whom death also implied socio-economic restructuring, we see that Śaiva ritual specialists were even willing to accept and integrate the contradictory notion of ghost-hood governing the rites after cremation. Nonetheless, we also see that for some authors of prescriptive literature, the underlying paradoxes were too pronounced to ignore, and thus in some texts it is possible to sense a certain pragmatism. For example, Jñānaśiva, the author of the major twelfth-century Śaiva Siddhānta ritual manual *Jñānaratnāvalī* (see chapters 3 and 5), declares that the rituals performed in the period in which the deceased is treated as a ghost – namely between cremation and the integration of the deceased into the ancestral line in the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* ritual – are to be carried out merely for the sake of conformity:

Up to the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* the rites are taught to be Vaidika (i.e. according to the traditional brahmanical ritual system) for the purpose of worldly interaction. After this [point], the *śivaśrāddha* (i.e. the post-mortem offerings given to the Śiva manifestation rather than the ancestors) is to be performed for *putrakas* (i.e. full initiates) and the like who adhere to the Śaiva teaching.⁴¹

Even from this emic point of view, we thus find an almost open declaration that the needs of the orthodox brahmanical householder society were too pressing to be ignored, even in the light of doctrinal claims of Śaiva superiority. An even stronger statement to this effect is found in the section giving instructions for observing days of death impurity. As will be discussed in chapter 4, from a Śaiva doctrinal point of view, impurity for the Śaiva initiate should not have been an issue given the advanced spiritual state brought about by Śaiva initiation, where ultimate god-hood is at stake. Jñānaśiva thus stresses that the period of impurity is merely determined by

is the entrance to hell. In distress, they appeal to him to take a wife and produce offspring so that they can be saved from hell.

⁴⁰ See, for instance, Olivelle 2009.

⁴¹ See JR ŚP 5c–6. For an edition and an annotated translation, see the appendices.

the individual's social position in society; it is not related to any Śaiva hierarchy:

A householder must not transgress the ordinary religion (*lokamārgam*) even in his thoughts [and therefore] the period of impurity arising from one's caste is in accordance with the practice of the ordinary religion (*laukikācārarūpeṇa*).⁴²

Such sentiments are not an isolated phenomenon, and Sanderson has shown that this attitude of adhering to the brahmanical order was a major concern in early Śaiva tantric scriptures.⁴³ However, in the sphere of death rites, it is striking that the issue goes beyond merely adhering to the brahmanical order, including also Śaiva equivalents of rituals that are fundamentally incongruous with the basic doctrines of Śaivism.

4. Conclusion: Ascetic values in the householder context

The quotation cited above from the *Jñānaratnāvalī* provides us a key to a central issue at stake here, namely the "ordinary path" (*lokamārga*), or the "practice pertaining to worldly life", as a more literal rendering of the Sanskrit term "*laukikācāra*" might read. This notion is in contrast to the sphere of renunciators or ascetics who have rejected all aspects of worldly life and society. To some extent, it is this opposition of ideals in the tantric context that is at the core of the conflicting yet simultaneous representations of the deceased person's soul as a hungry ghost and as a liberated soul. We repeatedly encounter this conflicting value system in the sphere of death rites. The socio-religious functions of classical Śaiva funerary rites, as we have seen, are structured around the communal needs of brahmanical mainstream society, but the proclaimed outcome of these rituals is ultimate liberation, a claim that originally represented the result of ascetic practices based on the rejection of worldly life. We know that this notion of libera-

⁴² See JR AP 114. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices.

⁴³ Sanderson (forthcoming b) particularly addresses emic attitudes towards the relationship between Śaiva and Vedic scriptures and the socio-religious implication in terms of practice for the Śaiva initiate.

tion – *mokṣa* – has a long history in the Indic context, with its beginnings found amongst the renouncer movements (*śramaṇa*) of the late Vedic period. *Mokṣa* is characterized by transcending worldly desires such as life, reproduction and material pursuits, as well as the attainment of mystic knowledge about the true state of things; ascetics are also considered ritually dead to society. In these renouncer movements, as Patrick Olivelle has pointed out, “the householder is replaced by the celibate ascetic as the new religious ideal”.⁴⁴ This had wide-reaching repercussions for the socio-religious order, resulting in the formation of the *āśrama* system.⁴⁵

As we have seen, Śaivism also originated in a purely ascetic milieu on the fringes of society, although at a much later date than the *śramaṇa* developments of the late Vedic period. In this ascetic milieu, meditative and yogic procedures were practiced in the belief that they spiritually advanced the individual towards liberation. With the shift towards tantric Śaivism, the importance of mystic knowledge and ascetic lifestyles were substituted by the power of mantras and ritual, a move that made it possible to offer these originally ascetic values and spiritual benefits to householders active in society. In this way, even though the ascetic remained at the higher end of the spiritual hierarchy, the householder was theoretically able to attain the same spiritual results without having to withdraw from society and undertake severe yogic and meditative practices. It is thus not surprising that the tension resulting from originally ascetic values meeting worldly needs for mourning and regeneration were not immediately resolved and that theoretical repercussions remained visible in inconsistencies between doctrine and practice.

⁴⁴ See Olivelle 1993, p. 65.

⁴⁵ Olivelle 1993. See, in particular, pp. 64–67 on the topic of the householder and the ascetic ideal in the formative phase of the *āśrama* system’s development.

Chapter 2

The Emergence and Formation of Śaiva *antyeṣṭi* in the Earliest Extant Śaiva Siddhānta Scriptures

1. Preliminary remarks: Three stages in the development of Śaiva funerary rites

This chapter is dedicated to examining the earliest sources on Śaiva funerary rites in tantric literature, namely, Saiddhāntika scriptural sources dating from about the fifth to the ninth century. These texts are witnesses to the formative phase of tantric death practices and document the earliest modalities and rationales for their performance. In general, it seems the redactors of the scriptural sources were careful to conceal clues about the actual social context, using a façade of ambiguity. This was most likely a means for preserving the authoritative character of these scriptures. Ambiguity of this kind would especially be expected in the transitional phase of Śaiva tantric groups beginning to develop their own funerary practices and doctrinal positions. Nevertheless, due to the essentially communal nature of death rites, as Śaiva ritual specialists tried to meet the needs and expectations of their respective target audiences, the different accounts inadvertently reflect various social contexts and degrees of engagement with the underlying doctrinal issues. They therefore do give us some insight into how this sphere of death rites was conceptualized during the early stages of this development. It can be shown that their introduction into the ritual repertoire was a gradual process, reflecting the doctrinally problematic position of these rites in the Śaiva tantric context. In our analysis, the development of Śaiva tantric cremation rites can be divided into the following three stages:

- (1) the cremation of the corpse with a specially consecrated Śiva fire (*śivāgni*), probably intended mainly for Śaiva ascetics, a procedure I shall refer to as “simple cremation” in the following;
- (2) the cremation of the corpse with the Śiva fire together with an additional ritual feature involving the deceased person’s soul, but not its proper initiation; and

(3) the full initiation of the deceased person's soul followed by the cremation of the corpse with the Śiva fire, which in the following I shall call "initiatory cremation".

These stages relate approximately to the relative chronology of the early scriptures in which these descriptions appear.¹ However, while the texts will be examined within a chronological framework, it must be kept in mind that absolute statements concerning the dates or provenance of Śaiva scriptures are impossible. There is simply not enough evidence regarding their composition. At most, the order and age of these scriptures can be determined by considering them in relation to each other, but no decisions can be considered final.² Further, it would be rash to assume that the progression described above occurred uniformly throughout the Śaiva world. Nevertheless, a relative chronology offers a useful framework for tracing the development of these Śaiva tantric funerary practices. Accordingly, the order in which the respective scriptures will be discussed follows the chronology established by Goodall. A brief overview of sources and comments on their relative dates is also given.

Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā (Ni): The earliest extant scripture in this group is the Ni, consisting of five books, namely the *Niśvāsamukha*, the *Mūlasūtra*, the *Uttarasūtra*, the *Nayasūtra*, and the *Guhyasūtra*. These also represent different compositional layers, of which the *Mūlasūtra* has been identified as "the kernel of the text" and therefore the oldest part,³ with the *Nayasūtra* and *Uttarasūtra* being subsequent expansions on it, and the *Guhyasūtra* added after this as a supplement. In addition to this is the *Niśvāsamukha*, which appears to have been the final compositional layer, included as the opening section of the Ni to provide a frame story and situate the scrip-

¹ For more on this, see in particular Goodall 1998, p. xlvii–lxxiii and 2004, p. xviii–xxxiv, as well as Sanderson 2001.

² For a set of basic comparison points for determining a relative chronology between early Saiddhāntika scriptures, see the discussion in Goodall 1998, pp. xxxvi–lxxiii. See also the introduction to this volume, p. 20.

³ Goodall 2014, p. 20.

ture's teaching in the context of the wider Śaiva world of the time.⁴ Amongst these books, it is only in the *Guhyasūtra* that we find one brief and isolated reference to funerary practices. Regarding the dates of composition of the various books, Dominic Goodall has hypothesised that the four *sūtras* – i.e. the *Mūlasūtra*, *Uttarasūtra*, *Nayasūtra* and *Guhyasūtra* – were completed at the latest by the seventh century.⁵ Circumstantial evidence has led him to hypothesise that the earliest compositional layers – i.e. the first three *sūtras* – may have been composed as early as the fifth century.⁶ The Ni is characterised by archaisms in doctrinal⁷ and socio-religious matters. While the Ni is listed in the present chapter as a work of the Saiddhāntika corpus, it should be noted that the Ni itself does not classify itself as such anywhere. In fact, it seems as if the Ni was composed before the period in which a taxonomy of Śaiva scriptures and the category “Siddhānta” existed; nonetheless, the tradition later classifies the work as part of the canon of Saiddhāntika scriptures.⁸

***Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha* (SvāSS):** The SvāSS is the earliest Śaiva scripture to contain an account of cremation rituals. The early date of the work is attested by the fact that it received a commentary by Sadyojyotiḥ, who was active around 675–725 CE.⁹ Structurally it is archaic, with a Nepalese manuscript showing that it was originally not divided into the four *pādas* (doctrinal units) characteristic of later works.¹⁰

⁴ See Goodall 2015, pp. 19–21. In the *Niśvāsamukha*, the Ni thus provides a survey of the then existing Śaiva communities, which mainly involved lay forms of Śaivism and the Atimārga traditions; see Sanderson 2006 and Kafle 2015, the latter containing a critical edition of the text.

⁵ Goodall 2015, pp. 71–73.

⁶ For arguments for this early date, see Sanderson 2006, pp. 153–154, Goodall & Isaacson 2007, Goodall 2009, Goodall 2010, Goodall & Isaacson 2014, and Goodall 2015, pp. 19–84.

⁷ Archaic doctrinal features are, for instance, the absence of the concept of *mala* and of any initiatory categories; see Goodall 2015, p. 42.

⁸ See Goodall 2015, p. 17.

⁹ See Sanderson 2006b, pp. 45–79 and 2014, p. 15, fn. 54. Further, Sanderson (2006b, p. 2) has noted that there is a cross reference to the early *Rauravasūtrasaṃgraha*.

¹⁰ See p. 21.

Sārdhatrīśatikālottara (SārK): The SārK is one of the many recensions of the *Kālottara*, a lost text also known as *Āgneyya*, *Vāthula* or *Vātula* that is found in the common canonical list of the twenty-eight Saiddhāntika scriptures.¹¹ As Goodall has pointed out, it is currently not possible to identify which parts of this text are from the original *Kālottara*. However, there are a number of shorter recensions which have been identified as containing shared material, material that may go back to the original *Kālottara*; these versions are referred to as the non-eclectic *Kālottara* recensions and feature the number of verses as part of their name.¹² The SārK is the 350-verse version and one of these so-called non-eclectic recensions. As for the SārK's place in the relative chronology of Saiddhāntika scriptures, the existence of one (undated) palm-leaf manuscript and its archaic linguistic features suggest a relatively early date. Regarding the relative chronology of the various non-eclectic recensions of the *Kālottara*, Goodall has established that the SārK is later than the 200-verse recension, the *Dviśatikālottara*,¹³ which Sanderson has identified as the source of the basic mantra-system underlying all medieval Saiddhāntika ritual manuals.¹⁴ However, in terms of firm dates, the only tangible indication we have is that the *Dviśatikālottara* was composed sometime before Brahmaśambhu's ritual manual *Naimittikakriyānusandhāna*, which has been dated to 937/8 CE (see chapter 3).

Sarvajñānottara (SJU):¹⁵ The SJU is another scripture claiming to be a recension of the above-mentioned *Kālottara*. The work is also clearly an early Saiddhāntika scripture and is also preserved in an old Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript. It is archaic in structure since it is not arranged according to *pāda* divisions. In terms of doctrine, the SJU is notable in that it presents a slightly different position than all the other Saiddhāntika scriptures.

¹¹ See Goodall 2009, p. 125.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Goodall (2009, p. 126) has shown that the *Sārdhatrīśatikālottara* explicitly refers to the *Dviśatikālottara*.

¹⁴ See Sanderson 2003/2004, pp. 253–361.

¹⁵ I would like to thank Dominic Goodall for making available to me his etext of his edition in progress of large parts of the SJU; the numbering for chapters and verses in passages quoted from the text other than chapters 12 and 13 are following his preliminary edition.

While the Siddhānta is strictly dualistic in its philosophical outlook, that is to say, it considers God, individual souls and the material that makes up the universe to be distinct entities, the SJU contains some monistic features, features that are usually associated with non-Saiddhāntika tantric traditions.¹⁶ This doctrinal blend possibly indicates that this is an early work, if it may be supposed that this type of doctrinal distinction was not yet as clearly formulated and distinguished amongst Śaiva tantric schools.

Kiraṇatantra (Kir): The Kir is preserved in a number of early Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts and thus falls within the category of pre-tenth century Saiddhāntika scriptures as well. However, amongst this early corpus, it shows signs that it is one of the later texts. For example, although it also has no obvious *pāda* division, its structure already alludes to such a division; also its language is more polished and represents a higher level of the Sanskrit *śāstric* style.¹⁷ Of all these early Saiddhāntika scriptures, it shows the highest degree of involvement with brahmanical mainstream society, also in the sphere of Śaiva funerary practices. It is thus an important witness for the current study.

Dīkṣottara (DīU): The DīU is associated with the *Niśvāsakārikā*, itself a work claiming to be part of the *Niśvāsa* corpus, that is, the collection of works associated with the earliest extant Saiddhāntika scripture, the Ni listed above.¹⁸ Presently it is not possible to assign a certain date to the work, but Goodall has put forward that the window in which the DīU could have been composed must be sometime after the old corpus of the Ni was closed in the seventh century, but before the tenth, when the DīU was quoted by the Kashmirian Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka* (TĀ).¹⁹

¹⁶ Sanderson 1992, pp. 291–292. For another example of monistic doctrinal features in a Saiddhāntika work, see the *Pārameśvara* as quoted and discussed in Goodall 1998, p. lvi.

¹⁷ See Goodall 1998.

¹⁸ See Goodall 2015, p. 20 and pp. 23ff. Goodall points out that the last book of the Ni, the *Guhyasūtra*, mentions another work referred to as *kārikā* in its very last verse, this probably meaning the *Niśvāsakārikā*; he has further established that parts of the *Niśvāsakārikā* are contemporary with the last lines of the *Guhyasūtra*. The *Niśvāsakārikā* is currently accessible through transcripts preserved at the IFP (for a list and their assessment, see Goodall 2015, p. 23, fn. 23).

¹⁹ See Goodall 2015, p. 26.

Matāṅgapārameśvara (MatP): Another scripture in this corpus of pre-tenth-century Siddhāntatantras is the MatP. According to Sanderson, the earliest evidence for its dating is the fact that the Mahākāvya *Haravijaya*, composed in Kashmir around 830 CE, draws on the MatP.²⁰ This suggests that the MatP is to be placed towards the end of the early corpus. Characteristics of a later date are its more advanced engagement with doctrinal issues, its use of a high level of the Sanskrit *śāstric* style, and its arrangement into four *pādas*, a structural feature absent in the earlier scriptures.

Details about the ritual actions prescribed in these texts will be compared in chapter 4. In the present chapter, each source will be examined individually in order to determine the identity and social status of the beneficiaries of the funerary rites and to understand the social context in which these rites were to be performed.

2. The *Guhyasūtra*: A brief reference to *antyeṣṭi* in the last book of the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā*

The *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā* (Ni), also referred to as the *Niśvāsa*, is the earliest extant tantric scripture. As mentioned briefly above, Goodall has noted that it appears to address a tantric community at the periphery of society and does not contain any ritual repertoire suggesting a strong engagement with mainstream society.²¹ One reason Goodall has come to this conclusion is the fact that the scripture contains no proper account of death rites.²² There is only a brief reference to funerary practices in a half verse of the last book of the *Niśvāsa* corpus, namely the *Guhyasūtra* (GuhS).²³ The reference is found at the end of the prescriptions for the two types of initia-

²⁰ See Sanderson 2001, pp. 5–6, fn3.

²¹ This also matches the other features noted by Goodall as indicating that the Ni does not yet represent the tantric community as a wide socially engaged movement. This includes the lack of internal hierarchical structures, which became common in tantric communities from the 7th century onwards (Goodall 2015, pp. 47–51), as well as the lack of initiations for women or kings (ibid., p. 51), initiation names (ibid., p. 58), rites of expiation (ibid., pp. 58–59) or public festivals (ibid., p. 59).

²² Goodall 2015, p. 47.

²³ Goodall 2015, p. 44.

tion taught in the scripture, the so-called *vidyādīkṣā* and *muktidīkṣā*, these respectively bestowing the ability to propitiate mantras (*vidyā*) for attaining supernatural powers and liberation (*mukti*). It is then mentioned that for a cremation, the reverse order of the cosmic principle is used. Goodall's edition and translation read as follows:

vilomahomaṃ hy antyeṣṭyā ekāśītipadena tu

For death rites, the oblations should be performed using the world[s] of the eighty-one-word mantra [namely the Vyomavyāpin] in reverse order.²⁴

The intention of this instruction is presumably some sort of funerary initiation. The lack of any further text and context, however, makes it difficult to understand the exact purpose of such a ritual at this point. Goodall has already noted in several places that the socio-religious world envisaged by the Ni is that of “a movement recruited from the adherents of a substrate Brahmanism that provided the rites and values of social religion”.²⁵ With this, he explains the scripture's lack of death rites, since such rites fall firmly in the category of social religion. We are thus operating on the premise that death rites had merely a social function and were doctrinally and ritually meaningless to the tantric communities using the Ni. If needed for the sake of social convention, they would have reverted to the brahmanical model. On this basis, we would have to rule out the possibility that this passage is tantamount to a complete tantric cremation ritual as we later find it.

Why then does the GuhS include this brief reference? One possibility might be that this instruction was simply intended to teach the option of a posthumous initiation for those who had not received an initiation during their lifetime. Clearly such a rite would have to be performed in the context of a funeral. If the interpretation that this is a posthumous initiation is correct, this instruction could be considered a third initiation option, after the *mukti*- and *vidyādīkṣā*. It would therefore not function as a cremation ritual

²⁴ Goodall 2015, p. 47. Note that the use of the reverse cosmic order for the oblations fits the general Indic paradigm of reversing the order of procedures during death rites to signal the inauspicious nature of the event. See p. 132.

²⁵ Goodall 2015, p. 73.

for the initiated. However, as we will see below in the context of the SJU, the idea of an uninitiated person receiving an initiation after death was highly controversial. It was also attacked sharply by later Saiddhāntika commentators.²⁶ Of course, we have to keep in mind that such theoretical considerations may be a phenomenon that postdates this reference and therefore such an option may not have been as problematic for the ritual specialists in the Ni's system.

Another possibility is that this short reference may, in fact, already constitute the first formulation of how ordinary cremation could be turned into a ritual meaningful for initiates in Śaiva terms. Even if the GuhS did not yet envisage a full initiatory cremation for initiates as found in later texts, this reference to pouring oblations into the fire for each cosmic level during the cremation may allude to some form of purificatory process that is intended as complementing the initiation proper for those feeling compelled to add a tantric feature for the cremation of an initiate. This procedure would then anticipate the purpose attributed to the initiatory cremation a few centuries later, namely as an expiatory ritual to counteract any accidental transgressions in the individual's ritual life that would hinder his ascending to ultimate liberation (see chapter 1).

Without other sources, this matter cannot be settled. However, despite the brevity of the injunction and the uncertainty of its interpretation, given the complete absence of references to a funerary context in the earlier parts of the *Niśvāsa* corpus, it clearly shows that changes had occurred between the time of the Ni's earlier books being composed (ca. fifth century) and the GuhS. As discussed above, according to Goodall, this timespan probably amounted to about a hundred years, which would place the GuhS's time of composition around the sixth century.²⁷ Judging by the lack of any further mention of this topic in the scripture, it seems likely that when this novel reference was included by the redactors, funerary initiations, or funeral rituals in general, were still at an early stage and their function was

²⁶ See the discussion on the SJU's *mṛtadīkṣā* in the next section. Note that at the time of the Ni's composition, the Siddhānta's philosophical dualism had not yet been unanimously established (see Goodall 2015, pp. 39–40). Thus this would not have caused any hesitation to perform posthumous initiations.

²⁷ See Goodall 2015, p. 73. Note that Goodall stresses that any decisions regarding the timeframe of the work's composition must remain hypothetical at this point.

not yet fully worked out. However, the very fact that the redactors felt compelled to add it – or at least felt no inhibition to do so – indicates that some form of death practices had started to take place in Śaiva tantric circles when the GuhS was composed. This development is corroborated by the fact that the SvāSS, which was probably composed close in time to the GuhS, already contains an account for an early form of Śaiva cremation, as will be discussed in the next section.

Such a development in the realm of social ritual by the time of the GuhS also fit other changes that took place in the period between the time of composition of the early and later compositional layers of the Ni. For instance, as Goodall has shown, the GuhS is the earliest extant tantric scripture to include prescriptions for the consecration of *liṅgas* (*liṅgapraṭiṣṭhā*).²⁸ Although the GuhS itself is ambiguous about whether the rite for consecrating the cult object is to be performed for private or public worship,²⁹ such a ritual signals that Śaiva tantric priests were starting to offer services to the general public, which, in turn may be another indication that the religion's institutionalization had increased slightly from the time the earliest parts of the Ni were composed. To extend the ritual repertoire of these priests to the funerary context would seem an obvious move.

3. The *Svāmbhuvasūtrasaṃgraha*: Simple cremation

The *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha* (SvāSS) is the earliest extant Śaiva Siddhānta scripture to contain an account of a Śaiva cremation ritual.³⁰ However, it does not yet describe the fully developed form, but enjoins a simple cremation involving no initiation. This appears indeed to be an ar-

²⁸ See Goodall 2015, pp. 60–66. Here, Goodall also demonstrates that these consecration rituals were, in fact, also modelled on brahmanical predecessors, much like the funerary rituals. For instance, Vedic mantras are used instead of tantric, and “no part of the ritual seems yet to have been singled out as a defining moment that makes the *pratiṣṭhā* logical in its new tantric context” (Goodall 2015, p. 64), thereby suggesting that the development of these rites did not evolve from an intrinsic tantric rationale.

²⁹ Goodall 2015, pp. 64–66.

³⁰ As mentioned in the overview of scriptures above, the SvāSS received an early commentary by the 6th/7th-century author Sadyojyotiḥ. However, Sadyojyotiḥ only commented on the Vidyāpāda section of the scripture (see Filiozat 1991) and thus we do not have a commentary on the sections on rituals. One might speculate whether this indicates that the Kriyāpāda section postdates the Vidyāpāda.

chaic version since if initiatory cremation were a common practice at the time and place of its composition, the redactors would surely have felt no need to include an outmoded practice in lieu of a more tantric version.³¹ The text briefly describes a procedure in which the corpse is burnt with a Śiva fire after the officiant has visualized a sacred mantra on the corpse. He then offers the corpse to the Great Lord (i.e. Śiva) while reciting a special formula, followed by giving water offerings to the deceased.³² At this point in the development of Śaiva tantric cremation, it is only the disposal of the corpse that is important. There is no mention of the ritual being a soteriological act, nor are doctrinal justifications provided for its performance. The instruction to carry out water offerings for the deceased after the incineration³³ implies that this cremation model includes ritual acts related to the soul's ghost-like state after it leaves the corpse during the incineration of the pyre. As such, ritually, the deceased person's soul is not treated as a liberated entity after cremation, but rather as a ghost, just as in conventional brahmanical death rites, a contradiction that is silently accepted by the scripture.

3.1. The monastic context

When trying to infer the social framework of the cremation in the SvāSS, we find that the immediate context of the passage suggests that this rite was to be performed primarily in a monastic setting, since the effect of the initiate's death on his students is discussed immediately after the funeral instructions. The topic at this point concerns the mourners' impurity and the suspension of their performing certain rites (*adhikārasaṃkoca*) as a consequence of someone's death.³⁴ More specifically, it is stated that the students of the deceased person are to suspend the performance of their obligatory

³¹ The fact that the SvāSS contains only a description of simple cremation, apparently an archaic version of such rites, may in itself support its antiquity within the corpus of Saiddhāntika scriptures.

³² SvāSS 22.9–15. For the text and a translation, see the appendices.

³³ SvāSS 22.15: *snātvodakaṃ tato dattvā punaḥ snātvā śivam jayet | sadyādi netrapar-yantaṃ śāvakarmaviśuddhaye ||*. For the edition and an annotated translation, see the appendices.

³⁴ For more on this topic, see chapter 4.

rituals for three days.³⁵ Nevertheless, while this strongly suggests that the beneficiary of this cremation rite was a Śaiva *ācārya*,³⁶ it must be noted that this is not stated explicitly. The beneficiary is simply referred to as twice-born (*dvijanma*), a term frequently used to refer to any Brahmin, and sometimes also to members of the warrior (*kṣatriya*) and merchant (*vaiśya*) classes.³⁷ Thus, despite the immediate context that makes the teacher-student relationship explicit, the status of the beneficiary of the funeral rite remains ambiguous, also in terms of whether the ritual is for a deceased ascetic or householder. After all, if only ascetics were intended, one would expect a term making this clear.

Nevertheless, the next passage, which continues to expound on impurity regulations, also suggests a monastic setting. We learn here that not only the immediate disciples of the deceased are affected, but also the wider community – that is to say, not only ascetics, but also householder initiates active in society. The SvāSS specifies that anyone who is not a student of the deceased but who is nevertheless on the Śaiva path (*śivamārgastha*) – whether householder or not – should abstain from rituals for one day.³⁸ If we are correct in understanding these instructions as referring to a monastic setting, this might imply that all initiates linked to a certain monastic institution were to observe a day of impurity upon the death of a guru. The effect of this would be that this injunction extended beyond the circle of his immediate disciples and also included householders associated with the institution.³⁹ Such a wider community of initiates fits the fact that the SvāSS is the earliest extant text describing a more elaborately structured Śaiva community divided into four ranks, as was to become standard in tantric circles: the *ācārya*, the only person allowed to initiate and perform rites for others; the *sādhaka*, a practitioner initiated and consecrated to pursue practices for supernatural powers (*siddhi*); the *putraka*, who has re-

³⁵ SvāSS 22.16-19. For the text and a translation, see the appendices.

³⁶ Note that in Śaiva literature, the terms *guru* and *ācārya* are synonymous and designate the Śaiva officiant who performs public worship, rites of initiation, consecration and installation, and who moreover teaches the scriptures.

³⁷ SvāSS 22.9. For the text and a translation, see the appendices.

³⁸ SvāSS 22.17: *tebhyo 'nye śivamārgasthā gr̥hiṇo 'gr̥hiṇo 'pi vā | dinam ekaṃ kṣapeyus te śāvāśaucanimitataḥ ||*. For an edition and annotated translation, see the appendices.

³⁹ Trilocana's *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* (563ab) also teaches the observation of a day of impurity upon the death of one's teacher.

ceived the *nirvāṇadīkṣā* and is thus fully initiated but does not hold an office; and the *samayin*, who is a neophyte and has received the lower level, preliminary initiation that has to be undertaken before the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*. Quoting from Goodall's edition and translation of the relevant passage,⁴⁰ we see, in fact, how the *putraka* and *samayin* were linked to the monastic institution and the guru through the stipulation to constantly venerate him, which probably included serving him as well as giving him donations. Further, the *samayin* would have been connected to the guru also by studying the scriptures with him:

The *putraka* is held to be one who, being engaged in the [use of] mantras and tantric scripture (?), has emerged [thanks to his initiation] from the cosmic paths of the *triparva*; **he venerates Śiva [in the *līṅga*], the fire and his guru**. The *samayin* [is so called] in as much as (*san*) he observes the post-initiatory rules; he is a man who has **received the entitlement for [the study of] scripture**. Fearful of the woes of *saṃsāra*, his mind fixed upon the Śaiva liberation; he has received the Śiva-hand [of the *ācārya* laid upon his head]; **he venerates Śiva [in the *līṅga*], the fire and his guru; he is subject to the guru at all times in all his actions and cannot act independently**.⁴¹

Especially the last instruction for the *samayin* – to be completely at the disposal and mercy of the guru – implies that the *samayin* actually spent time living at the monastery, working his way towards the qualifications to undertake the *nirvāṇadīkṣā* to become a *putraka*.⁴² This indicates that the SvāSS is indeed describing a higher degree of institutionalization and the social cohesion such an institution represents, cohesion whereby the death of one member affects all those associated with that institution.

In this context, it is clear that including a cremation rite for a guru was considered relevant at the time of the SvāSS's composition. After the Śaiva community had moved into the public sphere through monastic institutions,

⁴⁰ See Goodall 2015, pp. 48–50.

⁴¹ Goodall 2015, p. 50; the bold marking is mine.

⁴² The position of the *samayin* can be considered comparable to that of the *brahmacārin* in the brahmanical system. See Olivelle 1993, pp. 18 and 154.

the death of a guru was a relatively public event. It is inconceivable that a guru's corpse would not be ritually disposed of for the doctrinal reason that renders anything that happens after liberation at death meaningless – not only would such behaviour betray a lack of respect for the deceased, but it would also pose an imminent threat due to the inauspicious and frightening aspects associated in India with corpses that have not been ritually processed.⁴³ The orthodox brahmanical society would not have tolerated such behaviour.⁴⁴ Though their opinion may at first seem irrelevant in the light of Śaiva doctrine, it is clear that the approval of the mainstream became important when the religion was seeking to attract the support of society at large and establishing religious institutions (*maṭha*) interacting with, and dependant on, pious lay devotees.⁴⁵

The monastic setting is also associated with this type of cremation in later sources, when simple cremation is only an option taught next to the more elaborate initiatory cremation. For example, this passage is adopted in the BK, which, in turn, is adopted in the JR.⁴⁶ In these two later works, it is

⁴³ This topic is also addressed in Evison's unpublished doctoral thesis on Indian death rites (Evison 1990). She points to the strongly ambivalent emotional responses generated at the time of a death and how they are reflected in the ritual actions, which feature both rites for mourning the deceased and for pacifying and fending off his ghostly spirit.

⁴⁴ It has been argued that this was also the case for the early Buddhist tradition; Schopen has collected passages showing that Buddhist monks were also cremated for the sake of conforming to social conventions. See Schopen 1997, pp. 218–219.

⁴⁵ That such a link existed has been discussed in Sanderson 2003/2004, pp. 231ff.

⁴⁶ The JR's account, drawing from the BK (NGMPP B24/57, f. 214r3–241v2), is largely parallel to that of the SvāSS, although it contains a few more details. For instance, it specifies that the cremation should take place on a river bank (JR AP 102), gives a different and more elaborate set of preparatory rites for the site (JR AP 103–104ab) and adds the ritual sequence of pouring a stream of water out of a vase around the pyre after its ignition (JR AP 108). Particularly the last addition of pouring a stream of water around the pyre is notable; while this feature is a standard element of the rite in the brahmanical model, it does not feature in any of the other scriptural accounts apart from the householder-orientated Kir, thereby possibly suggesting influence from the householder milieu in this simple cremation rite. See JR AP 102c–110b: *nadītīraṃ samāsādyā gomāyenopalipayet* || 102 || (<= SvāSS 22.10ab *śuciṃ deṣaṃ samāsādyā gomāyenopalipya ca*) *kalaśaṃ cāstrakalaśaṃ sampūjya vidhivat tataḥ* | *sthaṇḍile hastamātre ca śivaṃ sampūjya pūrvavat* || 103 || *tadvad dhomaṃ ca kartavyaṃ mantrān samītarpya dīpayet* | *mṛdbhasmagomayodghṛṣṭaṃ śodhitavyaṃ śivāsina* || 104 || (<= SvāSS 22.11ab *mṛdbhasmagomayodghṛṣṭaṃ pracurodakaśodhitam*) *savam āhṛtya tatrāgner dakṣiṇasyāṃ diśi nyaset* | (<= SvāSS 22.11cd *śavam āhṛtya tasyāgner dakṣiṇasyāṃ niveśayet*) *prokṣitoddhūlitasyātha cintayet praṇavaṃ hr̥di* || 105 || (<= SvāSS 22.12ab *prokṣitoddhūlitasyātha cintayet praṇavaṃ hr̥di*) *sakalīkṛtya sampūjya tato homaṃ samācāret* | (<= SvāSS 22.12cd *sakalīkṛtya sampūjya tato homaṃ samācāret*)

even more explicitly framed within the monastic context, with familial relations being superimposed onto the monastic community, of which any member may receive such a cremation.⁴⁷ The JR further argues that the simple form of Śaiva cremation without initiation is intended for those more spiritually elevated and observant in their post-initiatory practices.⁴⁸ However, in the context of the SvāSS, simple cremation remains the only mode taught. This may imply that either such a Śaiva cremation was indeed only prescribed for an *ācārya*⁴⁹ or that it potentially had a wider scope of

tadātmanāṃ śivaṃ dhyātvā taṃ devāya nivedayet || 106 || (<= SvāSS 22.13ab *†padādhvanā† śivaṃ dhyātvā taṃ devāya nivedayet*) *pratigrhṇīṣva bhagavan śāvyām enām mahāhutiṃ* | (<= SvāSS 22.13cd *pratigrhṇīṣva bhagavan śāvyām enām mahāhutiṃ*) *evam uktvā śivaṃ devam ubhayasthaṃ viśrjya ca || 107 || tatas taṃ indhanenāgniṃ praśastena nayeḥ citām* | (<= SvāSS 22.14cd *tataḥ taṃ indhanenāgniṃ praśastena nayeḥ citiṃ*) *avyucchinnaṃ tato dhārām astrakumbhena dāpayet || 108 || akhaṇḍamaṇḍalākāraṃ śivaṃ astu tavādhunā | snātvodakaṃ tato dattvā punaḥ snātvā śivaṃ japet || 109 ||* (<= SvāSS 22.15ab *snātvodakaṃ tato dattvā punaḥ snātvā śivaṃ japet*) *paścimān netraparyantam āvartya śāvasodhane |* (<= SvāSS 22.15cd *sadyādi netraparyantam śāvakarmaviśuddhaye*). For the apparatus and the translation, see the appendices.

⁴⁷ See, the JR 101–102b, drawing from the BK (NGMPP B24/57, f. 214r2–214r3): *ācāryeṇa caturnāṃ tu sādakena trayasya ca | dvābhyām ca putrakenaiva samayajñaiḥ svasantatau || 10 || abhāvād api sarveṣāṃ samayajñena kārayet* |, and JR 112c–113, drawing from the BK (NGMPP B24/57, f. 214v3–214v4): *putraḥ svaśiṣyo vijñeyo bhrātā yaḥ putrako mataḥ || nityaṃ samayaniṣṭhaś ca putrakaś ca tathā mataḥ | sādhaḥ putrako bhrātā samayī putraputrakaḥ || ācāryaḥ syāt pitā teṣāṃ sarveṣāṃ ca kriyāvatām | dinaikaṃ sūtaḥ teṣāṃ śāvāśaucanimittataḥ ||*. For the apparatus and the translation, see the appendices.

⁴⁸ See, e.g., JR AP 1–2, which makes explicit that for a *yogin* who has performed yogic suicide (*utkrānti*) only a simple cremation with Śiva fire is enjoined since all his impurities have already been burned; and JR AP 4, which teaches that the simple cremation is performed for devout initiates who have observed their post-initiatory duties without fault. For the text and a translation of these passages, see the appendices.

⁴⁹ Note that in the case of the *ācārya*, performing this Śaiva *antyeṣṭi* as described does not necessarily contradict Śaiva doctrine, since the cremation rite here consists merely of burning the corpse with the Śiva fire, without any initiation rite or manipulation of the soul. It is simply the ritual disposal of a guru's corpse in the sense of disposing of a religious object that can no longer be used. This would conform to how the guru's role is perceived in Śaivism – as a medium between Śiva and his devotees, be it during public worship or rites of initiation, consecration or installation. Śiva is believed to act through the guru, who transforms himself into the deity prior to each ritual. Any materials or instruments used during a ritual are rendered inappropriate for using again, and thus they must be ritually disposed of (*pratipatti*). Otherwise they represent an awkward and threatening object that is neither divine nor mundane. The cremation of a guru could therefore be perceived as such a *pratipatti*.

application within the initiatory community, within and perhaps even beyond the monastic institution.

3.2. The *lokamārgastha*: Adherence to the brahmanical order

In the provisions for impurity restrictions, the SvāSS makes another significant remark that offers a point of reference for how the text situates its adherents in the wider society. As mentioned above, the group of initiates affected by the death of the guru is referred to as *śivamārgastha*; this is contrasted with *lokamārgastha*, those “following the worldly (i.e. orthodox brahmanical) path”.⁵⁰ Here, the scripture clearly states that the initiate, when he is *lokamārgastha*, that is, in his position as part of orthodox brahmanical society, must not transgress ordinary practices:

[Initiated] householders, [when] they are [in the context of] the mundane path (*lokamārgasthāḥ*), should not transgress the mundane (*laukikam*) [order]. Therefore, [though] initiated they should maintain [brahmanical] practice (*ācāram*) for the sake of mundane convention.⁵¹

As it stands, the precise scope implied by this injunction is difficult to define. Is it intended to refer to the initiate conforming to worldly regulations and maintaining the rites and rules of impurity according to the brahmanical order on the occasion of a non-Śaiva's death? Or does it dictate that brahmanical rules come into effect upon the death of the initiate himself if he is a householder? In case of the former, we might interpret this as the Śaiva initiate – in his role as a householder – having to follow the impurity regulations incumbent on him in his position in orthodox society. In the case of the latter, the statement could have two meanings. First, the passage could be enjoining that a deceased householder who was a Śaiva initiate received a funeral rite and post-mortem offerings according to the brahmanical order rather than the Śaiva. Or secondly, a deceased householder

⁵⁰ A treatment of this passage is offered in chapter 4 (see pp. 169ff.) and in appendix B.

⁵¹ SvāSS 22.18: *grhiṇo lokamārgasthā laṅghayeyur na laukikam | ācāram dīkṣitās tasmāt kurvīran lokasaṃvṛteḥ ||*. For a critical apparatus and annotations, see the appendices.

initiate received a cremation with the Śiva fire as described, but the impurity regulations affecting his family were those of the brahmanical order.

Given that the scripture only teaches one type of cremation – unlike in later manuals – and is vague about its application, all of the above possibilities are plausible. The degree of ambiguity may have been intentional so this authoritative scripture could accommodate a variety of practices at a time when death rites for Śaiva initiates were in an early phase of their development and not yet fully worked out. After all, we see that the procedure is still very close in structure to the brahmanical counterpart and does not yet contain a transformative element as found in the initiatory cremation. Rather, the difference lies in the use of Śaiva mantras and visualization, and the fact that the fire is not an ordinary ritual fire, but one into which Śiva has been invoked, a *śivāgni*. Since it lacks a soteriological function, it is possible that this type of cremation did not yet carry much importance, but was rather a matter of convention. Indeed, in the case of a householder initiate, the choice of cremation type may have been less significant at this stage.

While interpreting the precise scope of application is thus problematic, the passage does clearly reveal that the religious order associated with this text included initiates who were active members of the brahmanical householder society. Even if the modalities of their participation during Śaiva death rituals remain uncertain, the present instruction for them to maintain their practices and position in the brahmanical socio-religious order is significant.⁵² It is part of our earliest evidence of Śaiva tantric communities trying to regulate certain points of interface between Śaiva ritual life and that inherited from the brahmanical socio-religious order. In addition, Goodall has also emphasized that the SvāSS is the first extant work to show a higher degree of systematization in terms of doctrine and practice,⁵³ a circumstance further suggesting that by the time of its composition, the religion had acquired a more institutionalized form, such as initiatory communities attached to a monastic centre. Of course, we are limited in our

⁵² Similar to the sentiment expressed in SvāSS 12.18, the SJU and MatP (Caryāpāda 2.2-7b) expound carefully on this topic of adherence to the brahmanical order. For a discussion of the relevant sections, see Sanderson 2006a, pp. 4–14.

⁵³ Goodall 2015, pp. 40–42 and 47–51.

analysis by the fact that these passages are purely prescriptive and not descriptive. One thus cannot assume that the scripture is depicting social reality. However, given the ambiguity of the instructions regarding cremation and its scope, as well as the directive to adhere to the brahmanical order, it seems that the work's redactors were struggling to consolidate precisely those kinds of different views and practices which would come together at a moment of social expansion.

3.3. Yogic suicide (*utkrānti*)

Just before the SvāSS describes the act of cremation, the scripture provides instructions for the correct way to die, that is, for performing yogic suicide (*utkrānti*). After the initiate finally feels complete indifference to the world, he is instructed to meditate on the real nature of his body, perform the worship of Śiva on himself, and eject his soul out of his body at the top of his head towards liberation.⁵⁴ It is stressed that he must not do so out of desire

⁵⁴ See SvāSS 22.1–8: *athātmano vadhaṃ mantrī na kuryāt phalavāñchayā | na ca duḥkhasamutpattau kāmato deham utsrjet || 1 || yadi nirvedam āpannaḥ prāptabhogo 'thavā punaḥ | dhyānadhāraṇāyogena śivalīnāmanās tyajet || 2 || parisamkhyāya śabdādīn svayaṃ tatsādhanāni ca | śarīram indriyagrāmaṃ bhoktuḥ sthānaṃ nijam ca yat || 3 || tataḥ śaivīm tanuṃ kṛtvā śivaṃ sampūjya bhaktiṭaḥ | āsanaṃ kuśasaṃkṛtaṃ āśrayed astrapūjitaṃ || 4 || tataḥ puroditaṃ sarvaṃ tśānīdhāraṇāśritaḥ | kṛtvākṛṣya kapālasthaṃ vāyū uṛdhvapathā nayer || 5 || tena yāyāt pathādityaṃ somam agniṃ paraṃ śivaṃ | acalaṃ sarvagaṃ devaṃ sarvāntaṃ sarvatomukhaṃ || 6 || tatstho līnasvatattvena tanmayo na vibhāvyyate | nādeyam iva samprāptaṃ salilaṃ lavaṇāmbhasi || 7 || anena kramayogena kāmād deham imaṃ tyajet | adhruvaṃ sarvaduḥkhānāṃ āśrayaṃ ca jugupsitaṃ || 8 ||* (For the sigla used in the apparatus, see appendix A or the bibliography.) [**1d** kāmato] Ed_MN; kāmado P **2a** yadi] N; yadā Ed_MP **2b** punaḥ] Ed_MP; tratuḥ N **2c** dhyānadhāraṇāyogena] Ed_MP; dhāraṇādhhyāyogena N **2d** śivalīnāmanās tyajet] Ed_MN; śivalīnāmanān yajet P **3d** nijam ca yat] N; nirañjanam Ed_MP **4b** bhaktiṭaḥ] Ed_MP; yatnataḥ N **4c** kuśasaṃkṛtaṃ] Ed_MN; kuśasaṃskāram P **5a** puroditaṃ] NP; paroditaṃ Ed_M **5b** tśānīdhāraṇāśritaḥ] Ed_M; aiśānīm dhāraṇāṃ śritaḥ N; tśānīm dhāraṇāṃ śritaḥ P **5c** kṛtvākṛṣya] Ed_MN; kṛṣtvākṛṣya P **6a** yāyāt] Ed_MP; pāyāt N * pathādityaṃ] N; pathā nityam Ed_MP **6b** agniṃ] Ed_MN; agniḥ P **6c** acalaṃ] Ed_MN; avālaṃ P **7a** tatstho] N; tatsthā Ed_M; tatsthau P * līnasvatattvena] Ed_MP; līnasatattvena N **7d** lavaṇāmbhasi] Ed_MN; lavaṇāmbhasā P **8b** deham imaṃ] Ed_MN; demahimaṃ P **8d** jugupsitaṃ] Ed_M; sujupsitaṃ N; jupupsitaṃ P]. “Next, an initiate (lit. ‘a possessor of mantras’) should not kill himself out of desire of reward [such as heaven], and neither should he voluntarily abandon his body at the arising of suffering. If he has attained a complete indifference [to worldly matters] or *has experienced the fruition of all his karma* (*prāptabhogo*), he should abandon [his body] with his mind immersed in Śiva through the practice of meditation and visualization [of elements]. He should contemplate deeply [on the real nature of sense objects] beginning with sounds and what brings them about/the means of perceiving

for any heavenly reward (as would be the case with certain brahmanical forms of suicide), nor as a result of some form of suffering, but, again, only if he has achieved a state of indifference to worldly matters.⁵⁵

While the present section will not provide a comprehensive overview of Śaiva scriptural sources on yogic suicide,⁵⁶ let us just briefly consider the possible purpose of this passage in the cremation context of the SvāSS. While the instructions for *antyeṣṭi* seamlessly follow the prescription for yogic suicide, it is not certain whether these two procedures are intrinsically connected, that is to say, whether the performance of a Śaiva *antyeṣṭi* is bound to a stipulation to undertake yogic suicide. If that were the case, this would limit the scope of application for the *antyeṣṭi*, given that it would then only apply for ascetic initiates advanced enough in their yogic practice to undertake the *utkrānti* procedure.⁵⁷ However, as we have seen above, the cremation section does not specify the recipient as a yogic ascetic practitioner (which might have been done, for example, by using a term such as *yogin*), but rather uses the broad term *dvijanma*, a twice-born, which is applicable to a householder as well. On the other hand, we have also seen

them (i.e. the senses), and [then should also meditate on] his body and the collection of his faculties [including the faculties of action and everything] as merely the personal location of [himself as] the experiencer [of the effects of his karma]. Then he should create the Śiva-body (i.e. transform his body into Śiva), and worship Śiva with devotion. Then he should sit down on a seat made out of *kuśa* grass, which had been worshipped with the *astramantra* [in order to purify it and remove all the obstacles]. Then he should do all as it was previously taught having adopted the *aiśānī dhāraṇā*, and then he should draw up all vital energy so that it is in his head and lead it [out of the body] by the upper route (i.e. above the head). By that path he travels one by one to the sun, moon, fire, and then to supreme Śiva, who is the fixed [and] omnipresent deity, the end of all and facing in all directions. Staying in that [Śiva], *his own reality being immersed, he consists of Śiva and is not manifested [anymore] (?) (līnasvatattvena tanmayo na vibhāvyate)*. [It is] just as water from a river dissolves into saltwater [from the ocean]. With this method he should voluntarily abandon his body, which is impermanent, the locus of all suffering, and disgusting.” I would like to thank Alexis Sanderson for having provided me his own collation of this section of the SvāSS, which I have used as the basis for the quoted text.

⁵⁵ SvāSS 22.1–2 in the fn. above. These first two verses are also critically edited in Vasudeva 2004, p. 441, fn. 214.

⁵⁶ See Vasudeva 2004, pp. 437–439, and his list of passages of Śaiva scriptural sources for yogic suicide in his testimonia to *Mālinīvijayottara* 17.25–34, in 2004, p. 138.

⁵⁷ Vasudeva (2004, pp. 437–439) stresses that yogic suicides are to be considered a completely different category from suicides of devotees, which do not require such yogic competence and practice.

that what appears to be primarily envisaged is the funeral of a guru with disciples; the scope beyond this is ambiguous. In the case of a guru, one might expect that he would follow this ideal procedure for exiting his body.

These considerations again raise the question of how we are to understand the social reality of this practice. In fact, unlike in the case of brahmanical forms of suicide,⁵⁸ we do not have any evidence for yogic suicide beyond the obscure instructions found in the scriptural corpus. Since the SvāSS's account of yogic suicide is found just before its prescriptions for death rites, it might be speculated that here, these instructions were also used to aid the dying, much in the manner of the widespread Indian practice of the dying being instructed to concentrate on a specific deity and sacred verses being recited into his ear at the moment of death. They may thus have been used to help the initiate to focus on his liberation by visualizing his soul leaving the body and uniting with Śiva.⁵⁹ When compared to other tantric accounts of yogic suicide, such as that in the *Mālinīvijayottara* as offered by Vasudeva, which features concrete instructions such as filling the body with air and repeating certain mantras until getting a headache,⁶⁰ one gets the sense that the SvāSS's account is less exacting and perhaps more suitable for final deathbed visualizations. However, it is also true that one instruction challenges this view, namely that the practitioner is to carry out these meditative practices after sitting down on a seat of *kuśa* grass.⁶¹ At the same time, it could also be the case that this instruction entails – as we would expect – that the adherent is to practice such yogic visualizations during his lifetime, completing the process, as it were, on his deathbed.

⁵⁸ Brahmanical forms of suicide include setting out into the forest or to some sacred site towards the end of one's life (*mahāprasthāna*, *mahāpathayātra*), or suicides involving sacred sites, such as drowning oneself in a sacred river or jumping off a sacred cliff. Vasudeva (2004, p. 438) refers to descriptive accounts of devotees jumping off the cliff at Oṃkāra Mandhātā in 1822; Sanderson, in a handout for a series of lectures during Michaelmas term 2004/5 on early sources on suicide, listed several passages from epigraphs that attest to such brahmanical practices.

⁵⁹ There are also meditation practices in which visualizing the departure of the soul while still alive somehow prepares the practitioner for death, and at the same time calls to mind the impermanence of life and the downfalls of *samsāra* as a means of attaining liberating knowledge; see, for instance, the so-called *vaiṣṇavayoga* in the Śaiva *Umāmaheśvara-saṃvāda*, chapter 4. See De Simini & Mirnig 2017.

⁶⁰ Vasudeva 2004, pp. 439–440.

⁶¹ See SvāSS 22.4, see fn. 54.

4. The *Sārdhatriśatikālottara*: An intermediary stage towards initiatory cremation

The *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* (SārK), another of our early pre-tenth-century Saiddhāntika sources, is one of several recensions of the so-called *Kālottara*. It is, as far as I am aware, the only one to include a cremation procedure.⁶² The account here of *antyeṣṭi* is very short and in fact looks very similar to the one set out in the SvāSS. It prescribes a standard procedure for preparing the corpse by purifying it with substances such as cow-dung, smearing it with ashes and covering it with various garlands and pieces of cloth. Then the guru is to pour oblations into the fire, using the order of dissolution, light the pyre and focus on the fire-visualization (*āgneyadhāraṇā*) while the corpse is burning.⁶³

After this, unlike in the SvāSS, there is an additional ritual action that suggests a manipulation of the deceased person's soul. At the end of the ritual procedure, a kind of union with the deceased person's soul is prescribed:

⁶² In a private communication, Alexis Sanderson has informed me that *Saptaśatikakālottara* 29 contains virtually the same text as the SārK.

⁶³ The entire procedure up to the burning of the corpse runs as follows in SārK 26.1–5ab: *antyeṣṭim sampravakṣyāmi yathāvad anupūrvaśah | śivāgñim janayitvā tu *śavam* (em. *śivam* Ed.) *paścād viśodhayet || 1 || mṛdgomayādyaiḥ samśodhya bhasmasnānam yathā purā | vastrapuṣpair alaṃkrtya astrabījēna śodhayet || 2 || iṣṭim sāmhārikīm kṛtvā udakpādam niveśayet | darbhāstaram purākṛtvā astram vinyasya sarvataḥ || 3 || astreṇa jvālayed agniṃ samantāt susamāhitaḥ | candanāgarukāṣṭhaiś ca tilaiś cājyasamanvitaiḥ || 4 || vittavatām ca tat sarvam itareṣāṃ tad icchayā | āgneyadhāraṇām dhyātvā dahed astreṇa mantravit || 5 ||*

“I will teach the funeral ritual properly in regular order. Having produced a Śiva fire, he should then purify the corpse. Having cleaned [the corpse] with such things as mud and cow-dung, he should perform an ash-bath as before. Having decorated [the corpse] with [new] clothes and flowers and purified [it by sprinkling it using] the *astramantra*, he should perform the sacrifice [into the fire] in the reverse order. He should place [the corpse] [on the pyre] with the feet to the North, having beforehand prepared a bed of *darbha* grass and emplaced the *astramantra* all around it. Then, [reciting] the *astramantra* he should light the fire all around [the *darbha* grass bed], being very concentrated. For those who are rich, all of this [should be done] with sandalwood and *agaru* wood, with sesame seeds and [offerings of] clarified butter; for others this [is to be done] according to ones wishes (i.e. financial capacity). The guru should meditate on the *āgneyadhāraṇa* and burn the corpse with the *astramantra*.”

The [procedure of] taking hold [of the soul] should be [performed] through the union of the [guru's] consciousness with the spirit [of the deceased] just as [taught] before.⁶⁴

This injunction is mentioned after that of the incineration. It is unclear what this rite refers to, or whether its position in the order of the text is the same as its execution in practice. Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, a tenth-century Kashmiri conservative commentator of the Śaiva Siddhānta (fl. c. 950–1000 CE), also had difficulties to explain this part of the verse and simply altered the order, choosing to read it as applying to a point before the incineration and interpreting it to refer to a full funerary initiation as was practiced by his time.⁶⁵

From this short passage, the precise procedure is also unclear. It appears to involve a manipulative element through which the guru ensures the deceased person's liberation. However, it is unlikely that a full funerary initiation is intended here, unless the term *pūrvavat*, “as before”, refers to the initiation ritual (*dīkṣā*) described earlier in the SārK. If the latter were the case, we would expect, however, some sort of instruction indicating that the procedure for purifying the cosmic levels is to be undertaken in the reverse order, as becomes standard in later sources. Thus, perhaps nothing more is intended here than to perform a final enactment of the union with Śiva – that is to say, amounting only to the final part of the initiation ritual proper.⁶⁶ In this case, *pūrvavat* would serve to indicate that the procedure is the immediately preceding ritual action of *grahaṇam* – the procedure of grasping the soul in order to unite it with the guru's soul to lead it to the site of divine union. The fact that this is enjoined after the incineration of the corpse may support the thesis that it is not yet a full-fledged funerary initiation which is being envisaged here.

⁶⁴ SārK 26.6ab: *citaś cittasya saṃyogād grahaṇam pūrvavad bhavet* |.

⁶⁵ Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary ad SārK 26.3–6b: *tato 'gnau iṣṭim sāmāhāraṇam prāgvat kṛtvā, citaḥ ātmanas tadīyasya cittasya cāntaḥkaraṇasaṃyogād grahaṇam pūrvavat kṛtvā, citau darbhenaṣṭreṇāstīrya, tenaitam udakśīrasaṃ sāmānyaśāstraprasiddhyā tatra niveśya, āgneyadhāraṇayā astreṇa tatra samantād agniṃ candanāgarukāṣṭhaiḥ abhijvālayed vittavatām | itareṣāṃ tu yathāsaṃbhavaṃ kāṣṭhādinaiva | tato 'strapaṭam dagdhvā bhagavantam visṛjya snāyāt*.

⁶⁶ For instance, this is parallel to the procedure we find in the Atimārgic funerary manual of Gārgya, where the final stages are enacted in a similar manner, see Acharya 2010.

In either case, here the function of the funeral rite has been modified to go beyond the mere disposal of the corpse. That is, it now involves some sort of manipulation of the soul. This paradigm shift, it seems, reveals an attempt to transform the cremation ritual into one meaningful in Śaiva terms. At the same time, this also led to the need to justify the performance of this step doctrinally: for why would a ritual enacting the liberation of the soul be needed, if this had already taken place at the moment of death through the power of the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*? An answer to this question is put forward here for the first time in our extant sources, namely that the Śaiva cremation has a purificatory function and counteracts previous faults in practice or other transgressions, transgressions whose consequences would impede the soul's liberation. SārK 26.6c-8ab reads:

The funerary ritual has been ordained, O Skanda, to remove the sin of anyone who transgresses the rules to be observed during the period after initiation, [one who] is guilty of a major sin against Śiva and the gurus, those who have not lost their doubts [concerning their liberation at death through initiation], and for any others who have some impurity.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ SārK 26.6cd–8ab: *dīkṣātas tūttare kāle samayāṃs tu na laṅghayet || devasya ca gurūṇāṃ ca mahāpātakabhāḡ bhavet | amuktasaṃśayā ye ca ye cānye samalātmakāḡ || teṣāṃ pāpāpanodārtham antyeṣṭir vihitā guha |*. Note that the two *pādas* concluding this section are not quoted here. They are problematic. SārK26.8cd reads: *svasaṃjñā layam āpnoti samayādyeṣu laṅghanāt*. This appears to refer to the destiny of an initiated person's soul who has transgressed his post-initiatory practice during his lifetime and does not receive a Śaiva tantric cremation to purify him from the negative consequences of these transgressions. However, it is unclear how to interpret the expression *svasaṃjñā layam*. A possible interpretation is to see *layam* as referring to the cosmic state of dissolution, more commonly called *pralaya*. In Śaiva tantric cosmology, souls in *pralaya* are unconscious individuals who are only tainted by the impurities of karma and/or *mala*, but not by the material universe (*māyā*); however, at the level of *pralaya* they have no power to act to purify themselves of these impurities and are solely dependent on Śiva's grace. Therefore, they float, as it were, between the impure material universe and the highest spiritual level of ultimate Śiva-hood until Śiva feels compassion and either liberates them, or, during the cosmic cycle of emanation (*srṣṭi*), bestows some power upon them to act and take on a role in creating the universe (see *s.v. pralayakevala*, *pralayakevalin*, *pralayākala* in TAK 3, and reference to Sadyojyotiḥ's commentary on this principle *ad SvāSS 1.2.* therein). If the word *layam* refers here to this cosmic level, the *pādas* could be translated as follows: "[If an ordinary and not a tantric cremation was performed], [the individual's] own consciousness (*svasaṃjñā*) reaches the state of cosmic dissolution (*layam*) [rather than ultimate liberation] due to [his] transgressions regarding such matters as [his] post-initiatory discipline." If this interpretation is

Evidently, the redactors of the SārK felt uncomfortable about including *antyeṣṭi* in the ritual repertoire without giving it some sort of extra value. None of the subsequent Saiddhāntika sources go beyond the basic premise established here that Śaiva cremation has a purificatory function. In the DīU, for example, the *antyeṣṭi* is even explicitly classified as a rite of reparation (*prāyaścitta*).⁶⁸ And Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, in his commentary on these verses of the SārK, also refers to *antyeṣṭi* as a reparatory sacrifice, insisting on making a clear distinction between the function of the *antyeṣṭi* and the initiation rite proper:

Because [all karmas which have been committed] prior to the *dīkṣā* were destroyed by it (i.e. the *dīkṣā*) alone, this penance sacrifice is performed for the purpose of purification only [regarding actions that have taken place] after the [initiation] (1) for those who belong to the group beginning with *ācāryas* (i.e. *ācāryas*, *sādhakas*, and *putrakas*) and transgress [post-initiatory rules], starting with the obligatory rites, which are taught in the *śāstras* and relate to the deity and the gurus, (2) for

correct, the SārK teaches that even if a tantric *antyeṣṭi* is not performed, a tantric initiate who transgressed during his lifetime does not return to *saṃsāra* in the impure universe. Rather, more fitting to his initiated status, he rises above the impure universe, even if only to a semi-liberated level. Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, commenting on this passage in the SārK (with a slightly different reading: *svasaṃjñālayam āpnoti samayādyeṣu laṅghanāt*), also seems to struggle with interpreting these two *pādas*; however, while his commentary is not entirely clear to me, I will attempt a tentative translation, which amounts to the same point just stated. Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha *ad* SārK 26.8ab: *anayā ceṣṭyā samayādyeṣu prāyaścittopalaṅghanād dhetoḥ svasaṃjñāyā ca svapratyayaṇa parameśvareṇa layaṃ dīkṣāphalaṃ prāpnotīti*, “If another sacrifice [than the Śaiva tantric *antyeṣṭi*] is performed (*anayā ceṣṭyā*) [after death] he (i.e. the deceased person’s soul) reaches the state of dissolution (*layaṃ*) as the fruit of his initiation [and not ultimate liberation], through his own consciousness, that is to say through his own faith and through Parameśvara, because of the breach [regarding the necessity to perform] an expiatory ritual (i.e. the tantric *antyeṣṭi*) with respect to [the deceased initiate’s] obligations [during his lifetime] such as his post-initiatory discipline.” Note that Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, unlike in my interpretation above, reads *svasaṃjñālayam* as a *tatpuruṣa* compound, even though his rendering of the compound in the commentary seems awkward. That these *pādas* were considered problematic even within the later tradition is suggested by the fact that Nirmalamāṇi, who quotes the entire preceding passage of the SārK, omits precisely these last two *pādas* in his citation. Further, Trilocana, who quotes the full passage in his commentary on SP (cited in Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 571, [1b]), comments on the entire passage but does not explain these two *pādas*.

⁶⁸ See pp. 73ff.

those who belong to the group of people starting with the *putrakas*, who perform those [post-initiatory rites] effortfully but with doubt [concerning the efficiency of the *nirvāṇadīkṣā* as the cause for their final liberation], because they did not learn the scriptures whose purpose it is to remove all doubt, (3) and also the *sādhakas*, whose impurity of *bhoga* (enjoyment) and impurity of office has not been destroyed. **But it is not right to explain that [the funeral ritual is performed] for those people in whom impurities still reside because they have not received the initiation ritual, because that would be a contradiction of the words “right after the initiation ritual” [in the text].**⁶⁹

Since, as mentioned above, Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha envisages an initiatory cremation in the SārK, although the scripture itself does not actually give instructions for this, it is important for him to clarify that a Śaiva cremation may not be performed as a liberating ritual for someone who has not received initiation during his lifetime. This touches on the main conceptual problem in classifying the function of tantric cremation. If funerary initiation were not considered purely expiatory in function, but to have the power to liberate an uninitiated person, this would amount to a posthumous initiation, something considered highly problematic in the light of the logic of tantric initiation and the Siddhānta's metaphysics: first, a guru is only allowed to perform tantric initiation if the candidate shows signs that Śiva's grace has descended upon him (a process referred to as the “descent of Śiva's power”, *śaktipāta*), which signals to him that Śiva considers this individual ready for liberation, a principle widely encountered in Śaiva scriptures. Secondly, in contrast to the monistic tantric traditions, in the dualistic Siddhānta God, the individual souls and the material universe are considered ontologically distinct for eternity. For Rāmakaṇṭha and other Saiddhāntika commentators, it was therefore crucial that an initiation candidate be alive, for according to this doctrine, the signs of *śaktipāta* can

⁶⁹ Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha *ad* SārK 26.6–8: *dīkṣātaḥ pūrvam tayaiva kṣapitavāt taduttarakālaṃ ye devagurusambandhiṇaḥ śāstravihitā nityānuṣṭhānādayas, tān laṅghayanti pramādād ācāryādayaḥ, ye ca samastasaṃśayacchedahetoḥ śāstrasyāśravaṇāt saṃdehenāpi tān avaśyaṃ paripālayanti putrakādayaḥ, ye 'pi cāparikṣiṇa-bhogādhikāramalāḥ sādhakāś teṣāṃ eva śuddhyartham iyaṃ prāyaścittēṣṭir iti | na tu samalānām akṛtadīkṣānām iti vyākhyeyam | dīkṣāto 'nantaram iti virodhād |*

only be displayed by someone alive and not through any other ontologically distinct medium.⁷⁰ These considerations are yet again symptomatic of the awkward doctrinal position of tantric death rites.

As for the status of the recipient in the SārK, since the scripture does not explicitly refer to either an ascetic or a householder, not much restricts the performance of this Śaiva cremation to one or the other. One might argue that the cremation, with its explicit purificatory function, is less appropriate for an ascetic, who to some degree is considered at a higher level in the process of liberation than the householder involved in ordinary life; the doctrinal justification for a Śaiva cremation of removing transgressions towards Śiva and the guru, or impurity incurred through doubting the Śaiva religion does not seem fitting here. A more specific indication that the householder is intended as the recipient of this Śaiva cremation here is perhaps the prescription concerning the choice of wood; the wood is to be selected according to the wealth of the deceased person,⁷¹ an instruction implying members of society who have possessions and not ascetics who have none.⁷²

5. Full initiatory cremation: the *Sarvajñānottara*, *Kiraṇatantra* and *Dikṣottara*

The *Sarvajñānottara* (SJU), *Kiraṇatantra* (Kir) and *Dikṣottara* (DīU) are the earliest extant scriptures to introduce a full initiatory cremation for a deceased Śaiva initiate. They prescribe the repeating of the initiation ritual, using the reverse cosmic order to purify the deceased person's soul, before the corpse is incinerated. The SJU and Kir also give details on how to pre-

⁷⁰ More on this in the context of the SJU is discussed on pp. 69ff. Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha expresses this, for instance, in his commentary on Kir 6.11d–12; see Goodall 1998, pp. 376–377, in particular fn. 621.

⁷¹ SārK 26.4c–5b: *candanāgarukāṣṭhaiś ca tilaiś cājyasamanvitaiḥ || 4 || vittavatām ca tat sarvaṃ itareṣāṃ tad icchayā*. See fn. 65 above.

⁷² On the other hand, we must also note that from epigraphic material as well as later sources we know that ascetic gurus from important monasteries were often king-like figures with a great deal of material wealth that they seemed to own, so a monastic context cannot be completely excluded here. Again, quite a lot must be left to speculation.

pare the corpse and the site, as well as on conventional water offerings to the deceased person's ghost⁷³ and purificatory rites for the officiant.

5.1. The *Sārvajñānottara*: Initiatory cremation

The thirteenth chapter of the SJU is dedicated to funeral procedures. Compared to the other scriptural sources, the text gives more details about the preparatory rituals for the corpse, the *ācārya* who is conducting the ritual, the funeral site and the pyre.⁷⁴ In contrast, the actual initiation procedure is described very briefly, in only two verses.⁷⁵ Any details must be inferred from the earlier sections on initiation rites. After this, the lighting of the pyre is described, as well as final procedures regarding the cremation site and the subsequent bath of the guru, water offerings, and the appeasement of deities.⁷⁶

The scripture does not explicitly state whether the recipient is a deceased ascetic or a householder. However, there are a few indications that the beneficiary envisaged here is primarily the latter. For instance, in the instructions for worshipping Śiva during the funeral rite, it is specified that this worship be carried out as lavishly as possible (*yathāśaktyā*). This may imply that the person sponsoring the rite was a property owner and hence actively involved in society at large (in contrast to ascetics, who renounced any family or material relations).⁷⁷ Another indication that a wider scope of application is intended are doctrinal justifications for the rite as found in the SJU's opening and closing verses. Here, too, we find the statement that the rite is to be performed for those initiates who had transgressed post-initiatory rules.⁷⁸ As discussed, if only ascetic practitioners were intended,

⁷³ See SJU 13.21 and Kir 60.15–16. For the text and translation of the passages, see the appendices.

⁷⁴ SJU 13.2–16. For the text and a translation, see the appendices.

⁷⁵ SJU 13.17–18. For the text and a translation, see the appendices.

⁷⁶ SJU 13.19–21. For the text and a translation, see the appendices.

⁷⁷ See SJU 13.14. For the text and a translation, see the appendices. Note that we have seen a similar injunction in the SārK, where the wood for the pyre is selected according to the wealth of the deceased person; see p. 65.

⁷⁸ SJU 13.1: *ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi samayācāralaṅghane | yathā viśuddhyate dehī vipanno 'pi śaḍānana ||*, and 13.22: *evaṃ vimucyate dehī samayādivilaṅghane | ājñānāj*

this purpose would be less appropriate, given their spiritually elevated status.

5.1.1. The *mṛtadīkṣā*: Cremation of an effigy

The SJU is the only early Śaiva Siddhānta scripture that contains a chapter on posthumous initiation being performed for an individual through the medium of a puppet, the *mṛtadīkṣā*. This puppet is fashioned out of *darbha* grass or cow-dung and is consecrated by the *tattvas* and mantra deities being placed on it, along with the name of the individual.⁷⁹ Then the guru extracts the soul, installs the entire cosmos on the puppet and performs the funerary initiation, which culminates in the union of the soul with Śiva. At the conclusion of this puppet ritual, the puppet, together with oblations of milk, ghee and coagulated milk, is thrown into the sacred fire, which has been consecrated with Śaiva mantras.⁸⁰

The text is not explicit about the exact function of this rite, or when or for whom it is to be performed. Looking at the brahmanical tradition, we find that rites involving the cremation of an effigy as a substitute are usually associated with two situations: deaths occurring under inauspicious circumstances, and deaths in which the corpse could not be located for the cremation ceremony or was too badly deformed due to illness or battle. It is notable that throughout this long chapter of the SJU, though it specifies that the ritual is an initiation for the dead, the corpse is not mentioned. It therefore appears likely that the context concerns a death under circumstances whereby the corpse is unavailable. In fact, verse 12.50 teaches that the initiation can be performed for someone who is either alive or dead:

Thus the initiation (*dīkṣā*) for the dead has been taught, O Skanda, [and] also for someone who is still alive. [This kind of *dīkṣā*] is free from [any

jñānato vāpi kṛte tv anteṣṭikarmaṇi ||. For the apparatus and a translation, see the appendices.

⁷⁹ SJU 12.5–7. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices.

⁸⁰ SJU 12.25. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices.

obligations] such as post-initiatory rituals. [Through this ritual, the soul in question] is easily freed from bondage.⁸¹

The implication is that the rite can also be performed if the person's death is not certain, which would only be the case if there were no direct evidence of the death or a witness to it, as in the case of a missing person. In the *Tantrāloka* (TĀ), such a rite is in fact taught and referred to as *parokṣadīkṣā* ("initiation [*dīkṣā*] of someone who is absent [*parokṣa*-, lit. 'invisible']"); here the initiation ritual is performed on a puppet for cases in which it is feared, but not certain, that the person is dead.⁸² In the light of this, it seems probable that the procedure taught in SJU 12 is also intended to be such a *parokṣadīkṣā*.

But in our context of death rites, there is a significant difference: not only is a procedure for cremation described, but an initiation rite proper, that is, an initiation that brings about the transformative function of initiation on a soul which had not yet received the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*. It is not a mere purificatory act or an expiatory ritual for the already initiated. Soteriologically, it is thus a more potent rite. Indeed, the chapter outlining the rite is positioned directly after a chapter on the initiation rite proper and before the funeral chapter, a position indicating that the propagators primarily consider this puppet ritual to be an initiation rather than a funeral procedure. Another indication for this is that the redactors felt the need to make explicit that there is no need for post-initiatory practices in the case of this *mṛtadīkṣā*. Given that the person is presumed dead, this may seem a trivial statement at first, but post-initiatory duties constitute an integral part of the initiation procedure. As we have seen in chapter 1, it is only through these rites that the candidate can remove the residue karma that fuels his present existence (*prārabdha karman*). If in special cases, the candidate is freed of having to

⁸¹ SJU 12.50: *evaṃ dīkṣā mṛtasyoktā jīvato 'pi hi ṣaṇmukha | samayādibhir nirmuktā sukhāṃ bandhād vimucyate ||*. For the apparatus, see appendix A.

⁸² *Tantrāloka* 21.43–44ab: *jīvatparokṣadīkṣāpi kāryā nirbhījā tu sā | tasyāṃ darbhāḥkṛtiprāyakaḥpane jālayogataḥ || saṃkalpamātreṇākārṣo jīvasya mṛtibhūtitaḥ |*. "The initiation for someone absent and [maybe still] alive is to be performed without the seed [of post-initiatory obligations]. If [this ritual is being performed], he should make a puppet out of *darbha* grass, and attract the soul through pure imagination using the [great-] net method, because of fear [that he might be] dead."

perform them, this has to be made explicit by the *ācārya* during the procedure, as is the case, for instance, with the *nirbījādīkṣā*, “the initiation without the seed (*bīja*) [of the obligation to perform post-initiatory rites]”. The fact that the same is done in the case of the *mṛtadīkṣā* is therefore meaningful and underlines that the function of the rite is considered on par with the initiation rite proper. In contrast, for the funerary initiation the issue of post-initiatory practice does not play a role since it is a purificatory act for an initiate who would have performed his post-initiatory ritual duties during his lifetime.

In its structure and function, the *mṛtadīkṣā* of the SJU therefore calls to mind the prescriptions for the *mṛtoddhārādīkṣā*, “initiation for the rescue of the dead”, an initiation form encountered in non-Saiddhāntika sources.⁸³ Here a deceased individual who was not initiated during his lifetime is initiated posthumously upon the request of relatives. However, in the opening verses to this chapter, the SJU makes the important specification that a *mṛtadīkṣā* grants liberation to a person who has had the misfortune of dying without having received the highest initiation, even though he was energetically devoted to the guru and had applied much effort towards liberation.⁸⁴ Unlike in the case of the *mṛtoddhāra*, this suggests that the person envisaged as being eligible for this rite was not just any kind of uninitiated person, but a deceased *samayin*, that is, a neophyte who had not yet received his *nirvāṇadīkṣā*, but had undertaken the lowest level of initiation during his lifetime, which bound him to venerate the guru and study the scriptures.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that this *mṛtadīkṣā* bestows liberation in cases in which the *nirvāṇadīkṣā* was not yet performed. We have seen

⁸³ Cf. Sanderson 1995, pp. 32–33 for the regular tantric cremation with funerary initiation and the *mṛtoddhāra* in non-Saiddhāntika sources. Abhinavagupta, being part of the non-Saiddhāntika tradition, specifies that the procedure for the funerary initiation in the Śaiva *antyeṣṭi* is the same as in the *mṛtoddhāra*, except for the fact that the former is performed on a corpse and the latter, on a puppet. *Tantrāloka* 24.5 reads: *yatkiñcit kathitaṃ pūrvam mṛtoddhārābhidhe vidhau | pratimāyām tad evātra sarvaṃ śavatanau caret* ||. “Everything that was taught earlier with regard to a puppet for the ritual called rescue of a dead person, he should [now, in the funeral procedure,] do on the corpse.”

⁸⁴ SJU 12.1–3.: *na prāpto 'pi parām dīkṣām gurubhaktō 'pi yatnataḥ | †kālenāntasthito† yaḥ syāt tasya mokṣaḥ katham bhavet* || 1 || *kiṃ vṛthā tasya saṃkleśo mokṣam uddīśya yaḥ kṛtaḥ | kiṃ kiṃcid vidyate karma tasya yan mokṣasādhnam* || 2 || *gurubhaktāya śāntāya sadācārāya suvrata | mṛtasyāpi param skanda dīkṣākarma vidhīyate* || 3 ||. For the apparatus and an annotated translation, see the appendices.

above in Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary on the SārK how the principles underlying this practice are in conflict with the view of conservative medieval Saiddhāntika theorists, who argue that initiation cannot be performed on a deceased individual. The underlying reasons were that this theology requires visible signs of Śiva's grace having fallen upon a living individual before their initiation takes place (*śaktipāta*), and that these signs could not be inferred from individuals speaking on someone else's behalf due to the fundamentally dualistic ontology of the Siddhānta.⁸⁵ However, such doctrinal considerations based on dualistic and non-dualistic ontologies were not necessarily a problem for the redactors of the SJU. As mentioned above, Sanderson has observed that this text, although classified as a Saiddhāntika scripture, does not comply in all places with dualistic philosophical principles.⁸⁶ Thus, a posthumous initiation being included in the SJU seems less problematic, since its doctrinal outlook may predate the period in which the Siddhānta had established firm doctrinal positions on such topics and demarcated itself from the monism of non-Saiddhāntika tantric schools. Also in the case of the demonstrably early Ni, matters of dualistic or non-dualistic theol-

⁸⁵ Rāmakaṇṭha's strong argumentation against such a practice may be his reaction against common practices; see Goodall 1998, pp. 376–377, in particular fn. 621. There is abundant evidence that the ritual was performed in Kashmir, as for example the references in Kṣemendra's satires *Deśopadeśa* and *Narmamālā*. Theoretical justification was further offered by non-Saiddhāntika authorities such as Abhinavagupta, who criticized the more restrictive view of Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha. He insists that the descent of Śiva's grace, that is to say, Śiva's desire that a guru perform a liberating initiation for a deceased person, can be validly inferred from the fervour of the requests of relatives or his own compassion; see Sanderson 1995, p. 30, fn. 70. E.g. *Tantrāloka* 21.9c-11b: *bandhubhāryāsu-hṛtputragāḍhābhyarthanayogataḥ || svayaṃ tadviśayoṭpannakaruṇābalato 'pi vā | vijñātanmukhāyātaśaktipātāmśadharmanah || gurur dīkṣāṃ mṛtoddhārīm kurvīta śivadāyinīm*. "The guru can perform the Śiva-bestowing initiation ritual which rescues the dead for someone in whom some element of the descent of Śiva's power (*śaktipāta*) has arrived and recognized through his mouth either through the vehement requests from his relatives, wife, friends or son, or even through the strength of his own compassion for that person." Evidently, the scruples of Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha were not sufficient to undermine the practice, though it is conceivable that Kashmirian Saiddhāntika officiants may have been persuaded to surrender this source of income to their non-Saiddhāntika competitors. Further, behind these theoretical considerations on the rationale of Śaiva initiation, one also suspects a more general objection if post-mortem initiation were possible, namely that the necessity of undertaking *nirvāṇadīkṣā* while alive along with the arduous post-initiatory practices would appear to be gravely undermined by such a possibility.

⁸⁶ Sanderson 1992, pp. 291–292 and p. 44 above.

ogy do not yet play a role.⁸⁷ In fact, the brief reference to the funeral context in the Ni's *Guhyasūtra* may be describing precisely this option of performing a posthumous initiation during cremation, as noted above.⁸⁸

5.1.2. Some remarks on the position of the *Sarvajñānottara* in the development of Śaiva tantric funerary rites

It is difficult to ascertain what stage the SJU represents in the development of Śaiva cremation. On the one hand, it provides more detail about the ritual than any other pre-tenth-century Śaiva Siddhānta scripture. It is also the only early Saiddhāntika scripture to contain not only a regular Śaiva cremation, but also the *mṛtadīkṣā*, a procedure for someone who is feared dead but whose body is not available. The only other scriptural source where this is found is the quite late eclectic BK.⁸⁹ This would indicate that this part of the SJU was only composed when Śaiva tantric funerary procedures had already reached the stage of an established tradition. On the other hand, we have noted that the SJU's doctrinal position does not follow standard Saiddhāntika doctrine, but includes monistic features in the *mṛtadīkṣā*, a tenet that may indicate the work's relative archaism. Then again, these factors may simply indicate that the SJU was composed within a different tradition than the other early Saiddhāntika scriptures and may have been trying to accommodate rites and teachings from non-Saiddhāntika traditions. For instance, this tradition may have been located geographically somewhere else. That geographical considerations should be taken into account is indicated by the fact that the SJU was largely ignored by the Kashmirian Śaiva Siddhānta exegetes,⁹⁰ even though posthumous initiation appears to have been a common practice in Kashmir already by the tenth century,⁹¹ for which the SJU would have provided scriptural authority. In contrast, the SJU does have a traceable impact on the prescriptions for death rites in the South Indian Saiddhāntika ritual manual tradition; despite the doctrinally clumsy position of the *mṛtadīkṣā*, this type of funerary initi-

⁸⁷ See Goodall 1998, p. lviii.

⁸⁸ See p. 47.

⁸⁹ See NGMPP B24/57, ff. 219r2–224r2. For the place of BK in Śaiva literature, cf. p. 83.

⁹⁰ See Goodall 1998, p. xlvi.

⁹¹ See p. 70, fn. 85.

ation even reappears in a slightly modified form in the manuals by Ag-horaśiva and Jñānaśiva. The former, who also wrote a detailed commentary on the SJU, in fact draws heavily on the SJU's *mṛtadīkṣā* chapter in his own treatment of the subject.⁹² While Jñānaśiva bases himself on a different text, he also explicitly envisages the initiatory cremation of an effigy in place of the deceased for a *samayin* who has died "out of sight" (*parokṣa*).⁹³ Further, Jñānaśiva's manual contains a small ritual detail that it shares only with the SJU, namely the preparation of the bottom of the fire pit by drawing first a square and then a triangle.⁹⁴

5.2. The *Kiraṇatantra*: A high degree of integration into the brahmanical mainstream

In the Kir, chapter 60 contains an account of the cremation ritual. The chapter opens (Kir 60.2–5) with prescriptions for preparing the corpse and site, this in less detail than found in the SJU. Then the rite of initiating the deceased person's soul is described.⁹⁵ After this initiation is completed, the corpse is to be lifted to the top of the pyre and burnt, whereby a stream of water is to be poured around the pyre.⁹⁶ The concluding verses then describe purificatory rites and water offerings to the ancestors.⁹⁷

From the prescriptions it seems that by the time and place of the Kir's composition, Śaiva tantric circles had extended into the brahmanical mainstream. One indication for this is that Śaiva tantric funerary practices had become a fixed part of the ritual repertoire offered by tantric officiants. Unlike the SJU, SārK and DīU, the Kir no longer includes any doctrinal justification for these rites, but rather takes their performance for granted. Further, the Kir also includes instructions for officiating at Śaiva versions of the brahmanical procedures for post-mortem ancestral offerings (*śrād-*

⁹² See p. 121.

⁹³ JR AP 74c–75. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices.

⁹⁴ However, it should also be noted that in terms of order, the SJU's account and that of the JR vary. See p. 147.

⁹⁵ Kir 60.7–12ab. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices.

⁹⁶ Kir 60.12cd–14. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices.

⁹⁷ Kir 60.15–17. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices.

dha), a unique feature amongst the early Saiddhāntika scriptures.⁹⁸ As will be discussed in chapter 5, this indicates the text's strong orientation towards householders actively involved in mainstream society, for whom these *śrāddha* rituals constituted important ritual obligations.

This involvement in public life and the sphere of death rites as envisaged by the Kir indicates that ritual specialists of that school saw the economic potential for broadening their clientele base and aimed for a higher degree of institutionalization and visibility that would allow for their services to be commissioned by members of society at large. There is a similar tendency in the text regarding consecration rituals for cult-objects (*pratiṣṭhā*). The Kir not only provides *pratiṣṭhā* rituals for setting up *līngas*, as we would expect, but also for the temples to house them,⁹⁹ therewith implying that Saiddhāntika tantric priests had also become engaged in the consecration and maintenance of public temples. Further, the Kir contains instructions for *ācāryas* to perform *śrāddha* rituals for recipients extending beyond Śaiva initiates – Śaiva lay devotees and even ordinary orthodox twice-born not specifically devoted to Śiva.¹⁰⁰ This suggests that the Saiddhāntika order may have already had a class of professional funerary and *śrāddha* priests.

5.3. The *Dikṣottara*: Cremation defined as *prāyaścitta* for Śaiva initiates

The DīU¹⁰¹ is classified as an addition to the Ni, the earliest extant Saiddhāntika scripture. Goodall has pointed out that of all the texts associated with the Ni, the DīU is the most systematic in its treatment of doctrinal matters,¹⁰² and it therefore records the developments that had taken place between the time of the early composition of the Ni (i.e. ca. fifth–seventh cent.) and that of the DīU, sometime before the tenth century. The passage

⁹⁸ See below, chapter 5.

⁹⁹ See Takashima 2005, pp. 128–132 and pp. 136–138.

¹⁰⁰ See below, chapter 5.

¹⁰¹ I am grateful to Dominic Goodall, Nirajan Kafle, Nibedita Rout, S.A.S. Sarma and R. Sathyanarayanan for having kindly made their e-text available to me.

¹⁰² Such topics include, for instance, enumerating the 36 *tattvas* or the 28 Śaiva scriptures. See Goodall 2015, p. 25.

on Śaiva cremation is short, with just eight verses, and only includes an injunction to perform the purification of the deceased person's soul through initiation and the procedure for offering the corpse into the Śiva fire together with oblations. For the initiatory purification of the deceased person's soul, the DīU uses a different model than that taught earlier in the brief reference in the Ni's GuhS, where the letters of the Vyomavyāpin mantra are taught to be used as the cosmic units through which the guru eradicates the deceased person's karmas.¹⁰³ In contrast, the DīU offers the two following models: dividing the cosmos into the six parallel paths, or dividing it by the letters of the alphabet.¹⁰⁴

Other than this, no rites before or after the cremation are mentioned. Instead of practical ritual matters, the scripture seems more concerned with the doctrinal justification for performing a Śaiva *antyeṣṭi*. Amongst the pre-tenth-century scriptures, it is unique in that it explicitly classifies the initia-

¹⁰³ See p. 47.

¹⁰⁴ DīU 16.30–38 (T17, pp. 1059–1061; T150, pp. 157–158): *dīkṣāsaṃsuddhadehe* (conj.; *dīkṣāsaṃsuddhadehaṃ* T17T150) *tu pañcatve* **samupāgate* (T17; *samupāgame* T150) | **samayabheda*(conj.; *samayabhede-* T17T150)*hetvarthe* 'ntyeṣṭiṃ *tu samārabhet* || 30 || **śaḍvidhādhvāna*(T17; *śaḍvidhādhvāna-* T150)*mārgasya* **yasyocyate* (conj.; *yadraucyeta* T17; *yad ucyate* T150) *varānane* | *evaṃ saṃhārayogena hunec caiva yathākramam* || 31 || *ekaikām* **āhutiṃ* (T17; *āhutiṃ* T150) *huned* (em.; *juhuyād* codd.) *ante pūrṇāhutiṃ dadet* | *samayācāradoṣasya pramādāt skhalitasya* **ca* (T17; *tu* T150) || 32 || *antyeṣṭis tu śivenokā* (T150; *śivenaikā* T17) **prāyaścittam* (T17; *prāyaścitta* T150) *viśuddhaye* | *athavā mātṛkādhvānaṃ kṣakārādi* **samāsataḥ* (T17; *samasataḥ* T150) || 33 || *akārāntais tu deveṣi pañcapañcāhutiṃ hunet* | *ekaikena tu* **varṇena* (T17; *pūrveṇa* T150) *homayeta vicakṣaṇaḥ* || 34 || **samastena tu mantreṇa mātṛkeṇa vicakṣaṇaḥ* (T17; om. T150) | *tena pūrṇāhutiṃ dadyād antyeṣṭiṃ tu samarpayet* || 35 ||. “In the case of someone whose body was purified by the initiation ritual, when he has died, [the *ācārya*] should perform the funeral ritual if there are transgressions of post-initiatory practice. O beautiful one, for him whose cosmic path is divided into six paths, [the following] is taught. He should make the oblations thus, [following the cosmic path divided into six paths,] by applying [the order of] dissolution (i.e. in the reverse order, starting from the highest level and going to the lowest) and do so successively. He should make oblations one by one and at the end, make a full oblation. Śiva has taught the funeral ritual as a reparatory rite for the purification of someone who has made mistakes in his conduct and post-initiatory practice out of negligence, or of someone who is unsteady [with regard to his belief in the Śaiva doctrine]. Alternatively, [the purification of the levels should be performed] in short [using the] path of the alphabet, starting with *kṣa* (i.e. in the reverse order). O Goddess, he should make 25 oblations with [the letters] ending in *a*; the guru should make the oblations with each letter one by one or with the entire mantra of the alphabet [at once?]. After that he should make a full oblation and should perform the cremation.”

tory cremation as an expiatory ritual (*prāyaścitta*), a feature we will only encounter again in later works. DīU 16.32cd–33ab reads as follows:

Śiva has taught the funeral ritual as a reparatory rite for the purification of someone who has made mistakes in his conduct and post-initiatory practice out of negligence or someone who is unsteady [with regard to his belief in the Śaiva doctrine].¹⁰⁵

The underlying principle is the same as the one already encountered in the SārK and the SJU, namely to cleanse the soul of impurities incurred through transgressions of post-initiatory observance, even if there the rite is not explicitly termed a *prāyaścitta*.¹⁰⁶ The DīU's concept is also picked up by Abhinavagupta, in his TĀ, where he refers to this verse of the DīU in his chapter on funerary rituals, also using this reasoning as the doctrinal justification for *antyeṣṭi*.¹⁰⁷

The DīU further makes the point that funeral rites for an initiate must be performed by a Śaiva *ācārya*.¹⁰⁸ While this seems a redundant comment at first, it is possible that the redactors felt the need to make this explicit, perhaps to reassert their position in an environment in which families still resorted to ordinary funerary priests for the cremation of initiated family members. Indeed, the SvāSS explicitly mentions, as described above, that those involved in worldly life (*lokamārgastha*) should follow conventional orthodox practices in the sphere of death rites. As was argued earlier, this possibly suggests that some initiates simply received a brahmanical funeral if

¹⁰⁵ For the Sanskrit text, see fn. 104 above.

¹⁰⁶ See also DīU 16.30 in fn. 104 above for a similar statement. For cremation as a purificatory rite in order to counteract past transgressions, see p. 62 for the SārK, and p. 66 for the SJU.

¹⁰⁷ TĀ 24.4: *samayācāradoṣeṣu pramādāt skhalitasya hi | antyeṣṭidīkṣā kāryeti śrīdīkṣot-taraśāṣane ||*.

¹⁰⁸ DīU 16.37c–38 (T 17, p. 1061 and T 150, p. 158): *jñānavijñānasampanna ācāryas tattvapāragah || kālacakravīdhānājñāḥ kālajñāḥ *so 'bhidhīyate* (conj. Sanderson; *sa vidhīyate* T 17 and T 150) **sa vai mocayate* (T 17; *sa vaime* + T 150) **jantūddhārajñō* (conj. Sanderson; *jantu dhārajñō* T 17; *jantuḥ cārajñō* T 150) *nātra saṁśayaḥ*. “An *ācārya*, endowed with knowledge and wisdom, who has mastered the *tattvas*, who knows the way of the cycle of time, is called a master of time. He alone liberates, being expert in the raising of souls [out of *saṁsāra*]. Of this there is no doubt.”

their family found it suitable. A situation like this may have gradually given rise to tensions between Śaiva and brahmanical funerary priests, resulting in the increased effort by Śaiva tantric priests to propagate their services and gain an advantage over their competitors.

Not much can be gleaned from the instructions in terms of the socio-religious status of intended recipients other than an emphasis being made that the deceased should have received a *nirvāṇadīkṣā* during his lifetime, a requirement that would be applicable to householder and ascetic initiates alike. This injunction does underline, however, that the redactors of the scripture wanted to make sure to exclude the possibility that the initiatory cremation was used as an initiation rite proper for uninitiated, such as in the SJU's *mṛtadīkṣā*.

5.3.1. *Nyāsadīkṣā*: A ritual to remove the subtle body (*puryaṣṭaka*)

This account of *antyeṣṭi* in the DīU is preceded by a description of the subtle body (*puryaṣṭaka*), including the post-mortem path the soul travels while attached to it,¹⁰⁹ and the means for being freed of it. The latter is referred to as the *nyāsadīkṣā*.¹¹⁰ Framed as a dialogue between Śiva and his wife Devī, the entire chapter is a response to Devī's question of how the subtle body moves after death and experiences the various tortures of hell. This passage provides a clue about afterlife beliefs at the time of the DīU's composition,¹¹¹ beliefs that had clearly not been overcome by the doctrine of liberation at death.

It is explained that after death, the soul is still attached to the subtle body and therefore continues to experience objects of the senses,¹¹² only by

¹⁰⁹ DīU 16.5–16.

¹¹⁰ DīU 16.19–28b. This *nyāsadīkṣā* is declared here to be the last of the five kinds of *dīkṣā*.

¹¹¹ DīU 16.1–5ab: *devy uvāca–puryaṣṭakasamāyukta ātmā sarvatra yujyate | tadahaṃ śrotum icchāmi bhagavan vaktum arhasi || 1 || sukṛte karmabhokṛtve duṣkṛte ca tathaiva hi | puryaṣṭake yadā hy ātmā vāyubhūto vyavasthitaḥ || 2 || vidyamāne 'pi taddehe pratyakṣeṇa tu drśyate | śrūyate yātanā tasya narakeṣu anekadhā || 3 || svarge ca vividhaṃ bhogam aṇimādyā maheśvara | tanubhūtaś śarīrātmā bhogān bhuñjati śaṅkara || 4 || narake yātanā tasya kathayasva prasādataḥ |*

¹¹² DīU 16.7–8: **tyakte (T17; vyakte T150) *sthūla(T17; sthala- T150)śarīre tu laukike bhūtasambhave | puryaṣṭake yadā hy ātmā vāyubhūto vyavasthitaḥ || 7 || śabdasparśaṃ*

being freed of this subtle body and its constituents does one attain liberation.¹¹³ The subtle body thus acts as the vehicle of the soul between rebirths, a concept that is frequently encountered in Śaiva sources and is also reflected in ritual procedures.¹¹⁴ For instance, several initiation accounts (especially in the context of the *nirbījadīkṣā*) include the removal of the subtle body by offering the constituents to various deities.¹¹⁵ In the DīU, however, we find this procedure prescribed as a separate initiation ritual in the form of this *nyāsadīkṣā* in the context of death practices. The description of this ritual is located after an account of post-mortem experiences and, as mentioned, before the funerary procedure. In this *nyāsadīkṣā*, the beneficiary is referred to as a yogic practitioner (or *yogin*). The rite essentially consists in offering all of the *puryaṣṭaka*'s constituents to the various deities, presumably in order to free the soul of the subtle body and thus of the medium that would carry it to rebirths.¹¹⁶ However, it is not clear from the text whether this *nyāsadīkṣā* is to be performed together with the following cremation procedure for all initiates – on the occasion of the cremation, referred to as *yogins* – or whether it is a separate ritual performed only for *yogins*, with the understanding that they do not need a funerary initiation.

In the later TĀ of Abhinavagupta, we find a passage that is more explicit about the function of this rite and its position within the funerary procedure. Abhinavagupta, in fact, cites this DīU *puryaṣṭaka* passage in his chap-

*tathā rūpaṃ *gandhādiviṣayo rasaḥ* (conj.; *gandhādiviṣayoragaḥ* T17; *gandhatvagviṣayor api* T150) | *tridhāntahkaraṇaṃ devi tair na mucyet kṣaṇād api* || 8 ||. “After the gross body pertaining to the world and origin of the spirit has been abandoned, when the soul is [situated] in the *puryaṣṭaka*, it is everywhere. And not for a moment, O Goddess, is [the soul] freed from the objects of the senses, such as sound, tangibility, form, taste and smell, [nor from] the three internal organs (i.e. the *manas*, *buddhi* and *ahaṃkāra*).”

¹¹³ DīU 16.17–18: *tair yuktaṃ tu *saṃbadhyeta* (T17; *buddhyeta* T150 [unmetr.]) *tair vimuktas tu *mucyate* (T150; *mucyate* T17) | *tasmāt tu devadeveṣe nyased devi sadāśive* || 17 || *evaṃ nyaste tadā yogī niścayaṃ śivatāṃ vrajet* | *sa nyāsa eṣa vikhyātaḥ śivena paramātmanā* || 18 ||.

¹¹⁴ See s.v. *puryaṣṭaka* in TAK 3.

¹¹⁵ See s.v. *puryaṣṭakāṃśārpaṇa* in TAK 3. It mentions, for instance, the MatP and SvT.

¹¹⁶ Only in transcript T 150, the connection between the previous account and the prescriptions for the *nyāsadīkṣā* is made explicit: it is explained that by offering the constituents of the *puryaṣṭaka* to the various deities, one frees oneself from it (p. 156): *tair yuktaṃ tu *saṃbadhyeta* (em.; –*budhyeta* Cod.) *tair muktas tu mucyate* | *tasmāt tu devadeveṣe vinyaseta yathākramam* || *śabdasparsaṃ nyased brahma* (sic) *rasaṃ vai keśave nyaset* | *rūpaṃ gandhaṃ nyased rudre buddhyahaṃkāraṃ tṣvare* || *namaḥ tu deva deveṣe nyased devī sadāśivam* | *evaṃ nyāsaḥ tadā yogi *niścittaṃ* (em.; *niścathaṃ* Cod.) *śivatāṃ vrajet* ||.

ter on cremation rites (chapter 24) and explicitly names the work as the source.¹¹⁷ After listing various procedures to be performed for a deceased person, Abhinavagupta then describes the same procedure of offering the eight constituents of the body (*puryaṣṭavargārpaṇa*),¹¹⁸ referring to this as the *sāṃnyāsikī dīkṣā*.¹¹⁹ Abhinavagupta further makes explicit that it is only through freeing the soul of the *puryaṣṭaka* that it is freed of experiencing heavens and hells; as a consequence, no worldly post-mortem rituals need to be performed.¹²⁰ With this, he is probably referring to the various *bali* and water offerings to appease the ghost, which imply that the soul is not yet freed of the *puryaṣṭaka*, although theoretically the same could also extend to the whole cycle of *śrāddha* rituals. This procedure calls to mind practices of deathbed asceticism, with the dying person converting to this highest spiritual state in the last moment of his life, thereby also freeing the mourners of the obligation to perform post-mortem rituals. The fact that Abhinavagupta refers to this procedure as *sāṃnyāsikī dīkṣā* and that the DīU refers to the recipient of this *dīkṣā* as a *yogin* may indicate that this procedure was considered to have the same function. However, whether this also implies that performing a *nyāsadīkṣā/sāṃnyāsikī dīkṣā* would make the performance of any post-mortem offerings superfluous is a matter of speculation. After all, in Abhinavagupta's case, we find this procedure explained as a fixed part of a funeral for initiates, for whom procedures for post-mortem ancestor worship are subsequently also taught.

¹¹⁷ TĀ 24.17cd: *dīkṣottare ca puryaṣṭavargārpaṇam ihoditam*.

¹¹⁸ Note that the SvT also includes the offering of the constituents of the *puryaṣṭaka* in the procedure for the initiation rite proper taught in its chapter 4; passages from there are also quoted in the commentary *ad* TĀ 24.18–20 (i.e. SvT 4.136c–137c, 4.167cd, 4.179, 4.189c–190b, 4.204ab, 4.205ab).

¹¹⁹ TĀ 24.20cd: *eṣā sāṃnyāsikī dīkṣā puryaṣṭakaviśodhanī*. Note that DīU 16.18 uses the term *sāṃnyāsa* to describe the procedure of the *yogin* freeing himself of the *puryaṣṭaka*, his ensuing experiences and his renouncing into Sadāśiva (who is also the centre of worship in the TĀ's account of the *sāṃnyāsikī dīkṣā*): *evam *nyaste* (T17; *nyāsa* T150) *tadā yogī niścayaṃ śivatāṃ vrajet | sāṃnyāsa eṣa vikhyātaḥ śivena paramātmānā ||*.

¹²⁰ TĀ 24.21: *puryaṣṭakasyābhāve ca na svarganarakādayaḥ | tathā kṛtvā na kartavyaṃ laukikam kiñcanāpi hi ||*.

6. Burial in the Saiddhāntika scripture

Matāṅgapārameśvara: Connections with the Atimārga

Amongst the pre-tenth-century Śaiva Siddhānta scriptures, the *Matāṅgapārameśvara* (MatP) was composed relatively late.¹²¹ This unique scripture contains a feature not found anywhere else in the Saiddhāntika corpus, namely the burial of the corpse.¹²² This is mentioned in the context of a monastic institution, and it is explicitly stated that the beneficiary of this ritual should be an ascetic (*yati*),¹²³ as one would expect for a burial in the brahmanical context, where only those who have renounced the worldly life and ritual fires are not cremated. We can infer the monastic context from the subsequent passages, which describe the guru's property, such as his bowl and manuscripts, being distributed to co-ascetics and disciples.¹²⁴ Moreover, the scripture regulates the management of the property of monastic institutions and presents rules governing the succession of their ab-

¹²¹ On the dating of the MatP, see p. 46.

¹²² MatP Caryāpāda 10.70–72: *niṣkramya leśayāvāsād avakunṭhya paṭena tam | vijānam deśam āsādyā pracchannaṃ śivasamskṛtaiḥ || 70 || nayoktāc chivam tīṣṇyām udagdiśi sragādibhiḥ | yaṣṭvā tatraiva deveśam sthaṇḍile caiva pūjayet || 71 || śaktim uccārya sampūrṇaṃ sthāpayec ca tataḥ kṣītau | kṣamāpayeta deveśam [vihitaiḥ stutibhir mune] || 72 ||* “He should bring out [the corpse] only a short way from the house, and cover it with a shroud. He should then go to a deserted, hidden place [together] with [other] Śaiva initiates. In the Northeast [of that place] he should worship Śiva in the manner taught [in the Kriyāpāda] with such things as flower garlands and right there [also] worship the Lord of Gods (i.e. Śiva) on the platform. He should utter the root mantra (*śakti*) completely and place [the corpse] into the ground. He should ask the deity for forgiveness with the verses taught, O wise one.” *Prachannaṃ śivasamskṛtaiḥ* in 70d might also be interpreted as “[a place] surrounded by Śaiva initiates”; alternatively *śivasamskṛtaiḥ* can be seen as the agent of *āsādyā*, if the latter is understood in the causative sense: “He should have [the corpse] brought to a deserted place by Śaiva initiates”. The interpretation of verse 71 is also ambiguous, since we have two directional commands, *tīṣṇyām* and *udagdiśi*, but only one ritual action, unless the *sthaṇḍila* from 71d is understood as being in the north; it is also possible to emend *śivam* to *śavam* and to suspect some corruption behind *udagdiśi*, such as *udakpādaṃ* (note that one manuscript reads *udakpa-*). The verse could thus be translated something like this: “According to the manner taught before, he should worship the corpse in the Northeast, with the feet turned towards the North, with garlands etc. and right there on the *sthaṇḍila* worship Śiva.” Placing the corpse with the feet facing north is common in funerary prescriptions; mixing up *śi* and *śa* is also a common mistake in the transmission of texts. Note that *yaṣṭvā* is here the incorrect absolute of *yaj-*, which should read *iṣṭvā*.

¹²³ See MatP Caryāpāda 10.67cd–68ab: *yates tato vipannasya kālaprāptasya liṅginah || yo vidhiḥ sa samāsenā kathyate te muniśvara*. “O Lord of sages, I shall briefly teach you the rite for a deceased Śaiva ascetic.”

¹²⁴ Cf. p. 175, where MatP Caryāpāda 10.76–79ab is quoted.

bots.¹²⁵ The rules of impurity after a death, which prescribe the number of days to interrupt the daily study, are regulated according to the status of the deceased based on the four initiatory classes, rather than family relations. This, too, points to a monastic context.¹²⁶

In terms of the rite's function, the MatP clearly states that it considers the reason for carrying out the funeral procedure as being merely to comply with the mundane order, insisting that funeral rites are futile with regard to spiritual matters:

Whatever regulation there is, I will explain that to you in brief, O Lord of Sages (i.e. Mataṅga), since [in general] ritual cannot be of any use for the deceased ascetic. For having previously gone forth, for the remaining rituals [during his lifetime] (*śeṣānām*) he acts [only] in conformity with mundane order. The reason [for this] is known from being shown in the Jñāna- and Caryāpāda.¹²⁷

That the funeral rite is conceptualized here as a purely social ritual is further underlined by the fact that the prescriptions for funeral rites are found in the section governing behaviour and customs (*caryā*) – the Caryāpāda – rather than in the section on rituals (*kriyā*) – the Kriyāpāda – as is the case in the other sources. Further, performing funeral rites out of mere social convention is in keeping with the MatP's clear and strong position that brahmanical observances should only be undertaken to avoid the mundane order from being pointlessly offended.¹²⁸ In all of these cases, the scripture insists that these rites should not be considered efficacious in any other way. It can thus be argued that burying a Śaiva tantric ascetic just follows common brahmanical practice and therefore protects the mundane order, since a brahmanical ascetic – unlike the Śaiva ascetic of the Mantramārga –

¹²⁵ For more on this, see chapter 4.

¹²⁶ See p. 169.

¹²⁷ MatP Caryāpāda 10.68–69: *yo vidhiḥ sa samāsenā kathyate te munīśvara | nāsyopa-kāraṇaṁ karma svaryātasya yato bhavet || 68 || prāg eva hi *viniṣkrāntaḥ* (conj.; *viniṣkrāntaḥ* Ed.) *śeṣānām carati sthitau | vihitam kāraṇam jñānacaryāpādoktidarśanāt || 69 ||*. Note that in the present context, *svaryātasya* is a strange term for referring to the death of an ascetic, considering that it means literally “having gone to heaven”.

¹²⁸ See Sanderson (forthcoming), pp. 10–14.

has given up the fires necessary for the rituals pertaining to the world of householders as part of his renunciation. His corpse is therefore disposed of through burial or immersion in a sacred body of water.

Another possibility is that the burial rite found in the MatP was directly influenced by earlier Atimārgic ascetic traditions. A compelling consideration is the fact that burying ascetics was a feature of at least the community governed by the rituals set out in the Lakulīśa Pāśupata ritual manual said to have been composed by Gārgya.¹²⁹ Here, burial rather than cremation is the preferred option. This is consonant with the fact that the traditions of the Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas and of the later Lākulas,¹³⁰ who have been shown to bridge the gulf between the Atimārga and the early Mantramārga,¹³¹ were purely ascetic and fireless. Since they did not use fire in any part of their worship, cremation would not be appropriate as a means of disposing of a corpse.¹³² The MatP might thus be seen as preserving a long established element of Atimārgic Śaivism.¹³³

7. Conclusion: Gradual increase of doctrinal justification

Looking at the above evidence concerning the formation of funerary rites in these early Śaiva tantric scriptures, we can see the process of how Śaiva ritual specialists gradually transformed the cremation ritual into a tantric act of funerary initiation to ensure the soul's liberation. We have also seen how this process was occasionally accompanied by attempts to compensate resulting doctrinal inconsistencies by offering theoretical justifications for their performance. Despite the façade of ambiguity that carefully conceals any specifications about the social context – especially in the earlier texts – several clues have emerged that allow us to trace the increasing involvement of householder initiates in death practices, both as beneficiaries and as

¹²⁹ See Acharya 2010.

¹³⁰ The Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas and Lākulas were ascetic sects associated with the Śaiva Atimārga (see the introduction chapter).

¹³¹ See Sanderson 2007.

¹³² See Sanderson 2006a, pp. 152–158.

¹³³ This hypothesis is in keeping with evidence of other Atimārgic features in the MatP, most notably its instructions for a certain observance for *sādhakas* that is associated with Pāśupatas and called Rudravrata, which preserve large elements of Pāñcārthika doctrine and devotional practice. See Sanderson 2006a, pp. 203–208.

ritual agents. In other words, a general trend can be observed in which the redactors of these scriptures, over time, formulated prescriptions for funeral rites that were increasingly tailored towards householders active in society.

To summarise, the earliest source with a full funerary procedure, the SvāSS, makes no mention of the exact meaning or function of Śaiva cremation, but merely provides an injunction that the corpse be burned, without implying that this has any soteriological purpose. While there is a vagueness about defining the beneficiary of the rite, the SvāSS strongly implies a monastic context – in particular that of the death of a teacher – and also notably specifies the involvement of householder initiates who are active in society. However, in the case of the latter, it is not made explicit how Śaiva conventions are to be synchronized with mundane brahmanical ones.

With the subsequent sources, the ritual focus shifts to the deceased person's soul and his liberation. At this point the redactors begin to include doctrinal justifications for performing a Śaiva *antyeṣṭi*, giving it a purificatory function to counteract transgressions regarding post-initiatory practices or doubts about Śaiva teachings that may impede the soul's final liberation. By doing so, the redactors made sure that the initiatory cremation was not mistaken for a posthumous initiation of an uninitiated person. The DīU even goes as far as to classify Śaiva cremation as an expiation (*prāyaścitta*). However, there is a significant exception to this doctrinal development: in the Kir, which also prescribes an initiatory cremation, the redactors did not see any need for its doctrinal justification. But their procedures clearly show that this group already enjoyed a higher degree of interface with the brahmanical mainstream in the form of the householder. Here, it is likely that Śaiva versions of funeral rites had become such a fixed part of the repertoire that doctrinal justifications had become redundant. What these Saiddhāntika scriptures share is that the beneficiary of a Śaiva cremation had to receive an initiation ritual during his lifetime. Even in the SJU, which contains a posthumous initiation, it is specified that this be done only for someone who was already engaged in devotion to Śiva, probably referring to a *samayin*.¹³⁴ The scope of application for tantric funerary rites in

¹³⁴ See p. 69 for the interpretation that this stipulation of having been engaged in devotion before death can most probably be interpreted as specifically referring to a deceased *samayin* who died before having the chance to receive the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*.

the pre-tenth-century Siddhānta was therefore clearly demarcated as applying only to the initiatory community both inside and outside the monastic institution, with a tendency to increasingly cater for the householder initiate active in society. The only exception to a purely initiatory context is again the Kir, which, as has been indicated, also includes instructions for post-mortem rites for non-initiates, as will be discussed in chapter 5. It is only a few centuries later that we find a Saiddhāntika scriptural source which covers a wide variety of funeral rites in the same work, namely the *Brhat-kālottara* (BK),¹³⁵ composed sometime between the mid-eleventh and mid-twelfth century,¹³⁶ probably in Kashmir.¹³⁷ However, the BK is not only a later work, witnessing a time in which a wider variety of death rites was already well established, but it is also an extremely eclectic scripture and has been shown to draw on a wide range of scriptural sources, including non-Śaiva ones.¹³⁸ It is, however, an important witness for the development of Śaiva funerary rites in the period after the earliest scriptures and before the

¹³⁵ For example, chapter 69 (NGMPP B24/57, ff. 214r1–215r1) prescribes a Śaiva funeral of the simple type, without a funerary initiation, with the account based on a passage from the SvāSS. And in chapter 72, the BK (NGMPP B24/57, ff. 219r2–224r2) describes various forms of funerary procedures, including a *mṛtoddhārādikṣā* (which in structure is similar to the funerary initiation in the SJU, Kir and DīU) and cremation rites to be performed in special cases such as premature or inauspicious deaths, including the performance of a funerary initiation for an individual on a puppet in case of a death “out of sight” or an inauspicious death. In their collecting of passages, the redactors appear to have even consulted non-Śaiva material; it has been shown that both chapter 72 and the next, chapter 73 (NGMPP B 24/57, ff. 224r2–227v5) on *śrāddha* rituals were adapted with small modifications in their entirety from the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātrika scripture *Jayākhyasamhitā* (JayS); see Sanderson 2001, pp. 17 and 38–41.

¹³⁶ See Sanderson 2001, pp. 17–18, where it is shown that the BK echoes the *Span-dakārikā* of Bhaṭṭa Kallāṭa, who flourished approximately between 855 and 883 CE; see also *ibid.*, pp. 38–40 on the clear influence of the Pāñcarātrika *Jayākhyasamhitā*. Mills 2014, p. 58, notes that the earliest dated palm-leaf manuscript is NGMPP A43/1 (1169 CE), and that the earliest dateable author to cite the text is Vaktraśambhu, a pupil of Aghoraśiva, the author of the ritual manual *Kriyākramadyotikā* completed in 1157 CE. However, as will be shown below, a contemporary or even slightly earlier quotation is found in the chapter on funerary rites in the *Jñānaratnāvalī*; its author Jñānaśiva was a contemporary of Aghoraśiva. In a personal communication, Goodall furthermore informed me that the BK may have been composed after the *Somaśambhupaddhati*, which Somaśambhu completed in 1048/9 CE (Sanderson 2014, p. 21). This would restrict the BK’s possible period of composition to between the mid-11th and mid-12th century.

¹³⁷ Sanderson 2014, p. 12, fn. 49.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

“second wave” of Saiddhāntika scriptural composition from the twelfth century onwards, as will be shown in chapter 3.¹³⁹

Within the Saiddhāntika corpus, the only exception to this development of Śaiva tantric death rites towards initiatory cremation as the default is the MatP; here the scripture focuses only on the ascetic *yogin* and prescribes burial rather than cremation. At the same time, the meaninglessness of funeral rites is emphasised. However, the MatP’s passage is in accordance with the scripture’s general tendency to preserve ascetic practices, especially those relating to the Atimārga. The work is thus not typical for the Saiddhāntika scriptural corpus as a whole.

The development, from the simple Śaiva funeral primarily for a member of the monastic order found in the SvāSS, to the initiatory cremation and tantric mode of *śrāddha* for householders in the Kir, where potentially also lay worshippers are catered for, demonstrates the increasing involvement of tantric officiants in society at large. Tracing the possible points of connection between Śaiva tantric communities and the brahmanical mainstream in this development shows how death rites became a new field of specialisation amongst Śaiva tantric priests. It is therefore likely that such new groups of tantric professionals had established themselves by the ninth century.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ As will be discussed in chapter 3 and 4, as well as the appendices, it constituted an important source for the 12th-century South Indian author Jñānaśīva, who composed the ritual manual *Jñānaratnāvalī*.

¹⁴⁰ More on this will be discussed in chapter 4.

Chapter 3

Śaiva Cremation in Early Saiddhāntika Ritual Manuals

1. Introduction

The earliest major Saiddhāntika ritual manuals (*paddhati*) that are still extant were composed from the tenth century onwards. Seven in number, they comprise the manual of Brahmaśambhu, sometimes referred to as the *Brahmaśambhupaddhati* (BrP) (completed in 937/8 CE), consisting of the *Nityakriyānusandhāna* (exposition of rites for regular worship) and the *Naimittikakriyānusandhāna* (NaiKri) (exposition of occasional rituals);¹ the *Siddhāntasārapaddhati* (SiSārP) by King Bhojadeva (r. 1018 to 1060);² the *Somaśambhupaddhati* (SP) (or *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī*) of Somaśambhu (composed in 1048 CE);³ the *Naṭarājapaddhati* (NaṭP) of Rāmanātha (composed in 1058 CE);⁴ the *Jñānaratnāvalī* (JR) of Jñānaśiva (second half of the 12th century);⁵ and the *Kriyākramadyotikā* (KKD) of Aghoraśiva (1157/8).⁶ With the exception of the SiSārP, all contain instructions for funerary procedures. From the time of the early scriptures to this period between the tenth and twelfth century, we find that in Śaiva religious history, various groups of the Śaiva Siddhānta branch became institutionalized in monasteries (*maṭha*), often sponsored by kings, and they continued to be increasingly involved in public life.⁷ Some of the surviving ritual manuals

¹ See Sanderson 2014, pp. 20–21, especially fn. 74.

² Ibid., pp. 20–21.

³ See Sanderson 2011, p. 5, for a discussion on this dating. Here evidence is presented for an earlier date of composition than previously suggested, e.g. by Brunner-Lachaux 1977 and Sanderson 2007a, p. 420, fn. 640, which offer the possible later dates of 1073/4 CE and 1096/7 CE, respectively.

⁴ Goodall 2014, p. 178.

⁵ For the date of Jñānaśiva, see Goodall 2000, pp. 209–211; Sanderson 2003/2004, p. 358, esp. fn. 24; and Sanderson 2014, p. 23, fn. 80.

⁶ See Goodall 1998, pp. xiii–xvii, fn. 24; and Sanderson 2014, pp. 22–23, fn. 79.

⁷ See Sanderson 2009, pp. 263–273 and Sears 2014, in particular for the foundation and spread of the Saiddhāntika Mattamayūra. The increasing public role of Śaivism is reflected

are the product of monastic networks, through which these standardizing works were often disseminated.⁸ Some of the authors, such as Brahmaśambhu and Somaśambhu, were themselves part of monastic teaching lineages, with Somaśambhu even the abbot of a monastic institution.⁹

It seems that by the time the first of these manuals were composed, funerary rituals and rites of post-mortem ancestor worship had become a standard component of the Śaiva tantric ritual repertoire. Compared to most of the early scriptural material, in the manuals there is also an increase in the variety of funerary practices, including procedures for deaths occurring under special circumstances, such as violent deaths or dying abroad. However, all of the manuals present the initiatory cremation as the default, other procedures being variations thereof.

In terms of their social scope, the instructions envisage a broad clientele base that explicitly includes ascetic communities as well as initiated members of the brahmanical householder mainstream. However, with this increasing involvement in society at large, the diversity of practitioners grew, resulting in the emergence of various initiatory levels as well as communities of lay devotees linked to monastic institutions. These factors strained the doctrinal logic and appropriate application of Śaiva death rites. The basic system of ranks within the initiatory community developed rather early within tantric circles, with the first extant example being the SvāSS, as was discussed in chapter 2.¹⁰ In ascending order, these ranks are the *sa-mayin*, *putraka*, *sādhaka* and *ācārya*. As for the corresponding structure of initiation and consecration rites, this goes as follows: any candidate had first to undergo the preliminary initiation called *samayadīkṣā*, which gives

in the ritual repertoire, whereby the manuals include instructions for royal rituals, such as consecration and apotropaic rituals (see, e.g. Sanderson 2003/2004), as well as for public events such as festivals (see, e.g., Goodall [forthcoming]) and consecration rituals for a variety of religious objects.

⁸ For instance, on the teaching lineages and monastic institution involved in the links between the authors Aghoraśiva and Jñānaśiva, see Goodall 2001; between Somaśambhu and Rāmanātha, see Goodall 2014.

⁹ For Brahmaśambhu belonging to the Mattamayūra lineage, see Sanderson 2014, pp. 21–22, fn. 74, which contains the text and translation of the colophon of the NaiKri, where it is stated that Brahmaśambhu was a disciple of the abbot of Mattamayūra. For Somaśambhu being the head of the Golagīmaṭha, see Sanderson 2003/2004, p. 442.

¹⁰ See pp. 51ff.

him the status of *samayin*, or neophyte. Only by going through this rite does he become qualified to receive either the ultimate liberation ritual (*nirvāṇadīkṣā*) – which raises him to the status of the *putraka* and thence, if he is chosen, to receive consecration (*abhiṣeka*) to become an *ācārya* – or initiation and consecration as a *sādhaka*, who specializes in attaining supernatural effects. However, in due time, sub-divisions were added to this structure, presumably to accommodate even more differentiated levels of practice. At least from the time of Somaśambhu onwards (mid-11th century), the initiatory levels were divided further, with the *samayadīkṣā* split into a *sāmānyasamayadīkṣā*, the “ordinary *samayadīkṣā*”, and a *viśeṣasamayadīkṣā*, the “special *samayadīkṣā*”, two levels leading to the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*.¹¹ In light of this complex initiatory system and its various spiritual levels, the default of the initiatory cremation is problematic, since according to this rite’s ritual logic, beneficiaries realize ultimate liberation at death. This liberation is ensured and enacted for them by the funerary priest. Theoretically, this limits the ritual’s application to those who have received the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*. Those who have undergone lower level initiations have not yet been promised liberation at death; theoretically they are waiting at some semi-liberated level for their final liberation. This makes them unsuitable for the liberating funerary initiation ritual, especially if following orthodox Saiddhāntika doctrine, which categorically prohibits

¹¹ In her introduction to the third volume of the SP, Brunner-Lachaux (1977, pp. xxx–xxxiii) has discussed this phenomenon, concluding that the division of initiation rites into a tripartite model was a gradual development: no rites were added, but the procedures originally constituting a single initiation rite were first split into two separate initiations – the *samayadīkṣā* and the *nirvāṇadīkṣā* – and then divided further into the three parts taught here. When this last division was made, the middle step, the *viśeṣadīkṣā*, was made up of the rites at the end of the *samayadīkṣā* as well as the preliminary rites of the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*, notably those associated with the birth of the candidate’s soul in the womb of Vāgīśvarī. She points out, however, that this division differs between the sources, causing much confusion concerning the candidate’s status and ritual rights. Earlier sources, using the two-part model, made a clear distinction between the *samayin*, who has received the *samayadīkṣā* and is entitled to live with the guru and study the scriptures, and the *putraka*, who has received the *nirvāṇadīkṣā* and is entitled to perform Śiva worship. But subsequent sources using the tripartite model introduce confusion to the *putraka* level. Of these, some sources, in addition to denoting full initiates, use this assignation for those who have undergone *viśeṣadīkṣā*, where it is also claimed that they are entitled to perform full Śiva worship. See also *s.v. putraka* in TAK 3.

initiation for the uninitiated after death.¹² As in the scriptural sources, however, this complex issue of synthesizing doctrinal matters with the logistics of the newly emerging initiatory structures was not consistently resolved. As there, discrepancies remain between doctrine and practice. The manuals have different ways of acknowledging this issue.

A few words are needed regarding general principles in the composition of Saiddhāntika ritual manuals. The *paddhatis* are conceived as being based on the tradition's scriptural sources. They are not meant to lay out new rites, but rather attempt to present what the scriptures intended in a more understandable form. As such, they are intended to guide officiants through the maze of instructions in the scriptures, where information on how to perform rites is scattered over different chapters. For example, while a scripture chapter on *dīkṣā* contains the rites specific to initiation, it does not contain details about the regular worship during the procedure; these are outlined in a separate chapter. Also the mantras used during rites are not spelled out explicitly, but are only referred to by their names; thus a chapter dedicated to setting out mantras (the *mantroddhāra*) must be consulted. To provide a guide, the manuals draw this material together, supposedly on the basis of a single scripture. As Sanderson describes this:

[...] a Paddhati, literally 'a pathway', being a practical manual that guides the performer of a ritual by co-ordinating the mantras and actions taught explicitly or implicitly in the various parts of a single scripture, setting them out explicitly in the order of their performance and utterance, supplementing them from related scriptures only where the silence of the primary source requires it.¹³

Amongst his many observations on Śaiva tantric ritual systems, Sanderson has made two important discoveries regarding the composition of these manuals.¹⁴ First, he has identified the *Dviśatikālottara* (DviK) (the *Kālot-tara* in its 200-verse redaction) as the root scripture upon which all the extant Saiddhāntika manuals apart from the *Mṛgendrapaddhati* are based. He

¹² See p. 63 and p. 69.

¹³ Sanderson 2003/2004, p. 356.

¹⁴ See Sanderson 2003/2004, pp. 253–361.

argues that the reason for this is the DvīK's simple mantra system and the work's extreme brevity. The former enabled the propagators of the Saiddhāntika tradition to create a ritual system based on a straightforward arrangement of mantras and deities, an arrangement that could be disseminated more easily, thereby imposing ritual uniformity across a wide area. Further, the brevity of the DvīK was advantageous because it consequently contains only a few specific ritual instructions. As pointed out by Sanderson in the above quotation, a basic principle was that instructions could be supplemented with information from other scriptures if the root text had none of its own on a subject. Hence, the redactors of a manual were free to import material from other sources as they judged necessary. In this procedure, for sources a redactor could only use scriptures from a shared corpus, a *sāmānyatantra* ("common scripture"), meaning that the scriptures had to stem from the same tradition.

This leads to Sanderson's second finding, namely that this principle was often tacitly violated. A major influence on the Saiddhāntika ritual repertoire actually goes back to the non-Saiddhāntika scripture *Svacchandatantra* (SvT).¹⁵ This scripture was used extensively by King Bhojadeva of Dhāra to compose his manual, the SiSārP. He relied on the SvT for a number of important sections – including that on initiation. The SvT's influence continued to be felt in subsequent Saiddhāntika manuals, starting with the SP, which is largely a verse redaction of the prose of the SiSārP,¹⁶ and then in the KKD and JR, which, in turn, drew on the SP.

However, there are no sections on funerary practices and ancestor worship in the SvT. Within this sphere of rituals, while the manuals do show a few signs of common sources and points of transmission, there is greater variation in the models that were adopted. It also seems that the authors followed different strategies. The last section of this chapter will consider what this might imply regarding the actual performance of these rites, as well as the extent to which this is reflected in these manuals.

The order of the following descriptions of the early Saiddhāntika ritual manuals is based on their relative chronology.

¹⁵ As has been demonstrated by Sanderson. Cf. Sanderson 2003/2004, pp. 359–369.

¹⁶ Sanderson 2003/2004, pp. 359–360.

2. Brahmaśambhu's *Naimittikakriyānusandhāna*

The earliest extant Saiddhāntika ritual manual is that of Brahmaśambhu, composed in the tenth century. It consists of the *Nityakriyānusandhāna*¹⁷ and the *Naimittikakriyānusandhāna* (NaiKri), the latter of which was composed in 937/8 CE¹⁸ and includes the rites relating to death and post-mortem ancestor worship. This part has survived in a single damaged Nepalese manuscript preserved at the Asiatic Society of Kolkata.¹⁹ The text is hitherto unedited and the available microfilm and scans are of poor quality. Especially towards the end of the manuscript, where the *antyeṣṭi* and *śrāddha* sections are found, folios are missing, are in the wrong order, or show incorrect numbering.²⁰ I have been able to identify nine folios belonging to the chapter on funeral rites.²¹ These are located at the end of the NaiKri's fifth and last section (*paricheda*), which, in turn, consists of the following

¹⁷ There is no complete manuscript of the *Nityakriyānusandhāna*; however, Sanderson notes that a substantial part of it is preserved in a single manuscript of the Kesar Library (see Sanderson 2014, pp. 22–21, fn. 74).

¹⁸ Sanderson 2014, pp. 20–21.

¹⁹ I am grateful to Dominic Goodall, who kindly made his scans of this manuscript available to me. My gratitude also goes to Alexis Sanderson, who shared his transcript of part of the manuscript with me, including a partial transcript of folios 85 and 92.

²⁰ It seems that various attempts have been made over the years to order and number the manuscript: 1) a set of numbering in Nepālākṣara is found on the left of each folio's verso; 2) some folios show traces of an earlier number on the left side of the recto; 3) Roman numbers in pencil are found in the middle of each verso; 4) on some folios, there are traces of erased Roman numbers in pencil in the middle of the verso; 5) on critical folios, which seem to have been mixed up several times, small Nepālākṣara numbering in ink is found on the right lower corner of some verso folios. On the black-and-white microfilm of the manuscript, the first set of Roman pencilled numerals are visible; these have been erased at the time the colour scans were produced. Thus it seems that a curator tried to re-order and number the folios before taking the colour scans (some folios have also been turned around in places where the microfilm shows an incorrect recto-verso order). Whoever re-numbered the manuscripts in Roman numerals apparently did not take note of the small Nepālākṣara numbers on the right lower corners, which are found on both the microfilm and the scans. This must have been an earlier attempt to re-order the folios that have incorrect Nepālākṣara numbering on the left side of the versos. Unfortunately, the relevant folios for death rites are badly mixed up and confused in their numbering.

²¹ Listed according to the Nepālākṣara numbering found on the left side of the verso (seemingly the oldest numbers), these are: folios 82–84; folio 85 (which has been mistakenly numbered folio 86 in the Roman numbering in pencil); folio 86 (in the Roman numbering, mistakenly 88); folio 87; folio 88 (in the Roman numbering, mistakenly 85); folio 89; folio 90; and folio 92. Folio 91 and the remaining folios of this chapter are missing.

sub-sections: (1) the veneration of the deity of the observance (*vrateśvareṣṭi*), (2) the ritual for removing prior sectarian marks before converting to Śaivism (*uddhāro liṅginām*), (3) the initiation of a deceased person (*vyasudīkṣaṇa*), (4) funeral rites (*virāmeṣṭi*) and procedures for post-mortem ancestral offerings (*śrāddha*).²² Since a complete critical edition of the text is planned,²³ here I will only present the points relevant for contextualizing the NaiKri's material on funerary rites within these rites' historical development. Aside from its evidence as the earliest extant Saiddhāntika manual, the work also appears to have been an important source for Jñānaśiva, who draws heavily on it in his chapter on funerary rites, although he does not acknowledge the name of his source.²⁴

2.1. Cremation rituals according to Brahmaśambhu

The opening verses to the *antyeṣṭi* procedures are quite revealing regarding common perceptions of Śaiva funerary rituals present at the time of Brahmaśambhu:

[Some may say that] there is no difference between [the Śaiva *antyeṣṭi*] and [ordinary] *antyeṣṭi*. One who knows (*tadvidā*) should answer “no”, since that [Śaiva cremation] is the forest fire that removes obstacles for [the group of initiates] starting with the *putraka*. Death [takes place] through the cessation of experiences of the experiencer, [and is] the final separation (*atyantaṃ viyogo*) from [all that needs] to be experienced together with the means of the experiencing.²⁵

²² BrP NaiKri, fol. 103r, lines 2–3: *vrateśvareṣṭir uddhāro liṅginām vyasudīkṣaṇam | virāmeṣṭis tato py ante śrāddhakalpaś ca pañcamah || ity arthā pañcame py asyā paricchede nirūpitāḥ | dīkṣākarmānusandhānapaddhater brahmaśambhunā ||*.

²³ A collaborative editing project is currently underway, directed by Dominic Goodall.

²⁴ See p. 103 for a table of parallels in the JR, including its references to the BrP. Further, other South Indian Saiddhāntika authors frequently quote Brahmaśambhu's manual, including Aghoraśiva (also in his commentary on the *Mrgendra*), Trilocana, Varuṇaśivācārya (*Varuṇapaddhati*), and Vaktraśambhu (*Mrgendrapaddhativyākhyā*).

²⁵ NaiKri folio 85v1–2 (corresponding to JR AP 83–84): *anteṣṭer na viśeṣo syād vaktavyaṃ neti tadvidā | sā yataḥ putrakādīnām antarāyadavānalaḥ || bhogāyatanapātono bhoktur bhogakṣayānvite | bhoktavyānām sahātyantaṃ viyogo bhogasāadhanaiḥ ||*.

With this, Brahmaśambhu counteracts possible criticism, namely, that the function fulfilled by the Śaiva cremation is not different than the brahmanical one. This touches on the fundamental inconsistencies and problems of Śaiva cremation, as described above. Conformity with the doctrinal justifications found in the early scriptural sources, Brahmaśambhu also stresses that through Śaiva cremation, obstacles that might impede an initiate's path to liberation in the last moments of his life are thus removed, alluding to the concept that the cremation is a kind of purificatory ritual.²⁶

This is followed by a list of the categories of death – from the inauspicious to the auspicious, with the most elevated category being death by yogic suicide (*utkrānti*). It is also specified that the cremation ritual for a person who has died by *utkrānti* should be performed without the purification of the path, that is to say, without the funerary initiation, since through the *utkrānti* procedure, an initiated yogic practitioner (the *yogin*) is considered to have already enacted union with Śiva at the moment of death.²⁷

As for the funeral rite itself, the procedure is very close to that of the other manuals that will be outlined in detail below, in particular that of Jñānaśiva, who may well have modelled his prescriptions on Brahmaśambhu's work.²⁸ Since the procedures are very similar, and with part of the text of this section missing, the procedure as prescribed by Brahmaśambhu will not be outlined separately here. However, one part of these funeral procedures is unique to this text, namely, the description of funerary practices in the case of death within a monastic institution (*maṭha*), a passage fortunately preserved in a single folio. It will be discussed below in section 2.2.3.

²⁶ As shown below (see p. 103), this is part of the passage that seems tacitly to have been incorporated into Jñānaśiva's manual; the new context renders the interpretation of the verses difficult. Jñānaśiva or later redactors also added some *pādas* that make the text even more difficult to interpret there.

²⁷ NaiKri folios 85v2–5 and 88r1. For the text, cf. JR AP 85–90b, which quotes this passage. For *utkrānti* and its procedure, cf. pp. 57ff., particularly fn. 54.

²⁸ Cf. fn. 26.

2.2. Posthumous initiation of a deceased *samayin*

In his manual, Brahmaśambhu includes the possibility of posthumous initiation for a *samayin*, similar to what we have seen in the SJU. In fact, just as in the SJU, Brahmaśambhu offers this procedure on its own terms as a special variety of initiation, not as one of various types of possible cremation rituals.²⁹ The procedure itself, too, is very similar to that found in the SJU, involving the preparation of a puppet made of *kuśa* grass, flour paste or cow-dung and soaked in *pañcagavya*, a mixture of the five products of the cow, namely, a combination of milk, sour milk, butter, as well as liquid and solid excreta. The soul is then caught using the Great-Net mantra and placed in the puppet. After this, the guru performs the initiation for the deceased person's soul, which in the end is united with Śiva. When this procedure has been completed, the puppet is burnt. This is followed by *śrāddha* rituals in the deceased person's name.³⁰

2.3. Funerary practices for those who die in the *maṭha*

An exceptional feature of the NaiKri is the deeper insight it gives us into actual procedures within monastic institutions. This appears to have been a major topic for Brahmaśambhu.³¹ While the existence of monastic institutions can be inferred in other sources, they do not explicitly discuss any practical or logistical matters specific to this context. Brahmaśambhu, however, specifies that if a close relative has died within a monastic complex, all of the funerary rituals should be performed just as outlined in the earlier

²⁹ Note that in later manuals, such as those of Jñānaśiva and Aghoraśiva, which include this option as well, it is found as an additional type of cremation, next to rites for those who have died inauspicious deaths. See p. 107 and p. 121.

³⁰ BrP NaiKri, folio. 85r1–5 (diplomatic transcription): *pratyakṣaṃ vā parokṣaṃ vā vipannasyādhikāriṇaḥ | yathānukampayā dīkṣāṃ guruḥ kuryāt tathocyate || kli<ṣṭasya> samayastasya hīnasyottaradīkṣayā | deśāntare vipannasya muktikāmasya deśikaḥ || 40 || + yajñamaṇḍape + (i.m.) kauśīṃ tatpratimāṃ kṛtvā paiśīṃ vā gomayodbhavāṃ | pañcagavyaplutāṃ tasyāṇ talliṅgaṃ upakalpayet | mahājālaprayogeṇa mantramudrābalānvitāḥ || O || + mṛtasya puryaṣṭaka + (i.m.) + + + + + + + (ill.) jālamudrāvasaṃ + + | mantradehaka-lānyāsaṃ samhṛtyaivaṃ vidhāya ca || viśodhya pūrvavat pāsān yojayed amale pade | payāhsarpnimadhuyuktaṃ tadrūpaṃ śivatejasā || dāhayitvā tadarthaṃ ca śrāddhaṃ kuryāt tadātmakam || O ||.*

³¹ The NaiKri also contains sections regarding various practical aspects of monastic institutions, such as the layout of the buildings in monasteries.

section. However, following the funeral the chief mourner is to sponsor a huge feast within the monastery itself. Moreover, on this occasion the guru is to announce that the deceased person's donations will stay within the monastery:

If an initiated ascetic or non-ascetic ritualist who is a close relative has died in the *āśrama*, he should perform the entire [funeral] rite for him in the proper order. [After the funerary procedures,] he should organize a meal for the ascetics in the monastery on behalf of [the deceased]. He should smear the monastery completely with cow-dung on the outside [and] on the inside. He should have the kitchen specially prepared (*viśeṣeṇa...kārayitvā*), with the purification of the cooking pots (*bhāṇḍaśuddhiḥ*)³² by particularly pure and auspicious people who have also taken the purificatory baths. [Further, he should donate] sandalwood [to the monastery] in accordance with his financial means. And for those of a different lineage (*gocara*), it is the same procedure of rites [that is to be performed]. After the meal, the guru [first] speaks to the various groups of ascetics [in the monastery,] starting with the gurus and ending with the *samayins*; then he should speak to the lay devotees (*māheśvaraṇān*), the servants, as well as the workers (*dāsān karmakarāṃs tathā*) – all seen one after the other (*dṛṣṭapūrvāparān*) – [as well as to] all the religious people [present] (*sarvān sadharmaṇaḥ*), [saying,] “This chief of wise men who remained here [and] was of X *gocara* has died, †...†. The remainder of whatever [financial] service he has given by his (i.e. the deceased person's) own hand for the purpose of medicine, ascetic equipment (*mātra*), books and goods is passed on to the chief ascetics in the *āśramas* frequented by ascetics.”³³

³² Purificatory rites concerning the buildings of the *maṭha*, as well as the kitchen and its cooking pots indicate that upon the death of an initiate, also the physical space was considered in need of purification. This appears to have been an obligatory service required of the chief mourner.

³³ NaiKri folios 92v2–93r3: *avratasṭho vratasṭho vā kriyāvān dīkṣito yadā || āsannata-rasambandhī svaryātas (i.m.: mṛta) tu yadāśrame | tadā tasya vidhiṃ kṛtsnam nirvartyā + yathākramam || tadarthaṃ bhojanaṃ kāryaṃ maṭha eva tapasvinām | bahir antar maṭhaṃ liptvā gomayena nirantaram || mahānaṣaṃ viśeṣeṇa bhāṇḍaśuddhiḥ puraḥsaram | kārayitvā ca susnātaiḥ kuśalais tatra candanam || śucibhiḥ ca viśeṣeṇa śaktyā dravyānusārataḥ |*

Several aspects regarding the socio-religious context are notable in this passage. First, we see here that while the author is envisaging the case of a deceased member of the initiatory community within the monastic complex, this person still has relatives obliged to carry out funeral rites for him. We can infer from this that the deceased person is likely to be a novice or another kind of initiate who has moved to the monastery temporarily to study, or someone who has renounced his worldly status in old age and moved to the *āśrama*, similar to the last stage of the brahmanical *varṇāśramadharm* system. In this scenario, it seems that the responsibility for carrying out funeral rites still lies with the deceased person's family, who are also required to organize the large feast in the *maṭha* itself. At the end of this meal, the guru confirms that whatever donation was given to the monastery by the deceased is to stay within the monastic institution. This suggests that in such cases there were occasionally disputes over inheritance designated for the monastic institution.³⁴ Following this passage, there are still more instructions regarding inheritance within the monastic order. These dictate that in the case of the death of a disciple, his belongings are to go to his guru, a co-disciple or his lineage. It seems that here, this type of disciple is distinguished from the above case, perhaps implying that these instructions are for younger disciples – equivalent to the brahmanical *brahmacārya* – who do not yet have many belongings or a household.³⁵

atulyagocarāṇām tu tulya eva kriyākramah || tadarthaṃ kiṃ tu tat kāryam (em. Sanderson; *kārye* Cod.) *tattadgocarapūrvakam | bhojanottarakālam tu vivikte sthānake guruḥ || deśikādisamayyantān vyāhṛtya tu tapodhanān | māheśvarajanāṃś* (corr. Sanderson; *māheśvaram janāṃś* Cod.) *cāpi dāsān karmakarāṃś tathā || dṛṣṭapūrvāparān brūyād iti sarvān sadharmmaṇaḥ | munīndro yaṃ śivībhūtaḥ sthito 'trāmukagocarah ||* *ṭanvaye vāmukasyoccaiḥ prasthite mukanāmataḥ† | iyan tasya svahastena dattaśeṣavatiṣṭhate || mātṛeṣṭapustikādravya-m-auśadhārtham upakriyā | seviteṣu munīndrāṇām āśrameṣu tapasvibhiḥ ||.*

³⁴ That the property of monastic community members generally needed careful regulation can also be seen in the Buddhist *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*, where it is specified that a monk can have property and that upon his death it must remain within the monastic institution rather than go to the king. See, e.g., Sanderson 2009, pp. 102–103, particularly fn. 215 and Schopen 2004, pp. 91–121.

³⁵ This passage has also been incorporated into the JR and will be discussed again in chapter 4.

Secondly, this passage gives us some insight into the structure of communities associated with *maṭhas*. Not only are the various levels of initiates present at the meal and during announcement of the initiate's death, but also servants and workers, as well as a community of lay devotees. The explicit mention of lay devotees in this context implies the close connection monastic institutions had with surrounding lay populations.

3. The *Somaśambhupaddhati*

The *Somaśambhupaddhati* (SP), also referred to as the *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī*, was composed sometime in the second half of the eleventh century, most probably in 1073 CE.³⁶ It received a commentary by Trilocana.³⁷ As mentioned above, Sanderson has demonstrated that much of the SP is based on the ritual system taught in the non-Saiddhāntika scripture SvT; the former is heavily dependent on the SiSārP by King Bhojadeva, and much of his work, in turn, is a prose version of parts of the SvT.

The SP was an extremely influential work in the Siddhānta. For example, it was the principal source for authors such as Jñānaśiva and Aghoraśiva, who produced authoritative manuals that would become widely used in South India.³⁸ Evidence of its influence is also its unacknowledged incorporation into the *Agnipurāṇa*, where it is passed off as scripture, as well as the survival of a substantial number of manuscripts of the text in widely separated regions of the subcontinent, including Kashmir, the far southern parts of India, and Nepal.³⁹ In comparison, the only known copy of Brahmaśambhu's manual is a single Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript. Further, Brunner-Lachaux has shown that much of the SP was incorporated into late South Indian Saiddhāntika scriptures such as the *Uttarakāmika* and *Cintya-viśvasādākhya*.⁴⁰ It thus constitutes an important point of reference for the formation of the South Indian Śaiva ritual repertoire.

³⁶ The date has been discussed extensively in Sanderson 2007, pp. 420–421, in particular in fn. 640.

³⁷ Goodall (2000, pp. 209–210 [fn. 15, 17 and 18] and p. 219) has demonstrated that Trilocana, the commentator on the SP, was a disciple of both Jñānaśiva and Aghoraśiva.

³⁸ See Sanderson 2003/2004, p. 360 and Brunner-Lachaux 1998, p. xlix.

³⁹ Sanderson 2009, p. 23, fn. 73.

⁴⁰ Brunner-Lachaux 1998, pp. lvii–lix.

A factor in its success may have been the author, Somaśambhu, being part of a powerful and influential monastic network, holding the position of pontiff of the Golagīmaṭha,⁴¹ a monastery prominent in the history of the Siddhānta. It was allegedly founded by the Kalacuri king Yuvarājadeva,⁴² who reigned probably in the tenth century.⁴³ In an inscription in the district of Malkapuram, Somaśambhu's name is found in a teaching lineage where he is described as the abbot of the Golagīmaṭha and the author of a ritual manual bearing his name.⁴⁴ There are a number of signs that his work circulated widely through these monastic networks. For example, the South Indian author Rāmanātha, a contemporary of Somaśambhu, drew heavily on the latter's work when composing his own manual, as will be discussed below.

Another point that may have destined Somaśambhu's manual to be transmitted and become a standard authority for the Śaiva ritual repertoire is its relative brevity. Especially in the section on funerary rituals, the instructions are quite sparse. For example, the passage on collecting the bones after the cremation consists only of two verses. The work's success thus may lie in the fact that it provided a normative framework into which local practices could be easily accommodated and adapted.

3.1. Initiatory cremation as a privilege of full initiates

In striking contrast to all the other manuals, the SP presents only the initiatory cremation – from the funeral procession to the gathering of the bones. It also gives the restriction that this type of cremation is to be performed only for an *ācārya*, a *sādhaka* or a *putraka*. For anyone else, a Śaiva cremation is to be performed without the initiation of the deceased.

⁴¹ See Sanderson 2009, p. 23. SP 245: *golakyām ādhipatyena tiṣṭhatā somaśambhunā | kriyākāṇḍakramāvalyām dīkṣā nirvānadoditā*. “In [this] *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī* [I.] Somaśambhu, while holding office as the abbot of the Golakī[maṭha], have now explained the initiation that bestows liberation.” The reading Golagī- rather than Golakī- follows Sanderson 2009, p. 209, where the common Golakī- is corrected to the reading Golagī- on the basis of this spelling being found in the earliest Nepalese manuscripts. Information about this monastery's history is found in Sanderson 2009, pp. 209–211.

⁴² Ghose 1996, p. 164.

⁴³ See Brunner-Lachaux 1998, p. xliv and Sanderson 2009, pp. 209–211.

⁴⁴ See Brunner-Lachaux 1998, p. xliii.

The funeral ritual is taught for someone who is a *sādhaka*, an *ācārya* or a *putraka*⁴⁵ and dies for some reason or other, but for anyone else [the funeral ritual] is without the purification of the *tattvas*.⁴⁶

The logic behind this, it appears, is that a person qualifies for receiving initiatory cremation only if he has already been granted liberation at death by having received the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*, which is what these categories of initiates have in common. Excluded are therefore the *samayins*, or neophytes, who have received only the *samayadīkṣā* and are on an inferior level of the path to ultimate liberation. This makes the initiatory cremation in this work a special rite reserved for upper levels of initiates. Perhaps in accordance with this implied exclusive character, it is noticeable that Somaśambhu's prescription does not acknowledge the doctrinal notion of Śaiva cremation having an expiatory function, as found in other texts as an attempt to justify its performance. In his commentary, Trilocana modifies this by adding here that a simple cremation without the purification of the path – for Somaśambhu, only for the *samayin* – is to be performed for any initiate who has not transgressed the post-initiatory discipline, thereby acknowledging both the purificatory function of initiatory cremation and the implied notion that a simple cremation for the spiritually more elevated is even more prestigious.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ The order *sādhaka*, *ācārya* and *putraka* in the text is due to metrical reasons.

⁴⁶ SP 10.1: *sādhakācāryaputrāṇām mṛtasyaikasya karhicit | antyeṣṭir ucyate 'nyasya hy adhvaśuddhivivarjitā ||*. Note that this reading is also supported by the *Uttarakāmika* (27.3), which may have been composed with Somaśambhu in mind (see Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 569, 1a): *ācāryādītrayāṇām syāt tattvaśuddhisamanvitā | antyeṣṭir itareṣām ca tattvaśuddhivivarjitā*, “The funeral ritual should be performed with the purification of the *tattvas* for the group of three starting with the *ācārya* (i.e. *ācāryas*, *sādhakas*, and *putrakas*), and without the purification of *tattvas* for other people.”

⁴⁷ See Trilocana's commentary on the term *anyasya* in SP 10.1 (cited from Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 569): *atha anyasya; atrānyaśabdena samayalaṅghanaparād anyāḥ samayaparipālakaś ca sādhakādītrayād anyāḥ samayī ca grhyate. evam *dvaividhyasya* (em. Brunner-Lachaux; *traividhyasya* Cod.) *tattvaśuddhivivarjitā śivāgnimātram evety arthaḥ*. In order to support his interpretation, Trilocana even quotes SārK 26.6–8ab, the passage stating that cremation has a purificatory function to counteract transgressions committed during one's post-initiatory practice. This passage is also used by Jñānaśiva, one of Trilocana's gurus, in his JR.

3.3. The scope of Somaśambhu's *antyeṣṭi*

Concerning practical application, the text gives little concrete information about the potential beneficiaries. The only explicit term used to refer to the recipient of Śaiva cremation is *tapasvin* ("ascetic"), in SP 10.38ab (*tatra devārcanam kuryāt tam uddiśya tapasvinam*). Brunner-Lachaux claims that this should be understood by extension as referring to all Śaiva initiates, not only to ascetics.⁴⁸ However, this remains speculative since she provides no evidence to support her claim. Indeed, it should be noted that Somaśambhu himself makes no explicit statement that he considers these procedures appropriate for a householder. It is conceivable that Somaśambhu, being himself an ascetic, the head of a *maṭha*, and representing the tradition of an ascetic community, envisaged his instructions only in this context.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, since initiatory cremation was by this time widely and increasingly associated with the cremation of householders, and since the next chapter of the SP contains an exposition on the rites of post-mortem ancestor worship, rites strongly connected to the religious observances of brahmanical householders, it seems likely that Brunner-Lachaux's intuition was correct and that Somaśambhu's instructions were also to be applied outside the monastic context.

Although the SP was an influential work and its instructions passed on to later works, it is questionable whether the manual itself was actually used widely to guide cremation procedures. It may rather have represented an authoritative template that was superimposed on local practices. This would explain some notable omissions. For instance, it is puzzling that the SP, unlike the NaiKri,⁵⁰ JR and KKD, does not contain instructions for any additional categories of death, such as those occurring under inauspicious circumstances. If the manual was indeed used widely as a guide, it would have needed to include also such topics. Aware of this deficiency, Trilocana apparently attempts to remedy this point in his commentary and includes

⁴⁸ Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 612, fn. 94.

⁴⁹ For example, the bier on which the corpse is carried in a procession to the cremation ground is referred to as *vimāna*, a term designating extremely elaborate and expensive biers as used for dignitaries such as the head of a *maṭha*. Cf. p. 135.

⁵⁰ In the NaiKri there was only a procedure for *samayins* who have died out of sight; however, it may well be that more sections on inauspicious deaths were also included here in the chapter on funerary practices, but are unavailable due to the loss of folios.

people who have died under inauspicious circumstances in his list of those eligible for an initiatory cremation:

The funeral rite with the purification of the *tattvas* is to be performed for an *ācārya*, *sādhaka*, or *putraka* who was devoid of proper conduct and carried out forbidden practices, [or] **who died at some point for some reason such as disease, weapons or water**.⁵¹

This statement is rather surprising, given that inauspicious deaths (*dur-marāṇa*) – which classically include those by weapons, disease or drowning, as mentioned here – are treated in Indian literature as a separate and dangerous category to be handled with particular care and usually requiring some additional purificatory and apotropaic rites, such as the *nārāyaṇabali*. It is therefore unusual that such deaths are mentioned alongside those of deceased persons whose defect was ritual transgression during their life-time, and that both categories are entitled to receive the same Śaiva initiatory cremation.

4. The *Naṭarājapaddhati*

The South Indian ritual manual *Naṭarājapaddhati* (NaṭP) was composed by an otherwise unknown person named Rāmanātha in 1058 CE and is preserved in a single paper manuscript.⁵² Rāmanātha's work relies heavily on that of Somaśambhu, with entire passages nearly parallel.⁵³ That the NaṭP's date of composition predates that of the SP (1073 CE) seems to contradict this direction of influence, but Goodall has pointed out that Rāmanātha himself acknowledges Somaśambhu's work as a source. Given the clear chronology, Goodall has hypothesized that Rāmanātha either had access to an earlier version of the SP or to textual material that ended up forming

⁵¹ Trilocana *ad* SP 1.1 (Sanskrit text quoted from Brunner-Lachaux 1991, p. 569 [1b]): *ācāryasādhakaputrāṇām* (em.; *ācāryaḥ sādhaḥ putrāṇām* Ed.) *madhye yaḥ kaś cid uktācārahito niṣiddhācārapālakas tasya karhi cit kenāpi prakāreṇa rogaśastrasālilādīnā mṛtasyaikasyāntyeṣṭis tattvaviśodhinī kāryā*.

⁵² Discovered in a Śaiva monastery at Tiruvāṇṭūrai, near Kumbhakona, Tamil Nadu, by Goodall (2014). I am very grateful to him for sharing the manuscript and etext with me.

⁵³ See Goodall 2014, in particular p. 178.

substantial parts of that work. In this situation, the NaṭP offers a source for gaining insight into the process of textual production and the ritual variations that led to the widely transmitted version of the SP. In general, Rāmanātha's manual often lacks the elegance and clarity of the SP, as has been noted by Goodall.⁵⁴ This is particularly the case for the chapters on *antyeṣṭi* and *śrāddha*.⁵⁵

Thematically, Rāmanātha places funerary and *śrāddha* rituals in a different context than Somaśambhu does. The latter describes cremation and *śrāddha* rituals as separate cycles and gives them distinct sections following a passage on removing earlier sectarian marks (*lingoddhāra*). In contrast, Rāmanātha positions funerary procedures and the *śrāddha* rituals in the chapter on initiation (*dīkṣā*). With this arrangement, he signals that he considers these ritual cycles part of the soteriological path commenced with the *dīkṣā* ritual, thus touching on the ambiguous position these post-mortem rites hold within the Śaiva ritual world.

Again when compared to Somaśambhu's work, Rāmanātha's descriptions are longer and more detailed. For instance, the procedures for funerary initiation are expounded upon by Rāmanātha in 33 and a quarter verses (NaṭP 11.247c–280c) whereas Somaśambhu covers this point briefly in a mere 9 and a quarter verses (SP AP 22–31a). Overall, Rāmanātha's work provides a more complete set of instructions for the funerary priest. Significantly, it spells out for the officiant the moment in the rite where the procedure for lower-level initiates differs from that of higher-level initiates, namely before the funerary initiation would take place: just as for the *putraka*, the soul of a *samayin* or a *viśeṣasamayin* is to be caught with the Great-Net mantra (*mahājāla mantra*) and placed in the corpse prepared with mantras, but instead of receiving the funerary initiation at this point, the soul of lower-level initiates is united here with Śiva at a lower level, namely that of Rudra's world (i.e. the *rudrapada*) rather than at the higher level of Īśvara's world (*īśvarapada*) designated for full initiates. In contrast, Somaśambhu only specifies that the Śaiva cremation for a *samayin* is performed without the purification of the path, but does not provide practical details for the officiant on how this type of cremation is to be performed.

⁵⁴ Goodall 2014, p. 174.

⁵⁵ On *śrāddha*, see chapter 5.

Rather, instructions for guiding a *samayin*'s soul to Rudra's world are found in the later manual of Aghoraśiva, which will be discussed in section 6.

5. The *Jñānaratnāvalī*

The precise date of composition of the *Jñānaratnāvalī* (JR) is unknown. From evidence drawn together by Goodall and Sanderson, it seems that its author, Jñānaśiva (also referred to as Jñānaśambhu in some places), wrote the text while dwelling in Benares, although he came from South India since he describes himself as a native of the country of the Colas (*coladeśa*) and a devotee of the Lord of the Little Hall (*dabhrasabhāpatih*), that is, the Śiva Naṭarāja of Cidambaram.⁵⁶ He was a contemporary of Aghoraśiva, who was himself active in Cidambaram and composed his own ritual manual in 1157/8. This places Jñānaśiva sometime in the second half of the twelfth century.⁵⁷ Both authors inherited the ritual tradition of Brahmaśambhu and Somaśambhu based on the DviK. In the chapter on cremation rituals, Jñānaśiva's manual seems to use both sources heavily. Two substantial sections are parallel to the BrP's NaiKri, and for his injunctions for initiatory cremation itself, he follows those of the SP closely, often echoing its wording and including the same mantras. However, Jñānaśiva's passage contains more detail;⁵⁸ for instance, what is outlined by Somaśambhu in thirty-nine verses is covered in sixty-three in the JR, the general structure being parallel apart from one exception.⁵⁹ Jñānaśiva also

⁵⁶ The evidence is presented in Goodall 2000, p. 212, fn. 22.

⁵⁷ Goodall 2000, p. 211.

⁵⁸ Given the above evidence of Rāmanātha, who acknowledges Somaśambhu's work as a source for his manual but who may have had access to earlier – and perhaps longer – versions of the SP, we may speculate if decades later Jñānaśiva may also have had access to other similar versions of Somaśambhu's work. In both, Rāmanātha's and Jñānaśiva's case, we might also consider the possibility that the passages that largely parallel the SP but are longer were in fact taken over from such versions.

⁵⁹ The only difference in the ritual sequence here is the timing for preparing the *vāstumāṇḍala*, the drawing at the bottom of the pit for the pyre. The SP enjoins preparing the *vāstumāṇḍala* prior to preparing the ritual site. According to the JR, the *vāstumāṇḍala* should be prepared later, namely after the officiant has ritually purified and prepared the site, himself, the ritual materials and the corpse. However, as will be discussed in chapter 4, it is probable that some tasks relating to preparing the site were taken care of by professionals before the rites began. Thus, if the *vāstumāṇḍala* was prepared by such a specialist, the

quotes scriptural material, namely the SārK and the BK (with a passage originally redacted from the SvāSS).⁶⁰ Both of these are “cognate” scriptures of the DvīK, thus in line with the root scripture of the Saiddhāntika manuals.⁶¹ The parallels between the *antyeṣṭi* chapter and earlier sources as well as Aghoraśiva’s KKD are listed in the following table (the numbering of the JR verses follows the edition in appendix A):

JR <i>Antyeṣṭiprakaraṇa</i>	<i>Parallel passages</i>
6–8ab	SārK 26.6cd–8
8cd–9	BK, NGMPP B24/57, f. 214r1–214r2
76–90ab	BrP NaiKri ff. 85r1–88r1
90cd–93	1. KKD T370, pp. 213–214. 2. BrP NaiKri f. 88v2–4 (though the context is a different one from the JR and KKD)
95cd–96ab	KKD T403, p. 178, in a passage allegedly quoted from the BrP (unidentified)
96cd – 99	BrP NaiKri f. 93r4–93v1
96cd–99ab	KKD T403, p. 177.
110cd	BrP NaiKri f. 93v5 SvāSS 22.16ab
101 – 115	BK, NGMPP B24/57, ff. 214r1–215r1 (redacted from SvāSS 22.11–15ab)
116–124	KKD T370, pp. 217–218

5.1. Types of cremation and their beneficiaries

The JR teaches four kinds of Śaiva cremation: (1) initiatory cremation, (2) cremation of an effigy preceded by the initiation of the deceased person’s soul, (3) a simple cremation with the Śiva fire without initiation, and (4) cremation of an effigy followed by rites to rescue the soul of someone who has died under inauspicious circumstances. Of the beneficiaries, some cate-

point at which the preparation is mentioned in the text does not reflect the order in which it actually took place.

⁶⁰ See p. 53, fn. 46.

⁶¹ These verses are interspersed with prose comments added either by Jñānaśiva himself or by later redactors.

gories overlap or contradict each other, probably as a result of the eclectic manner of the work's composition.

Unlike Somaśambhu, who was possibly intentionally more ambiguous on this point, Jñānaśiva's instructions explicitly include both ascetics (*vratin*) and householders (*grhin*) as recipients of Śaiva cremation.⁶² That both groups clearly participate in the ritual is also apparent in the injunctions regulating the purification from impurity caused by death (*śāvāśauca*), where separate rules are discussed for each group.⁶³

5.1.1. Initiatory cremation

Two criteria are used to determine if an initiate should receive an initiatory cremation. The first echoes the view of the SP, namely that initiates who have received *nirvāṇadīkṣā*, that is, *ācāryas*, *sādhakas* and *putrakas*, receive the initiatory cremation; *śaṃsāyins* receive a simple cremation.⁶⁴ However, unlike Somaśambhu, Jñānaśiva adds that in some cases even *śaṃsāyins* can receive an initiatory cremation if they had been particularly eager during their lifetime to receive liberation (*mokṣakāṅkṣin*), i.e. the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*, but died before this was possible.⁶⁵ To distinguish this from the first statement, the term *mokṣakāṅkṣin* probably must be understood as referring to exceptional cases, perhaps similar to what was taught in the SJU's *mṛtadīkṣā*:⁶⁶ when the deceased, had he not passed away, would have received the *nirvāṇadīkṣā* without a doubt, such as an extremely devout *śaṃsāyin* to whom the guru had decided to give *nirvāṇadīkṣā* before the fervent follower died. Doctrinally, giving a funerary initiation in the sense of a proper posthumous initiation to someone who did not receive a *nirvāṇadīkṣā* during his lifetime is of course problematic, as discussed

⁶² JR AP 11: *ācāryaḥ sādhaḥ vāpi putrakaḥ śaṃsāyī ca vā | vratinam grhinam vāpi mṛtam śaṃsāpya bhūṣayet ||*. For the edition and annotated translation, see the appendices.

⁶³ See section starting on p. 161.

⁶⁴ JR AP 10: *sādhakācāryaputrāṇām kuryād adhvaśodhanam | naiva tat śaṃsāsthasya kuryād vā mokṣakāṅkṣiṇaḥ ||*. For the edition and annotated translation, see the appendices.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ See pp. 67ff.

above.⁶⁷ But passages such as this one reveal that such practices appear to have remained current in practiced religion.

The second criterion is found in the scriptural passage quoted at the opening of the chapter. Here performing the initiatory cremation is linked not only to the initiatory status of the deceased, but also to his virtue and piousness. It is enjoined that the virtuous are simply burnt with a Śiva fire, but those who have transgressed their post-initiatory disciplines receive the initiatory cremation:

[The officiant] should also burn the corpse with the Śiva fire of those established in [various] realities (*tattvaniṣṭhānām*) as a result of *dīkṣā*, who have observed their post-initiatory discipline at all times, who have been devoted to the teaching of the Siddhānta, and who have died a timely death [with the difference that] for such a person the rituals of offering rice balls and water to the deceased (*piṇḍakriyā* and *udakakriyā*) are prescribed. In the case of those who have deviated from the post-initiatory discipline and certain others, the purification of the path [of the levels of the universe] is [also] prescribed.⁶⁸

This view complies with the sentiment of various scriptural passages presented above in chapter 2, where it is prescribed that Śaiva cremation be performed to counteract the negative consequences of discipline transgressions, offences committed against elders or Śiva himself, doubts concerning the efficacy of Śaiva doctrine, or impurities that have been contracted in other ways. One such source is the SārK, which Jñānaśiva quotes in the verses following the above passage.⁶⁹ The next passage, also a scriptural quotation, expresses similar sentiments, but additionally contains a feature

⁶⁷ As discussed above, this point was also an important topic for the 10th-century commentator Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha. See p. 63 and p. 69.

⁶⁸ JR AP 4–5: *dīkṣātas tattvaniṣṭhānām sadācāravatām nṛṇām | siddhāntārthavinodānām kālena vigatātmanām || śivāgninā dahed dehaṃ kiṃ tu tasya kriyā matā | anācāravādādinām adhvaśuddhir vidhīyate ||*. For the edition and annotated translation, see the appendices.

⁶⁹ JR AP 6–8ab. For the edition and annotated translation, see the appendices. However, one must keep in mind that the ritual context of the SārK is quite different, being generic in nature: the procedure given there for Śaiva cremation does not include a proper initiation rite, nor is it linked to a specific initiatory status, see pp. 60ff.

that is quite controversial in the light of Saiddhāntika doctrine. In a passage parallel to the BK, it teaches that Śaiva cremation may also be performed for someone who has died after converting from Śaivism to another religion.

At the time of death the funeral rite (i.e. the initiatory cremation) should be performed for those who are not free of doubts [concerning their liberation through initiation], are particularly impure, have converted to another religion, or have neglected their post-initiatory rules. For otherwise [such a person] would not obtain the highest state.⁷⁰

It is not clear whether in this passage we are to understand that someone who “converted to another religion” refers specifically to a convert who had previously received a Śaiva tantric initiation, or whether this category also includes members of brahmanical society who had converted to a non-brahmanical religious tradition and never received initiation. The former appears more likely given the controversial issues we encountered in the Siddhānta regarding procedures that essentially amount to posthumous initiation. At this point we may note that there is one other passage in the JR that may be referring to Śaiva cremation for an uninitiated person, in this case either a relative of a Śaiva initiate, or a follower of the brahmanical religion who is a lay devotee of Śiva.⁷¹ In both cases, however, the close association to the Śaiva religion is obvious, unlike the case of a convert.

⁷⁰ JR AP 8cd–9 (= BK NGMPP B24/57, f. 214r1–214r2): *amuktasamśayānām ca samalānām viśeṣataḥ || śāstrāntaraprapannānām tathā luptakriyeṣu ca | antyeṣṭir hy antataḥ kāryā nānyathā param āpnuyāt ||*. For the edition and annotated translation, see the appendices.

⁷¹ JR AP 82. For the edition and annotated translation, see the appendices.

5.1.2. Cremation of an effigy: *mṛtadīkṣā*

Following the full description of initiatory cremation, the cremation of an effigy representing the deceased person is discussed. This cremation is preceded by the initiation of the deceased person's soul.⁷² This rite is enjoined to be performed if an initiate has died abroad or in a circumstance such as a battle, presumably with the implication that the corpse is not accessible. The passage makes it clear, however, that the rite cannot be used to initiate someone who has abandoned his discipline.

[If] someone has died out of reach or in such situations as in battles, [the officiant] should make an image made out of such materials as *darbha* grass [and] perform the remaining rites just as before. The funeral rite should never be performed for one who has abandoned his discipline.⁷³

The next verses then specify that *samayins* who died before they could receive the *nirvāṇadīkṣā* are also potential beneficiaries of this particular form of initiatory cremation, explicitly enjoining the same procedure for *samayins* who have died abroad.⁷⁴

At the end of this section, the manual adds that this rite should also be performed for a deceased relative who followed the Vaidika tradition (*lokadharmānusārataḥ*):

This is also the procedure for a dead relative who has died nearby and ... [who followed?] the *śivadharmā* [and therefore lived] in accordance with the mundane religion (that is, the brahmanical religion).⁷⁵

⁷² Cf. SJU, chapter 12.

⁷³ JR AP 74c–75: *parokṣe ca mṛtaḥ kaścīd āhavādiṣu vā tadā || darbhādyaīḥ pratimāṃ kṛtvā śeṣaṃ pūrvavad ācaret | naiva bhagnavratasyāśya kāryāntyeṣṭiḥ kadācana ||*. For the edition and annotated translation, see the appendices.

⁷⁴ JR AP 76c–78b: *yathānukampayā dīkṣāṃ guruḥ kuryād athocyate | kṛtṛasya samayastasya hīnasyottaradīkṣayā || deśāntare vipannasya muktikāmasya deśikāḥ | kauśīm tatpratimāṃ kṛtvā paiṣṭīm vā gomayodbhavām*. For the edition and annotated translation, see the appendices.

⁷⁵ JR AP 82: *śivadharmā — — — lokadharmānusārataḥ | vidhir eṣa vipannasya sapinḍasyāpi saṃnidhau ||*. For the apparatus and annotated translation, see the appendices.

The first quarter verse has a few syllables missing after the term *śivadharmā* and the translation is therefore uncertain. However, since the text tradition refers to the religious sphere of Śaiva lay devotees as the *śivadharmā*, which also features in the name of the root texts for Śaiva lay devotion, the *Śivadharmasāstra* and *Śivadharmottara*,⁷⁶ it is likely that this is indeed a reference to Śaiva lay devotees. This would also match the term *lo-kadharmānusārataḥ* (“according to the mundane religion”), since such lay Śaivas would follow the brahmanical religion when worshipping Śiva in the *śivaliṅga*. As seen in the table above, parts of this passage, namely 81cd and 82cd–86ab, were incorporated from the NaiKri, but it is noteworthy that this particular half-verse, 81ab, identifying the deceased as a Vaidika and possibly a lay Śaiva, is not found there.

5.1.3 Simple cremation

The simple Śaiva cremation, that is, cremating the corpse with a Śiva fire without initiating the deceased person’s soul, is outlined in a passage incorporated from the BK, where this rite appears to be envisaged as taking place in a monastic context.⁷⁷ Also in the JR, ordinary burning with a Śiva fire is explicitly associated with deceased ascetics or, more precisely, *yogins* who have performed yogic suicide.⁷⁸ Earlier in the work (JR AP 1–5) it is also stated that no post-mortem offerings are to be made for a deceased *yogin*, an instruction that fits the ascetic context.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, also included among those entitled to receive this form of Śaiva cremation is the devout Śaiva householder initiate, with the underlying logic that nothing he

⁷⁶ See the introduction.

⁷⁷ See NGMPP B24/57, ff. 214r1–215r1. See p. 53.

⁷⁸ See JR AP, introduction to verse 83c. For the text and annotated translation, see the appendices.

⁷⁹ JR AP 1–5 seems to be a scriptural passage. As mentioned above, the only reference I have been able to find was the *Ṣaṣṣahasrikā* quoted in the *Dikṣādarśa* for JR AP 2c–3b; however the passage continues differently in these two places. In the JR the next verses briefly enjoin that *yogins* who have died through yogic suicide are merely to be burned with a Śiva fire; those who have died a timely death, received initiation during their lifetime and ardently observed their post-initiatory discipline are also to be burned with a Śiva fire, but receive the rites of *piṇḍa* and water offerings to the dead; and finally, those who deviated from post-initiatory discipline are to receive an initiatory cremation.

has done since the time of his initiation can impede the outcome of liberation at death.

5.1.4. Cremation in the case of inauspicious death

The last kind of cremation prescribed in the JR is that for someone who has died an inauspicious death (*durmarāṇa*).⁸⁰ The same section appears verbatim in the *Kriyākramadyotikā* (KKD).⁸¹ Here, the deceased receives a special rite in which the corpse is first burned in silence, whereupon an effigy representing the deceased is made and used for the initiation of his soul. The kind of deaths considered inauspicious include those that have occurred through carelessness, at the hands of a thief, snakebite, fire, elephants, tigers, drowning, in battle, or through suicide.⁸² Curiously, this list appears to include also yogic suicide.⁸³ This seems inappropriate, since in all Śaiva sources mentioning death of this kind, it is associated with accomplished Śaiva *yogins* and promoted as the method to die once one has

⁸⁰ JR AP 117–125. For the text and translation see the appendices.

⁸¹ Note that in both the JR and KKD, the last verse of this passage on procedures after inauspicious death (*durmarāṇa*) mentions the author's name, i.e. Jñānaśiva (here referred to as *śrīśivajñānaśambhu*) and Aghoraśiva (here referred to as *aghoraśambhu*), respectively: JR AP 124: *ity anteṣṭividhiḥ khyātaḥ sarvāvasthāgatātmanām | nānāsiddhāntayuktyaiva śrīśivajñānaśambhunā*; and KKD T 370, p. 210: *ity anteṣṭividhiḥ khyātaḥ sarvāvasthāgatātmanām | nānāsiddhāntayuktyaiva śrīmadāghoraśambhunā* ||. The differences here are quite revealing. In the JR this is the final verse of the *antyeṣṭi* section and thus concludes by saying that Jñānaśiva has described funerary rites for “[the various victims] of death in all sorts of circumstances” (*sarvāvasthāgatātmanām*). In the KKD, on the other hand, more passages on death rites are found after this, the section concluding with funerary rites “for [the various cases] of [people] killed under various circumstances” (*sarvāvasthāgatātmanām*), which refers more closely to the immediately preceding context of inauspicious deaths. Note, however, that the latter variant *sarvāvasthāgatātmanām* is only found in the Mysore manuscript of the JR (see pp. 243, 258 and the bibliography for the manuscript references).

⁸² JR AP 117–118. This is a standard list of circumstances under which the death is considered inauspicious. Cf., for example, *Gāruḍapurāṇa* 2.4.104–2.4.110. Gergely Hidas has pointed out to me that in Buddhism there is a similar list, consisting of death through lions, elephants, fire, snakes, thieves, drowning, captivity and evil spirits. These are collectively referred to as the Eight Great Dangers (cf. Shaw 2006, pp. 318). I would like to thank him for this reference.

⁸³ JR AP 117: *utkrāntyātmaviyuktānām anyeṣām ātmaghātīnām | api dehaṃ dahet pūrvam tūṣṇīm eva śivāgninā*.

achieved “world-weariness” (*nirveda*).⁸⁴ More consonant with this, at two earlier points in the text where such *yogins* are mentioned, it is merely prescribed that they be burnt with a Śiva fire.⁸⁵ Nothing is said about such a death being inauspicious. This appearance of yogic suicide in the list of inauspicious deaths may be due to the JR’s eclectic character; it is not inconceivable that when incorporating passages from different works, various understandings of yogic suicide found their way into the JR. Alternatively, the reading may simply be a corruption and what is intended is, in fact, to distinguish yogic suicide from other forms of suicide, which are considered inappropriate and inauspicious.

5.1.5. A wide range of rituals

From the above, we see that the JR covers many different funeral practices for a wide range of beneficiaries. In order to provide instructions for each case, Jñānaśiva draws from many sources, not only other manuals but also scriptures. His intention to incorporate and standardize these rites prevailed over any desire to avoid doctrinal inconsistencies or overlaps resulting from the eclectic manner of composition.

Further, the manual encompasses cremation-related topics such as a few verses mentioning the gathering of bones (*asthisamcayana*), instructions for periods of death impurity (*śāvāśauca*) and subsequent purification from such impurity, as well as a few regulations concerning the inheritance of a deceased Śaiva’s property.⁸⁶

6. The *Kriyākramadyotikā*

The KKD was composed in 1157/8 by the South Indian Saiddhāntika author Aghoraśiva (also referred to as Aghoraśambhu).⁸⁷ From evidence collected by Goodall and Cox, it appears that he was active in Chidambaram, belonging to the Kaṇḍinya Gotra, and that he was a student of a Hṛdayaśi-

⁸⁴ See Vasudeva 2004, p. 437.

⁸⁵ JR AP 1–2 and the prose passage preceding verse 84.

⁸⁶ For the latter two points, see chapter 4 below.

⁸⁷ Goodall 1998, pp. xiii–xvii, fn. 24.

va.⁸⁸ As mentioned above,⁸⁹ he was a contemporary of Jñānaśiva. Ag-horaśiva's manual received a commentary by Nirmalamāṇi in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and another by Kacchapeśvara at an unknown date, probably not earlier than that of Nirmalamāṇi.⁹⁰

The manual is written in prose. In some parts it echoes the SP. Breaking up the prose are also four short verse passages in the chapter on cremation that are parallel to the JR.⁹¹ These have been either incorporated from there without attribution, or both manuals have drawn on a common source. As for text that is parallel to scriptural sources, I have been able to identify only one verse, namely SvāSS 22.16. This source is not acknowledged either.⁹² But Aghoraśiva does claim to cite other works, such as the BrP in two places,⁹³ the *Kālottara*,⁹⁴ the *Vātula* (apparently differentiated from the *Kālottara*?), as well as SvāSS.⁹⁵ However, I have thus far been unable to locate these passages in any of the material available to me.⁹⁶

Studying the KKD is currently complicated. There is one published edition from 1927. While it has been made more widely available through a Muktabodha e-text, this e-text does not include the sections on *antyeṣṭi* and *śrāddha*. And although there are several transcripts of manuscripts of the work found on the Muktabodha website,⁹⁷ when compared to one another

⁸⁸ See Goodall 2000, p. 212, fn. 26 and pp. 207–208; and Cox 2006, pp. 93–97.

⁸⁹ See p. 102.

⁹⁰ See Sanderson 2014, p. 25.

⁹¹ JR AP 29–30 = KKD T 370, p. 170; JR AP 91–93 = KKD T 370, p. 213; JR AP 91–93 = KKD T 370, p. 248; JR AP 91–93 = KKD T 370, p. 246.

⁹² KKD T 370, p. 248: *śiṣyaikagurusambandhā gurusambandhinām ca ye | tyajeyus tridinaṃ karma nityād anyaj japādikam ||*.

⁹³ KKD T 370, p. 246, line 3ff and p. 248, line 3ff.

⁹⁴ KKD T 370, p. 167, line 12.

⁹⁵ KKD T 370, p. 217: *svāyambhuve: deśāntare mṛtasyāpi hy antyeṣṭir dīkṣitasya tu | tadā pratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā kartavyā ca kuśair api*.

⁹⁶ It can be noted, however, that the quote in the passage in question, which enjoins the cremation of an effigy for someone who has died abroad, is from a scripture that was later transmitted under the title SvāSS in southern India. While it incorporates parts of the early SvāSS, it is not part of that scripture, examined above in chapter 2. See Goodall 1998, pp. xlviii–li, including fn. 11 on the different versions of the SvāSS.

⁹⁷ There are three transcripts of the text that I am aware of: T 403, T 370 and T 1076, all available on the Muktabodha website: http://muktalib7.org/IFP_ROOT/access_page.htm [last accessed on 16 Sept. 2016]. For reference I use transcript T 370, since it contains a complete account. Transcript T 403 is incomplete, and transcript T 1076, although it seems to contain the entire text, is mixed up in its order. I should also note that the transcripts are

they are different, with significant omissions or additions. A critical edition taking these many manuscripts into account is still a desideratum. While a critical edition of the sections on *antyeṣṭi* and *śrāddha* will be undertaken in the future, for the present discussion, I refer to transcript T 370, as well as, occasionally, T 403.⁹⁸ Despite the lack of a critical edition, however, the transcripts do allow a discussion of the rituals and structures in question. It is important to include them here, since Aghoraśiva's manual contains details about funerary rituals that appear to be specific to the south.

6.1. The three-level cremation model

In the KKD, Aghoraśiva offers a more detailed set of prescriptions for funerary procedures than do his close contemporaries.⁹⁹ For instance, the work offers guidance for parts of the ritual procedure that texts such as the SP hardly mention. There, as noted above, the aim was probably to create a broadly applicable template that allowed local variations to be subsumed in its framework. Aghoraśiva, in contrast, is less hesitant in this respect and his comprehensive account probably reflects local practices. For instance, he discusses procedures that are to take place before the funeral procession, including a so-called *cūrṇotsava*, “powder festival”, specific to the south,¹⁰⁰ as well as those that take place during the gathering of the bones, another ritual sketched only roughly in the other works. Moreover, Aghoraśiva often provides full lists of mantras to be recited at certain moments, something avoided in the other manuals.

In a similar spirit, Aghoraśiva also explains the funerary rites for each initiatory level separately. In other manuals, as shown above, the procedures for the cremation ritual with a funerary initiation are taught as the

slightly different; although they present the same account, they occasionally use different wording (for example, *hrdaya* instead of *hrt*, etc.), wording that, however, does not change the meaning. Unfortunately, I cannot offer a critical edition of the text here; nonetheless I will present preliminary observations concerning the text's contents based on these three transcripts.

⁹⁸ See fn. 97, above.

⁹⁹ For instance, in transcript T 370 of the KKD, the accounts of *antyeṣṭi* and *śrāddha* span more than 85 pages. This is due to the fact that the descriptions of these rituals go into much greater detail than in other works.

¹⁰⁰ KKD T 370, pp. 161–164.

default, mostly prefaced by the specification that only those who have received a *nirvāṇadīkṣā* are entitled to receive it. In essence, this teaches that a *śamayin* receives the same ritual but without the funerary initiation, but the procedure is never taught separately. Aghoraśiva, in contrast, provides separate sections for each initiatory level, thereby envisaging a tripartite initiation model: a *śamayāntyeṣṭi*, that is, the cremation for someone who had received a *śamayadīkṣā*; the *viśeṣāntyeṣṭi* for someone who had received the *viśeṣadīkṣā*; and the *nirvāṇāntyeṣṭi* for full initiates.¹⁰¹ All three accounts have the same basic structure; they also share a set of rites at the beginning, instructions that are laid out only once (see section 6.4), before moving on to the descriptions specific to the beneficiary's initiatory status, which are essentially a repetition of the rites that took place during the recipient's initiation during his lifetime. At the end of this procedure, the deceased person's soul is then united with the manifestation of Śiva appropriate to each initiatory level. Hence, in the *śamayāntyeṣṭi*, the *ācārya* unites the soul with the Śiva who is the regent of the Rudra-world, the Rudrapada;¹⁰² in the *viśeṣāntyeṣṭi*, with the Śiva who is the regent of the Īśvara-world, the Īśvarapada;¹⁰³ and in the *nirvāṇāntyeṣṭi*, with Śiva in his ultimate, unsurpassed, omniscient and omnipresent nature on the highest level.¹⁰⁴

However, even though these distinctions between the initiatory levels are made clear in the rites, there are some inconsistencies. These may be the result of the author having reworked and expanded on earlier textual material. While in effect Aghoraśiva teaches three different funerary initiations for the three different initiatory levels, the opening of the chapter mentions the simpler view expressed in the other manuals, namely that for *ācāryas*, *sādhakas* and *putrakas*, the cremation is performed with the purification of the path, and for *śamayins*, without, echoing the formulations in the SP and JR.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ According to T370.

¹⁰² KKD, T 370, p. 181: *rudrapadādhiṣṭhāyakena śivena saṃyojayet*.

¹⁰³ KKD, T 370, p. 185: *īśvarapadādhiṣṭhāyakena śivena saṃyuktam bhāvayitvā...*

¹⁰⁴ KKD, T 370, p. 212: *śāntyatīte dvādaśānte manotīte bhāvaśūnye śive saṃyojayet. tatra sravāṇyāhutiḥ tisṛbhiḥ oṃ haum ātman sarvajño bhava svāhā....*

¹⁰⁵ Cf. SP 10.1: *sādhakācāryaputrāṇām mṛtasyaikaśya karhi cit | antyeṣṭir ucyate 'nyasya hy adhvaśuddhivivarjitā*, and JR AP 10: *sādhakācāryaputrāṇām kuryād adhvaśiḍ-dhanam | naiva tat śamayasthasya kuryād vā mokṣakāṅkṣiṇaḥ*.

Cremation is performed with the purification of the path for *ācāryas*, *sādhakas* and *putrakas*, and without it for *samayins*.¹⁰⁶

The differentiation between the *samayāntyeṣṭi* and the *viśeṣāntyeṣṭi* as we find it in the actual prescriptions is thus missing here. Also the option found in the JR AP 110cd,¹⁰⁷ where in exceptional cases a full initiatory cremation is also performed for a *samayin* who was particularly far along on his spiritual path, is found at the beginning of the KKD's account:

[Cremation] is to be performed together with the purification of the path also for a *samayin* if he was desirous of [undergoing] the liberating initiation ritual, completely devoted in service (*śuśrūṣaṇa*) to his teacher [but] did not receive initiation [during his lifetime].¹⁰⁸

Given the discrepancy between the instructions at the beginning of the chapter, which essentially distinguish between procedures for *putrakas*, etc. and the *samayin* just as in other works, and the extensive prescriptions for a tripartite cremation model that distinguish between *sāmānyasamayins* and *viśeṣasamayins* later in the text, the question arises whether the later differentiation was more of a theoretical endeavour rather than reflecting actual practice. It has already been noted that this tripartite initiation model caused confusion, even amongst Śaiva authors.¹⁰⁹ In this respect we may note that precisely those prescriptions for rites purifying the soul at times retain references to the beneficiary as the disciple (*śiṣya*) rather than as the deceased (*mṛta*), as is usually the case in the funerary context. This, in turn, could be an indication that these passages may simply have been incorporated from the original initiation description without a proper revision.

¹⁰⁶ KKD T 370, p.161: *ācāryasādhakaputrakāṇām antyeṣṭir adhvaśuddhiyutā kartavyā samayinas tadvivarjitā*.

¹⁰⁷ JR AP 10cd: *naiva tat samayasthasya kuryād vā mokṣakāṅkṣiṇaḥ*.

¹⁰⁸ KKD T 370, p.161: *samayino 'pi *nirvāṇadīkṣārthino* (em.; *nirvāṇadīkṣārthinā* Cod.) *guruśuśrūṣaṇaparasyāprāptadīkṣasya *mṛtasyādhvaśuddhisahitā* (em.; *mṛtasyādhvaśuddhisahitā* Cod.) *kartavyā*.

¹⁰⁹ See Brunner-Lachaux 1977, pp. 416–418, fn. 457, and p. 19 in the introduction.

6.2. Doctrinal justification

It is striking that the KKD offers nearly no doctrinal justification for performing Śaiva cremation.¹¹⁰ Since – at least theoretically – it links each of the cremation rites with the initiatory status of the deceased, these rites were perhaps simply considered the appropriate last rites for each group. They brought about the level of liberation that the deceased was believed to have achieved as a result of his practice while alive. Only in the *samayāntyeṣṭi* do the instructions suggest that the procedure has an expiatory function. Here, after the guru has united the soul of the deceased with his own and instated the deceased in the appropriate spiritual level, oblations are offered to purify the deceased from any deficits in his conduct.

For a *samayin*, he should then make a hundred oblations with the *mūla-mantra* for the purification of deficiencies in his religious conduct [during his lifetime].¹¹¹

6.3. Range of clientele and ritual agents

The KKD opens its instructions by referring to the deceased initiate as a *śivayogin*. However, the subsequent account is not restricted to deceased ascetics. On the contrary, the first set of procedures involves the *cūrṇotsava*, a rite for preparing the powders and substances to adorn the corpse for the funerary procession; this takes place at the deceased person's house, thus pointing to the householder context. This is further confirmed at the end of the passage, when it is specified that this *cūrṇotsava* is not to be performed for the permanent ascetic. Using the expression *śivayogin* at the beginning thus seems a generic reference to the deceased, perhaps invoking the notion that an initiate is considered to become an ascetic upon death and pointing to the initiate's elevated spiritual status. There are no further in-

¹¹⁰ Note that Nirmalamāṇi, commenting on the KKD, does expound on this issue and insists that Śaiva cremation has an expiatory function. See Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 569, 1c and p. 35.

¹¹¹ KKD T 370, p. 118: ...**tataḥ* (corr.; *tata* Cod.) **samayinaṃ* (corr.; *samayaṃ* Cod.) *snātvācāravaikalyaśuddhaye mūlenāhutiśataṃ hutvā...*

structions specifying that the procedure is only for ascetics, nor is any reference made to yogic suicide (*utkrānti*).

Throughout the rest of the work, the specifications can apply to either an ascetic or a householder, as in the JR. Nonetheless, most of the instructions do more specifically point to cremation rituals taking place in the householder context. This is explicit, for instance, in the rituals preceding the igniting of the pyre, a significant moment in the cremation ritual that was originally linked to the chief mourner, typically the eldest son. Amongst the early sources on Śaiva *antyeṣṭi*, Aghoraśiva's manual is the only one to explicitly mention the son here:

If the deceased person is a householder, either his son, relative or a disciple, wearing the sacred thread in the inauspicious direction and having purified himself through bathing, should walk around [the pyre] three times in the inauspicious direction carrying the Śiva vase (*śivakumbha*) on his head [and] pouring an uninterrupted stream of water.¹¹²

There are a few other explicit references to the beneficiaries of Śaiva cremation in the KKD. The first concerns *ācāryas*. At two points, the manual adds a specific instruction related to a deceased *ācārya*, namely that for an *ācārya*, the *sruca* and *sruva* sacrificial ladles are to be placed to the left and right of the corpse before the incineration (in other cases, the ladles are simply put on the pyre).¹¹³ What is puzzling is that this ritual detail – the only explicit reference to a change in procedure for an *ācārya* – is not only found in the description of the *nirvāṇāntyeṣṭi*, but also in that of the *samayāntyeṣṭi* (the description of *viśeṣāntyeṣṭi* does not explain the procedure at this point explicitly, but refers back to the *samayāntyeṣṭi*). However, for an *ācārya* only the *nirvāṇāntyeṣṭi* would be appropriate, since the principal requirement for a candidate to be consecrated to the Śaiva office of *ācārya* is that he has undergone *nirvāṇadīkṣā*. Nor can it be the case here, as in

¹¹² KKD T 370, p. 183: ...*mṛte grhashte tatsuto vā jñātī vā śiṣyo vā snātaḥ* (sic) *apasavyopavīt śivakumbhaṃ śirasā vahan apradakṣiṇena *avicchinnapayodhārāṃ* (em.; *avicchinnadha-yodharāṇ*) *trih paribhrāmya*...

¹¹³ KKD T 370, p. 213: *ācāryaś cet sruksruvāv adhomukhau vāmadakṣiṇapārśvayoh kṣipet*.

other sources, that an *ācārya* and a *samayin* are really to receive the same type of Śaiva cremation, namely, without the initiation of the soul – since according to the prescriptions an *ācārya* would then be guided to the inferior level of Rudra's world explicitly taught here for this category of cremation. The mention of an *ācārya* in the *samayāntyeṣṭi* is therefore curious and remains unresolved. Had the status of *ācāryas* changed so much that the original major requirement of having received *nirvāṇadīkṣā* was no longer as important? Or was the division into the three kinds of cremation so artificial that *ācāryas* were mistakenly included in the *samayāntyeṣṭi* section in an account that was simply laying out standard funeral rites? Were *ācāryas* still ascetics, as common in the Śaiva Siddhānta, or could they be married priests, for which there is evidence in South India in later periods?¹¹⁴ Was this perhaps why their inclusion was overlooked in an account that seems addressed mainly to the householder community? For now, all of these questions remain open.

Amongst the prescriptions for the *samayāntyeṣṭi*, we find a few clues about the status of *samayins* in the Śaiva community. In the water offerings to the deceased person's soul after cremation, the spiritual status that the deceased person acquires once he has ascended on his post-mortem path is invoked: during three offerings, three mantras are uttered that anticipate the three future divine manifestations of the deceased person, these being later worshipped during the *śrāddha* rites.¹¹⁵ The divine status reached by the deceased person corresponds to the spiritual status he held when alive, which in turn is based on his initiation level. Thus the invocations for Śaiva initiates, uninitiated lay devotees of Śiva, and Vaidikas are different. But what about the *samayin*? Since a *samayin* is an initiate, he is spiritually superior to a lay devotee. But at the same time he is not at the level of the full initiate who has received the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*. No other early sources give explicit instructions about which spiritual levels are to be invoked for a *samayin* at the time of the water offerings. But the KKD specifies that the divine invocations to be used for *samayins* are the same as for lay devotees,

¹¹⁴ Fuller 1984, pp. 30–32 and 59–62.

¹¹⁵ See chapter 5, below.

namely Skanda, Caṇḍa, and Gaṇādhīśa (i.e. Gaṇeśvara).¹¹⁶ This demonstrates that the boundary between uninitiated lay devotees and lower grade initiates was fluid. In fact, later South Indian sources often confuse these two categories, as does contemporary secondary literature.¹¹⁷ It seems probable that as a result of these two groups becoming increasingly integrated over the course of time in South India, the awareness of the differentiation was lost.

6.4. Particulars of procedure before and after those specific to the initiatory level

The three types of regular cremation are described as sharing the same rites up to the fusion of the vital channels (*nāḍīsaṃdhāna*). These are the following: the funeral procession (T 370, p. 164); the preparation of the cremation site including the platform for the deceased, the fire pit and the pit for the pyre (T 370, p. 164); the preparatory rites of the guru himself and the substances to be used during the ritual (T 370, pp. 154–167); the ritual preparation of the pit for the pyre, including the drawing of maṇḍalas and invoking the various site guardians (T 370, pp. 167–173); generating Śiva fire (*śivāgni*) (T 370, p. 173); piling the pyre (T 370, p. 173–180); preparing the corpse by bathing and purificatory rites, as well as emplacing the

¹¹⁶ For the passage in the *samayāntyeṣṭi*, see KKD T 370, p. 183–184 (the names of the deities are marked in bold): *jalāśayaṃ gatvā snātvā tīrabhūmau kuśān āstīrya. oṃ hām śuddhātman skando bhava svadhā, oṃ hām caṇḍo bhava svadhā, oṃ hām śuddhātman gaṇādhīśo bhava svadhā. iti trīn nivāpāñjalīn dadyāt*. For the corresponding section of the *viśeṣāntyeṣṭi*, note that T 370 omits the rites that are to take place after the purification of the soul according to initiatory status, probably because these rites are the same as in the *samayāntyeṣṭi*. However, another transcript, T 403, does add this passage after the *viśeṣāntyeṣṭi*, in fact it replicates the text from the *samayāntyeṣṭi* precisely and thus, also the same invocations for the water offerings after the cremation. Compare these to the invocations after the *nirvāṇāntyeṣṭi*, the deceased being given consecutively the spiritual status of the highest manifestations of Śiva, namely Īśa, Sadāśiva and Śānta; KKD T 370, p. 213: *jalāśayaṃ *gatvā* (em.; *natvā* Cod) *snātvā tīrabhūmau kuśān āstīrya trīn nivāpāñjalīn oṃ hām śuddhātman īśo bhava svadhā. evaṃ sadāśivo bhava śānto bhava iti datvā*. See also chapter 5.

¹¹⁷ For example, Brunner-Lachaux (1977, p. 630, fn. 21), in her annotations to the *śrāddha* chapter of the SP, understands the term *rudrāṃśa*, in accordance with later South Indian sources, to refer to those initiates who had only undergone *samayadīkṣā*. But Sanderson has shown that this term was originally used to refer to the Rudrabhaktas, the worshippers of Rudra, that is, uninitiated lay worshippers of the *śivaliṅga* (Sanderson 2003/2004, pp. 354–355, fn. 16). In later South Indian sources, this differentiation is no longer found.

soul and the *vidyādeha* (T 370, p. 180); and uniting the deceased person's soul with the central channel (*nāḍīsamdhāna*) (T 370, p. 180). This moment signals the beginning of the rites specific to the individual soul, which are essentially the repetition of the rites performed during the initiation rites proper, as was discussed above in 6.1.

Ritual procedures that are not discussed in other sources but form a substantial part of the instructions in the KKD are those that take place at the deceased person's house before the funeral procession. The KKD teaches that the deceased person's corpse is to be bathed and adorned with flowers, perfume and new clothes. A rite specific to the KKD, as mentioned above, is the *cūrṇotsava* (powder festival). Here, an area close to the house is prepared with purificatory substances, where a lotus maṇḍala is traced out with coloured powder, corn and grains of rice. This is adorned with a wooden mortar and pestle and is worshipped, followed by the installation and worship of ritual vases. A drum is also worshipped and music played on it, accompanied with song and dance.¹¹⁸ The *cūrṇotsava* appears to be a feature specific to South India, since aside from here it is only found in later South Indian sources such as the *Rauravāgama*, the *Cintyāgama* and the *Kāmikāgama*. There, such a *cūrṇotsava* is also described in relation to the production of the powder used for smearing cult images.¹¹⁹ And in the *Dīkṣādarśa*, preserved in South-Indian manuscripts, the context of cremation rituals is also specifically mentioned, with a *cūrṇotsava* to be performed on the occasion of an initiate dying and at the time of the departure of the deities at the end of certain kinds of worship.¹²⁰ It thus seems that the KKD is incorporating some local rituals here.

Aghoraśiva's injunctions for the lighting of the pyre and the concluding rites are all similar to those in the other sources. After the incineration of the corpse, the officiant is to circle the pyre with a vase from which he pours water over his shoulder. He is then to smash it on the floor, proceed to a body of water such as a river, and perform the water offerings to the

¹¹⁸ Cf. KKD T 370, pp. 161–164.

¹¹⁹ See *s.v. cūrṇotsavavidhi* in TAK 3.

¹²⁰ *Dīkṣādarśa*, T 372, p. 1626: *mṛtasya dīkṣitasyāpi cūrṇotsavam ca kārayet | devānāṃ utsavānte tu viśarjam idaṃ bhavet*. This quotation by Vedājñāna is attributed to the *Rauravāgama*, but it is not found in the manuscripts used by Bhatt in his edition.

deceased there. As mentioned, during these water offerings, the ancestral identities that the deceased soul will eventually assume are evoked.¹²¹

The KKD also instructs that the bones are to be collected on the first, second, third or fourth day after the cremation.¹²² These instructions are similar to those in the SP and JR. However, the KKD is the only text to provide a few details about the rites to be performed before the bones are collected. The officiant is to produce a fire next to the pyre and offer a hundred oblations for expiation into it while reciting the weapon mantra. Then he is to offer three oblations to each of the *tattvas*, starting with the earth, while pronouncing the mantras addressed to them ending with *namaḥ*. This is followed by worshipping them with another set of three oblations each, this time the mantras ending in *svāhā*.¹²³ Finally, the fire is to be extinguished and the bones collected while reciting respectively the five *brahman* mantras, starting with *sadyojāta*, while collecting the bones believed to be those of the feet, the genital area, the heart, mouth and the head. After this, the remains are disposed of in the same manner found in the other sources, namely in a pot filled with milk that is placed either on a sacred site or thrown into a sacred body of water.¹²⁴

After discussing the rites related to cremation, the manual continues with injunctions for the rituals that are to be performed during the days after the cremation (the *pāṣaṇasthāpanavidhi* and the *rudrabali*) and for the various kinds of *śrāddhas* that follow – the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha*, the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa* and the *pārvaṇaśrāddha*. These will be discussed in chapter 5. However, it is not certain if all of these sections were originally part of Aghoraśiva's text.

¹²¹ See p. 113.

¹²² KKD T 370, pp. 230–232.

¹²³ See KKD T 370, pp. 231–232 (in this transcript, the passage is preceded by text that has no parallel in T 403): **citāsamīpe* (em.; *śucitāsamīpe* Cod.) *śivāgnim utpādyā prāyaścittārtham astreṇa śatam hutvā, pṛthivyāditattvānām pūjāpurassaram pratyekam āhutiprayaṇaṁ dadyāt*. After this, each of the *tattvas* is addressed with the formula '*oṃ hām X-tattvāya namaḥ*' and '*oṃ hām X-tattvāya svāhā*'. The order of *tattvas* is as follows: Pṛthivī, Āpas, Tejas, Vāyu, Ākāśa, Gandha, Rasa, Rūpa, Sparśa, Śabda, Upastha, Pāyu, Pāda, Pāṇi, Vāk, Nāsā, Jihvā, Cakṣus, Tvak, Śrotra, Manas, Ahaṁkāra, Buddhi, Guṇa, Prakṛti, Puruṣa, Rāga, Vidyā, Kalā, Niyati, Kāla, Māyā, Śuddhavidyā, Īśvara, Sadāśiva, Śakti and Śiva.

¹²⁴ See KKD T 370, p. 232: *agnim viśṛjya tataḥ pādaguhyahṛdayamukhaśirosthīni sadyādimantrair uddhṛtya trikāṣṭhikoparisthitakarkarīpayasi kṣipet. tatas tu śuddhau deśe sthāpayet, yadvā, samudrādītirthe jale kṣipet...*

6.5. Special cremation rites

The instructions for regular cremation rituals, those to be performed when a person has died under circumstances considered regular and not inauspicious, are followed by special versions of cremation, namely (1) the *mṛtakadīkṣā*; (2) a section on *durmaraṇa* (deaths under inauspicious circumstances); and (3) the *yugapatkrame kalāśuddhiyutāntyeṣṭi* (cremation with the simultaneous purification of all *kalās*, i.e. the units into which the entire universe is divided). The first of these, the *mṛtakadīkṣā*, is to be performed if the corpse is not available because the person has died somewhere far away.¹²⁵ Similar to the accounts we have already seen for this kind of ritual, here an effigy is created that represents the deceased person. This is used for the soul's initiation and the final cremation. Before the initiation, all of the *tattvas* are installed in the effigy, together with the governing deities.¹²⁶ The sequence of *tattvas* here is nearly the same as that in the chapter on the *mṛtakadīkṣā* in the SJU suggesting that Aghoraśiva used this as his source for this rite. The section on *durmaraṇa*,¹²⁷ as mentioned above, exactly parallels that of the JR.¹²⁸ The last kind of special cremation is the *yugapatkrame kalāśuddhiyutāntyeṣṭi*. This seems simply to be an additional option for an initiatory cremation. How or why it is to be applied is not specified in the text.¹²⁹ I have not found any sources with parallel passages that might clarify its precise function.

¹²⁵ KKD T 370, pp. 214–217.

¹²⁶ Note that even during the standard funerary account of how to prepare the corpse, the KKD indicates that in case of a *mṛtakadīkṣā*, the *tattvas* are to be placed in a puppet instead; KKD T 370, p. 180, l. 6: *atrāvasare kuśādinirmīṭadehaś ced mṛtakadīkṣāṃ sādhipaṣaṭṭṛimśat-tattvanyāsādikāṃ kuryāt*.

¹²⁷ KKD T 370, pp. 217–219.

¹²⁸ See p. 103.

¹²⁹ KKD T 370, pp. 219–225.

Chapter 4

The Cremation Ritual

1. Preliminary remarks

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

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

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

² See pp. 110ff.

2. The officiant and other people involved in death rituals

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

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

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

⁵ See, e.g., Olivelle 2009.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.1. Other people involved in the ritual

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. Ritual procedures: An outline

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

⁵ See p. 138.

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

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

3.1. Preparation of the corpse before the funeral procession

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

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

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

⁸ MatP 10.70. See p. 79, fn. 122.

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

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

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

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

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

¹¹ SP 10.22: *mṛtaṃ mṛdgomayāmbhobhiḥ saṃsnāpyoddhūlyā cānayet | dadyād yajñopavītaṃ ca pūrvavarṇānapekṣayā ||*.

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

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

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

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

¹⁶ Ibid. 9.23: *tato gaṅgājalaṃ dadyān mahāpātakanāśanam | sarvatīrthakṛtasnānadāna-puṇyaphalapradam ||*.

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

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

3.2. The funeral procession

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

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

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

¹⁹ See, e.g., Olivelle, pp. 125–126.

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

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

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

²³ Ibid.

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

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

3.3. The building of the cremation site

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

3.3.1. The location of the cremation site

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

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

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

²⁷ See Kane 1991, Vol. IV, p. 217.

²⁸ MatP 10.70cd: *vijanaṃ deśaṃ āsadya pracchannaṃ śivasamskṛtaiḥ*.

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

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

3.3.2. Building the cremation site: Layout and scale

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

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

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

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

³¹ SP 10.4.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴¹ SP 10.5–7ab.

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

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

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

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

3.4. Ritual preparations

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

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

⁴⁵ For instance, SP 1.29–31a: *jñānakhaḍgakarāḥ sthitvā nairṛtyām udagānanaḥ | ardhyāmbupañcagavyābhyām saṃprokṣya makhamāṇḍapam || catuṣpathāntasaṃskāraiḥ saṃskūryād dīkṣaṇādibhiḥ | vikṣipya vikirāms tatra kuśakūrcyopasaṃharet || tānīśadiśi vardhanīyā āsanāyopakalpayet |*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵¹ SP 10.7c–9b.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶¹ SP 10.17.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.5.1. Preparation and starting of the fire

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

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

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

⁶⁷ SP 10.18–19.

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

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

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

3.5.2. Preparation of the *vāstumāṇḍala*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.5.3. Building the pyre

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

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

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

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

⁸² SP 10.15cd.

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

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

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

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

3.6. The preparation of the corpse at the site

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

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

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

⁸⁶ SP 10.21.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.7. The funerary initiation of the dead

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

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

⁹⁵ See p. 24.

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

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

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

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

⁹⁷ See pp. 67ff.

⁹⁸ SP 10.23–30: *athātra dhāraṇāśuddhe gandhapuṣpādīpūjite | mahājālaprayogeṇa jīvam ādāya vinyaset || om hūṃ hām haṃ hām hūṃ amukātmane namaḥ | vidyādehaṃ ca taddehe mastake vadane hr̥di | nābhāv adhaḥśarīre ca śāntyaṭītādītaḥ kalāḥ || vidyātattvaṃ ca vinyasya śakticakraṃ tathā śivam | caitanyasannidhānāya mūlena juhuyāc chatam || nīrttyādi samādāya yugapad vā krameṇa vā | agnau saṃyojya saṃpūjya śivādyāvāhanādīkam || kṛtvā tāḍanaviśleşau jīvasyākaṣaṇādīkam | karmātmasthaṃ ca tatrasthaṃ dīkṣāvata sarvaṃ ācaret || janmādhikārabhogam ca layaṃ srotoviśodhanam | niṣkṛtiṃ ca tirodhānam paśoḥ pāśavimocanam || mardanaṃ varulīkāraṃ pāśadāhādīkāṃ kriyām | kāraṇāvāhanam tadvad adhikārasamarpaṇam || ātmoddhāraṇakarmādi kṛtvā guṇavivarjite | yojayed bhāvanātīte śive caitanyam avyaye ||*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.8. Lighting the funeral pyre

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

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

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

¹⁰⁴ See p. 124.

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁸ See p. 145, fn. 72.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.10. The gathering and disposing of the bones

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

¹¹⁵ See chapter 5.

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

¹¹⁷ See fn. 111 above.

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

¹¹⁹ SP 10.38c–39; JR AP 71c–73.

4. Death pollution

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

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

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

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

¹²¹ See Goodall's introduction to Sathyanarayan 2015.

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

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

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

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

refer to death pollution, namely *śāvāśauca*,¹²³ “the impurity that pertains to the corpse”. Many of the measures taken to remove this type of impurity are consequently of a physical cleansing nature: taking purifying ritual baths or touching purificatory substances such as cow dung, fire and white mustard seeds.

However, these are not enough to remove the overall state of impurity¹²⁴ caused by the event of the death itself, which leads us to the second category. This kind of impurity can only be removed by a designated period of time passing. During this period, various regulations and rites must be followed. Polluted individuals are considered unfit to partake in any socio-religious activities outside this context. Hence, they must remove themselves from society and live according to special rules of abstinence, such as sleeping on the floor, abstaining from sexual activity, and eating unseasoned food.¹²⁵ Further, since purity is a prerequisite for performing any religious activity, polluted individuals are prohibited from either teaching or studying the scriptures, or from performing any rites other than the obligatory daily rites. This curtailment is frequently referred to as *adhikārasaṃkoca*, “contraction of one’s qualification [to engage in ritual activity]”.¹²⁶ The number of days an individual is considered impure and subject to these regulations is dictated by a number of factors. These are evaluated in the literature in various ways and consequently we find several different rulings, probably reflecting divergent local traditions.¹²⁷ Nonetheless, the underlying paradigms are the same and essentially concern an interplay

¹²³ Other terms are *āśauca* or *mṛtaka*, literally “death”; the latter is a term used in opposition to *sūtaka*, “birth” or “impurity resulting from birth”.

¹²⁴ There are some exceptions to this rule. Certain people can be purified instantly through a bath, a concept referred to as *sadyaḥśauca*. This will be discussed in the next section.

¹²⁵ On this, cf. Manu 5.73: *akṣārālavanānnāḥ syur nimajjeyuś ca te tryaham | māmsāśanaṃ ca nāśnīyuh śayīraṃś ca prthak kṣitau*; and YājS 3.16: *krītalabdhāśanā bhūmau svapeyus te prthak kṣitau | piṇḍayajñāvr̥tā deyaṃ pretāyānnaṃ dinatrayam*.

¹²⁶ Cf. Vijnāneśvara in his *Mūṭāḥṣara* on YājS 3.1, where it is implied that *āśauca* is the cause of *adhikārasaṃkoca*: *adhunā tadadhikārasaṃkocahetubhūtāśaucapratipādāna-mukhena teṣāṃ apavādaḥ pratipādyate*.

¹²⁷ It is beyond the scope of this book to provide a detailed account of the different traditions. For a brief overview, see Kane 1953, pp. 270–274. Despite the numerous differences between the different accounts, there seems to be a consensus between many sources that for all close relatives, the number of days of impurity is eleven.

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

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

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

¹²⁸ Cf. chapter 5.

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

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

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

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

4.2. Death pollution: The Śaiva context

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

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

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

¹³³ Cf. Kane 1953, pp. 273–274.

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

4.2.1. Purificatory actions immediately after cremation rites

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁵³ JR AP 91 (= KKD T 370, p. 213, and NaiKri fol. 88v, l.2–3): *nottamenānugantavyo hinavarṇo vratojjhitah | anugamyāmbhasi snātvā svajātiśaśataṃ jayet ||*.

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

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

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

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

¹⁵⁵ NaiKri fol. 88v, l. 2–3.

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

¹⁵⁷ See Olivelle 2010, p. 67.

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

4.2.3. Impurity regulations for the immediate period after a death

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁶³ See p. 51.

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

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

¹⁶⁶ See pp. 55ff.

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

¹⁶⁸ See pp. 53ff.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁷⁷ See, e.g., Staal 1983.

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

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

4.3. Shunning the impure: The *Somaśambhupaddhati*

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

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

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

¹⁸⁰ SP *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* 92–94.

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

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

¹⁸³ SP *Prāyaścittavidhi* 93.

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

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

5. Disposal of property

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

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

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

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

¹⁸⁶ MatP Caryāpāda 10.76–82.

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

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

¹⁸⁹ See fn. 187 above.

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

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

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

¹⁹² See Kane, vol. II, p. 908.

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

¹⁹³ See Kane, vol. II, p. 909.

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

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.¹

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 *Bṛhatkāḷottara* (BK). However, as mentioned above, here the *śrāddha* section, together with a chapter on funerary proce-

¹ See pp. 33ff.

dures, is based on non-Śaiva material adopted, in some parts almost verbatim, from the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātriśa scripture *Jayākhyaśaṃhitā* (JāyS).²

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.³ 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

² 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.

³ 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).⁴ 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.⁵ 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;⁶ (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 *ṛddhiśrāddha* (“the *śrāddha* for prosperity”), performed in connection with auspicious events; (4) the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha*;

⁴ 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.

⁵ See Kane 1953, pp. 380–383, for a short survey.

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

and (5) the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa*, a special *śrāddha* performed to incorporate a recently deceased relative into the line of ancestors.⁷

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 *sapiṇḍikaraṇa*, 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 Phālguna according to the *pūrṇimānta* calendar, or Mārgaśīrṣa, Pauṣa and Māgha

⁷ Cf. part of the *Mitākṣarā ad YājS* 1.217–218: *tac ca dvividhaṃ pārvaṇam ekoddiṣṭam iti. tatra tripuruṣoddeśena yat kriyate tat pārvaṇam, ekapuruṣoddeśena kriyamāṇam ekoddiṣṭam. punaś ca trividhaṃ nityaṃ naimittikaṃ kāmyaṃ ceti. tatra nityaṃ niyata-nimittopādhau coditaṃ aharaḥ amāvāsyāṣṭakādiṣu. aniyataṃ niyatopādhau coditaṃ naimittikaṃ yathā putrajanmādiṣu. phalakāmanopādhau vihitam kāmyaṃ yathā svargādikāmanāyāṃ kṛttikādinakṣatreṣu. punaś ca pañcavidham aharaḥśrāddhaṃ pārvaṇam vṛddhiśrāddham ekoddiṣṭam sapiṇḍikaraṇam 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;⁸ (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.⁹ 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*.¹⁰ 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 defect¹¹ to take part in

⁸ 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.

⁹ YājS 1.217–218: *amāvāsyāṣṭakā vṛddhiḥ kṛṣṇapakṣo 'yanadvayam | dravyaṃ brāhmaṇasaṃpattir viśuvat sūryasaṃkramaḥ || vyatīpāto gajacchāyā grahaṇaṃ candrasūryayoḥ | śrāddhaṃ prati ruciś caiva śrāddhakālāḥ prakīrtitāḥ*. 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*.

¹⁰ Cf. Sayers 2008, p. 149.

¹¹ 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.¹² 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.¹³

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.¹⁴

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.¹⁵ 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

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

¹² YājS 1.225: *nimantrayeta pūrvedyur brāhmaṇān ātmavāñ śuciḥ | taiś cāpi saṃyatair bhāvyam manovākkāyakarmabhiḥ*.

¹³ 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 brāhmaṇam niyujjyāt*.

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

¹⁵ YājS 1.229: *pāṇiprakṣālanam dattvā viṣṭarārtham kuśān api | āvāhayed anujñāto viśve devāsa ity ṛcā*.

hands, together with offerings of scented powders, garlands, incense and lamps, and clothes.¹⁶

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.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ 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."¹⁹

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.²⁰

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.²¹ The *yajamāna*

¹⁶ YājS 1.230–232b: *yavair anvavakīryātha bhājane sapavitrake | śan no devyā payah kṣiptvā yavosīti yavāms tathā || yā divyā iti mantreṇa hasteṣv arghyaṃ vinikṣipet | dattvoda-kam gandhamālyam dhūpadānam sadīpakam || tathācchādanānam ca karaśaucārtham ambu ca.*

¹⁷ YājS 1.232c–233: *apasavyam tataḥ kṛtvā pitṛṇām apradakṣiṇam | dviguṇāms tu kuśān dattvā hy uśantas tveṇy rcā pitṛn | āvāhya tadanujñāto japed āyantu nas tataḥ.*

¹⁸ YājS 1.234: *apahatā iti tilān vikīrya ca samantataḥ | yavārthās tu tilaiḥ kāryāḥ kuryād arghyādi pūrvavat.*

¹⁹ YājS 1.235: *dattvārghyaṃ saṃsraṇāms teṣāṃ pātre kṛtvā vidhānataḥ | pitṛbhyah sthānam asīti nyubjaṃ pātram karoty adhaḥ.*

²⁰ 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.

²¹ 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*.²²

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*.²³ 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.²⁴

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*.²⁵

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”²⁶ 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

²² YājS 1.236–238: *agnau kariṣyann ādāya prcchaty annam ghṛtaplutam | kuruṣvety abhyanujñāto hutvāgnau pitṛyajñavat || hutaśeṣam pradadyāt tu bhājaneṣu samāhitah | yathālābhopapanneṣu raupyeṣu ca viśeṣataḥ || dattvānnaṁ prthivīpātram iti pātrābhimantraṇam | kṛtvedaṁ 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).

²³ 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*.

²⁴ YājS 1.239–242b: *savyāhṛtikām gāyatrīm madhu vātā iti tryrcam | japtvā yathāsu-khaṁ vācyam bhuñjīraṃś te 'pi vāgyatāḥ || annam iṣṭam haviṣyam ca dadyād akrodhano 'tvarah | ā tṛptes tu pavitrāṇi japtvā pūrvajapam tathā || annam ādāya tṛptāḥ stha śeṣam caivānumānya ca | tad annam vikīred bhūmau dadyāc cāpaḥ sakṛt sakṛt || sarvam annam upādāya satilaṁ dakṣiṇāmukhaḥ.*

²⁵ On the topic of *piṇḍa* offerings, see also Buss 2006.

²⁶ 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.²⁷ 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.²⁸ Both the *yajamāna* and the Brahmins are to remain celibate that night.²⁹

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.³⁰

²⁷ YājS 1.243b–249b: *dadyād ācamaṇaṃ tataḥ | svastivācyam tataḥ kuryād akṣayyodakam eva ca || dattvā tu dakṣiṇāṃ śaktyā svadhākāraṃ udāharet | vācyatām ity anujñātaḥ prakṛtebhyah svadhocyatām || brūyur astu svadhety ukte bhūmau siñcet tato jalam | viśvedevāḥ ca prīyanti vipraiś cōktam 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 pītrpūrvam visarjanam || yasmimś te saṃsṛavāḥ pūrvam arghyapātre niveśitāḥ | pītrpātram tad uttānaṃ kṛtvā viprān visarjayet || pradakṣiṇam anuvraja bhuñjīta pītrsevitam.*

²⁸ YājS 1.257: *piṇḍās tu gojaviprebhyo dadyād agnau jale ’pi vā | prakṣipet satsu vi-preṣu dvijocchiṣṭaṃ na mārjayet.*

²⁹ YājS 1.249cd: *brahmacārī bhavet tām tu rajanīm brāhmaṇaiḥ saha.*

³⁰ 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 *navaśrāddhas*, which are to be performed during the first eleven days after the death.³¹ 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.³² According to his account, these *navaśrāddhas* are to be performed on the first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth and eleventh day after a death,³³ with the last of these widely accepted as the day the period of impurity caused by death ends for the chief mourner.³⁴

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-

³¹ See Kane 1953, pp. 262–263.

³² *Mitākṣarā* on YājS 1.252: *navaśrāddheṣu yac chiṣṭam gr̥he paryuṣitam ca yat | dam-patyor bhuktaśiṣṭam ca na bhuñjīta kadā cana*.

³³ *Mitākṣarā* on YājS 1.252: *prathame 'hni tṛtīye 'hni pañcame saptame tathā | navamaikādaśe caiva etan navaśrāddham ucyate*.

³⁴ 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: *navaśrāddhasya 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 navaśrāddhāni vai khaga || śrāddhāni nava caitāni tṛtīyā ṣoḍaśī smṛtā | ekoddiṣṭavidhānena kār्याṇi manujais tathā*. See also Kane 1953, p. 263.

ble” (*akṣayyam astu*),³⁵ 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.³⁶ 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.³⁷

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.³⁸ The standard view expressed in the sources is that they are to be held throughout the year after death, according to the YājS, every

³⁵ YājS 1.252–252: *ekoddiṣṭaṃ daivahīnam ekārghyaikapavitrakam | āvāhanāgnaukaraṇarahitaṃ hy apasavyavat || upatiṣṭhatām akṣayyasthāne vipravisarjane | abhiramyatām iti vaded brūyus te 'bhiratāḥ sma ha ||*.

³⁶ YājS 1.253–254b: *gandhodakatilair yuktaṃ kuryāt pātracatuṣṭayam | arghyārthaṃ pitṛpātreṣu pretapātraṃ prasiṅcayet || ye samānād iti dvābhyāṃ śeṣaṃ pūrvavad ācāret.*

³⁷ 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 *Nārada mahāpurāṇa* (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.

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

month on the anniversary of the death.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ 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.⁴² 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

³⁹ Cf. YājS 1.256ab: *mṛte 'hani tu kartavyaṃ pratimāsaṃ tu vatsaram*.

⁴⁰ See *Mītākṣarā* on YājS 1.255: *śoḍaśa śrāddhāni ca. dvādaśāhe tripakṣe ca ṣaṇmāse māsi cābdike | śrāddhāni śoḍaśaitāni saṃsmṛtāni manīṣibhiḥ*.

⁴¹ *Mītākṣarā* 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.

⁴² YājS 1.255: *arvāk sapiṇḍikaraṇaṃ yasya saṃvatsarād bhavet | tasyāpy annaṃ soda-kumbhaṃ dadyāt saṃvatsaraṃ dvije. Mītākṣara ad loc.: saṃvatsarād arvāk sapiṇḍikaraṇaṃ yasya kṛtāṃ tasya taduddeśena pratidivasam pratimāsaṃ vā yāvat saṃvatsaraṃ śaktyanusāreṇānnaṃ udakumbhasahitaṃ 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*⁴³ and then at the end of that for *sapiṇḍikaraṇa*.⁴⁴ In his commentary on the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa*, Vijñāneśvara also mentions that in the case of a woman, a *mātrśrāddha* must be performed.⁴⁵ 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 terms⁴⁶

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,⁴⁷ 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

⁴³ YājS 1.242c–243a: *ucchiṣṭasannidhau piṇḍān dadyād vai pitṛyajñavat || mātāmahānām apy evaṃ*.

⁴⁴ YājS 1.253–254cd: *etat sapiṇḍikaraṇam ekoddiṣṭaṃ striyā api*.

⁴⁵ *Mitākṣarā ad YājS 1.254: striyāpi mātūr api kartavyam. evaṃ vadatā pārvaṇe mātrśrāddham prthak kartavyam ity uktam bhavati*.

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

⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ Accordingly, all of the mantras employed during the ritual to invoke or address the *śrāddha* deities are modified.⁴⁹

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.⁵⁰

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.⁵¹

The Saiddhāntika manual JR expresses a similar sentiment:

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

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

⁴⁸ See, e.g., Brunner-Lachaux 1979, p. 626.

⁴⁹ 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 hām īśāya pitre idam āsanaṃ namaḥ*. See Brunner-Lachaux, p. 647, [17b].

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

⁵¹ Kir 61.41. For the text and annotated translation of the passage, see the appendices.

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

⁵³ 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.⁵⁴

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?⁵⁵

⁵⁴ TĀ 25.10.

⁵⁵ 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*.⁵⁶

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” (*gurvāḍi*). 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,⁵⁷ rather than having a positive meaning for the soteriological path.

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

⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸ 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,⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁰ 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.

⁵⁸ 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 | tṣaḥ sadāśivāḥ śāntaḥ śivaśrāddhe tapasvinaḥ || rudraś cānantanāmā ca viśvedevau sthitau 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*.

⁵⁹ Cf. YājS 1.229–232b.

⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹ 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.⁶² 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

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

⁶² 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 *Nāradyāpurāṇa*. 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. *Nāradyāpurāṇa* 1.28.32c–33: *śrāddhārthaṃ samanujātaḥ kārayen maṇḍaladvayam || caturaśraṃ brāhmaṇasya trikoṇaṃ kṣatriyasya vai | vaiśyasya vartulaṃ 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 amṛtāyānnasaṃgatam | vāmaṃ mṛtyujitam vāpi parito bhrāmayet paṭhan*) and the KKD (Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 655, [24b]: *teṣāṃ savyam aṅguṣṭham svahastena saṃgrhya, nyubjam annasaṃgatam 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 (*mātrśrāddha*). 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.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ Deceased women are connected to the family of their husband, with the order of worship thus expressed through the paternal line, namely the mother (*mātr*), the wife of the grandfather (*pitāmahī*), and the wife of the great-grandfather (*prapitāmahī*).

4.1. The period between death and the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa*

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.⁶⁵ 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

⁶³ KKD (T 370, p. 244; T 403, p. 174): *mātrśrāddhaviṣaye bhojanavarjyam anyat sarvaṃ *pūrvoktena* (T 370; *pūrvānte* T 403) *kuryāt*.

⁶⁴ 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 *mātr*s, 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.

⁶⁵ Kir 61.37: *ekoddiṣṭam yad atroktam kāryam āvāhanam 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.⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷

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.⁶⁸ As discussed above, this in turn was adopted from the Vaiṣṇava JāyS.⁶⁹ 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.

⁶⁶ See p. 198.

⁶⁷ See Sanderson 1995, p. 35.

⁶⁸ See NGMPP B24/57, ff. 224r2–227v5.

⁶⁹ 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*.⁷⁰ 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*,⁷¹ and for the last five days, the five face mantras starting with *sadyojāta*.⁷² 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 oblation⁷³ 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.⁷⁴ It is the first of a series of such *śrāddhas* to be performed at intervals of a month

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

⁷¹ 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.

⁷² JR ŚP 63. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices. The five *aṅgamantras* are the *hṛdaya*, *śīras*, *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.

⁷³ See p. 145, fn. 72.

⁷⁴ 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.⁷⁵ 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 oblation⁷⁶ 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 *sapiṇḍikaraṇa*. Each of these procedures receives its own section except for the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa*, 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

⁷⁵ 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.

⁷⁶ 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.⁷⁷ 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.⁷⁸ 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*⁷⁹

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.⁸⁰ 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-

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

⁷⁸ See p. 119.

⁷⁹ KKD T 370, pp. 232–234 and T 403, pp. 160–62.

⁸⁰ 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 *pāṣāṇasthāpanavidhi* is to be performed in place of the brahmanical *daśakriyā* or as an addition to it.⁸¹

On the first day, immediately after the *tarpaṇa*, the officiant is to build a small construction called a *pitṛgrha* (house for the ancestors) either indoors, 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.⁸² 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*⁸³ with the name of his clan (*gotra*) followed by *namaḥ*. He then greets the deceased person's soul with

⁸¹ Of the available post-12th-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 *pāṣāṇasthāpana* 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 *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* and the *navaśrāddhas*.

⁸² 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 pīṭhaṃ *uttarābhimukhaṃ vidhivad* (T 370; om. T 403) *vidhāya, pīṭhasaṃnidhau tanmānena gartaṃ *nikhanya* (T 403; *nighanya* T 370), *tad ubhayaṃ gomayenopalīpya...*

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 rudreśvarasadaśivāmś cāvāhya...*

⁸³ 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 (*ācamaṇa*) and guest water, together with clothes, flowers, incense and lamps.⁸⁴

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.⁸⁵ 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.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ 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 *praṇavenāsanam* (T 370; *praṇavāsane* T 403) *saṃkalpya, tasmin mṛtasya dīkṣānāmnā *svāhāntena* (T 403; *svāhoktena* T 370) *mūrtiṃ samāvāhya, *tathaiva* (T 403; om. T 370) *tadgotranāmayuktenātmamantraṇa namontenātmānam sampūjya, pādyācamanārghyāṇi dattvā, *vastrapuṣṭipair* (T 403; *vastrapuṣṭa* T 370) *alamkṛtya, dhūpadīpau dattvā*...

⁸⁵ 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.

⁸⁶ KKD (T 370, p. 233; T 403, pp. 160–161): ...{<-T 370a/T 403b->} **tato garte śarāvaṃ saṃsthāpya* (T 370; *pīḥaṃ vinā garte śarāvaṃ saṃsthāpya* T 403), **tanmadhye śilāḥ saṃsthāpya, tāsu *mṛtasyātmānam* (conj.; *mṛtāmātmānam* T 370, T 403) *āvāhya* (T 370; *tasmin *iṣṭakāṃ* [em.; *iṣṭakam* codd.] *saṃsthāpya tasmin mṛtam ātmānam āvāhya* T 403) **ābhiśicya 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; *taṭprītyarthan* T 403) *navapātre *āśaucarahitayā* (conj.; *āśaucārahitayā* T 370; *agnau ca rahitayā* T 403) *snātayā pākam *kārayitvā* (T 403; *karayitvā* T 370), *gulaghṛtatilayuktaṃ kṛtvā, †*sopadaśaṃ* (T 403; *sopadeśaṃ* T 370) *saṃnivedya* (T 370; *nivedya* T 403)† *tāmbūlam dattvā evaṃ *prātaḥsāyāhṇayor* (conj.; *sāyāhṇayor* T 370; *prates sarayāhṇabhayo* T 403) *nivedya piṇḍam dattvā athavā, pūrvāhṇe vāpi kāladvayaṃ pratikuryāt. hr̥dbījayuktena 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.⁸⁷ 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.⁸⁸

At the end of this, the officiant performs the *sakalikaraṇa* 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.⁸⁹ Finally, he should take a purifying bath and return home, where he performs some more concluding rites such as Śiva worship.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ KKD (T 370, p. 233; T 403, p. 161–162): ... *daśāhe 'pi pūrvavat saṃtarpya *jalatīre* (T 370; jale T 403) *darbhān *āstīrya* (T 403; *āstārya* T 370) *apasavyopavītī *pavitrāpāṇir* (T 403; *pavitrāpāṇī* T 370) *viparītakrameṇa karānyāsaṃ kṛtvā*...

⁸⁸ 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 oṃ hām śuddhātman skando bhava *svadhā* (T 403; *svāha* T 370) **oṃ śuddhātman caṇḍo bhava svadhā* (T 403; om. T 370) *oṃ hām śuddhātman śānto bhava *svadhā* (T 403; *svāha* T 370) **†tulam† kuśodakam svadhā, oṃ vāsodakam svadhā, oṃ tilodakam svadhā* (T 403; om. T 370) *iti saṃtarpya*...

⁸⁹ KKD (T 370, p. 234, and T 403, pp. 161–162): *kūrcapuṣpasamāyuktaṃ pāṣāṇaṃ ca tathaiva ca || pīṭhaṃ *cā sahasoddhṛtya* (T 370; *cāhasoddhṛtya* T 403) **yānam* (T 370; *dhāmnā* T 403) *āropya śobhanam | vastrair ācchāḍya bahuśo dhūpadīpasamanvitam || sarvātodyasamāyuktaṃ sarvaśobha*samanvitam* (T 370; *-samantritam* T 403) *| utthāpya *tena yānena* (T 403; *tena toyena* T 370) *puṇyatīrthe viniṣipet || *udaṇmukhas* (T 403; *udaṇmukhan* T 370) *tatas tasmin *śiṣyas* (T 403; *śiṣyan* T 370) *tattīrthamadyame | *pāṣāṇaṃ* (T 403; *pāṣāṇa* T 370) *piṇḍapīṭhe ca paścādbhāge viniṣipet*.

⁹⁰ 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*).⁹¹ 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.⁹² Then he is to install eleven jars, placing them in the anti-clockwise

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 grhaṃ gatvā sarveṣāṃ yogināṃ api | pūjāṃ kṛtvā kṣamāpyātha *svayaṃ bhṛtyaiś ca bhojayet* (conj.; *svayaṃ bhūtyaiś ca bhojayet* T 370; *svayamantivyavai pūjayet* T 403).

⁹¹ 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: *...om hām devo haro rudraḥ śaṃkaro nīlaloḥita īśāno vijayo bhīmo devadevo bhavodbhavaḥ, kapālī ceti vijñeyā rudrā ekādaśās tathā sarpājagaravāyavagnibhiḥ śāstra-vṛkṣaviṣatoyahastinā. vatsare śaṭtrimāse pakṣayos taddinaṃ tu vidhaṃ rudrabaliḥ*.

⁹² KKD (T 370, p. 234; T 403, p. 162): **daśame 'hani* (T 370; *daśamevāhni* T 403) **nadyādipunyajalatīram* (T 370; *nadyādipunyaṭīrtheram* 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 tasmin, *om 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, Nīlāloḥita, Īśāna, Vijaya, Bhīma, Devadeva, Bhavodbhava and Kapālīśa.⁹³ 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*).⁹⁴ At this point, the two transcripts again prescribe different procedures and both of them are corrupt. Transcript T 370

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

⁹³ 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.

⁹⁴ KKD (T 370, p. 235; T 403, p. 163): ... *tata *ekasmin* (T 370; *ekasminn eva* T 403) *pātre, *oṃ pītrbhyāḥ* (T 370; *śivapītrbhyā svadhā* T 403) *svadhā, oṃ pītāmahebhyaḥ svadhā, oṃ prapitāmahebhyaḥ svadhā, *oṃ vrddhaprapitāmahebhyaḥ svadhā* (T 370; om. T 403), *oṃ mātṛbhyāḥ svadhā, oṃ pītāmāhībhyāḥ svadhā, oṃ prapitāmāhībhyāḥ svadhā, oṃ *vrddhaprapitāmāhībhyāḥ* (T 370; *vrddhapramātāmāhībhyāḥ* T 403) *svadhā, oṃ sarvebhyaḥ pītrbhyāḥ svadhā, *oṃ sarvebhyo mātṛbhyāḥ svadhā* (T 370; om. T 403). *ity evaṃ baliṃ *dattvā* (T 370; *dāpayitvā* T 403), **tat pātram tṛṇasahitenāṃguṣṭhenāpradakṣiṇam* (T 370; *tat pātraguṇitakuśasahitenāṃguṣṭhenāpradakṣiṇam* T 403) *triḥ paribhṛāmya *tasmin* (T 370; om. T 403) **tṛṇam* (T 370; *kuśau* T 403) *visṛjya 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; *tadekaśaṃ* T 403) *grhītvāgṛhāya pāṇiṃ prakṣālyā kuṃbhagurvādīn pradakṣiṇam kṛtvā namaskṛtya guro rakṣāṃ 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.⁹⁵ In addition, the chief mourner is to make offerings of food and water each day during the same period.⁹⁶ 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.⁹⁷

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;⁹⁸ (b) two round *maṇḍalas* instead of four are drawn for the ceremonial reception;⁹⁹ (c) one *piṇḍa* is offered;¹⁰⁰ (d) any formal

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

⁹⁶ KKD (T 370, p. 238; T 403, p. 168): *marañāhāt samārabhya vatsarāntaṃ pratidinaṃ *sodakakumbhāni bhojanāni* (T 370; *asenadakakumbhabhojanadāni* T 403) *dātavyāni, vatsarānte sapiṇḍīkaraśrāddhaṃ kartavyam...*

⁹⁷ 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.*

⁹⁸ 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; *yathok-talakṣaṇaṃ* T 370)...

⁹⁹ KKD (T 370, p. 235; T 403, p. 164): *grhājire gomayopalipe dakṣiṇottaraṃ sthānaṃ karāntaraṃ karamānaṃ *vṛttamaṇḍaladvayaṃ* (T 370; *vṛttamaṇḍala* T 403) *kṛtvā...*

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 *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha* on the eleventh day, the *yajamāna* may offer twenty-four presents to the invitee for the deceased.¹⁰¹

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 *pārvaṇaśrāddha*, 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

¹⁰⁰ KKD (T 370 p. 237; T 403 p. 163): **bhūmiṣṭhasavyajānur dakṣiṇābhīmukho* (T 370; *bhūmiṣu savyaṇjanānuddakṣiṇābhīmukho* T 403) *mūlayuktadīkṣānāmnā *svadhāntaṃ* (T 403; om. T 370) *piṇḍaṃ datvā...*

¹⁰¹ 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): *pavitraṃ yaj-ñāsūtraṃ ca kamaṇḍalv akṣapāduke | daṇḍa<ṃ> *kaupīnam āsanam* (conj.; *kaupīnabhasmāṅgaṃ* T 370; *kaupīnabhasmāga* T 403) *yogapaṭṭātapatrakam || uṣṇīṣam uttarīyaṃ ca vastrahemāṅgulīyakam | *hemapātraṃ* (T 370; *hemapadmaṃ* T 403) *ghṛtaṃ tailaṃ gau bhūmir bhojanāṅgakam || śayanīyaṃ *sarvadhānyāni* (T 370; *sarvadhānādi* T 403) *dāsīdāsopahārakā | caturviṃśati dānaṃ 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: *daṇḍākṣasūtrakauṇḍīnabhiḥkṣāpātrāṇi rūpiṇā | kajjalaṃ kuṅkumaṃ tailaṃ śalākāṃ keśa-śodhanam || tāmbūlaṃ darpaṇaṃ dadyād uttare rocanām api | āsanam pāduke pātraṃ yogapaṭṭātapatrakam || 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.¹⁰² This extra invitee is ceremonially received following the procedure prescribed for the ancestors:¹⁰³ he is seated facing east¹⁰⁴ and offered guest water prepared in the same manner as for the ancestors after the invocation.¹⁰⁵ The formulas used during the rite are revised according to the context, as for example, the officiant formally asks specific permission to perform the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa* rite rather than the ordinary *śrāddha*.¹⁰⁶ 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.¹⁰⁷ 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.¹⁰⁸ 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

¹⁰² KKD (T 370, p. 239; T 403, p. 168): *tatra pitrarthaṃ *deśikān* (T 370; *deśikāt* T 403) *viśvadevārthaṃ sādhaḥak tadabhāve *dīkṣitān samayasthān* (conj.; *dīkṣitān samasthān* T 370; *adīkṣitān samayasthān* T 403) *vā grhṇīyāt* [...] *nimittāya *yaddeśikādiṣu* (T 403; *devaśikādiṣu* T 370) *ekaṃ grhṇīyāt*.

¹⁰³ 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 pādāṃ prakṣālyācāmya...*

¹⁰⁴ KKD (T 370, p. 240; T 403, p. 170): *nimittam *atithyabhyāgatau* (em.; *atithyabhāgatau* T 370; *atithyatyagatau* T 403) *ca pūrvānanān *āsaneṣu* (T 370; *vāsaneṣu* T 403) *vāmadevenopaveśya...*

¹⁰⁵ KKD (T 370, p. 240; T 403, p. 170): *nimittārghyaṃ pitrarghyavat kṛtvā...*

¹⁰⁶ KKD (T 370, p. 240; T 403, p. 170): *sapiṇḍikaraṇaśrāddhaṃ kariṣya iti prārthya kuruṣveti tair anumatas...*

¹⁰⁷ 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...*

¹⁰⁸ KKD (T 370, p. 242–243; T 403, p. 173): *pitarthaṃ *piṇḍatrayaṃ* (T 370; *traya* T 403) **mātrpakṣasyāpi* (T 370; *mātravarasyāpi* T 403) *trayaṃ nimittāyaikaṃ dattvā ...* 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*.¹⁰⁹ 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*),¹¹⁰ 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.¹¹¹

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-

¹⁰⁹ 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) **pāḍau* (T 403; *pābhyā* T 370) *prakṣālyācamya* **sakalikṛtya* (T 370; *sakalikṛtvā* T 403) **sāmānyārghyaṃ kṛtvā* (T 403; om. T 370) **gomayopalipṭe* (T 403; *gomayopalipṭa* T 370) *maṇḍale pātracatuṣṭayaṃ* **viśuddhaṃ* (T 370; *śuddhaṃ* T 403) **vinyasya* (T 370; *vinyaset* T 403) **teṣāṃ* (T 370; *teṣu* T 403) *gandhodakṣīratiladarbhāgragandhapuṣpāṇi* **kṣīpya* (T 403; *vikṣīpya* T 370) *iśaṃ sadāśivaṃ śāntaṃ* **caturthe* (T 370; om. T 403) **mūlamantrayuktadīkṣānāmnā yuktaṃ* (conj.; *mūlamantrayuktadīkṣānāṃ ayukta* T 370; + *layuktadīkṣānāmnā yuktaṃ* T 403) *nimittaṃ cottarādīdākṣiṇāntaṃ* **sampūjyārghyadhūpādi* (T 370; *sampūjyārghyadhūpādi* T 403) *dattvā nimittapātrajalaṃ mūleneśādīpātreṣu yojayet. tatas tatpātrāṇi* **visṛjyācāmet* (T 370; *visṛjyācamya* T 403).

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

¹¹¹ 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.¹¹² The benefit gained from performing the *rudraśrāddha* for the *yajamāna* who commissioned the rite is declared to be attaining union with Rudra,¹¹³ 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;¹¹⁴ and the *yajamāna* is declared to attain the world of Brahmā as a reward.¹¹⁵

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.¹¹⁶ The SP prescribes the *śivaśrāddha* for Śaiva initiates, the *rudraśrāddha* for *rudrāṃśas*, and the *laukikaśrāddha* for the ordinary Vaidika.¹¹⁷

¹¹² 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.

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

¹¹⁴ Kir 61.10. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices.

¹¹⁵ Kir 61.36. For the text and translation of the passage, see the appendices.

¹¹⁶ 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.

¹¹⁷ SP 11.3b–6b: *īśaḥ sadāśivaḥ śāntaḥ śivaśrāddhe tapasvinaḥ || rudraś cānantanāmā ca viśvedevau sthitaḥ dvayoḥ | dīkṣitānām amī devā rudrāṃśānām atho 'nyathā || tatra nandimahākālau viśvedevau gaṇau dvayoḥ | skandacaṇḍagaṇādhīśā 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.¹¹⁸ Regarding the use of the term in the SP, however, various scholars have interpreted it as meaning "a part (*aṃśa*) of Rudra" and thus referring to lower level initiates, that is, *samayins*.¹¹⁹ 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*.¹²⁰ By extension it is perhaps also intended for recipients of a *viśeṣāntyeṣṭi*, 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-

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

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

¹²⁰ KKD (T 370, p. 244; T 403, p. 174): **samayinaḥ* (em.; *samayinaṃ* T 370; *mamayina* T 403) **skandacaṇḍagaṇādhīśāḥ* (em.; *skandaṇ caṇḍa*° T 403; *kaṣṭaś caṇḍa*° T 370) **pitṛpitāmahaprapitāmahāḥ* (T 370; om. T 403) *pitara nandimahākālau* **viśvedevau* (conj.; *viśvadevau* codd.) *laukike* **brahmaviṣṇvīśā* (em.; *brahmaviṣṇvīśa* T 370; *brahmāviṣṇuvīśāḥ* T 403) **viśvedevau* (conj.; *viśvadevau* codd.) *yamavarauṇau*...

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

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.¹²² 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.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² 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.¹²³ 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.¹²⁴ 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-

¹²³ Sanderson 1995.

¹²⁴ 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 ṛmanuṣyāḥ pitaro 'surāḥ | tṛptāḥ 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 śrāddhadevatāḥ | prīṇayanti manuṣyānāṃ pitṛn śrāddhena tarpitāḥ || āyuh prajāṃ dhanam vidyāṃ svargaṃ mokṣaṃ sukhāni ca | prayacchanti tathā rājyaṃ prītā nṛnāṃ 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 sampūrṇatām eti tad uddiṣya 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*).¹²⁵ 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.¹²⁶ 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.¹²⁷ 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

¹²⁵ See p. 192.

¹²⁶ See p. 17.

¹²⁷ 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.

Appendix A: Sanskrit Texts

Conventions

For the edition, the following orthographical features have been silently normalized in the main body and are only recorded if they feature as part of a listed variant: Homorganic nasals at the end of words have been changed to *anusvāras* when applicable. Medial *anusvāras* have been changed to homorganic nasals. Final *anusvāras* have been changed to “m” at the end of verses. Gemination of consonants after “r” has been normalised. The usage of *avagrahas* in the manuscripts has not been recorded; rather *avagrahas* have been supplied where needed. Punctuation in the form of single and double *daṇḍas* are supplied by the author; the use of punctuation in the manuscripts has not been recorded.

The apparatus is divided into three layers. The first records testimonia; if these are recorded from transcripts or manuscripts, a diplomatic edition is provided. The second layer contains additional *pādas* or omission of *pādas* if applicable. The third layer contains the positive apparatus. Corrections, emendation, and conjectures are by the author unless otherwise indicated.

List of signs

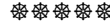
]	The single square bracket separates the <i>lemma</i> from the variants and conjectures.
(x)	Round brackets are used to mark <i>akṣaras</i> of uncertain reading (e.g. due to partial damage or smudges).
(x/y)	Round brackets with several <i>akṣaras</i> separated by a slash indicate that the reading of the <i>akṣara</i> is uncertain and there are several possibilities, the first considered the most likely by the editor.
x-	A dash after the <i>akṣara</i> (= x) marks an illegible vowel sign of the <i>akṣara</i> .
x-a	A dash after the <i>akṣara</i> (= x), followed by a vowel, indicates that an element of a joint consonant is not legible.
+	A plus sign marks an unreadable or completely lost <i>akṣara</i> .
[[x]]	Double square brackets mark <i>akṣara(s)</i> deleted by the

scribe.

[[+]]	A plus sign in double square brackets marks a deleted <i>akṣara</i> that is no longer legible.
◦	A circle indicates that the <i>lemma</i> is part of a compound.
*	When variants are given within the quoted text, a star indicates the beginning of the lemma.
ac	<i>ante correctionem</i> ; the reading before correction.
pc	<i>post correctionem</i> ; the reading after correction.
corr.	correction; proposed correction.
em.	emendation; proposed emendation.
conj.	conjecture; proposed conjecture.
diagn. conj.	Diagnostic conjecture, indicating the sense that may be behind a corrupt passage, while not proposing this as a final reading.
codd.	<i>codices</i> ; all manuscript have the same reading.
om.	omission; omitted in a manuscript witness.
ill.	Illegible.
(i.m.)	<i>in margine</i> ; the reading is recorded in the margin.
(unmetr.)	The listed reading is unmetrical.
Col.	Colophon.
†...†	The word or passage between crux marks is corrupt and cannot be emended or interpreted.

1. *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha* 22.9–20.

- N *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha*. National Archives Kathmandu. NAK 1–348, NGMPP. A 30/6. Incomplete (ff. 4, 5, 10, 17–19, 21, 25–53). Palm leaf. Folio 51v, line 2–Folio 52v, line 1.
- P *Svāyambhuva*. Pondicherry IFI, Transcript No 39. Pp. 115–116 (Chapter 31 in this transcript).
- Ed_M *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha*. *śrīśaivāgame svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgarah* (*svayambhuvā maharṣibhya uddiṣṭaḥ*). Edition. Published 1937, Mysore. Edited by Venkaṭasubrahmaṇyaśāstrī. Transcript RE 45128, IFI, pp. 67–68.



anteṣṭiṃ vidhivat tasya saṃsthitasya dvijanmanah |
 kuryād vipaścid ācāryo bahir āvasathāc chuciḥ || 9 ||
 śucim deśam saṃsādyā gomayenopalipya ca |
 śivam abhyarcayet tatra śivāgniṃ dakṣiṇe tataḥ || 10 ||
 mṛdbhasmagomayodghṛṣṭam pracurodakaśodhitam |
 śavam āhṛtya tasyāgner dakṣiṇasyāṃ niveśayet || 11 ||
 prokṣitoddhūlitasyātha cintayet praṇavam hṛdi |
 sakalīkṛtya sampūjya tato homam samācayet || 12 ||

9a anteṣṭiṃ] N; antyeṣṭiṃ Ed_M; anteṣṭam P 9b dvijanmanah] Ed_MP; dvijātmanah N 9c āvasathāc chuciḥ] corr.; āvasthāc chuciḥ Ed_MN (unmetr.); ācasthaś śuciḥ P (unmetr.) 10a śucim deśam] em. Sanderson; śucir deśam Ed_M; śuci deśam NP 10b gomayenopalipya ca] N; gomayenopalepayet Ed_MP 11a mṛdbhasmagomayodghṛṣṭam] Ed_M; mṛdbhaśmagomayodghṛṣṭam N; mṛdbhasmagomayotsṛṣṭa° P 11b pracurodakaśaucitam] Ed_M; prabhucodakaśodhitam N; °pracurocitaśaucitam P 12a prokṣitoddhūlitasyātha] Ed_MN; prokṣitoddhūlitasyāpi P 12d samācayet] N; samārabhet Ed_MP

†padādhvanā† śivam dhyātvā tam devāya nivedayet |
 pratigṛhṇīṣva bhagavan śāvyām enām mahāhutim || 13 ||
 evam uktvā śivam devam ubhayastham visarjya ca |
 tatas tam indhanenāgniṃ praśastena nayec citim || 14 ||
 snātvodakam tato dattvā punaḥ snātvā śivam jayet |
 sadyādi netraparyantam śāvakarmaviśuddhaye || 15 ||
 śiṣyā vai †gurusambandhād† guroḥ sambandhinaś ca ye |
 tyajeyus te tryaham karma nityād anyaj japādikam || 16 ||
 tebhyo 'nye śivamārgasthā gr̥hiṇo 'gr̥hiṇo 'pi vā |
 dinam ekam kṣapeyus te śāvāśaucanimittataḥ || 17 ||
 gr̥hiṇo lokamārgasthā laṅghayeyur na laukikam |
 ācāram dīkṣitās tasmāt kurvīran lokasamvṛteḥ || 18 ||
 na ca yad bādhakam vastu śivaśāstrokta-vartmanah |
 tat kuryāt sūtakānnādi †pratiśiddhodakam† yathā || 19 ||
 evam antyeṣṭikam karma samāsāt kathitam mayā |
 idānīm mānasam yāgam śṛṇudhvam saṃśītavratāḥ || 20 ||

iti svāyambhuvasūtrasamgrāhe 'ntyēṣṭipāṭalaḥ dvāvimśatitamah

13b tam] Ed_MN; tad P **13cd** bhagavan śāvyām enām] Ed_M; bhagavan śāvīm etām N; bhaga-
 vañjāvyāmena P **14b** visarjya] Ed_MN; vibhajya P **14c** tam] N; sad Ed_MP **14d** praśastena
 nayec citim] N; parasaktena citim nayet Ed_MP **15b** jayet] Ed_MP; yajet N **15d** śāvakarma-
 viśuddhaye] Ed_MN; śāvakarmāpi siddhaye P **16a** śiṣyā vai] conj. Sanderson; śiṣyaika°
 Ed_MP; śiṣyair vā N • °gurusambandhād] Ed_M; gurusambandhāt N; °gurusambaddhā P **16b**
 guroḥ sambandhinaś ca ye] Ed_M; gurusambandhinas tathā N; guros sambanidhitaś ca yet P
 (unmetr.) **16c** trajeyus te tryaham karma nityād anyaj japādikam] Ed_M; japahomādikam
 karma nityād anyat tryaham tyajet N; tyajeyus te tryaham karma nityād anyajapādikam P
17a tebhyo 'nye śivamārgasthā] Ed_MP; + + + + + samsthā N **17b** 'gr̥hiṇo] Ed_MP; vratino N
17c kṣapeyus te] Ed_M; kṣaye graste N; kṣapāyukte P **17d** śāvāśaucanimittataḥ] N;
 śāvāśaucāya dīkṣitāḥ Ed_M; śāvāśaucāya dīkṣitā P **18b** laṅghayeyur] Ed_MN; laṅgheyur P
 (unmetr.) • na laukikam] Ed_MP; om. N **18c** ācāram] Ed_MN; ācāra P **19a** yad bādhakam]
 Ed_MP; + + + kam N **19b** śivaśāstrokta-vartmanah] Ed_MP; śivaśāstrokta-vartmanā N **19c** tat] N;
 na Ed_MP • kuryāt] Ed_MP; kuryuḥ N **19d** pratiśiddhodakam yathā] P; praiśiddhodanam yathā
 Ed_M; pratiśiddhyed anantaram N **20c** śṛṇudhvam] P; śṛṇudhvam Ed_M; om. N • saṃśītavrat-
 āḥ] Ed_M; saśītavratāḥ N; saṃhitavratāḥ P **Col.** iti svāyambhuvasūtrasamgrāhe
 'ntyēṣṭipāṭalaḥ dvāvimśatitamah] Ed_M; iti svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgrāhe antyeṣṭividhir eka-
 trimśatipāṭalaḥ P; iti svāyambhuve utkrāntipāṭalo dvāvimśatimah N

2.1. *Sarvajñānottara* 12

P₃₃₄ *Sarvajñānottara*. Pondicherry IFI Transcript No. 334, pp. 88–93.

P₇₆₀ *Sarvajñānottaraḥ*. Pondicherry IFI Transcript No. 760. Copied from manuscript belonging to D. 15595 of G.O.M.L., pp. 64–67.

Further consulted: An e-text collated by Dominic Goodall on the basis of P₃₃₄/P₇₆₀, and N (for N, see description in section 2.2.).¹ The chapter numbering follows that of the etext.



na prāpto 'pi parām dīkṣām gurubhakto 'pi yatnataḥ |
 †kālenāntasthito† yaḥ syāt tasya mokṣaḥ katham bhavet || 1 ||
 kiṃ vṛthā tasya saṃkleśo mokṣam uddīśya yaḥ kṛtaḥ |
 kiṃ kiṃcid vidyate karma tasya yan mokṣasādhanaṃ || 2 ||
 gurubhaktāya śāntāya sadācārāya suvrata |
 mṛtasyāpi paraṃ skanda dīkṣākarma vidhīyate || 3 ||
 + + + + + vidhisamkṣepavistaram |
 avikalpamatiḥ kuryād ekacittaḥ samāhitaḥ || 4 ||

1–3 *Dīkṣādarśa* quoting *Sarvajñānottara*, T 372, p. 1614: na prāpto 'pi parām dīkṣām gurubhaktopāḥ nataḥ (unmetr.) | kālenānusthito yasmā syāmn tasya mokṣaḥ katham bhavet | kiṃ vṛthā tasya saṃkleśo mokṣam uddīśya yaḥ kṛtaḥ | kaścid vidyate karma tasya yanmokṣasādhanaṃ | gurubhaktāya dāntāya satyācārāya suvrata | mṛastyāpi varam skanda dīkṣākarma vidhīyate |

1b °bhakto] em.; °bhukto codd. **1c** kālenāntasthito] P₃₃₄; kālenantasthito P₇₆₀ • yaḥ syāt] conj.; yasya codd. **1d** mokṣaḥ] P₇₆₀; mokṣāḥ P₃₃₄ **2a** vṛthā] em.; pradā codd. **2d** yan mokṣasādhanaṃ] em.; dharmokṣasādhanaṃ codd. **3b** sadācārāya] conj.; satyācārāya codd. **3c** paraṃ] conj. Sanderson; varam codd. **4c** avikalpamatiḥ] em.; avikalpamati P₃₃₄; api kalpamati P₇₆₀ • kuryād] corr.; kuryāt codd. **4d** ekacittaḥ] em. Sanderson; ekaścitta codd.

¹ The folios of the current chapter in manuscript N are missing.

tattvāni devatā bījaṃ kalikaiḥ karavīrakaiḥ |
uccārya vinyasen mantrī darbhair puttalike kṛte || 5 ||
snāpayitvāstrabījēna pañcagavyaśivāmbunā |
saṃsthāpya dakṣiṇe pārśve tasya nāma hṛdi nyaset || 6 ||
athavā †vyomasamsthāne† gomayena ṣaḍānana |
taṃ mantrī pañcagavyena kṛtvā tasmin niyojayet || 7 ||
śaktitrayaṃ nyaset tāsu dharmādharmāu ca ṣaṇmukha |
tathaivālabhanaṃ kṛtvā tasmāt saṃhṛtya homayet || 8 ||
tatas tu mūrdhni ārabhya yāvat pādatalāntakam |
vinyaset sarvatattvāni tattvair devān anukramāt || 9 ||
bindutattvaṃ nyasen mūrdhni tatra binduṃ niyojayet |
śaktiṃ ca niṣkale sthāne dhyātvā sarvata unmukhīm || 10 ||
mūrdhny adho ghaṇṭikordhvaṃ tu nyased devaṃ sadāśivam |
tatrāntas tasya saṃlīnaṃ vinyasec chaktimaṇḍalam || 11 ||
jihvāyāṃ vaktramadhye tu tatra vidyāṃ ca yojayet |
aṣṭau vidyeśvarān mantrī grīvāyāṃ bāhusaṃdhiṣu || 12 ||

5–6 *Mṛgendrapaddhatitkā*, T 1021, p. 231: yad uktam śrīmatsarvajñānottare: tattvāni caitātmajaṃ kalikaiḥ karavīrakaiḥ | uccārya vinyasen mantrī garbhair puṃnalike kṛte || snāpayitvāstrabījēna pañcagavyaśivāmbunā | saṃsnāpya guṇopete tasya nāma hṛdi nyaset | **10c–21** *Mṛgendrapaddhatitkā*, T 1021, pp. 231–232: śaktiṃ ca niṣkale sthāne dhyātvā sarvān adhomukhān | mūrdhno yo ghaṇṭikordhvaṃ tu nyased devaṃ sadāśivam | tatrāyas tatra saṃlīnaṃ vinyasec chaktimaṇḍalam | jihvāyāṃ vaktramadhye tu tatra vidyāṃ niyojayet | aṣṭau vidyeśvarān mantrī jihvāyāṃ bāhusaṃdhiṣu || → continues next page.

5c uccārya] P₃₃₄; puccārya P₇₆₀ **5d** puttalike] em.; putnīśake P₃₃₄; putraśake P₇₆₀ **6b** °śivāmbunā] P₃₃₄; °śivāmbhasā P₇₆₀ **7a** °saṃsthāne] P₃₃₄; °saṃsthane P₇₆₀ **7c** taṃ mantrī] conj.; sammantrī P_{334ac}; sammantrya P_{334pc}; sammamtrī P₇₆₀ **8ab** śaktitrayaṃ nyaset tāsu dharmādharmāu ca] diagn. conj.; śaktitrayatyenet tāsu dharmādharmāu ca P₃₃₄; śaktitrayasya yattātru(?)su dharmādharmāu ca P₇₆₀ (unmetr.) **8c** tathaivālabhanaṃ] conj.; tad evālabhanaṃ P₃₃₄; tathaivālabhanaṃ P₇₆₀ **9a** tatas tu] P₃₃₄; tatastha P₇₆₀ • ārabhya] em.; āgabya P₃₃₄; āgabhya P₇₆₀ **9b** °talāntakam] em.; °talāntakaḥ codd. **9d** devān anukramāt] em.; devā na tu kramāt codd. **10a** °tattvaṃ] conj. Sanderson; °tattve codd. **10b** binduṃ] em. Goodall; bindu codd. **10d** sarvata unmukhīm] conj.; sarvānidhomukhāt P₃₃₄; sarvān adhomukhāt P₇₆₀ **11a** mūrdhny adho ghaṇṭikordhvaṃ] em. Sanderson; mūrdhni tho khaṇḍikorhvaṃ P₃₃₄; mūrdhni dho khaṇḍikorhvaṃ P₇₆₀ **11c** tatrāntas tasya saṃlīnaṃ] conj. Sanderson; tatrāstathasya saṃlīna P₃₃₄; tatrāsthadhasya saṃlīna P₇₆₀

māyām vai vāmapārśve tu nyaset kālām tu dakṣiṇe |
kalām urasi samsthāpya hṛdaye nīlaloḥitam || 13 ||
tatrāparām punar vidyām tatraiva puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ |
rāgo 'pi rañjakas tasya vidyāprabodhalakṣaṇaḥ || 14 ||
avyaktam udare dhyātvā nābhau sūkṣmāṇi vinyaset |
śabdaḥ sparśaś ca rūpaḥ ca raso gandhaś ca pañcamah || 15 ||
prṣṭhavaṁśe guṇaṁ nyasya tatraiva puruṣatrayam |
nābhimedhrāntare buddhim ahaṁkṛtiṁ ca sandhiṣu || 16 ||
'ṭyonyām' vyomeśvaraṁ devaṁ vyomamadhye niyojayet |
tatraiva yojayed vāyūṁ guhyādgūhyāṣṭakāvṛtam || 17 ||
'ṭyonabhyantarataḥ' skanda pittaśthāne hutāśanam |
tasyādho vāruṇaṁ tattvaṁ yāvad ā jānumaṇḍalam || 18 ||
tasyaivābhyantare lokān yāvad ā gulphakīlakam |
lokādaḥ vinyased devān brahmaviṣṇumaheśvarān || 19 ||

10–21 → continuation: māyām vai vāmapārśve tu nyaset kālām tu dakṣiṇe | kalām urasi samsthāpya hṛdaye nīlaloḥitam || tatrāparām punar vidyām tatraiva puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ | rāgo-parañjakas tasya vidyāprabodhalakṣaṇaḥ || avyaktam udare dhyātvā nābhau sūkṣmāṇi vinyaset | śabdasparśaś ca rūpaś ca raso gandhaś ca pañcamah || prṣṭhavaṁśe guṇaṁ nyasya tatraiva puruṣatrayam | nābhimedhrāntare buddhim ahaṁkṛtikasaṁdhiṣu | yonyām vyomeśvaraṁ devaṁ vyomamadhye niyojayet | tatraiva yojayed vāyūṁ guhyam guhyāṣṭakaṁ hṛtam | yonyābhyantarataḥ skandaṁ pittaśthāne hutāśanam | tasmādho vāruṇāntatvaṁ yo yadā jānumaṇḍalam | tatpādamaṇḍalād hastāt yāvat pādālāntikam | vinyaset + + + + + tasya rudraśataṁ bahiḥ || tasyaivābhyantaro loko nyāvadaṅgulphakīlakau | lokādaḥ vinyased devān brahmaviṣṇumaheśva + + + + + pādaprṣṭhe tu kiṁcid abhyantare guham | ci + + + + + pāpātālān narakāṁstutivarjitān | pādāṅguṣṭhena deveśam kālā + + + + + | + + + + + nena punar abhyarcayet kramād || iti

13a vāmapārśve] em. Goodall; yāmapārśve codd. **14a** tatrāparām] em. Goodall; tatrāparam codd. **14d** °lakṣaṇaḥ] conj. Sanderson; °lakṣmaṇaiḥ P₃₃₄; °lakaṇaiḥ P₇₆₀ **15a** avyaktam] P₃₃₄; apyakta P₇₆₀ **15c** śabdaḥ] corr.; śabda P₃₃₄; śabdaṁ P₇₆₀ • sparśaś ca] corr. Goodall; sparśam ca codd. **16a** prṣṭha°] P₃₃₄; braṣṭha° P₇₆₀ **16d** ahaṁkṛtiṁ] em.; ahaṁkṛtiś codd. **17a** yonyām] P₃₃₄; yo 'nyam P₇₆₀ **18a** yonabhyantarataḥ] P₃₃₄; yonabhyamtara P₇₆₀ (unmetr.) **18b** pitta°] em.; vitta° codd. **18d** yāvad ā jānumaṇḍalam] conj.; yāvadā jānumaṇḍalaḥ P₃₃₄; yāvad ā jānumaṇḍalaḥ P₇₆₀ **19a** tasyaivābhyantare] em.; tasyābhyantare P₃₃₄ (unmetr.); tasyo 'bhyantare P₇₆₀ (unmetr.) **19b** ā gulphakīlakam] em. Sanderson; āguślakīlakau P₃₃₄; āguśsakīlakān P₇₆₀

gulphayoḥ pādaprṣṭhe tu kiṃ cid abhyantare guha |
 cintayet saptapātālān narakāṃs tu talasthitau || 20 ||
 pādāṅguṣṭhe tu deveśaṃ kālādhipatim īśvaram |
 sthāpayitvā vidhānena punar abhyarcayet kramāt || 21 ||
 saṃcintya sahitān nyasya mūrdhni ārabhya mantravit |
 pādād ārabhya tān sarvān agnau saṃsthāpya śodhayet || 22 ||
 yāgaṃ yathocitaṃ kṛtvā tattve yonim anukramāt |
 kalpayitvā yathāpūrvam paśuṃ saṃhṛtya yojayet || 23 ||
 garbhādhānāditaḥ kṛtvā sarvakarmāṇi pūrvavat |
 kṛtvā tu sarvatattveṣu tathā saṃyojayec chive || 24 ||
 kṣīrājyadadhisammiśrāṃ srucyagre saṃvyavasthitām |
 kṛtvāgnau homayet paścāt tām tu puttalikāṃ budhaḥ || 25 ||
 atha vā punar apy evaṃ sthūlasūkṣmavibhedataḥ |
 vyomānilānalāmbhorvīḥ pañca tattvāni yojayet || 26 ||
 teṣāṃ antargatān nyaset sarvatattvān ṣaḍānana |
 kalābhir vyāpitāṃs tāmś ca śāntiśūnyādibhiḥ kramāt || 27 ||
 kalayā śūnyayā vyāptam ākāśaṃ baṇḍavaṃ param |
 vyāptam sadāśivaṃ tattvaṃ śāntayā vāyurūpayā || 28 ||
 tasyādho yāvad avyaktaṃ vidyayā tejarūpayā |
 avyaktād yāvad ambhontaṃ vyāptam caiva pratiṣṭhayā || 29 ||

20ab gulphayoḥ pādaprṣṭhe tu kiṃ cid] conj. Sanderson; gulphāyapo + praṃ te tu kiṃ cid P₃₃₄; gūlpāyapopraṃtetu riṇ cid P₇₆₀ (unmetr.) **20c** saptapātālān] em.; saptapātāla codd. **22a** saṃcintya] em.; saṃcītya codd. **22ab** sahitān nyasya mūrdhni] conj.; sahitāny adhva mūrdhni P₃₃₄; nihitāsyardhvamūrdhva P₇₆₀ **22c** sarvān] P₇₆₀; sarva + P₃₃₄ **22d** agnau] conj. Sanderson; aṃsau P₃₃₄; annau P₇₆₀ **24c** kṛtvā] conj.; tatvā P₃₃₄; + tvā P₇₆₀ **25b** srucyagre] conj. Sanderson; sūcyagre codd. **25d** puttalikāṃ] corr. Goodall; puṭṭalakāṃ P₃₃₄; puttamśakāṃ P₇₆₀ **26cd** vyomānilānalāmbhorvīḥ] P₃₃₄; vyomānilānalāmbhorvī P₇₆₀ **27a** antargatān] em.; antargatā P₃₃₄; antargatām P₇₆₀ **27b** sarvatattvān] em.; sarvatattvāt codd. **27c** vyāpitāṃs] P₇₆₀; vyāpitāstāṃs P₃₃₄ (unmetr.) **27d** śāntiśūnyādibhiḥ] conj. Goodall; śāntiśrnyādibhiḥ P₃₃₄; śāntikṛnyādibhiḥ P₇₆₀ **28a** śūnyayā vyāptam] conj.; śrnyayā laupta P₃₃₄; sṛṣṭayā lepta P₇₆₀ **28c** vyāptam] conj.; vyāpta codd. **29a** tasyādho] em.; tasyā yo codd. • yāvad] conj. Sanderson; yā padaṃ codd. (unmetr.) **29b** vidyayā] em.; vidyāyā codd. **29d** vyāptam] em.; vyāpta codd.

sabāhyābhyantaram paścāt brahmāṇḍam tu nivṛttayā |
 vyāpitam śatarudrais ca dhmatācāmīkaraprabham || 30 ||
 yad eva śūnyayā vyāptam tac chūnyam iti cocyate |
 vāyavyayāvṛto vāyus tejas taijasayāvṛtam || 31 ||
 āpo vāruṇayā protā urvī pārthivayāvṛtā |
 yad antaram yayā vyāptam tasya nāmnā tu sā smṛtā || 32 ||
 bahir evaṃ sthitā vyāptiḥ śarīre śrṇu tattvataḥ |
 śodhanārtham kramam caitat paśum āśritya samsthitam || 33 ||
 samcintya pūrvavad rūpam tathā nāḍī vicintayet |
 śaktitrayaṃ nyaset tāvad dharmādharmau ca ṣaṇmukha || 34 ||
 tanmātraiḥ pañcabhir yuktaṃ guṇaiś ca tribhir āvṛtam |
 manobuddhirahamkārair avyaktena hṛdi pudgalam || 35 || (hypermetrical)
 bhruvokarṇāntarād ūrdhvaṃ śūnye śūnyām kalām nyaset |
 tasyādho hṛdayād ūrdhvaṃ anile śāntim eva ca || 36 ||
 hṛdayād yāva medhrāntam vidyām tejasi yojayet |
 medhrādho yāva jānvantam pratiṣṭhām vāruṇe nyaset || 37 ||

30a sabāhyābhyantaram] em. Sanderson; sacāhyābhyantaram P₃₃₄; sacāhyābhyaram P₇₆₀ (unmetr.) **30b** nivṛttayā] conj.; tu prattayā P₃₃₄; tu prattayā P₇₆₀ **30c** vyāpitam] P₃₃₄; vyāpta P₇₆₀ (unmetr.) **30cd** śatarudrais ca dhmatācāmīkaraprabham] conj. Sanderson; saharudrais ca dhmatācākerā bhayam P₃₃₄ (unmetr.); saharudrais ca dhmatācākerābhayam P₇₆₀ (unmetr.) **31a** śūnyayā] conj.; śranyayā codd. **31c** vāyavyayāvṛto] conj.; vāyavyayāgato codd. **31d** taijasayāvṛtam] conj.; tejasadhāprataḥ P₃₃₄; thejassakhāvṛtaḥ P₇₆₀ **32a** vāruṇayā protā] conj. Sanderson; vāruṇayā prokto P₃₃₄; vāruṇam yatproktā P₇₆₀ **32b** pārthivayāvṛtā] P₃₃₄; pārthivayāvṛtā P₇₆₀ **32d** nāmnā] P₇₆₀ P_{334pc}; nātmā P_{334ac} • sā smṛtā] conj. Sanderson; tat smṛtaḥ codd. **33a** sthitā] P₃₃₄; sthitim P₇₆₀ • vyāptiḥ] corr.; vyāpti codd. **33b** śrṇu] em. Sanderson; śrasu codd. **33c** śodhanārtham kramam caitat] conj. Sanderson; śodhanān kramam caiśam codd. (unmetr.) **34a** pūrvavad rūpam] P_{334pc} P₇₆₀; pūrvadrūpam P_{334ac} (unmetr.) **34c** śaktitrayaṃ] P₃₃₄; śaktitraya P₇₆₀ **34cd** tāvad dharmādharmau] P₃₃₄; tāvad dharmādharma P₇₆₀ **35a** tanmātraiḥ] P₃₃₄; tanmātrai P₇₆₀ **35b** āvṛtam] conj. Sanderson; āvṛtaḥ codd. **35d** pudgalam] em.; pudgalah codd. **36b** śūnye śūnyām] conj.; śratyeśranye codd. **36cd** hṛdayād ūrdhvaṃ] em.; hṛdayād ūrdhvaṃ P₃₃₄; hṛdayām ūrdhvaṃ P₇₆₀ **37a** yāva] em.; rāva codd. **37d** pratiṣṭhām] P₇₆₀; pratiṣṭhā P₃₃₄ • vāruṇe] conj.; varuṇā P₃₃₄; varuṇa P₇₆₀

tasyādhaḥ pārthivam tattvam yāvat pādatalāntikam |
 nivṛttiṃ yojayet tatra dhyātvā pūrvavad arcayet || 38 ||
 vidyeśvaram param bījaṃ kalāṃ śūnyāṃ prakalpayet |
 kavacādiśivāṅgāni punaḥ śāntyādikāḥ kramāt || 39 ||
 urvīvāruṇabījābhyāṃ tejasānilakhātmabhiḥ |
 saṃyuktās te smṛtās tattvā vyomādyakṣmāvasānikāḥ || 40 ||
 hrasvādaḥ ye svarāḥ pañca napuṃsakavivarjitāḥ |
 tanmātrās te tu vijñeyā gandhādyā deśikottamāḥ || 41 ||
 †ahaṃkāraś ca saṃjñāṃ tu ambudhīnīti saṃjñakam† |
 makāras tu manaḥ proktas taṃ tamaḥ parikīrtitaḥ || 42 ||
 rakāraṃ tu rajo viddhi saṃ sattvam tu nigadyate |
 pakāraṃ prakṛtiḥ skanda parikalpya viśodhayet || 43 ||
 prthivyādīni tattvāni nivṛttyādibhiḥ śodhayet |
 gandhādipañcasūkṣmāṇi sadyādibhir anukramāt || 44 ||
 tritattvena tu hotavyam ahaṃkāradikaṃ kramāt |
 praṇavena vidhānājño homayīta guṇatrayam || 45 ||

39a param] conj.; + paṃ codd. **39b** kalāṃ śūnyāṃ] conj.; kalāśrutyāṃ P₃₃₄; kalāśrtyāṃ P₇₆₀
39c kavacādiśivāṅgāni] P₃₃₄; kavacāniśivāṅgāni P₇₆₀ **39d** punaḥ śāntyādikāḥ] conj. Sanderson;
 punaś śatyākāḥ P₃₃₄ (unmetr.); punaḥ śrutyākāḥ P₇₆₀ (unmetr.) **40a** urvīvāruṇa°] P₃₃₄;
 prthivīvaruṇa° P₇₆₀ (unmetr.) **40c** tattvā] P₃₃₄; tattvāḥ P₇₆₀ **40d** vyomādyakṣmāvasānikāḥ]
 em. Sanderson; yomādhyaṅkṣmāvasānikāḥ P₃₃₄; yomādhyaṅkṣmāvasānikā P₇₆₀ **41a** hrasvādaḥ
 ye svarāḥ] em.; hrasvādaḥ ye svarā P₃₃₄; prāsādaḥ ye svarā P₇₆₀ **41c** te] em.; the codd. **42b**
 ambudhīnīti] P₃₃₄; ambudhīnīti P₇₆₀ **42cd** proktas taṃ] conj. Goodall; proktaḥ + P₃₃₄; prokta
 P₇₆₀ (unmetr.) **43c** pakāraṃ] em. Sanderson; yakāraṃ codd. • prakṛtiḥ] em. Goodall;
 prakṛtiṃ P₃₃₄; prakṛti P₇₆₀ **44b** nivṛttyādibhiḥ śodhayet] conj.; nivṛttyādiviśodhayet codd.
45d homayīta] em.; homadhīta codd.

tattve tattve tu tattvajñāḥ pañca sūkṣmāṇi śodhayet |
 guṇatrayaṃ tathāvyaktaṃ mano buddhiṃ ahaṃkṛtaṃ || 46 ||
 ekaikasyāhutiśataṃ dadyāc chuddhena sarpiṣā |
 tilair vā ghr̥tasammiśrais taṇḍulair ājyasamyutaiḥ || 47 ||
 śrīphalair bilvapatirair vā puṣpair vā yājñikais śubhaiḥ |
 homayeta tatoddīṣtais tais tu pūrṇāhutim̐ tathā || 48 ||
 pūrvavat srotaśuddhis tu tattvasaṃśuddhinaiva ca |
 kramāt saṃdhāya tattvāni tathā hitvā śivaṃ nayet || 49 ||
 evaṃ dīkṣā mṛtasyoktā jīvato 'pi hi saṃmukha |
 samayādibhir̐ nirmuktā sukhaṃ bandhād vimucyate || 50 ||
 sr̥ṣṭisaṃhāranyāyena †pr̥thag adhvani† kalpanā |
 dīkṣā saṃhārataḥ kāryā anayor̐ api saṃmatā || 51 ||
 vipannasyākhilaṃ karmāhany ekasmin samāpyate |
 ācāro 'yaṃ †sthitam† skanda siddhyarthaṃ jīvitasya tu ||52||

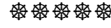
iti sarvajñānottare kriyāpāde mṛtakadīkṣāprakaraṇam

46d ahaṃkṛtaṃ] em.; ahaṃkṛtaḥ codd. **47a** ekaikasyāhutiśataṃ] em.; ekaikasyāhutiśattam codd. **48b** yājñikais] P₇₆₀; dhāñjikais P₃₃₄ **48c** homayeta tatoddīṣtais] conj. Sanderson; homayeta tato diṣṭam P₃₃₄; homayīta tato diṣṭam P₇₆₀ **49d** tathā] conj.; tayā codd. **50a** evaṃ dīkṣā] P₃₃₄; eva dakṣā P₇₆₀ **50c** samayādibhir̐] P₇₆₀; samayādibhi P₃₃₄ **50d** sukhaṃ] em.; sukha codd. **51b** pr̥thag adhvani] conj.; pr̥thagta adhvani codd. (unmter.) **51d** anayor̐ api saṃmatā] conj. Sanderson; ranayor̐ avisammatā codd. **52ab** karmāhany] P₃₃₄; karmahany P₇₆₀ **Col.** sarvajñānottare] P₃₃₄; śrīsarvajñānottare P₇₆₀

2.2. *Sarvajñānottara* 13

- P₃₃₄ *Sarvajñānottara*. Pondicherry IFI Transcript No. 334, pp. 94–96.
 P₇₆₀ *Sarvajñānottaraḥ*. Pondicherry IFI Transcript No. 760. Copied from manuscript belonging to D. 15595 of G.O.M.L., pp. 68–69.
 N *Sarvajñānottara*. NAK NGs. No. 1–1692 = NGMPP Reel. No. A 43/12. Palm-leaf. Early Nepalese “Licchavi” script. The manuscript only contains the text from 13.10 onwards, starting with an unnumbered folio, recorded by the NGMPP as image “NGMPP A 43/12”, exposure 34, lower folio.

Further consulted: An e-text collated by Dominic Goodall on the basis of P₃₃₄/T₇₆₀, and N. The chapter numbering follows that of the etext.



ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi samayācāralaṅghane |
 yathā viśuddhyate dehī vipanno ’pi ṣaḍānana || 1 ||
 mṛdambunā tu saṃśodhya astrajaptena mantravit |
 ālipyāmalakaiḥ pūtaiḥ snāpayitvā śivāmbhasā || 2 ||
 bhasmasnānaṃ vilomena kṛtvā tu paridhāpayet |
 gandhapuṣpair alaṃkṛtya udakpādaṃ niveśayet || 3 ||

2–3 *Dīkṣādarśa* quoting SJU, T 372, p. 1625: mṛdambunā tu saṃśodhya astrajaptena mantravit | ālipya rajanyāmalakai snāpayitvā śivāmbhasā | bhasmasnānaṃ vilomena kṛtvā tu paridhāpayet | gandhapuṣpair alaṃkṛtya udakpādaṃ nivedayet |

1d ’pi] em. Sanderson; pa codd. 2c ālipyāmalakaiḥ] P₃₃₄; āpyāmilakai P₇₆₀ (unmetr.) 2d snāpayitvā] conj.; sthāpayitvā codd. 3b paridhāpayet] conj.; pariyāpayet codd. 3cd alaṃkṛtya udakpādaṃ] em.; alaṃkṛtya udakapāda P₃₃₄ (unmetr.); alaṃkṛtyodakpāda P₇₆₀ (unmetr.)

raktagandhais tathā puṣpair raktair vastropavītakaiḥ |
 saṃchādyā vastrasaṃyuktair astrajāpibhir utkṣipet || 4 ||
 nītvā tu śāṅkarīm āśāṃ śucisthāne nidhāpayet |
 nirṛtiplavanam tatra śivakṣetram prakalpayet || 5 ||
 caturhastāyataṃ nimnam dvihastasaṃvistarāṃ |
 astrajaptais tu satkīlair vidikṣu kīlitaṃ bahiḥ || 6 ||
 vilomam raktasūtreṇa kavacākhyena veṣṭayet |
 pītena rajasā cakram tasya madhye samālikhet || 7 ||
 tryaśramadhyasaṃyuktam śrīṅgātakam tathopari |
 raktena rajasā tam tu sarvadhānyamayena vā || 8 ||
 pūrvoktena vidhānena tatra vahnim prakalpayet |
 astreṇa prastared darbhan vyutkrameṇa tu †devatāḥ† || 9 ||
 pa²ryukṣaṇam tathā kuryād darvyā abhyukṣaṇam tathā |
 srucaṃ sruvaṃ ca homānte śavasyopari vinyaset || 10 ||
 pūrvavac chodhayed ājyam abhighārya vilomataḥ |
 tathavidoghātanaṃ kuryān niṣkṛtiṃ ca śaḍānana || 11 ||
 tarpayitvā tathā vahnim dattvā pūrṇāhutim tataḥ |
 aiśvaryādivilomena mantrasimhāsanam nyaset || 12 ||

4b raktair] em. Sanderson; ajai codd. **4c** saṃchādyā] corr. Sanderson; saṃcādyā P₃₃₄; saṃc-
 chādyā P₇₆₀ • °saṃyuktair] em. Sanderson; °saṃyuktaj codd. **5a** śāṅkarīm] P₇₆₀; śāṅkarī P₃₃₄
 • āśāṃ] conj. Sanderson; dīkṣāṃ codd. **5c** nirṛtiplavanam] corr.; nirṛtiplavanam P₃₃₄;
 nibutiplavanam P₇₆₀ **6a** °hastāyataṃ] P₃₃₄; °dāstāyataṃ P₇₆₀ • nimnam] em. Goodall; nimna
 codd. **6c** astrajaptais] P_{334pe}; atrajaptais P_{334ac}P₇₆₀ • satkīlair] conj. Sanderson; tatkīlair P₃₃₄;
 tatkīlai P₇₆₀ **6d** kīlitaṃ] conj.; kīlito codd. **7c** cakram] conj. Sanderson; vatraṃ P₃₃₄; patraṃ
 P₇₆₀ **8a** °saṃyuktam] em.; °saṃyuktaḥ codd. **8c** raktena] P₃₃₄; rakaina P₇₆₀ **9c** prastared]
 em. Sanderson; prastarām P₃₃₄; prastarān P₇₆₀ **9d** vyutkrameṇa] P₇₆₀; pyutkrameṇa P₃₃₄ **10a**
 °ryukṣaṇam] P₃₃₄P₇₆₀; °ryukṣaṇan N • kuryād] P₃₃₄P₇₆₀; kuryā N **10b** darvyā abhyukṣaṇam]
 N; arcinābhyukṣaṇam P₃₃₄P₇₆₀ **10c** srucaṃ] NP₃₃₄; sruvaṃ P₇₆₀ • sruvaṃ] P₃₃₄P₇₆₀; sruviṇ N
11a pūrvavac chodhayed] P₃₃₄; pūrvava śodhayed N; pūrvavac codayed P₇₆₀ **11b** ab-
 highārya] N; abhīrvārya P₃₃₄P₇₆₀ • vilomataḥ] P₃₃₄P₇₆₀; cilomataḥ N **11c** °odghātanaṃ]
 P₃₃₄P₇₆₀; °odghātānaṃ N • kuryān] N; kuryāt P₃₃₄P₇₆₀ **11d** niṣkṛtiṃ] N; niṣṇatim P₃₃₄P₇₆₀ •
 °ānana] P₃₃₄P₇₆₀; °ānanaḥ N **12d** mantrasimhāsanam] P₃₃₄; yatra simhāsanam N; mantra-
 sidihāsinam P₇₆₀ (unmetr.)

² The surviving folio of manuscript N begins here.

sadyādimantravinyāsaṃ kṛtvā dehe svake guha |
 śive śivāsane caiva tadvad dhomaṃ samācaret || 13 ||
 pūjayitvā vidhānena gandhapuṣpapavitrakaiḥ |
 arghapādyādibhiś caiva yathāśaktyā vicakṣaṇaḥ || 14 ||
 tataś citiṃ cinet tatra candanāgurudārubhiḥ |
 †yathā vāsaṃ bhavet tasya kuśavastrottaram† guha || 15 ||
 punar abhyukṣaye pretam astrabījēna ṣaṇmukha |
 citimadhye niyuṃjīta vastrachannaṃ ghṛtaplutam || 16 ||
 tataḥ saṃcintayen nāḍīṃ tasya dehe vicakṣaṇaḥ |
 svasaṃjñāṃ hṛdi saṃsthāpya tanmadhye pudgalaṃ nyaset || 17 ||
 tataḥ saṃdhāya tattvāni pādād ārabhya mantravit |
 bhittvā hṛtvā tathā bhūyaḥ paśuṃ saṃyojayec chive || 18 ||
 tataḥ samdīpayed vahnīṃ samantād apradakṣiṇam |
 astrabījēna mantrajña āgneyīṃ dhāraṇāṃ smaret || 19 ||

14 P₃₃₄ and P₇₆₀ have two additional pādas: tataḥ saṃcintayen *nāḍīḥ (P₃₃₄; nāḍī P₇₆₀) divyārūpā manoramāḥ |.

13a sadyādi° N; sandhyādi° P₃₃₄P₇₆₀ 13b kṛtvā] N; dattvā P₃₃₄P₇₆₀ • guha] NP₃₃₄; grhe P₇₆₀
 13d tadvad dhomaṃ] conj.; tadvad vāmaṃ N; tathā homaṃ P₃₃₄; tathā homa P₇₆₀ 14a
 vidhānena] N; tayā nyāyaṃ P₃₃₄; tathā nyāyaṃ P₇₆₀ 14b °puṣpa°] N; °puṣpaiḥ P₃₃₄P₇₆₀ 14c
 argḥa°] N; arghya° P₃₃₄P₇₆₀ 14d vicakṣaṇaḥ] NP₇₆₀; vicakṣaṇaiḥ P₃₃₄ 15a cinet tatra] conj.;
 cittayātrāṃ N; + net tatra P₃₃₄P₇₆₀ 15b °dārubhiḥ] N; °dādibhiḥ P₃₃₄P₇₆₀ 15c yathā] P₃₃₄P₇₆₀;
 -athā N • vāsaṃ] P₃₃₄P₇₆₀; vāmaṃ N 15d kuśa°] N; kuca° P₃₃₄P₇₆₀ • guha] P₃₃₄P₇₆₀; guhaḥ
 N 16a abhyukṣaye] N; abhyukṣya tu P₃₃₄P₇₆₀ 16b ṣaṇmukha] NP₇₆₀; ṣaḍmukhaḥ P₃₃₄ 16d
 vastrachannaṃ] N; vastrontaram P₃₃₄; vastraṃ channa P₇₆₀ • plutam] N; °plutaḥ P₃₃₄P₇₆₀
 17a saṃcintayen] P₃₃₄P₇₆₀; saṃcintaye N • nāḍīṃ] P₃₃₄P₇₆₀; nāḍī N 17b vicakṣaṇaḥ]
 P₃₃₄P₇₆₀; vicakṣaṇa N 17c °saṃjñāṃ] P₃₃₄P₇₆₀; °saṃjñ- + N 17d nyaset] NP₇₆₀; nyadhe P₃₃₄
 18c bhittvā hṛtvā tathā bhūyaḥ] corr.; bhittvā hṛtvā ttathā bhūyaḥ N; hitvā tu tāṃ tathā
 bhūdhāḥ P₃₃₄; hitvā tu tāṃ tathā bhūtaḥ P₇₆₀ 18d saṃyojayec chive] conj.; saṃyojayec
 chivet N; saṃyojayorechhave P₃₃₄; saṃyojayecchhave P₇₆₀ 19a tataḥ] N; tatra P₃₃₄P₇₆₀ 19b
 samantād] N; tamastād P₃₃₄P₇₆₀ • apradakṣiṇam] em.; aprada + + N; apradakṣiṇaḥ P₃₃₄P₇₆₀
 19c mantrajña] NP₃₃₄; mantrajñaḥ P₇₆₀ 19d āgneyīṃ dhāraṇāṃ] corr.; āgneyīṃ dhāraṇā N;
 āgneyīdhyāraṇaṃ P₃₃₄; āgneyīdhyāraṇāṃ P₇₆₀

avyucchinnāṃ tathā dhārāṃ aghorāstrābhimantritām |
 bhrāmayitvāstrabījēna jaladhārāṃ nidhāpayet || 20 ||
 tato jalam vrajed vidvān snātvā dattvodakam śuciḥ |
 yāgam yathoditam kṛtvā nivedyeṣaṃ kṣamāpayet || 21 ||
 evaṃ vimucyate dehī samayādivilaṅghane |
 ājñānāj jñānato vāpi kṛte tv anteṣṭikarmaṇi || 22 ||

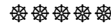
iti śrīsarvajñānottare antyeṣṭiprakaraṇam

Col. Omitted in N.

20a avyucchinnāṃ] conj. Goodall; abhyucchinnā N; avicchinnām P₃₃₄P₇₆₀ • dhārāṃ] N; rāma P₃₃₄P₇₆₀ **20b** °ābhimantritām] conj. Goodall; °ābhimantritām N; °ābhimantritāḥ P₃₃₄P₇₆₀ **20d** °dhārāṃ] conj.; °dhārāṃ codd. **21a** vrajed] NP₇₆₀; prajed P₃₃₄ • vidvān] P₃₃₄P₇₆₀; vidvā N **21b** śuciḥ] P₃₃₄P₇₆₀; śuci N **21c** yathoditam] P₃₃₄P₇₆₀; yathodita N **21d** nivedyeṣaṃ] P₃₃₄P₇₆₀; nivedyemaṃ N **22b** °vilaṅghane] P₇₆₀; °vilaṅghāne NP₃₃₄ **22d** kṛte tv anteṣṭikarmaṇi] conj. Goodall; kṛte tv anteṣṭikarmmanid iti N (unmetr.); kṛtau-tvamteṣṭhikarmaṇi P₃₃₄; kṛtā tv anteṣṭi karmaṇi P₇₆₀ **Col.** iti śrīsarvajñānottare antyeṣṭiprakaraṇam] em.; iti śrīsarvajñānottare adyeṣṭiprakaraṇam codd.

3.1. *Kiraṇa* 60

- N *Kiraṇatantra*. National Archives Kathmandu, NGMCP, Ms. No. 5–893. NGMPP A 40/3. Palm-leaf manuscript. Nepalese “Licchavi” script.³ Date 924 CE.⁴ Folio 94r, line 1–Folio 94v, line 5.
- G Pondicherry IFI 47637. Palm-leaf manuscript. Grantha script.⁵ Folio 202r, line 7–Folio 203r, line 8.
- Ed_D Eds. Ti. Rā. Pañcāpageśaśivācārya & K.M Subrahmaṇyaśāstrin (1932). Grantha script. Devakottai, pp. 166–167.



garuḍa uvāca:

anteṣṭiḥ sūcito deva nokto vistarato mama |
kasmin kāryā katham brūhi tat punaḥ kriyate katham || 1 ||

bhagavān uvāca:

mṛto yo dīkṣitaḥ pūrvam dakṣadvāreṇa nīyate |
voḍhāraś caturo grāhyāḥ kṛtavāmapavitrakāḥ || 2 ||

Speaker indication garuḍa uvāca] N; garuḍaḥ GEd_D 1a anteṣṭiḥ] corr.; anteṣṭim N; antyeṣṭiḥ G; antyeṣṭis Ed_D 1b nokto] G; noktam N; nokta Ed_D 1c kasmin kāryā katham brūhi] N; kasmin kāryam katham brūhi G; katham me brūhi bhagavan Ed_D 1d tat] NG; sā Ed_D **Speaker indication** bhagavān] GEd_D; bhagavā N • uvāca] N; om. GEd_D 2a pūrvam] NEd_D; pūrva G 2b dakṣadvāreṇa] conj. Sanderson; dakṣiṇa vāre N; dīkṣāṇi vā(tha) G; dīkṣitair vā 'tha Ed_D 2c voḍhāraś caturo grāhyāḥ] conj. Sanderson; voḍharāśya śivo grāhyā N; voḍhāro he yathālābham G; voḍhāro hi yathālābham Ed_D 2d kṛtavāmapavitrakāḥ] corr.; kṛtavāmapavitrakā N; kṛtavāmapūtraka(h) G (unmetr.); kṛtvā tam ca pavitritam Ed_D

³ For a detailed manuscript description, see Goodall 1998, p. lxxxiv (under N1).

⁴ Sanderson 2003, p. 447.

⁵ For a detailed manuscript description, see Goodall 1998, p. xciv.

tataś cotkṣīpya taṃ nītvā citisthānaṃ samam śuciḥ |
śodhayitvā tu tat sthānaṃ kāṣṭhaiḥ kṛtvā samam citim || 3 ||
tasyāpy uttaradigbhāge sthaṇḍilaṃ padmam eva vā |
kṛtvārcanaṃ yathāpūrvam vahnikāryaṃ samārabhet || 4 ||
kṛtvā taṃ śavam ānīya śodhayed gomayāḍibhiḥ |
śodhitam bhasmanā guṇṭhya prāguktakramayogataḥ || 5 ||
kaupīnam āditaḥ kṛtvā sarvaṃ tasyopapādayet |
dakṣiṇāśāgatasyāsyadakṣiṇāmūrtigasya tu || 6 ||
prokṣayec chivatoyena dhyātvā taddhṛdi kevalam |
śuddhasūkṣmakaṇākāraṃ dhyātvā tan madhyasamsthitam || 7 ||
sakalīkṛtya taṃ paścāt pūrvoktena krameṇa tu |
kalpya tat prathamam vargam vahnisthaṃ mātaraṃ punaḥ || 8 ||

3a tataś cotkṣīpya] NG; tais tatotkṣīpya Ed_D **3b** citisthānaṃ samam] NEd_D; citisthā + + mā G • śuciḥ] N; śuci GE_D **3c** śodhayitvā] NEd_D; śothayitvā G • tu tat sthānaṃ] Ed_D; tu taṃ sthānaṃ N; kṛtasthānaṃ G **3d** kāṣṭhaiḥ kṛtvā samam citim] NEd_D; kā(ṣṭh)aiḥ kṛtvā + sa-añcita(m) G (unmetr.) **4a** tasyāpy] NEd_D; (ta)syāpy G • °digbhāge] NEd_D; °di(k)bhāge G **4b** sthaṇḍilaṃ] NEd_D; + ṇḍilaṃ G **4c** kṛtvārcanaṃ] N; kṛtārccanaṃ G; kṛtārcanaṃ Ed_D **5a** kṛtvā] N; tatas GE_D • śavam] GE_D; savam N **5b** śodhayed] NEd_D; ś(o)dhayet G **5c** śodhitam] GE_D; śodhito N • bhasmanā guṇṭhya] N; bhasmanā kṛṣya G; bhasmanālipya Ed_D **5d** °ukta°] NEd_D; °u(kta)° G **6b** sarvaṃ] Ed_D; śarvvan N; sa(rva)n G • tasyopapādayet] N; tasyopayādayet G; tasyopadhāpayet Ed_D **6c** dakṣiṇāśāgatasyāsyā°] conj. Sanderson; dakṣiṇāstā gatasyāsyā N; dīkṣāṇām ekatasy(āsy)a G; dīkṣāṇāmagatasyāsyā Ed_D **6d** dakṣiṇāmūrtigasya] corr.; dakṣiṇāmmūrtigasya N; dakṣiṇāmūrtim asya GE_D **7a** prokṣayec chivatoyena] N; proktayec śivatoyena G; prokṣayec cāriṇā pūrvam Ed_D **7b** dhyātvā] NEd_D; ddhyātvā G • taddhṛdi] N; taddhṛ(t)i G; taddhṛti Ed_D **7cd** °kaṇākāraṃ dhyātvā] NEd_D; °karā(k)ā(ra) (dhy)ātvā G **7d** madhyasamsthitam] NEd_D; maddhyasamsthitāḥ G **8a** sakalīkṛtya] N; sakalīkṛtya GE_D • taṃ] N; tat GE_D **8cd** kalpya tat] corr.; kalpyan tat N; prakalpya GE_D • prathamam vargam vahnisthaṃ mātaraṃ] N; prathavām sarvām vahnisthāmātaram G; pārthivīm śāyāṃ vahnisthām mātaraṃ Ed_D

kalpya gandhādibhiḥ pūjya graho nādāntato bhavet |
 yojanaṃ taddhṛdā tasya śivenāhutayo daśa || 9 ||
 dattvā kṛtyāsinā pāśān punaḥ pūrṇāhutim dadet |
 hṛdoddhṛtya punar hṛtsthaṃ kṛtvā vargaṃ punar nyaset || 10 ||
 evaṃ vargāṣṭakaṃ śodhyam †athavā† tad vilomataḥ |
 pañcāhutiprayogena śodhayet pūrvavat kramāt || 11 ||
 layaṃ kṛtvā śivenāsyā khaḍgenāstaraṇaṃ kuśaiḥ |
 śavaṃ sthāpya citād ūrdhvaṃ īśānenottarāṇanam || 12 ||
 candanāgarukarpūratilān ūrdhvaṃ kṣipet payaḥ |
 tatas tam indhanenāgniṃ praśastena nayec citim || 13 ||
 prajvālyā tāṃ punar bhrāmya karakaṃ khaḍgakalpitaṃ |
 prāgdiktas tattadantaṃ tu saṅkṣipet skandhataḥ punaḥ || 14 ||

9a gandhādibhiḥ] NEd_D; gandhādibhi G **9b** graho nādāntato] N; grāhyo (nād)āt tato GEd_D
9c taddhṛdā] NEd_D; taddhṛda G **9d** śivenāhutayo] N; + vanāhutayo G; jivanāhutayo Ed_D **10a**
 dattvā kṛtyāsinā pāśān] N; raktokṛtyāsinā pāśāt GEd_D **10b** punaḥ] NEd_D; punama G (un-
 metr.) • pūrṇāhutim dadet] N; karṇāhutim bha(v)et G; karṇāhutih bhavet Ed_D **10c**
 hṛdoddhṛtya] NEd_D; hṛdāddhṛtya G • punar hṛtsthaṃ] conj. Sanderson; punas tasthaṃ N;
 punas tatvaṃ G; punas tatsthaṃ Ed_D **10d** vargaṃ punar] N; varmmarpuna G; varma punar
 Ed_D **11a** evaṃ] NEd_D; eva G • vargāṣṭakaṃ] N; dūrgāṣṭaka G; dūrgāṣṭhakaṃ Ed_D •
 śodhyam] NEd_D; śoddhyam G **11b** tadvilomataḥ] GEd_D; vā vilomataḥ N **11c** °prayogena] N;
 °prayogena GEd_D **11d** kramāt] NEd_D; kamāt G **12a** layaṃ] Ed_D; layaṇ N; la(ya)ṃ G •
 kṛtvā] NEd_D; (kṛ)tvā G **12b** khaḍgenāstaraṇaṃ] NEd_D; khatgenāstaraṇaṃ G • kuśaiḥ]
 NEd_D; ku[[+]]śaiḥ G **12c** śavaṃ] GEd_D; śava N • citād ūrdhvaṃ] N; citau (pū)rvam G; citau
 pūrvam Ed_D **12d** īśānenottarāṇanam] NEd_D; īśāne(n)ottarāṇanam G **13ab** °karpūratilān
 ūrdhvaṃ] N; °ka(rppu)ratiladurvāt G; °karpūratiladūrvān Ed_D **13c** tam indhanenāgniṃ] N;
 sami(ndha)ne -gniṃ G; samindhanāgniṃ Ed_D (unmetr.) **13d** praśastena] em. Sanderson;
 prasaktena NEd_D; prasa(kte)na G • citim] NEd_D; chititi G (unmetr.) **14a** tāṃ] N; taṃ GEd_D
 • punar bhrāmya] NEd_D; puna bhr(ā)mya G **14b** karakaṃ khaḍgakalpitaṃ] N; karakaṃ
 khatgakalpitaṃ G; karaṃ khaḍgaprakalpitaṃ Ed_D **14cd** prāgdiktas tattadantaṃ tu saṅkṣipet]
 N; prāgādikramayogena (sr)āvayed G; prāgādikramayogena srāvayec Ed_D **14d** skandhataḥ]
 conj. Sanderson; skandhatan N; vāriṇā GEd_D

dīpya vighnaṃ na tasyaiva yāvad bhaśmāntikaṃ bhavet |
 jalasnānaṃ tato gacchet kuryāt tasyodakakriyāṃ || 15 ||
 dūrvākṣatavimiśrāṃs tu dattvāśyāñjalayas trayāḥ |
 ācāryaḥ pūrvavat paścāt prāyaścittaṃ punar bhajet || 16 ||
 śatajāpād aghorasya śāvaśuddhir ihoditā |
 evaṃ kṛte sadā tasya vidhinā bhojanaṃ punaḥ || 17 ||
 evaṃ te mātṛkāhomād anteṣṭis tava coditā |
 liṅgoddhāre ca sarpaghna mātṛkāṃ pariśodhayet || 18 ||
 mātṛkāṃ pūjayed yas tu tasya siddhir dhruvaṃ bhavet || 19 ||

iti kiraṇākhye mahātantre ṣaṣṭhipāṭalaḥ

15a dīpya] conj.; dipya N; diva GEd_D • na] N; tu GEd_D **15b** yāvad] NEd_D; (y)āvat G •
 bhaśmāntikaṃ] conj.; bhaśmāntiko codd. **15c** jalasnānaṃ tato gacchet] N; jalāsayan tato
 gatvā G; jalāsayaṃ tato gatvā Ed_D **15d** °kriyāṃ] NEd_D; °kriyā G **16b** dattvāśyāñjalayas
 trayāḥ] N; (datv)āśyāñjalayas trayāḥ G; datvā trīṇ añjalīn kramāt Ed_D **16c** ācāryaḥ] N; āca-
 mya GEd_D **16d** bhajet] conj. Sanderson; bhavet codd. **17a** śatajāpād] NEd_D; (śa)ta(jā)pād G
17b śāvaśuddhir] conj.; śāvaśuddhir NG; śive gurur Ed_D • ihoditā] N; udīritā G; udīritaḥ
 Ed_D **17c** sadā tasya] N; tad- + sya G; tadā tasya Ed_D **17d** vidhinā] N; vidhānā G; vidhānād
 Ed_D **18ab** evaṃ te mātṛkāhomād anteṣṭis tava coditā] N; evan te + + + + + + + + + + ditā
 G; evaṃ teṣaṇ ca kartṛṇāṃ śaive śuddhir udīritā Ed_D **18c** sarpaghna] Ed_D; śarpparghna N;
 sarpaghnaṃ G **19ab** pūjayed yas tu tasya siddhir] N; gomayed yas taṃ yasya śuddhir G;
 homayed itthaṃ yasya śuddhir Ed_D **19b** dhruvaṃ] NEd_D; dhṛtaṃ G **Col.** iti kiraṇākhye
 mahātantre ṣaṣṭhipāṭalaḥ] N; śrīmatkīraṇākhye mahātantre yogapāde
 antyeṣṭividhinaṣṣaṣṭhipāṭalaḥ G; iti śrīmatkīraṇākhye mahātantre yogapāde antyeṣṭividhis
 trīṇ trayāḥ pāṭalaḥ Ed_D

3.2. *Kiraṇa* 61

- N *Kiraṇatantra*. National Archives Kathmandu, NGMCP, Ms. No. 5–893. NGMPP A 40/3. Palm-leaf manuscript. Nepalese “Licchavi” script.⁶ Date A.D. 924.⁷ Folio 94v, line 5–Folio 96v, line 4.
- G Pondicherry IFI 47637. Palm-leaf manuscript. Grantha script.⁸ Folio 203r, line 8–Folio 205v, line 4.
- Ed_D Eds. Ti. Rā. Pañcāpageśaśivācārya & K.M Subrahmaṇyaśāstrin (1932). Grantha script. Devakottai, pp. 167–170.



garuḍa uvāca:

vidhinā bhojanam pūrvam sūcitam noditam mama |
kasmin kale katham tac ca kim artham vada śaṅkara || 1 ||

bhagavān uvāca:

ekādaśāhād ārabhya māsam māsam samāvadhim |
ekoddiṣṭam tu taj jñeyam varṣād varṣam bhavet punaḥ || 2 ||

Speaker indication garuḍa uvāca] N; garuḍaḥ GEd_D **1a** vidhinā] N; vidhānam GEd_D • bhojanam] NG; bhojane Ed_D **1b** noditam] GEd_D; nocitam N **1c** kasmin] GEd_D; kasmiṃ N **Speaker indication** bhagavān uvāca] N; bhagavān GEd_D **2a** ekādaśāhād] NE_D; ekādaśahā- G **2b** māsam māsam samāvadhim] N; māsan mā + + + vadhim G; pratimāsam samāvadhi Ed_D **2cd** ekoddiṣṭam tu taj jñeyam varṣād varṣam bhavet punaḥ] N; ekoddiṣṭa(/ka) samjñeyam varṣād ūrddhvam bhavet punaḥ G (unmetr.); ekoddiṣṭāt sasaṃjñeyam varṣānte tvābdikam bhavet Ed_D

⁶ For a detailed manuscript description see Goodall 1998, p. lxxxiv (under N1).

⁷ Sanderson 2003, p. 447.

⁸ For a detailed manuscript description see Goodall 1998, p. xcv.

śrāddham syād ekavarṣordhvaṃ śrāddhapakṣe viśeṣataḥ |
 āśvine kṛṣṇapakṣe vā ravau kanyāgate tathā || 3 ||
 aṣṭamyām vā caturdaśyām caturthyām vā maghāśāsi |
 saptamyām vā navamyām vā śrāddham pañcadaśāhnikam || 4 ||
 sādhakadvitayam grhya deśikatritayam punaḥ |
 sāmānyam pitṛdevārtham viśeṣo 'trābhidhīyate || 5 ||
 īśas sadāśivaḥ śānto deśikatṛtayaṃ bhavet |
 sādhakadvitayam cānyad rudrānantam iti sthitam || 6 ||
 tṛptaḥ tair nikhilam tṛptam śivāntam abhavat khaga |
 dīkṣitānām śivaśrāddham rudrāṃśānām tadātmakam || 7 ||
 tatra caṇḍamahākālau dvau gaṇau dvitaye sthitau |
 rudraḥ skando gaṇeśo 'nyatritaye saṃsthitās tv ime || 8 ||

5b After this G and Ed_D have two additional pādas: evaṃ kṛte bhavet tasya vidhinā bhojanam *punaḥ (G; khaga Ed_D) 7–9 G and Ed_D have a different order for theses verses, with verse 9 preceding verses 7 and 8.

3ab śrāddham syād ekavarṣordhvaṃ śrāddhapakṣe viśeṣataḥ] N; śrāddh- s-ā-ekavarṣo + -āddhapakṣe viśeṣataḥ G; śrāddhas syād ekavarṣordhvaṃ śrāddhe pakṣam viśeṣitam Ed_D **3c** āśvine] conj.; ādau ca N; kumbhe ca GE_D • vā] conj.; yo N; ca G; tu Ed_D **3d** ravau] GE_D; rathaḥ N **4a** aṣṭamyām vā] N; aṣṭam-āñ ca G; aṣṭamyāñ ca Ed_D **4ab** caturdaśyām caturthyām] NE_D; catu + -āñ catu-yām G **4b** maghāśāsi] N; maghā + pi G; maghās(s) api Ed_D **4cd** vā navamyām vā śrāddham pañcadaśāhnikam] N; vāpyamāvāsyām + -āddham pañcadaśāhnikam G; vāpyamāvāsyām śrāddham pañcadaśāhnikam Ed_D **5a** sādhakadvitayam] GE_D; sā + + + + pa N **5b** deśika°] NE_D; de + ka° G **5c** sāmānyam] Ed_D; sāmānya° NG **5d** viśeṣo 'trābhidhīyate] N; vibhor atra vidhīyate GE_D **6b** °tṛtayaṃ] N; °trita + m G; °tritayam Ed_D **6c** °dvitayam] GE_D; °tṛtayaṃ N **6cd** cānyad rudrānantam iti sthitam] em.; cānyad rudrānantam iti sthitam N; vādyarudrānanta(m/mm)ite sthitiḥ G; vā 'dyarudrānantābhidhau sthitau Ed_D **7a** tṛptaḥ] Ed_D; tṛpt-ḥ N; tṛ-tais G • nikhilam] NG; niścalaṃ Ed_D **7ab** tṛptam śivāntam abhavat] Ed_D; tṛptaḥ śivāntam abhavat N; tṛptam śiva + ma + -āt G • khaga] N; svayam GE_D **7d** rudrāṃśānām tadātmakam] GE_D; rudrāṃśānām tadātmakaḥ N **8a** tatra] N; tataś GE_D **8c** rudraḥ skando] corr.; rudra skandho N; rudrāskanda G; rudraskanda Ed_D **8cd** gaṇeśo 'nyatritaye] N; gaṇeśānyatritīyas G; gaṇādhīśās triṣv ime Ed_D • tv ime] NG; trayah Ed_D

tapasvibhir dvijaiś cātra rudraśrāddham prakalpayet |
 kurvanti ye narā bhaktyā rudralokaṃ vrajanti te || 9 ||
 laukikaṃ brahmaviṣṇvīśasūryāntakavikalpitaṃ |
 pūrvavat tritayaṃ kalpya dvitayaṃ ca viśeṣataḥ || 10 ||
 prāḡ ucyate śivaśrāddham pavitraṃ śivamantrajam |
 sādhakaputrakābhāvād rudrabhaktā dvijāthavā || 11 ||
 advijā vā yadā bhaktā dīkṣitā gṛhya kalpayet |
 pañcābhāve yadā tasya tadā taddvayakalpanā || 12 ||
 kāryā vikalpanā saiva bāhumūlāśīrayor dvayoḥ |
 ekasyaivaṃ tathā nyasya bāhumūlāśīrasy atha || 13 ||
 tritayaṃ kalpya vinyāsaḥ kartavyaḥ pūrvavat kramāt |
 dakṣiṇottarasamsthānaṃ pūrve vṛttadvayaṃ bhavet || 14 ||
 hastamātraṃ catuṣkoṇaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ gomayena tu |
 tiladarbhayaṃ vākīrṇaṃ dakṣiṇe pādaśodhanam || 15 ||

9ab tapasvibhir dvijaiś cātra rudraśrāddham prakalpayet] N; tapasvibhi dvijendrātha rudrārtham pratikalpayet G; tapasvibhir dvijendrātha śūdrārtham pratikalpayet Ed₁ **9c** kurvanti] NEd₁; + rvanti G **9cd** narā bhaktyā rudralokaṃ] N; sadābhaktyā rudraiṇaika G; sadābhaktyā rudreṇaikyam Ed₁ **9d** te] N; ca GEd₁ **10ab** °sūryāntaka°] Ed₁; °sūryāntika° N; °sūryodaka° G **10d** dvitayaṃ ca] N; dvitīy- + G; dvitīyaṃ ca Ed₁ **11a** śivaśrāddham] NEd₁; śiva + + m G **11b** °mantrajam] N; °mantrakam GEd₁ **11cd** sādhakaputrakābhāvād rudrabhaktā dvijāthavā] N; sādhakāḥ putrakābhāve rudrabhaktō dvijo thavā GEd₁ **12ab** advijā vā yadā bhaktā dīkṣitā gṛhya] N; advijān vā yathābhaktyā coditān brahma G; advijā vā yathābhaktyā coditān brahma Ed₁ **12c** pañcābhāve] GEd₁; pañcābhāvād N **12d** taddvayakalpanā] em.; tadvayakalpanāt N; tadvaya + lpanā- G; tad(dv)ayakalpanāt Ed₁ **13a** vikalpanā saiva] NG; vikalpanās tv eva Ed₁ **13b** °āmsāyor] NEd₁; °āmsayo G **13c** ekasyaivaṃ] N; ekaikasya GEd₁ **13d** bāhumūlāśīrasy atha] N; bāhumūlāśīras traya G; bāhumūlaṃ śīras tathā Ed₁ **14ab** vinyāsaḥ kartavyaḥ] N; viny- + k- + + G; vinyāsaṃ kartavyam Ed₁ **14b** kramāt] NEd₁; kamāt G **14d** pūrve vṛttadvayaṃ] Ed₁; pū-vakant-dvayam N; pūrvavṛttadvayaṃ G **15a** °mātraṃ] GEd₁; °mātra N **15ab** catuṣkoṇaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ] Ed₁; catuṣkoṇa saṃskṛta N; catuṣkoṇa saṃ-kṛtaṃ G **15b** gomayena tu] N; gomayāḍibhiḥ GEd₁ **15cd** °darbhayaṃ vākīrṇaṃ dakṣiṇe pādaśodhanam] N; °garbhadharākīrṇa(n da)kṣiṇe pādaśaucanam G; °darbhayaṃ vākīrṇaṃ dakṣasthaḥ pādasecanam Ed₁

kṛtvācamyaṃ dvitīye tu vāmeneyaṃ kriyā matā |
 śucībhūtāṃs tu tān sthāpya pūrvāsyam yad dvayam purā || 16 ||
 tritayam yad uttarāsyam sthāpayed guhyakena tu |
 sadyena kuśaklptiḥ syāt punaś cāvāhanam bhavet || 17 ||
 āvāhanam svanāmāṅkam kāryam āvāhayeti ca |
 vaktavyam tair idam vākyaṃ bhaktiyuktaiḥ samāhitaiḥ || 18 ||
 savyakriyā trayasyoktā hy avasavyā dvayasya tu |
 yavān ānīya pūrvam tu dvayasya vikiret pari || 19 ||
 trayasyāpi tilān kṣiptvā rakṣārtham cottarena tu |
 kṛtvā pātram tu vāmena puṣpavāryakṣatānvitam || 20 ||
 dadyāt teṣāṃ tad arghyam tu saṃnidhyartham sakṛt sakṛt |
 trayasyeṣena tad dadyād ghoreṇāpi dvayasya tu || 21 ||
 jānubhyām avanau sthitvā pādād ārabhya mūrddhataḥ |
 yāvat tadaṅgam ekaikaṃ kramād arcya yavais tilaiḥ || 22 ||

16a kṛtvācamyaṃ] em.; kṛtvācamya N; kṛtvārccana G; kṛtvā 'rcanam Ed_D **16ab** dvitīye tu vāmeneyaṃ kriyā matā] N; dvitīyena vāmenaiḥ sakṛt kriyā GEd_D **16c** śucībhūtāṃs] conj. Sanderson; sucībhūtās N; śucīḥ kṛtvā G; śucīkṛtvā Ed_D • tān sthāpya] N; saṃsthāpya GEd_D **16d** pūrvāsyam yad dvayam] Ed_D; pūrvāsyam yaṃ dvayam N; pū + syam yadvayam G • purā] N; param GEd_D **17a** tritayam yad uttarāsyam] N; trītyam uttarāsyam tu GEd_D **17b** sthāpayed] N; sthāpayet GEd_D • guhyakena] N; savyakena G; sarvagena Ed_D **17c** sadyena] N; + dyena G; savyena Ed_D • kuśaklptiḥ] Ed_D; kuśalīptāḥ N; kuśaklpta G **17d** punaś cāvāhanam] GEd_D; purañcāvāhanam N **18a** āvāhanam svanāmāṅkam] N Ed_D; āvāhanasvāmāṅgam G **18b** āvāhayeti ca] N; āvāhayed iti GEd_D **18cd** vākyaṃ bhaktiyuktaiḥ samāhitaiḥ] Ed_D; vākaṃ bhaktiyuktais samāhitaiḥ N; vākyaṃ + + + s samāhitaiḥ G **19ab** savyakriyā trayasyoktā hy avasavyā dvayasya] N; sarvakriyā dva + syoktāt vasavyā trayasya G (unmetr.); savyakriyā dvayasyoktā (ka)pasavyam trayasya Ed_D **19c** yavān ānīya] N; yavam -nīya G; yavam ānīya Ed_D **19d** vikiret pari] NEd_D; vi + + t pari G **20a** trayasyāpi] NEd_D; traya + G (unmetr.) • tilān] GEd_D; tilām N **20b** rakṣārtham cottarena] GEd_D; rakṣārthan tāraṇena N **20cd** vāmena puṣpavāryakṣatānvitam] N; -ā + + p- + ccakṣaṇā + + + G; sapuṇyāhākṣaṇānvitam Ed_D (unmetr.) **21a** teṣāṃ tad arghyam] N; teṣā- tad arthyan G; teṣāṃ tad arghyan Ed_D **21b** saṃnidhyartham] conj.; sānnaidhyartham N; sānnirdhārtham G; sānnidhyan tu Ed_D **21c** trayasyeṣena tad dadyād] N; trayasyaiṣena dattvā tu G; trayasyeṣena datvā tu Ed_D **21d** ghoreṇāpi dvayasya] N; gh-reṇā + + yasya G; ghoreṇāpi dvayasya Ed_D **22a** avanau sthitvā] N; avaniṃ kṛtvā GEd_D **22b** mūrddhataḥ] N; mūrddhataḥ G; mūrddhataḥ Ed_D **22d** kramād] NEd_D; kamād G • arcya yavais] N; a-dyad yavas G; dadyād yavais Ed_D

dvayasya tṛtasyāpi ghoreṇājena ca kramāt |
 gandhapuṣpaṃ ca vāmena dhūpadīpaṃ ca vaktṛṇā || 23 ||
 pūrṇaṃ bhavatu vaktavyaṃ tato hastaprasodhanam |
 kṛtvā snigdhanam ānīya bhājane tat sakṛt sakṛt || 24 ||
 tad agnaukaraṇaṃ nāma karma tatpuruṣeṇa tu |
 †kṛtvaiva punar† aśnīyād maunam āsthāya kāmataḥ || 25 ||
 bhājane pāyasaṃ sājyaṃ sakṣaudraṃ khaṇḍasaṃyutam |
 saṃskṛtaṃ ca bhaktaṃ vā māṃsaṃ vā śaśakātmakam || 26 ||
 uttarābhimukhas tiṣṭhan japaṃ mantraṃ tu pañcamam |
 jñātvā bhuktāṃs tu tān paścāt tṛptāḥ sthethi punar vadet || 27 ||
 tṛptāḥ sma iti yad vākyam vaktavyaṃ taiḥ punaḥ sakṛt |
 tatodakaṃ sakṛd grāhya maṇḍale dakṣiṇānanah || 28 ||
 sadyenāstaraṇaṃ dattvā guhyakena tilodakam |
 piṇḍatrayaṃ tataḥ kṛtvā sarvānnaparikalpitaṃ || 29 ||
 nareṇ†āvadato† dadyād annapiṇḍatrayaṃ kramāt |
 dattvā vāmena gandhaṃ ca tenaivārghyaṃ pradāpayet || 30 ||

25ab Omitted in G and Ed_D. **29a** After this G and Ed_D add two additional pādas: āpas tatra vinikṣipet pūrvam ācamaṇaṃ dadyāt.

23a tṛtasyāpi] N; tritayasyāpi G_{pc}Ed_D; triyasyāpi G_{ac} (unmetr.) **23b** kramāt] NE_D; kamāt G **23d** vaktṛṇā] N; varmaṇā G; varmmaṇā Ed_D **24d** bhājane] N; bhoja(n)a- G; bhojanaṃ Ed_D **25a** agnaukaraṇaṃ] em.; agnaukaraṇān N **25c** kṛtvaiva punar] GEd_D; kṛtvai + + + N **25d** kāmataḥ] N; karmataḥ GEd_D **26a** bhājane] N; bhojanaṃ GEd_D **26b** khaṇḍasaṃyutam] N; ṣaḍrasaṃ śubhaṃ GEd_D **26c** saṃskṛtaṃ ca bhaktaṃ] N; susa-kṛtaṃ ca bhakṣyaṃ G; sa-saṃskṛtaṃ ca bhakṣyaṃ Ed_D **26d** śaśakātmakam] GEd_D; śaśakāmakam N **27a** uttarābhimukhas] GEd_D; uttarābhimukhan N • tiṣṭhan] Ed_D; tiṣṭhej N; viṣṭaṇ G **27b** japaṃ mantraṃ tu pañcamam] N; japaṃ mantran (tu)(pa)ñcamam G; japaṃ mantran tu pañcamam Ed_D **27c** bhuktāṃs] conj. Sanderson; bhuktāṃ GEd_D; bhaktaṃ N • tān] em. Sanderson; tāṃ NGE_D **27d** tṛptāḥ sthethi] Ed_D; tṛptāsthesyeti N (unmetr.); tṛptāśveti G **28a** tṛptāḥ sma iti] Ed_D; tṛptā sma iti N; tṛptvā smā smeti G **28b** taiḥ punaḥ sakṛt] N; tair idaṃ śubhaṃ GEd_D **28c** sakṛd grāhya] em. Sanderson; sakṛd grāhya N; tu saṅgrāhya GEd_D **28d** maṇḍale dakṣiṇānanah] em.; maṇḍalan dakṣiṇānanam NG; maṇḍalaṃ dakṣiṇānanam Ed_D **29a** sadyenāstaraṇaṃ] N; savyenāstaraṇaṃ G; savyenāstaraṇaṃ Ed_D • dattvā] N; dadyād GEd_D **29c** tataḥ] Ed_D; punas N; + + G **29d** sarvānnaparikalpitaṃ] Ed_D; sarvānnaṃ parikalpitaṃ NG **30a** nareṇāvadato] N; nareṇa sarvato GEd_D **30b** annapiṇḍatrayaṃ] G; annapiṇḍatraya N; annaṃ piṇḍatrayaṃ Ed_D **30c** gandhaṃ ca] GEd_D; kaṇṭhvālaṃ N **30d** tenaivārghyaṃ] Ed_D; tenaivāsyā NG • pradāpayet] N; parikalpayet G (unmetr.); prakalpayet Ed_D

putrārthaṃ vanitā śuddhā madhyamaṃ piṇḍam āpnuyāt |
 tadā tasyās suto dhīro rudrāṃśaḥ strīyuto bhavet || 31 ||
 athavā taṃ gavāṃ dadyād agnau vāpsu vinikṣipet |
 pūrvam ācamanaṃ dadyāt trayasyātha dvayoh punaḥ || 32 ||
 ācamyotthāya saṃkalpyaṃ namaskṛtya kṣamāpayet |
 dānaṃ dadyād yathāśaktyā bhaktito 'nte visarjayet || 33 ||
 śrāddham evaṃvidhaṃ śaivaṃ śivasāyojyadaṃ param |
 rudraśrāddham svanāmāṅkaṃ praṇavādi namontikam || 34 ||
 rudrasāyojyadaṃ caiva devatānāṃ svasaṃjñayā |
 kṛte 'smin laukike śrāddhe 'navamāsyam' sa paśyati || 35 ||
 viprāṇāṃ vihitam śrāddham vedoktam smṛtikalpitaṃ |
 brahmalokam avāpnoti tatkartā dvijasattamaḥ || 36 ||
 ekoddiṣṭam yad atroktam kāryam āvāhanaṃ vinā |
 navaśrāddhādikaṃ śrāddham proktam etat samāsataḥ || 37 ||
 śivasya paramātmānaḥ kiṃ nāma kriyate naraiḥ |
 kriyā sampūrṇatām eti tad uddiśya phalaṃ mahat || 38 ||

31a putrārthaṃ] Ed_D; putrārtha N; putrārthe G **31b** madhyamaṃ piṇḍam āpnuyāt] em. Goodall; madhyamā piṇḍam āpnuyāt N; piṇḍam aśnāti madhyamaṃ GE_D **31c** tasyās suto] Ed_D; tasya naro N; tasyānyaro G **31d** rudrāṃśaḥ strīyuto] N; rudrāṃśam śrīyutam G; rudrāṃśaś śrīyuto Ed_D **32a** taṃ] G; tāṃ N; tad Ed_D **32b** agnau vāpsu] N; agnāv apasu G (unmetr.); agnāv apsu Ed_D **32c** ācamanaṃ] GE_D; ācanan N (unmetr.) **32d** trayasyātha dvayoh punaḥ] N; trayasyādyah pibet dvayoh G; tribhyah paścād dadet dvayoh Ed_D **33a** ācamyotthāya] N; ācamyo bhūjya G; ācamyonmrjya Ed_D **33b** namaskṛtya] N; namahskṛtvā G; namas kṛtvā Ed_D **33c** dadyād] N; dattvā GE_D **33d** bhaktito 'nte] NE_D; bhaktitānte G **34b** 'sāyojyadaṃ] N; 'sāryajyadaṃ G; 'sāyujyadaṃ Ed_D • param] NG; varam Ed_D **34d** namontikam] N; namontakam GE_D **35ab** rudrasāyojyadaṃ caiva devatānāṃ] N; sāryajyaṇ caiva devāntam devān tan tu G; sāyujyam caiva devānām devānān tu Ed_D **35b** laukike śrāddhe] em. Sanderson; laukikaśrāddha N; laukikaśrāddhe GE_D **35d** navamāsyam sa paśyati] N; navamāgham sa paśyati G; na paitram ṇnam aśnute Ed_D **36a** vihitam] N; pitaram G; paitṛkam Ed_D **36d** tatkartā] NE_D; tatkartu G **37a** yad atroktam] NG; idam proktam Ed_D **37c** navaśrāddhādikaṃ śrāddham] conj.; navaśrāddhādikaśrāddham N; śivaśrāddhādikaṃ proktam G; śivaśrāddhādikaṃ proktam Ed_D **37d** proktam etat samāsataḥ] conj.; prokt- + tat samāsataḥ N; me tat saṃkṣipya lakṣaṇam G; tatsaṃkṣiptalakṣaṇam Ed_D (unmetr.) **38a** paramātmānaḥ] conj. Sanderson; parimātmānaṃ N; paripū + ya G; paripūrṇasya Ed_D **38b** kiṃ nāma kriyate naraiḥ] NE_D; kiṃ + + + + + raiḥ G **38c** sampūrṇatām] NE_D; sampūrṇyatām G **38d** phalaṃ mahat] N; mahat phalam GE_D

kartavyaṃ tena tat tārksya parokṣe 'pi yathoditam |
 nirṇatvaṃ kathaṃ teṣāṃ yāvad eva kṛtaṃ na hi || 39 ||
 †śrāddhaṃ tāvat kathaṃ kartuṃ phalam ity abhavad atha† |
 parokṣe pi tathānteṣṭiḥ kriyate tadvad atra tu || 40 ||
 kartavyaṃ tena tac chrāddhaṃ dīkṣā yena tadantikā |
 proktaṃ samāsataḥ śrāddhaṃ pañcabrahmamayaṃ śivam || 41 ||

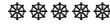
iti kiraṇākhye mahātantre ekaśaṣṭhipaṭalaḥ

39b After this G and Ed_D have two additional pādas: smaraṇārthaṃ sutādīnāṃ parokṣe pi kriyākhilā. **40c–41** Omitted in G and Ed_D. **Col.** Omitted in G.

39ab tat tārksya] N; tanmā + G; tanmārgaṃ Ed_D **39b** yathoditam] NEd_D; yathoditaḥ G **39c** nirṇatvaṃ] N; anṛnat- G; anṛnatvaṃ Ed_D **39d** eva kṛtaṃ] N; evaṃ kṛte GEd_D **40b** ity abhavad atha] N; iṣṭaṃ bhaved yathā GEd_D **41b** yena] conj. Sanderson; yetat N **Col.** kiraṇākhye mahātantre ekaśaṣṭhipaṭalaḥ] N; śrīmatkiraṇākhye mahātantre yogapāde śaivaśrāddhavidhiḥ caturthaḥ paṭalaḥ Ed_D

4.1. *Jñānaratnāvalī* Antyeṣṭiprakaṛaṇa

- M *Jñānaratnāvalī* of Jñānāśivācārya. Ms. No. P. 3801. ORI, Mysore. Palm-leaf manuscript. Nāndīnāgarī script. Obtained by Dominic Goodall. Folio 102v, line five–Folio 107r, line 2.
- T_M *Jñānaratnāvalī* of Jñānāśivācārya. Madras GOML R. 14898 RC 1025/52 (57); photographed by Dominic Goodall,⁹ pp. 399–411.
- T_P *Jñānaratnāvalī* of Jñānāśivācārya. Pondicherry IFI Transcript no. T 231,¹⁰ pp. 441–455.
- T_{MP} Refers to both, T_M and T_P, if they share the same reading.



athāntyeṣṭividhānam ca kathyate leśato mayā |
 atrotkrāntyā vipanno yo yogī nirdagdhakalmaṣaḥ || 1 ||
 tasya mantramayaṁ śuddhaṁ dahed dehaṁ śivāgninā |
 na ca piṇḍakriyā kāryā na ca tasyodakakriyā || 2 ||
 kiṁ tu śiṣyaiḥ sadā kāryam anṛnārthaṁ śivārcanam |
 prasaṅgād ucyate 'nyeṣāṁ sarveṣāṁ api sā yathā || 3 ||
 dīkṣātas tattvaniṣṭhānāṁ sadācāravatāṁ nṛṇāṁ |
 siddhāntārthavinodānāṁ kālena vigatātmanāṁ || 4 ||
 śivāgninā dahed dehaṁ kiṁ tu tasya kriyā matā |
 anācāravādādīnāṁ adhvaśuddhir vidhīyate || 5 ||

2b dahed dehaṁ] em. Sanderson; dehodddehaṁ T_{MP} **2c** na ca piṇḍakriyā] T_{MP}; śivapiṇḍa-kriyā M **3a** sadā] T_{MP}; kṛyā M **3b** anṛnārthaṁ] T_{MP}; smaraṇārthaṁ M **3d** yathā] M; yayā T_{MP} **4b** sadācāravatāṁ] M; sadācaravatā T_{MP} **4c** siddhāntārthavinodānāṁ] M; siddhāntārthavinodānam T_{MP} **5b** kriyā matā] conj. Sanderson; kriyā gatā M; niyāmatā T_{MP} **5c** anācāravādādīnāṁ] M; anācāraṇādīnāṁ T_{MP}

⁹ See Goodall 2004, p. cx–cxi.

¹⁰ According to Goodall (2004, p. cxi) this transcript is an apograph of T_M. The readings only rarely differ.

uktaṃ ca:

dīkṣātas tūttare kāle samayān yas tu laṅghayet |
 devasya ca gurūṇāṃ ca mahāpātakabhāḡ bhavet || 6 ||
 amuktasamśayā ye ca ye cānye samalātmakāḡ |
 teṣāṃ pāpāpanodārtham antyeṣṭir vihitā guha || 7 ||
 svasamjñā layam āpnoti samayādivilaṅghaṇāt |

iti. tathā ca:

amuktasamśayānāṃ ca samalānāṃ viśeṣataḡ || 8 ||
 śāstrāntaraprapannānāṃ tathā luptakriyeṣu ca |
 antyeṣṭir hy antataḡ kāryā nānyathā param āpnuyāt || 9 ||

iti.

sādhakācāryaputrāṇāṃ kuryād adhvaviśodhanam |
 naiva tat samayasthasya kuryād vā mokṣakāṅkṣiṇaḡ || 10 ||
 ācāryaḡ sādhaḡ vāpi putrakaḡ samayī ca vā |
 vratināṃ gr̥hīṇāṃ vāpi mṛtaṃ samśnāpya bhūṣayet || 11 ||
 samśliṣṭau ca tadaṅgulyau śvetasūtreṇa bandhayet |
 āropya svargasopāne sārdravaṃśavinirmite || 12 ||
 vimāne raktavastrāḍhye patākāpuṣpamālīte |
 śaṅkhakāhalatūryādinināḍair vividhair dhvajaiḡ || 13 ||
 sārddham ānāyya tattulyajātibhir nānyajātibhiḡ |
 dīkṣitair apy asaṃkhyaiś ca vasanāvṛtamastakaiḡ || 14 ||

6a dīkṣātas tūttare] em. Sanderson; dīkṣāvastūttare M; dīkṣādas tūttare T_{MP} **6b** tu] M; ta T_{MP} **8a** svasamjñā layam] T_{MP}; sasamjñāyam M (unmetr.) • tathā ca] T_{MP}; om. M **9a** śāstrāntara°] M; śāstrāntaraṃ T_{MP} **9c** antyeṣṭir] M; ateṣṭi T_{MP} • hy antataḡ] T_{MP}; yā tataḡ M **10c** samayasthasya] M; samayastasya T_{MP} **12a** samśliṣṭau ca] M; asaṃśliṣṭau T_{MP} • tadaṅgulyau] MT_P; tadaṅguṣṭau T_M **12c** āropya] M; ārogya T_{MP} **13b** patākāpuṣpamālīte] conj.; patākāpuṣpamālīte codd. **13cd** śaṅkhakāhalatūryādinināḍair vividhair] M; śaṅkhakāhalatūryādini + + + vidhe T_{MP} **14a** ānāyya] corr. Sanderson; ānāya M; ānārya T_{MP} **14c** apy asaṃkhyaiś] conj.; api saṃkhyaiś codd. **14d** vasanāvṛtamastakaiḡ] conj. Sanderson; vastrā(dyā)ditamastakaiḡ M; vasakā + + mastakaiḡ T_{MP}

dhārayitvārdhamārge ca baliṃ dikṣu vikīrayet |
 punaḥ puṇyanadītre puṇyakṣetre jalāśaye || 15 ||
 yāmyapratyakplave śuddhe sthāpayed yāmyamastakam |
 navahastamitaṃ kṛtvā maṇḍapaṃ paṭṭakāvṛtam || 16 ||
 saptahastapramāṇaṃ vā yāmyadvāraṃ satorāṇaṃ |
 nāmnāvasānakam jñeyaṃ kṛtāntaṃ nāma tat kvacit || 17 ||
 tatra hastamitaṃ kuṇḍaṃ vedāśraṃ caikamekhalam |
 ṛtvaṅgulonnataṃ vāyāu tanmṛdā sthaṇḍilam kuru || 18 ||
 kuṇḍāgneyyāṃ citākhātaṃ caturhastamitāyatam |
 maṅgalāṅgulagambhīraṃ hastadvitayavistṛtam || 19 ||
 kuṇḍadakṣiṇataḥ kuryāc citākhātaṃ kvacin matam |
 niṣpādyā tritayaṃ caiva gomayenopalepayet || 20 ||
 atha snātvā samācamya sandhyāṃ kṛtvā samāhitaḥ |
 atha †savyottarāsaṃgo† grhīṭāstrāluko guruḥ || 21 ||
 gatvāpradakṣiṇaṃ maunī sthaṇḍilāntam udaṇmukhaḥ |
 upaviśyāsane śuddhe bhūtaśuddhiṃ vidhāya ca || 22 ||
 viparītakṛtanyāsaḥ kṛtāntaryajanaḥ sudhīḥ |
 saptāstrajapaśastrālutoyair dravyāṇi śodhayet || 23 ||
 abhyukṣyātmānam abhyarcya kṛtvā mantraviśodhanam |
 āstrāmbupaṇcagavyābhyāṃ saṃprokṣya paritaḥ kṣitim || 24 ||
 catuṣpathāntasaṃskārāḥ saṃskṛtya vikīrāṇ api |
 prakṣipyāhṛtya saṃyojya citer īśānagocare || 25 ||

15a dhārayitvārdhamārge] M; dhārayitvāthamārgaiś T_{MP} **15c** puṇya°] M; puṇyā° T_{MP} **16b** sthāpayed] conj. Sanderson; dhārayed codd. **16c** °hastamitaṃ] T_{Ppc}; °vastramitaṃ M; °hastamidaṃ T_MT_{Pac} **16d** maṇḍapaṃ] M; maṇḍalam T_{MP} • paṭṭakāvṛtam] conj. Sanderson; paṭānāvṛtam M; hāṭakāvṛtam T_{MP} **17a** °hastā°] T_{MP}; °sapta° M **17b** yāmya°] M; yātya° T_{MP} **18a** kuṇḍaṃ] MT_M; daṇḍaṃ T_P **18c** vāyau] T_{MP}; vāyāv M **18d** tanmṛdā sthaṇḍilam kuru] M; tanmṛdāvasthalaṃkaram T_{MP} **19a** citākhātaṃ] em.; citākhāta M; citākhātāḥ T_{MP} **19b** °mitāyatam] em. Sanderson; °mitāyate M; °mitāyatām T_{MP} **19c** maṅgalāṅgula°] M; maṅgalāṅguli° T_{MP} **20a** kuryāc] T_{MP}; kṛtvā M **20b** citākhātaṃ] T_{MP}; citākhātaḥ M **20c** tritayaṃ caiva] M; tritayenaiva T_{MP} **20d** gomayenopalepayet] T_{MP}; gāmayenopalepayet M **21a** atha snātvā] M; adhastātvā T_{MP} **21c** atha savyottarāsaṃgo] M; apasavyottarāśi T_{MP} (unmetr.) **21d** grhīṭāstrāluko] em.; grhītvāstrāluko M; tanrāluko T_{MP} (unmetr.) **22a** °pradakṣiṇaṃ maunī] M; padameruni T_{MP} (unmetr.) **23b** kṛtāntaryajanaḥ] M; kṛtāntaryajanaḥ T_{MP} **23c** °sastrālutoyair] T_{MP}; °sastrāṇutoyair M **24b** mantra°] M; mantram T_{MP} **25a** catuṣpathānta°] MT_P; catuṣpadhānta° T_M **25b** vikīrāṇ api] M; vi + -ān api T_{MP}

vardhanyām yāmyanālāyām śastraṃ pāsupataṃ yajet |
 īśādyāśāsu kumbheṣu lokapālāyudhāni ca || 26 ||
 śastrāmbudhārayā kṛtvā sthānasya parirakṣaṇam |
 saṃsthāpya vardhanīm tatra sampūjyāstraṃ calāsane || 27 ||
 “bho bho sthānam idaṃ rakṣa yāvat karmāvasānakam” |
 iti vijñāpya hetīsaṃ sthaṇḍilāntaṃ samāśrayet || 28 ||
 kuśabhasmatilaiḥ kṛtvā sthaṇḍilopari rakṣaṇam |
 astreṇa dvārapālādīn hr̥dā sampūjya pūrvavat || 29 ||
 tilākṣatair kṛtāmbhoje rajoṛājivirājite |
 saptadhānyasthite kumbhe sarvaśobhānvite ’thavā || 30 ||
 ādhārākhyām anantābjam aiśvaryādīṃś ca pādakān |
 anaiśvaryādigātrāṇi nānāvarṇāni pūrvavat || 31 ||
 ūrdhvādhaśchadane padmaṃ karṇikāyām manonmanīm |
 sarvabhūtadamanyādivāmāntāḥ kesareṣu ca || 32 ||
 śaktyagnisomasūryādhyam āsanam ca samarpayet |
 mūrtidvayaṃ samāvāhya nivṛttyādikalāḥ kramāt || 33 ||
 pādād ārabhya vinyasya śivam āvāhya pūrvavat |
 astrādyaiḥ sakalīkṛtya mūlena paramīkṛtaṃ || 34 ||
 kṛtvāmṛtikṛtaṃ bhaktyā susvāgatakriyānvitam |
 dattvā pādyādikam śambhor bhogāṅgāni ca pūjayet || 35 ||
 astrādīhr̥dayāntāni svasvasthāneṣu pūrvavat |
 dhūpadīpādinaivedyair mantraṃ japtvā samarpya ca || 36 ||
 kuṇḍam saṃskṛtya vahniṃ ca bhrāmayitvāpasavyataḥ |
 nikṣīpya janayed agniṃ kuryād adhvādīśodhanam || 37 ||

26b śastraṃ] MT_M; śastaṃ T_P **26c** īśādyāśāsu] T_{MP}; īśāmāśāśū M **27a** śastrāmbudhā] M; astrālu° T_{MP} **27b** sthānasya] M; snānasya T_{MP} **27c** saṃsthāpya] M; sampūjya T_{MP} **28a** bho bho] M; bhogo T_{MP} • rakṣa] M; rakṣā T_{MP} **29a** kuśa°] T_{MP}; kāśa° M **30a** kṛtāmbhoje] M; kṛtāmbhojaiḥ T_{MP} **30b** rajoṛāji°] em. Sanderson; ra + rāji° M; rajoṛāja° T_{MP} **30d** °śobhānvite ’thavā] T_{MP}; °śobhāsamanvite M **31a** anantābjam] M; anantābjām T_{MP} **31b** pādakān] em. Sanderson; vādikān M; pātakān T_{MP} **31c** anaiśvaryādigātrāṇi] M; anaiśvaryādinātrāṇi T_{MP} **31d** °varṇāni] T_{MP}; °varṇādi M **32a** ūrdhvādhaśchadane] M; ūrdhvādhaśchedane T_{MP} **32ab** padmaṃ] T_{MP}; padma° M **33d** °kalāḥ] T_{MP}; °kalā M **35a** kṛtvāmṛtikṛtaṃ] T_{MP}; kṛtvāmādikṛtaṃ M **35b** susvāgatakriyānvitam] M; svāgatakriyānvitam T_{MP} **35c** śambhor] T_{MP}; śambho M **37d** adhvādī°] M; āndhādī° T_{MP}

śivaṃ sampūjya saṃtarpya pūrṇāṃ dattvā vidhānataḥ |
 †paścā citāpaṭa kṛtvā† pañcaviṃṣatikoṣṭhakam || 38 ||
 vaṃśarajjusamopetaṃ vāstu vetālasamjñakam |
 tatra vāstum yathārūpaṃ dhyātvā sampūjya deśikaḥ || 39 ||
 tanmadhye pañca koṣṭhāni pītena rajasākiret |
 nairṛtānalavāyviśe caturaś caturō 'mśakān || 40 ||
 śvetaraktāsitaśvetavarṇaiḥ pūrvādikoṣṭhakān |
 pītakṛṣṇasītāraktaiḥ pūrayec caturaḥ kramāt || 41 ||
 teṣu dhātryādītattvāni sādhipāni yajed yathā |

OM HĀM DHĀRĀTATTVĀYA NAMAḤ. OM HĀM BRAHMAṆE NAMAḤ iti madhye,

OM HĀM APTATTVĀYA NAMAḤ. OM HĀM VIṢṆAVE NAMAḤ iti nairṛte,
 OM HĀM TEJASTATTVĀYA NAMAḤ. OM HĀM RUDRĀYA NAMAḤ iti jvalane,
 OM HĀM VĀYUTATTVĀYA NAMAḤ. OM HĀM ĪŚVARĀYA NAMAḤ iti vāyau,
 OM HĀM VYOMATATTVĀYA NAMAḤ. OM HĀM SADĀŚIVĀYA NAMAḤ itīśāne,
 OM HĀM INDRĀYA NAMAḤ iti pūrve,
 OM HĀM YAMĀYA NAMAḤ iti dakṣiṇe,
 OM HĀM VARUṆĀYA iti paścime,
 OM HĀM KUBERĀYA NAMAḤ ity uttarakoṣṭhe sampūjya

māśabhaktabaliṃ dattvā ghṛtāktam teṣv anukramāt || 42 ||
 dattvā toyādikaṃ †tasmāt tadagnaṃ sphoṭayet† punaḥ |
 kuṇḍavat saṃskṛte tatra pītena caturaśrakam || 43 ||
 kṛtvā brahmāṇam abhyarcya tanmadhye ca trikoṇakam |
 raktena rajasā kṛtvā kālāgniṃ tatra pūjayet || 44 ||

OM HĀM BRAHMAṆE NAMAḤ

OM HĀM KĀLĀGNIRUDRĀYA NAMAḤ

38c paścā citāpaṭa] M; paścārcito + †e T_{MP} **39c** vāstum] M; vāstu T_{MP} • yathā°] T_{MP}; tathā° M **40a** tanmadhye pañca] M; amatyekañca T_P; tamatyekañ ca T_M **40b** rajasākiret] em. Sanderson; rajasāharet codd. **40cd** nairṛtānalavāyviśe caturaś] M; nairṛtānalavāyviśaseturaś T_{MP} **41b** °koṣṭhakān] M; °koṣṭhagān T_{MP} • uttarakoṣṭhe] M; uttare goṣṭhe T_{MP} **42c** °bhakta°] T_{MP}; °bhaktam M **42d** ghṛtāktam] M; ghṛtākta T_{MP} **43b** tadagnaṃ sphoṭayet] T_{MP}; tad a(gra)(sma)phoṭayet M (unmetr.) **43c** tatra] M; tatve T_{MP} **43d** pītena] M; vītena T_{MP} **44b** ca tri°] M; citra° T_{MP} **44c** rajasā] T_{MP}; rājasā M **44d** tatra] M; taru T_{MP}

caturah kīlakān śuṣkān ūrdhvamūlān adhomukhān |
 astreṇa saptadhā japtvā agnīśānilarakṣasām || 45 ||
 dikṣv āropyāpasavyena raktasūtreṇa veṣṭayet |
 candanādibhir āpūrya yājñikaś citim indhanaiḥ || 46 ||
 yāmyāśādaśinācchādyā vastreṇāstreṇa pūjayet |

OM HĀM HAḤ CITĀYAI NAMAḤ

bhasmadarbhatilaiḥ śastrarakṣām kṛtvā vilomataḥ || 47 ||
 agnau sampūjya samtarpya citer vāstugatān surān |
 śavaṃ mṛdgomayāmbhobhiḥ prakṣālyoddhūlya cānayet || 48 ||
 parivartyopavītādyam pūrvajātyanapekṣayā |
 kuṇḍayāmye nidhāyainam saumyāsyam praṇavāsane || 49 ||
 kṛte mantramaye dehe dhāraṇādividhānataḥ |
 mahājālāṇunānīya jīvaṃ samhāramudrayā || 50 ||

OM HŪM HAUM HĀM HĀM HŪM AMUKĀTMANE NAMAḤ

yojayitvā hṛdambhoje vidyādeham ca vinyaset |
 śivatattvaṃ ca śaktim ca nāḍīś cāgnau pratartpayet || 51 ||
 śāntyatītāditaḥ kṛtvā kalāḥ sarvādhvagarbhitāḥ |
 srṣṭyā vinyasya tanmūrdhni śivam abhyarcya pūrvavat || 52 ||

51 After this M repeats verses 49–50.

45a kīlakān] MT_P; kīlakāś T_M **45cd** japtvā agnīśānilarakṣasām] T_M; japtvā
 namḍīśālarakṣasām M (unmetr.); japtvāgnīśānilarakṣasām T_P (unmetr.) **46a** dikṣv] T_{MP};
 dikṣā° M • āropyāpasavyena] M; āropya + + + + T_{MP} **46d** citim indhanaiḥ] em.; citir
 imḍhanaiḥ M; ca sadinidhanaiḥ T_{MP} **47a** yāmyāśādaśinācchādyā] em. Sanderson;
 yāmyāśādaśinācchādyā M; yāmyāśādaśinācchādyā T_{MP} **47b** pūjayet] T_{MP}; pūj- + M **Mantra**
text haḥ] T_{MP}; om. M **47c** śastra°] M; śatru° T_{MP} **48a** agnau] T_{MP}; agnaiḥ M **48b** citer] T_{MP};
 cite M • vāstugatān surān] M; vāstugatāsurān T_{MP} **48c** śavaṃ] M; śivaṃ T_{MP} **48d**
 prakṣālyoddhūlya] M; prakṣālyocūlya T_{MP} **49a** parivartyopavītādyam] M; parivarjyopa-
 vītādyam T_{MP} **49c** nidhāyainam] T_M; vi(dhāy-) + M; vidhāyainam T_P **50a** kṛte] M; klpte T_{MP}
50c °jālāṇunānīya jīvaṃ] M; °jālāṇum ānīya jīva° T_{MP} **51c** śivatattvaṃ] conj. Sanderson;
 śivahastam] M; śivaṃ hastam T_{MP} **51d** nāḍīś] M; nāśīś T_{MP} **52b** °garbhitāḥ] M; °garhitā T_{MP}
52c vinyasya tan°] T_{MP}; nivinyasya M

mūlenāṅgavatā hutvā śataṃ pūrṇāvasānakam |
 śaktim ādhārikāṃ nyasya kuṇḍe sampūjya tarpya ca || 53 ||
 tāḍanādibhir ādāya nivṛttyādikalāḥ kramāt |
 agnau sampūjya samtarpya dīkṣoktaviddhinātra ca || 54 ||
 kāraṇān api vijñāpya sarvādhvavyāpinīm śivām |
 śivaṃ ca kṣobhakam yoner yugapat sarvavartmani || 55 ||
 jīvam ātāḍya samveśya śiṣyākṛtiṣu yoniṣu |
 nivṛttyādiṣu sarvāsu dīkṣoktaviddhinā guruḥ || 56 ||
 ādhānam yugapat kṛtvā janmabhogādhikāritām |
 layam srotoviśuddhiṃ ca tattvaśuddhiṃ ca niṣkṛtim || 57 ||
 malaśaktitirodhānam bhāvikarmanivāraṇam |
 vartamānam ca samyojya bhuktaśeṣam śivāsinā || 58 ||
 pāśasya chedanam dāham sarvaśulkasamarpaṇam |
 kāraṇeṣu ca sarveṣu brahmādiṣu ca pūrvavat || 59 ||
 kṛtvā caitanyam uddhṛtya pūrvavad yojayec chive |
 viśuvatkramayogena dvādaśānte guruḥ svayam || 60 ||
 kecit tasya śikhātītaṃ śive vinyasya yojanam |
 icchanti guravas tatra kartavyaṃ svagurukramāt || 61 ||
 citām uttānam āropya śavaṃ dakṣiṇamastakam |
 viparītapatacchannam pidadhīta sadindhanaḥ || 62 ||

57c SP 10.28: janmādhikārabhogam ca layam srotoviśodhinam | niṣkṛtim ca tirodhānam paśoh pāsavimocanam || **61ab** SP 10.30: ātmoddhāraṇakarmādi kṛtvā guṇavivarjite | yojayed bhāvanātīte śive caitanyam avyaye ||

53b śataṃ] T_{MP}; śavaṃ M **53c** ādhārikāṃ] M; ādhārikā T_{MP} **53d** kuṇḍe] M; kaṇṭhe T_{MP} **55b** sarvādhva°] T_{MP}; sarvādha° M **55c** yoner] T_{MP}; yone M **55d** °vartmani] M; °padmani T_{MP} **56a** ātāḍya] T_{MP}; ātāsa M • samveśya] conj. Sanderson; samviśya codd. **56b** śiṣyākṛtiṣu] T_{MP}; vi śiṣyākṛti° M **57a** ādhānam yugapat] T_{MP}; ādhānam vidhimpaṃ yugapat M (unmetr.) **57c** layam] M; laya T_{MP} • sroto°] M; sṛto T_{MP} **57d** niṣkṛtim] M; niṣkṛtiḥ T_{MP} **58b** bhāvikarmanivāraṇam] T_{MP}; bhāvakarmanivāraṇam M **59a** dāham] M; deham T_{MP} **59b** °śulka°] M; °gulka° T_{MP} **59d** ca] T_{MP}; om. M **60d** dvādaśānte] M; darśanānte T_{MP} **61a** tasya] T_{MP}; asya M **61ab** śikhātītaṃ śive vinyasya] T_{MP}; śikhātītaśivacaitanya° M **61d** svagurukramāt] em. Sanderson; svagurukramam M; svagurusvakramāt T_{MP} (unmetr.) **62a** citām uttānam] M; citāyuktānam T_{MP} **62b** śavaṃ] em.; śivaṃ codd. **62c** °cchannam] M; °cchinnaṃ T_{MP} **62d** pidadhīta] em. Sanderson; vidadhīta T_{MP}; viparīta° M

sthaṇḍileśaṃ niyuḥyāgnau kuṇḍasaṃlagnavahninā |
 jvālayeḍaḍakṣiṇāśāyāṃ citiṃ saumyānanaḡ guruḥ || 63 ||
 ārabhya śirasah pūrṇāṃ āsyē dattvāṇunāmunā |
 om¹¹ tvam agne dakṣiṇaḥ kālāḥ kālenaivopapāḍitāṃ || 64 ||
 ḡrḥāṇa mantrasaṃpūtāṃ śāvyāṃ eṇāṃ mahāhutiṃ |
 iti tatra kṣipeḍ dīpte sruksruvau tāv adhomukḥau || 65 ||

asyāyam arthaḥ. bho agne tvam dakṣiṇaḥ sadāśivabhaṭṭārakadakṣiṇānanāt-
 makaḥ. kālāḥ kālānalarudro bhagavān. eṇāṃ mahāhutiṃ ḡrḥāṇa.
 kiṃviśiṣṭāṃ bhogyakarmopabhogakālenaivopapāḍitāṃ mantrasaṃpūtāṃ
 dikṣottaram antarbahirvinyastamantrapūtāṃ sampraty api vihitāntyeṣṭiṃan-
 trapūtāṃ ca ḡrḥāṇety arthaḥ.

viśṛjya cāgnisthaṃ śambhuṃ deśikaḥ śaṣtram uccaran |
 vāmaskandhe nidhāyāṣtravardhanīm apradakṣiṇam || 66 ||

63c jvālayeḍaḍakṣiṇāśāyāṃ] M; + + yed dakṣiṇeśāyāṇ T_{MP} 63d citiṃ] M; citi° T_{MP} 64b
 dattvāṇunāmunā] M; dantvāṇunāmunā T_{MP} 64c dakṣiṇaḥ] em. Sanderson; dakṣiṇataḥ M;
 dakṣiṇa T_{MP} • kālāḥ] M; kāla T_{MP} 65a °saṃpūtāṃ] M; °saṃbhūtā T_{MP} 65b mahāhutiṃ] M;
 mahāhutiḥ T_{MP} 65c tatra] M; taptāṃ T_{MP} • dīpte] T_{MP}; tatra M **Prose text** bho] T_{MP}; he M •
 tvam] M; tvām T_{MP} • dakṣiṇaḥ] em. Sanderson; dakṣiṇataḥ M; dakṣiṇa T_{MP} •
 °dakṣiṇānanātmakeḥ] conj. Sanderson; °nadakṣiṇānalātmakaḥ MT_P; °dakṣiṇānalānātmakaṃ
 T_M • kālānala°] M; kālāmala° T_{MP} • bhagavān] T_{MP}; bhavāt M • eṇāṃ] T_P; evaṃ M; evyāṃ
 T_M • °karmopabhogakālenaivopapāḍitāṃ] T_{MP}; karmānabhogakālevairvopapāḍitāṃ M •
 mantrasaṃpūtāṃ] T_P; mantāṃ sapraka (?) M; mantrasaṃbhūtāṃ T_M • dikṣottaram] T_{MP};
 dikṣottam M • antarbahirvinyastamantrapūtāṃ] conj. Sanderson; aṃtataṃ
 vinyastamaṃtrasaṃpūritāṃ M; antrahavirnyastamantrapūtāṃ T_P; āṇca havir nyastaman-
 trapūtāṃ T_M • vihitāntyeṣṭiṃantrapūtāṃ] conj. Goodall; vihitāṃteśivamaṃtrapūritāṃ M;
 vihitāntyeṣṭiṃ mantraṇ T_{MP} 66a viśṛjya cāgnisthaṃ] conj. Sanderson; viśṛjyāgnisthaṃ M;
 viśṛjyāghnisthaṃ T_{MP} • śambhuṃ] T_{MP}; kṣired yas tu M 66b śaṣtram] M; śakram T_{MP} •
 uccaran] T_{MP}; uccaret M 66c nidhāyāṣtra°] M; nidhāyātra T_{MP} 66d °vardhanīm] T_{MP};
 °vardhanām M • apradakṣiṇam] MT_P; + + dakṣiṇam T_M

¹¹ The syllable om has been added to the verse in all manuscripts, but does not feature as part of the metrical verse.

vimuñcan prṣṭhato dhārām īśāne nikṣipet tataḥ |
 gatvā jalāntikaṃ prṣṭham apaśyan bandhubhiḥ saha || 67 ||
 kapālaṃ bhidyate yāvat tāvat tatra pratīkṣya ca |
 savyopavītī san snātvā samācamyāpasavyavān || 68 ||
 tīre prastīrya saddarbhān yāmyāgrān aparānanān |
 tiladarbhākṣatair dadyān nivāpasyāñjalitrayam || 69 ||

OM HĀM AMUKA ŚUDDHĀTMAN ĪŚO BHAVA SVADHĀ
 OM HĀM AMUKA ŚUDDHĀTMAN SADĀŚIVO BHAVA SVADHĀ
 OM HĀM AMUKA ŚUDDHĀTMAN ŚĀNTO BHAVA SVADHĀ

punaḥ snātvā samācamya saṃdhyāṃ āvāndya pūrvavat |
 dviśataṃ skandhadātāro gurur ghorāśataṃ japet || 70 ||
 gatvā nijāśramaṃ devaṃ yathāsāmarthyam arcayet |
 asthīni nikṣipet tīrthe taddine vā tṛtīyake || 71 ||
 asthisamcayanaṃ kṛtvā kṣīrapūrṇaghaṭāntare |
 śikhare bhūtale puṇye tīrthe vātha prasthāpayet || 72 ||
 tadā snātvā samācamya ghṛtaṃ sāgṇiṃ sa mṛakṣayet |
 punaḥ snātvā kṛtanyāso mardayed gaurasarṣapān || 73 ||
 iti karma samuddiṣṭaṃ gatāsau gurusannidhau |
 parokṣe ca mṛtaḥ kaścid āhavādiṣu vā tadā || 74 ||
 darbhādyaiḥ pratimāṃ kṛtvā śeṣaṃ pūrvavad ācāret |
 naiva bhagnavratasyāśya kāryāntyeṣṭiḥ kadācana || 75 ||

67c jalāntikaṃ] M; kālāntikaṃ T_{MP} **67d** apaśyan bandhubhiḥ saha] conj.; apaśyan
 baṃ(ga)dhubhiḥ saha M (unmetr.); paśyan + + + + + T_{MP} **70a** punaḥ] T_{MP}; puna M •
 snātvā samācamya] MT_P; om. T_M **70b** āvāndya] T_M; āvāhya M; āvānd T_P **70c** °dātāro] em.
 Sanderson; °dhātāro M; °dātare T_{MP} **71a** nijāśramaṃ] em. Sanderson; nijāśrame codd. •
 devaṃ] MT_P; desvaṃ T_M **71c** asthīni nikṣipet tīrthe] conj. Sanderson; asthīni bhavaye tīrthe
 M; asthinikṣepaṭottīrthe T_{MP} **72b** kṣīra°] M; tataḥ T_{MP} • °ghaṭāntare] T_{MP}; °yathāntare M
72d tīrthe] em. Sanderson; tīrtha codd. • vātha prasthāpayet] diagn. conj. Sanderson;
 °prasthāpaṇnāṃ panama tat M (unmetr.); prasthāpanāma yat T_{MP} **73b** mṛakṣayet] conj.
 Sanderson; bhakṣayet codd. **73d** mardayed] conj. Sanderson; bandhayed M; vandayed T_{MP}
74a iti karma samuddiṣṭaṃ] M; + + + + + diṣṭaṃ T_{MP} **74b** gatāsau] T_{MP}; gatāsā M **74c**
 parokṣe] M; parīkṣe T_{MP} **74d** āhavādiṣu] T_{MP}; dahanādiṣu M **75b** śeṣaṃ] T_{MP}; śaivaṃ M
75cd bhagnavratasyāśya kāryāntyeṣṭiḥ] T_P; vasyāśya kāryyānaṣṭiḥ M (unmetr.); bhagna-
 vratasthasya kāryānteṣṭi T_M • uktam ca] M; + + m ca T_{MP}

uktaṃ ca:

pratyakṣaṃ vā parokṣaṃ vā vipannasyādhikāriṇaḥ |
 yathānukampayā dīkṣāṃ guruḥ kuryād athocyate || 76 ||
 kṣiṭasya samayasthasya hīnasyottaradīkṣayā |
 deśāntare vipannasya muktikāmasya deśikaḥ || 77 ||
 kauṣīṃ tatpratimāṃ kṛtvā paiṣṭīṃ vā gomayodbhavāṃ |
 pañcagavyaplutāṃ tasyāṃ tallīṅgaṃ upakalpayet || 78 ||
 mahājālaprayogeṇa mantramudrābalānvitāḥ |
 mantradehakalāsamsthaṃ saṃhṛtyaivaṃ vidhāya ca || 79 ||
 viśodhya pūrvavat pāsān yojayed amale pade |
 payaḥsarpirmadhūpetāṃ tadrūpaṃ śivatejasā || 80 ||
 dāhayitvā tadarthaṃ ca śrāddhaṃ kuryāt †tadātmakam† |
 śivadharmā + + + lokadharmānusārataḥ || 81 ||
 vidhir eṣa vipannasya sapiṇḍasyāpi sannidhau |
 bahir āvasathāt kāryaḥ sadyonirvāṇakarmavat || 82 ||
 anteṣṭau na viśeṣo 'sti †vaktavyaṃ neti tadvidā† |

utkrāntinā ca samayasthānāṃ ca vipannānāṃ śivāgnidāham evety anteṣṭir
 ity avagantavyaḥ.

sā yataḥ putrakādīnāṃ antarāyadavānalaḥ || 83 ||

76cd–77a yathānukampayā dīkṣāṃ guruḥ kuryāt athocyate kṣiṭasya] M; yathānakampayā + + + + + kṣiṭasya T_M; yathānakampathākṣiṭa + + + + + hya T_P **78a** kauṣīṃ] T_{MP}; kauṣī M **78b** paiṣṭīṃ] conj.; paiṣṭaṃ M; + + T_{MP} • gomayodbhavāṃ] T_{MP}; gomayodbhavāṃ M **78c** °plutāṃ tasyāṃ] M; °plutāntatsyāt T_{MP} **79a** mahājālaprayogeṇa] T_{MP}; tatra jālaprayogeṇa M **79b** °mudrābalānvitāḥ] M; °balamudrābalānvitāḥ T_{MP} (unmetr.) **80a** viśodhya] conj. Sanderson; vidhāya M; viśo + T_{MP} **80c** payaḥsarpirmadhūpetāṃ] M; payassarpirmadhūpeta T_M; payaḥsarpirmadhupeta T_P **81a** °arthaṃ] conj. Sanderson; °ardhaṃ M; °arghaṃ T_{MP} **81b** śrāddhaṃ kuryāt] T_{MP}; sārddhaṃ kuryā M **82c** āvasathāt] em.; āvasthā M (unmetr.); āpastathā T_{MP} **82d** °karmavat] T_{MP}; °karmavit M **83b** tadvidā] M; tadvidhā T_M; vividhā T_P **Prose text** samayasthānāṃ ca vipannānāṃ] em. Sanderson; saṃpālanaḥ + + + nānāṃ ca T_{MP} • śivāgnidāham evety] em.; śivāgninādā + vety T_{MP} • avagantavyaḥ] T_{MP}; aivagantavyaḥ M **83c** sā yataḥ] T_{MP}; om. M

bhogāyatanapāto 'tra bhoktur bhogakṣayāt kṣītau |
bhoktavyānām sahātyantaṃ viyogo bhogasādhanaiḥ || 84 ||
dviprakāro bhaved atra kāmato 'kāmataś ca saḥ |
pratiśiddho 'niśiddhaś ca kāmato 'nyo na gaṇyate || 85 ||
trividhaḥ pratiśiddhaḥ syāt sātṭviko rājasas tv iti |
tāmasaś ceti toye 'gnau girau pātaḥ sa sātṭvikaḥ || 86 ||
saṃgrāme hetihastasya mitrakārye sagograhe |
hṛtasamrakṣaṇe mṛtyur iti rājasa ucyate || 87 ||
pratikartum aśaktasya manyuto hy apakāriṣu |

upadraveṣu

ātmano yo vadhaś cāsau tāmaso 'tīva ninditaḥ || 88 ||
bhogasamśādhanaṃ buddhyā †parisaṃdhāya† tattvavit |
utkrāntīyā yaḥ karoty antam aniśiddhas tu tasya saḥ || 89 ||
asminn iṣṭir vidhātavyā mārgasamśuddhivarjitā |
nottamenānugantavyo hīnavarṇo vratojjhitaḥ || 90 ||
anugamyāmbhasi snātvā svajātīśaśataṃ japet |
vratastham avratastham vā brāhmaṇaṃ śivadīkṣitam || 91 ||
vipannaṃ yo vahet tasya nākāle maraṇaṃ bhavet |
asahāyam anāthaṃ ca gatāsum śivayoginam || 92 ||

84b bhogakṣayāt] T_{MP}; bhogākṣayāt M • kṣītau] M; kṣātau T_{MP} **84c** bhoktavyānām] MT_M; bhoktevyānām T_P **84d** viyogo] M; vividho T_M; vividha T_P **85a** atra] M; om. T_{MP} **85b** saḥ] T_{MP}; ca M **86b** rājasas] MT_P; rāśśasas T_M **86d** pātaḥ sa sātṭvikaḥ] T_{MP}; pātaś ca sātṭvitiḥ M **87ab** saṃgrāme hetihastasya mitrakārye sagograhe] M; saṃgraha + + ni hastasya mitratākāryosagogrhe T_{MP} (unmetr.) **87c** hṛtasamrakṣaṇe] T_{MP}; hitasamcarane M **88a** pratikartum] T_{MP}; iti kartum M **88b** manyuto] T_{MP}; manmano M • apakāriṣu] M; upakāriṣu T_{MP} **88c** yo] T_{MP}; na M **88d** tāmaso 'tīva] em. Sanderson; tamasātīva M; tama + tīva T_{MP} **89a** bhoga°] T_{MP}; bhāga° M **89b** parisaṃdhāya tattvavit] MT_P; paritatvā parasamsthāya tattvavit T_M (unmetr.) **89d** aniśiddhas] M; + + śiddhas T_{MP} **90b** mārgasamśuddhivarjitā] M; bhārgasamśuddhivarjiyā T_{MP} **90c** no°] T_{MP}; nā° M • °anugantavyo] M; °ānūvaktavyo T_{MP} **91c** vratastham avratastham] conj. Sanderson; vratasthān avatastham M; vratastham pravratastham T_{MP} **92a** vahet] T_{MP}; vayet M **92b** nākāle] M; nākāye T_{MP} **92c** anāthaṃ ca] M; anā + + T_{MP} **92d** gatāsum] M; gatāsuram T_{MP} (unmetr.)

nītvā saṃskārayed yas tu so 'niṣṭair viprayujyate |
 śivavratadharasyātra na mṛtaṃ na ca sūtakaṃ || 93 ||
 pūrvāśramānapekṣatvād astasaṃsārahetutaḥ |
 pūrvāśramasthitasyāpi gr̥hasthasya tu dīkṣayā || 94 ||
 dhvastasaṃsārabījasya jñāninaḥ satkriyāvataḥ |
 kṣaṇamātraṃ bhaved tac ca snānād eva nivartate || 95 ||
 anyathā nityahāniḥ syāt sā cāniṣṭā kriyāvatām |
 śivībhūtasya śiṣyasya taddravyaṃ gurum ṛcchati || 96 ||
 abhāve tu guroḥ śiṣyaṃ abhāve svasya santatim |
 santater api kālēna yadābhāvo bhaved iha || 97 ||
 anyeṣāṃ tad anādeyaṃ tadā yāti svagocaram |
 yad vā śivāya taddravyaṃ nivedyaṃ vā śivāgnaye || 98 ||
 khaṇḍasphuṭitasamskāranimittaṃ vā śivālaye |
 †anumanyaṃ† ca tad vākyam alaṅghyaṃ sthitiṇīcintakaiḥ |
 anyathāyogyakaṃ tat svaṃ tathā sarvaṃ niyojayed || 99 ||
 iti.

atha kvacid āgame: śivakalaśam astravardhanīm sthaṇḍilam ca
 kṛtvāropanaṃ pūrvavad āpādyā

kuṇḍasthaśivāyaiva pūrṇayā manasā śivam |
 samarcya sthaṇḍilāgnisthaṃ śivaṃ viśṛjya kevalam || 100 ||

93a saṃskārayed] M; satkārayed T_M; satskārayed T_P **93b** 'niṣṭair] M; 'niṣṭer T_{MP} **93c** °dharasyātra] conj. Sanderson; °dharasyotra M; °dharasyādhya T_{MP} **93d** mṛtaṃ] T_{MP}; mṛtena M (unmetr.) **94a** pūrvāśramānapekṣatvād] M; pūrvāśramānapekṣitvā T_{MP} **94b** astasaṃsārahetutaḥ] conj. Sanderson; astisaṃskārajaṃkṣaṇam codd. **94d** gr̥hasthasya tu] conj.; gr̥haṃ tv asya na M; om. T_{MP} **95a** dhvastasaṃsāra°] M; dhvanisaṃskāra° T_{MP} **95c** tac] M; yaś T_{MP} **95d** snānād eva] T_{MP}; snātvā drava M **96a** nityahāniḥ] em. Sanderson; nityahāni M; nyatvahāni T_M; nyasyahāni T_P **96b** cāniṣṭā] em. Sanderson; ca niṣṭhā codd. **96cd** śiṣyasya taddravyaṃ] M; ta + + + + + T_{MP} **96d** ṛcchati] conj. Sanderson; icchati M; arcchati T_{MP} **97a** tu] T_{MP}; om. M **97d** yadābhāvo] T_{MP}; tadābhāvo M **99a** khaṇḍasphuṭita°] M; + + + ṭita° T_{MP} **99a** °saṃskāra°] T_{MP}; °saṃskāraṃ M **99b** śivālaye] T_{MP}; na(v)ālaye M **99c** anumanyaṃ] T_{MP}; anumantrya M • ca] T_{MP}; na M • vākyam] T_{MP}; vakyam M **99f** sarvaṃ niyojayed] M; ca viniyojayet T_{MP} **Prose text** astra°] T_{MP}; astrena M • kṛtvāropanaṃ] conj.; kṛtvāropam M; kṛtvā T_{MP} **100c** samarcya] M; samarpya T_{MP}

śivāgninaiva citiṃ daheti. uktaṃ ca:

ācāryeṇa caturṇām ca sādhakena trayasya ca |
 dvyābhyām ca putrakeṇaiva samayajñaiḥ svasaṃtatau || 101 ||
 abhāvād api sarveṣāṃ samayajñena kārayet |
 nadītīraṃ samāsādyā gomayenopalepayet || 102 ||
 kalaśaṃ cāstrakalaśaṃ sampūjya vidhivat tataḥ |
 sthaṇḍile hastamātre ca śivaṃ sampūjya pūrvavat || 103 ||
 tadvad dhomaṃ ca kartavyaṃ mantrān saṃtarpya dīpayet |
 mṛdbhasmagomayodghṛṣṭaṃ śodhitavyaṃ śivāsinā || 104 ||
 śavam āhṛtya tatrāgneḥ dakṣiṇasyāṃ diśi nyaset |
 prokṣitoddhūlitasyātha cintayet praṇavaṃ hṛdi || 105 ||
 sakalīkṛtya sampūjya tato homaṃ samācaret |
 tadātmānaṃ śivaṃ dhyātvā taṃ devāya nivedayet || 106 ||
 “pratigrhṇīṣva bhagavan śāvyām enāṃ mahāhutim” |
 evam uktvā śivaṃ devam ubhayasthaṃ viśṛjya ca || 107 ||
 tatas tam indhanenāgniṃ praśastena nayec citāṃ |
 avyucchināṃ tato dhārāṃ astrakumbhena dāpayet || 108 ||
 “akhaṇḍamaṇḍalākāraṃ śivaṃ astu tavādhunā” |
 snātvoidakaṃ tato dattvā punaḥ snātvā śivaṃ japet || 109 ||

Prose text śivāgninaiva] M; śikhāgninaiva T_{MP} **101d** samayajñaiḥ] M; samayajñe T_{MP} **102a** abhāvād] corr. Sanderson; abhayād T_{MP}; dabhāvād M **102c** nadītīraṃ] T_{MP}; nadīnām M (unmetr.) **103a** cāstra°] M; śāstra° T_{MP} **104c** mṛd°] M; tad° T_{MP} • °gomayodghṛṣṭaṃ] T_{MP}; °gomayadghṛṣṭaṃ M **104d** śivāsinā] T_{MP}; śivāgninā M **105a** śavam āhṛtya] em.; śavam āñiya M; śivaṃ āñiya T_M; savam āhṛtya T_P • tatrāgneḥ] T_{MP}; tatrāgnau M **105b** dakṣiṇasyāṃ] M; dehena syād T_{MP} **105c** prokṣito°] M; prokṣitasyo° T_{MP} (unmetr.) • °oddhūlitasyātha] T_P; °oddhūlitasyāsyā M; °cūlito'syāsyā T_M (unmetr.) **106c** tadātmānaṃ] em. Sanderson; tadadhvanā M; yadadhvanā T_{MP} **106d** taṃ devāya] conj. Sanderson; vātha M (unmetr); tad devāya T_{MP} **107a** pratigrhṇīṣva] T_P; pratigrhṇasva M; pratigrhṇīṣa T_M • bhagavan] M; + gavañ ca T_{MP} (unmetr.) **107b** śāvyām] conj. Sanderson; śyāvam M; vāvyām T_M; śodhyām T_P **107c** devam] em. Sanderson; om. M; dehe T_{MP} **107d** ubhayasthaṃ] M; abhayasthaṃ T_M; °bhayasthaṃ T_P (unmetr.) • ca] T_{MP}; om. M **108a** tam indhanenāgniṃ] M; tam indhanenāgni T_M; tasmin dhanenāgniṃ T_P **108b** praśastena] em. Sanderson; prasaktena codd. • nayec citāṃ] conj. Sanderson; nayoccitaṃ M; nayer citaṃ T_M; nayec chivaṃ T_P **108c** avyucchināṃ] T_{MP}; avicchinnāṃ M **108d** dāpayet] M; dhārayet T_{MP} **109c** snātvoidakaṃ] M; snānodakaṃ T_{MP} • tato dattvā] conj. Sanderson; taṭe kṛtvā MT_M; tate dattvā T_P **109d** śivaṃ] T_P; śataṃ M; taṭaṃ T_M • japet] M; yajet T_{MP}

paścimān netraparyantam āvartya śāvaśodhane |
 śiṣyair vā gurusambandhād gurusambandhibhis tathā || 110 ||
 japahomādikaṃ karma kartavyaṃ ca parasparam |
 putraḥ svaśiṣyo vijñeyo bhrātā yaḥ putrako mataḥ || 111 ||
 nityaṃ samayaniṣṭhaś ca putrakaś ca tathā mataḥ |
 sādhaḥ putrako bhrātā samayī putraputrakaḥ || 112 ||
 ācāryaḥ syāt pitā teṣāṃ sarveṣāṃ ca kriyāvatām |
 dinaikaṃ sūtaṃ teṣāṃ śāvāśaucanimitataḥ || 113 ||
 gr̥hastho lokamārgaṃ tu manasāpi na laṅghayet |
 laukikācārārūpeṇa sūtaṃ jātisambhavam || 114 ||
 paramārthatayā puṃsāṃ dīkṣitānāṃ na sūtaḥ |
 teṣāṃ anteṣṭikarmātra samāsāt kathitaṃ mayā || 115 ||

iti.

atha pramādataś corasarpavahnihatātmanām |
 hastivyāghranadīvegasaṃgrāmahatajīvinām || 116 ||
 utkrāntyātmaviyuktānām anyeṣāṃ ātmaghātinaṃ |
 api dehaṃ dahet pūrvaṃ tūṣṇīm eva śivāgninā || 117 ||
 japtvā lakṣaṃ aghorasya dadyād rudrabaliṃ yathā |
 raudrabhūmau yajet rudrān kṣetrapālāṃś ca tarpayet || 118 ||
 ye rudrā raudrakarmāṇo raudrasthānanivāsinaḥ |
 kṣetrapālāś ca ye cānye piśācā dānavādayaḥ || 119 ||

112 After this T_M repeats 111c–113b.

110b śāva°] conj. Goodall; śava° M; śiva° T_{MP} **111c** putraḥ] em. Sanderson; putrā codd. •
 °śiṣyo] em. Sanderson; °putra M; °śiṣyā T_{MP} • vijñeyo] em. Sanderson; vijñeyā M; vijñāya
 T_{MP} **111d** bhrātā yaḥ] conj. Sanderson; bhrātānyaḥ codd. **112a** °niṣṭhaś] T_{MP}; °niṣṭhāś M
112b tathā mataḥ] M; kathamitaḥ T_{MP} **113c** dinaikaṃ] T_{MP}; tenaikaṃ M • sūtaṃ] MT_P;
 sūtrakam T_M **113d** śāvāśauca°] em. Sanderson; śivāśauca° codd. **114d** jātisambhavam] T_{MP};
 jātakāṃ smṛtaṃ M **115b** dīkṣitānāṃ na] M; dīkṣitānāgni° T_{MP} **115c** anteṣṭi°] T_{MP}; antyeṣṭi°
 M **115d** samāsāt] M; samāsāt T_{MP} **116b** °hatātmanām] em.; °gatātmanām T_{MP}; °tadātmanām
 M **117a** utkrāntyātma°] M; utkrātyātma° T_{MP} **117c** dehaṃ] T_P; dahaṃ M; devaṃ T_M **118a**
 japtvā lakṣaṃ] M; dattvā + kṣam T_{MP} **118c** °bhūmau] T_{MP}; °bhaumo M • rudrān] M; vidvān
 T_{MP} **118d** tarpayet] conj. Sanderson; tāpayet codd. **119a** raudrakarmāṇo] M; + + + + ṇo T_{MP}
119b raudra°] M; jana° T_{MP}

sarve supṛītamanaśaḥ pratigṛhṇantv imaṃ balim |
 ugramṛtyuprabhāvena piśācatvam upāgatam || 120 ||
 vimuñcadhvam iti prārthya balim puṣṭam vinikṣipet |

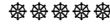
OM HĀM RUDRARAUDRAKṢETRAPĀLAPIŚĀCARĀKṢASADĀNAVABHŪTA-
 GRAHAKŪŚMĀṆḌĀDIBALIKĀMIBHYO NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ iti pūjābalidānādi-
 mantraprayogaḥ

snātvācamya samāgamya bhojayec ca tapodhanān || 121 ||
 mahāvratadharān aṣṭau yadvā pāśupatādikān |
 vastrair dakṣiṇayā caitāṃs toṣayitvā visarjayet || 122 ||
 darbhair puttalikāṃ kṛtvā taddehapratikāyikāṃ |
 śeṣaṃ pūrvavad āpādyā yojayed amale pade || 123 ||
 ity anteṣṭividhiḥ khyātaḥ sarvāvasthāgatātmanām |
 nānāsiddhāntayuktyaiva śrīśivajñānaśambhunā || 124 ||

120c ugra°] M; ugram T_{MP} **121ab** prārthya balim puṣṭam] em.; prārthya balim puṣṭim M; prārthyāñjaliṃ puṣṭim T_M; prārthyāñjaliṃ muṣṭim T_P **121b** vinikṣipet] M; nikṣipet T_{MP} (unmetr.) **Mantra text** hām] M; om. T_{MP} • rudra°] M; om. T_{MP} • °kṣetra°] T_{MP}; om. M • °kūśmāṇḍādibalikāmibhyo] conj.; °(dyasma)raṃḍākinibalikāmibhyo M; °māṇḍabalikāmibhyo T_{MP} • svāhā iti] T_P; svāheti MT_M • pūjābali°] M; pūjādibali° T_{MP} **121c** snātvācamya] M; snānam samyak T_{MP} • samāgamya] T_{MP}; samāgatya M **121d** bhojayec] M; bodhayec T_{MP} **122c** caitāṃs] conj.; caiva tāṃs M (unmetr.); caiśāṃ T_{MP} **123b** °deha°] T_{MP}; °deham M **123d** amale] T_{MP}; anale M **124b** °gatātmanām] T_{MP}; °hatātmanām M **124c** °yuktyaiva] T_{MP}; °vijñeya M

4.2. *Jñānaratnāvalī Śrāddhaprakaraṇa*

- M *Jñānaratnāvalī* of Jñānāśivācārya. Ms. No. P. 3801. ORI, Mysore. Palm-leaf manuscript. Nāndīnāgarī script. Obtained by Dominic Goodall. Folio 107r, line 3–Folio 111r, line 6.
- T_M *Jñānaratnāvalī* of Jñānāśivācārya. Madras GOML R. 14898 RC 1025/52 (57; photographed by Dominic Goodall,¹² pp. 411–421.
- T_P *Jñānaratnāvalī* of Jñānāśivācārya. Pondicherry IFI Transcript no. T 231,¹³ pp. 455–466.
- T_{MP} Refers to both, T_M and T_P, if they share the same reading.



atha śrāddhavidhiṃ vakṣye gurvādīnām ṛṇāpaham |

uktaṃ ca:

devānām ṛṇam atyarthaṃ pūjāhomādikarmaṇā || 1 ||
 dadyād askhalitācāro munīnām api nityaśaḥ |
 gurvādīnām ṛṇam dadyād dīkṣitaḥ śrāddhakarmaṇā || 2 ||
 vihāyaivaṃ vidhānaṃ tat kathaṃ śiṣyo 'nṛṇī bhavet |
 śrāddhayā dīyate śiṣyair gurūn uddīśya yad dhanam || 3 ||

1b gurvādīnām ṛṇāpaham] T_{MP}; gurvādīnām ṛṇāyāpahe M **1c** devānām ṛṇam] M; devānātṛṇam T_{MP} • atyarthaṃ] conj.; athyārthaṃ M; atyaṃ T_{MP} (unmetr.) **1d** °karmaṇā] M; °karmaṇam T_M; °karmaṇām T_P **2a** dadyād] conj. scribe of T_P; hanyād codd. **2cd** gurvādīnām ṛṇam dadyād dīkṣitaḥ] T_P; gurvādīnām ṛṇam dadyād dīkṣita T_M; tarpaṇānām ṛṇam dadyādīkṣitaḥ M **3a** vihāyaivaṃ] T_{MP}; vihoyaivaṃ M **3ab** tat kathaṃ śiṣyo 'nṛṇī] T_{MP}; tatatkathaṃ śiṣonṛṇī M **3c** śiṣyair] T_{MP}; śiṣyo M

¹² See Goodall 2004, pp. cx–cxi.

¹³ According to Goodall (2004, p. cxi) this transcript is an apograph of T_M. The readings only rarely differ at few places.

satsu pātreṣu vidvadbhis tad dhi śrāddham udīritam |
 saṃskāradivasād ūrdhvaṃ tṛtīye 'hni tapasvinām || 4 ||
 visūtakadinād ūrdhvaṃ gr̥hasthānām ayaṃ vidhiḥ |
 sapinḍikaraṇaṃ yāvad vaidikī ca kriyā matā || 5 ||
 lokasaṃvyavahārthaṃ putrādīnāṃ tataḥ param |
 śivaśrāddham prakartavyaṃ śivadharmasthitātmanām || 6 ||
 tatra saṃpadi nityaṃ ca pitṛpakṣe mṛtāhani |
 pratimāsam amāvāsyāṃ pratisaṃvatsaraṃ tu vā || 7 ||
 mṛtāhni śrāddhapakṣe ca yogyaiś śiṣyaiḥ sutair api |
 samayavratasaṃsthānām śiṣyāṇām anukampayā || 8 ||
 ācāryair bhrātṛvargair vā bhrātṛṇāṃ snehabhāvataḥ |
 pūrvasmin divase bhaktyā deśikāditapodhanān || 9 ||
 śiṣyān iṣṭān gr̥hasthāṃś ca dīkṣitāṃś ca nimantrayet |
 anyasmin divase samyakkṛtanityakriyādvayaḥ || 10 ||
 nānābhakṣyānnasaṃyukte siddhe pāke śivānale |
 gupte lipte śubhe deśe †dhautapīnādisañcaye† || 11 ||
 iṣṭalingaṃ samabhyarcya dhūpadīpādivistaraiḥ |
 naivedyaṃ pracuraṃ dattvā homaṃ kṛtvā vidhānataḥ || 12 ||
 prārthayitvā śivād ājñāṃ †ābhūyānmantrijanmanāt† |
 dakṣiṇottarasamsthānaṃ vedāśraṃ maṇḍaladvayaṃ || 13 ||

5ab SP 11.1: tato vidhīyate śrāddham visūtakadināditaḥ | pratimāsam samāṃ yāvad-
 ekoddiṣṭam idaṃ bhavet ||

4b śrāddham udīritam] T_{MP}; śāśraṃ udāhṛtaṃ M **4d** 'hni] MT_P; 'hi T_M **5ab** visūtakadinād
 ūrdhvaṃ gr̥hasthānām ayaṃ vidhiḥ] diagn. conj.; śrāddham kuryāt sūtakādinād ūrdhvaṃ
 gr̥hasthānām ayaṃ vidhiḥ M (unmetr.); viśṛjya taddhinād ūrdhvaṃ gr̥hasthānām ayaṃ
 vidhiḥ T_M; viśṛjya taddinād ūrdhvaṃ gr̥hasthānām ayaṃ vidhiḥ T_P **5c** yāvad] T_M; yāvat MT_P
7b pitṛpakṣe mṛtāhani] M; pratipakṣamṛte 'hani T_{MP} **7c** pratimāsam] M; pratiṣṭhāsam T_{MP} **7d**
 pratisaṃvatsaraṃ tu] M; pratisaṃvatsaraṇ ca T_M; pratisaṃvatsaraṃ ca T_P **8c**
 °vratasaṃsthānām] em. Sanderson; °vratasaṃsthāno M; °śrutasaṃsthānaṃ T_{MP} **9d**
 deśikāditapodhanān] em. Sanderson; deśikāditapodhanāt codd. **10cd** °dvayaḥ] corr.; °dvayāḥ
 codd. **12d** vidhānataḥ] T_{MP}; nidhānataḥ M

vidhāya prāṅgaṇe prācyāṃ karamānaṃ karāntaram |
 sāmānyārghyodakenaiva saṃprokṣyāstreṇa maṇḍalam || 14 ||
 yavadarbhākṣatopetasitapuṣpair yathākramam |
 svasvanāmnā hṛdābhyarcya pīṭhe pūrvānanas sthitān || 15 ||
 hṛdā puṣpākṣatopetaṃ dadyāt pādāñjalim dvayoh |
 yāmye saumye samācamam dattvā saṃveśayed ubhau || 16 ||

tad yathā

OM HĀM KĀLĀGNIRUDRĀYA PĀDĀRGHYAṀ SVĀHĀ

OM HĀM ANANTĀYA VIṢṆAVE PĀDĀRGHYAṀ SVĀHĀ

iti. pratīcyāṃ maṇḍale vṛtte tilaiḥ pādāñjalim triṣu

OM HĀM ĪŚĀYA PITRE PĀDĀRGHYAṀ SVADHĀ

OM HĀM SADĀŚIVĀYA PITĀMAHĀYA PĀDĀRGHYAṀ SVADHĀ

OM HĀM ŚĀNTĀYA PRAPITĀMAHĀYA PĀDĀRGHYAṀ SVADHĀ

iti

dattvā pūrvavad ācamam tān apy antaḥ praveśayet |
 apasavyaṃ kriyā caiṣāṃ svayam ācamya saṃviśet || 17 ||
 devasya dakṣiṇe bhāge dvayaṃ pūrvānanaṃ purā |
 saṃsthāpya sthāpayet pīṭhe trayaṃ saumyānanaṃ guruḥ || 18 ||
 adyāmuke dine śrāddham bho yuṣmāsu vidhīyate |
 hṛdā svasaṃjñayā kuryād āsanāvāhanādikam || 19 ||
 pādād ārabhya mūrdhāntam akṣatair dvayam arcayet |
 gandhaiḥ puṣpais tilaiḥ paścāc chiraśaḥ prabhṛti trayaṃ || 20 ||

14a prāṅgaṇe] em.; prāṅkaṇe codd. **14b** karāntaram] em. Sanderson; karāntataḥ M; karāntakam T_{MP} **15a** yavadarbhākṣatopeta] T_P; yavadarbhākṣatopetaḥ MT_M **15d** pūrvānanas sthitān] em. Sanderson; pūrvānanasthitān codd. **16b** pādāñjalim] M; pādāñjali T_{MP} **16c** samācamam] conj.; samācamyān codd. **16d** saṃveśayed] conj.; saṃveṣṭhayed T_{MP} **Prose text** pādāñjalim] MT_M; pādāñjalis T_P **Mantra text** prapitāmahāya] MT_M; pratitāmahāya T_P **Prose text** iti] M; om. T_{MP} **17ab** ācamam tān] M; ācāntān T_{MP} (unmetr.) **17c** apasavyaṃ] conj.; asavya M (unmetr.); apasavyā T_{MP} • kriyā caiṣāṃ] M; krayai teṣāṃ T_{MP} **18b** purā] M; purām T_{MP} **19a** dine] M; om. T_{MP} **19c** kuryād] T_{MP}; om. M **20d** chiraśaḥ] T_{MP}; chirasi M

dhūpadīpapavitrādyair vastrair ābharaṇair yajet |
 tatas tadājñayā kṛtvā devayāmye ca maṇḍalam || 21 ||
 pratyagagrakūśopetaṃ tilāḍhyam cāpasavyavān |
 sarvapākāgram uddhṛtya madhusarpistilānvitam || 22 ||
 kṛtvā piṇḍatrayaṃ tatra kukkuṭaṇḍasamākṛtim |
 piṭṣāṃnidhyasiddhyartham pūrvād ārabhya vinyaset || 23 ||
 īśaṃ sadāśivaṃ śāntaṃ teṣu saṃpūjya vistaraiḥ |
 dhūpadīpādinaivedyaiḥ pratyekaṃ ca śataṃ hunet || 24 ||
 kālānalāditaś cāgnau saṃpūjya ca yathā purā |
 annagrāsatrayaṃ hutvā gatvā tatsaṃnidhāv api || 25 ||
 pṛthak pṛthag yathāpūrvam dattvā pātraṃ yavādibhiḥ |
 sarvaṃ saṃpūrṇam ity uktvā saṃnidhānārthyam uddharet || 26 ||
 śrutvā vākyam tatas teṣāṃ astu saṃpūrṇam ity atha |
 saptadhā saptajaptaṃ tad dānaṃ saṃnidhihetave || 27 ||
 teṣāṃ savyakare paścāt pātre kṛtvā jalaṃ sudhīḥ |
 piṭṣṭhānam asītyuktvā savyāsavyakrameṇa tu || 28 ||
 pratyagbhāge nidhāyātha dhautapādakaraḥ svayam |
 bhakṣyabhojyāṇnapānādyam hutaśeṣapuraḥsaram || 29 ||
 dattvā bhojanam atyarthaṃ bhājaneṣv api pañcasu |
 annaṃ mṛtyuñjitāmantrya dadyād †apośanaṃ† hṛdā || 30 ||

21a °pavitrādyair] T_P; °pavitrādyai M; °pavitrādyais T_M **23c** piṭṣāṃnidhya°] M; piṭṣāṇaidhya° T_M; piṭṣāṇnidhya° T_P **25a** kālānalāditaś] M; kālānilāditaś T_{MP} **25c** anna-grāsatrayaṃ] T_{MP}; annaṃ grāsatrayaṃ M **25d** gatvā] T_{MP}; yadān M • tatsaṃnidhāv api] T_P; tatsaṃnidhāv pi M (unmetr.); tatsannidhānapi T_M **26b** pātraṃ] em.; pātre T_{MP}; pātra M • yavādibhiḥ] conj.; yavādhi + M; yavādhikam T_M; yavādikam T_P **26d** uddharet] M; uccaret T_{MP} **27b** atha] T_{MP}; athā M **27c** saptadhā] T_{MP}; saptādhā M • saptajaptaṃ] M; japtataṃ T_{MP} (unmetr.) **27cd** tad dānaṃ] conj.; tad danā M; dattvā dattvā T_{MP} (unmetr.) **27d** saṃnidhihetave] T_{MP}; saṃnidhihetave M **28b** jalaṃ] M; japaṃ T_{MP} **28d** savyāsavyakrameṇa] T_{MP}; savyāsavyakareṇa M • tu] T_{MP}; tū M **29a** °bhāge] T_{MP}; °bhāgo M **29b** dhautapādakaraḥ] T_{MP}; dhautapādakara M **29c** °bhojyāṇna°] T_{MP}; °bhojyāṃṇna° M **29d** °puraḥsaram] M; °purassaram T_{MP} **30a** atyarthaṃ] M; ityarthaṃ T_{MP} **30b** bhājaneṣv] conj. Sanderson; pūje teṣv M; pūjiteṣv T_{MP}

juṣadhvam amṛtaṃ yūyam ity uktvātha nivedayet |
 bhojayed avicāreṇa brāhmaṇādyatithīn api || 31 ||
 tr̥ptau satyāṃ tadā pṛcchet sampūrṇaṃ bhavatām iti |
 ucchiṣṭanikaṭe gatvā sodakānnaṃ tato dadet || 32 ||
 tribhyaś cācamaṇaṃ dvābhyāṃ paścāt pātraṃ visarjayet |
 ācāmānte ca tāmbūlaṃ dattvā dakṣiṇayānviṭam || 33 ||
 samācamya kṛtanyāsaḥ pūrṇaṃ dattvā śivānale |
 viṣṭjyeṣaṃ samabhyarcya śrāddhakarma samarpayet || 34 ||
 jānubhyāṃ avanau sthitvā śrāddhapuṇyaphalaṃ sitam |
 savyahaste samabhyarcya puṣpatoyākṣatānviṭam || 35 ||
 asmadārādhyapādānāṃ bhavatsāyujyasādhanam |
 mayā tvadājñayā śrāddhaṃ kṛtaṃ etad grhṇā bhoḥ || 36 ||
 ity uktvā devadevasya savyahaste samarpayet |
 arghyam uddhṛtya deveṣaṃ tīśādīṃś ca kṣamāpayet || 37 ||
 prāśayen madhyamaṃ piṇḍaṃ nārīṃ putrārtham ādarāt |
 janayec chāṅkaraṃ putraṃ sā nārī jñānavicchubham || 38 ||
 govipravahnitoye vā dadet piṇḍaṃ yathāruci |
 tatas saṃśodhayed bhūmiṃ kartā gotrādibhir janaiḥ || 39 ||
 bhuñjīyāt pāvanaṃ śeṣaṃ annapānādikaṃ tathā |
 iti saṃkṣepataḥ proktaṃ śrāddhaṃ tacchivadharmiṇām || 40 ||

35–37b Omitted in M.

31b uktvātha] M; uktvā ca T_{MP} **31d** brāhmaṇādyatithīn] conj.; brāhmaṇādyayatān M; brāhmaṇān atithīn T_{MP} **32a** tr̥ptau] T_{MP}; taptau M **32c** ucchiṣṭanikaṭe] conj.; ujikṣanikaṭe M; śucchiṣṭanikaṭe T_{MP} • gatvā] M; dattvā T_{MP} **32d** sodakānnaṃ tato dadet] T_{MP}; saktāṃtaṃ ca tato nyaset M **33a** tribhyaś] M; pitṛbhyaś T_{MP} (unmetr.) **34b** pūrṇaṃ] T_{MP}; pūrṇam M • śivānale] em.; śivānalam codd. **35b** śrāddhapuṇya°] em. Sanderson; śrāddhapuṇye T_{MP} **36c** mayā] em.; māyā T_{MP} • tvadājñayā] conj. Sanderson; dattvājñayā T_{MP} **38a** madhyamaṃ piṇḍaṃ] M; madhyagaṃ puṇyā T_{MP} **38b** nārīṃ] conj.; nāryyā M; nāryā T_{MP} • putrārtham ādarāt] M; putrārthadāraḥ T_{MP} **38c** janayec chāṅkaraṃ] T_{MP}; janayaṃchāṅkaraṃ M **39b** piṇḍaṃ] M; puṇyaṃ T_{MP} **39c** saṃśodhayed] M; saṃbodhayed T_{MP} **40c** tacchivadharmiṇām] T_{MP}; taśachivadharmiṇām M (unmetr.)

atha laukikadharmāṇām navaśrāddhapuraḥsarāt |
 sapinḍikaraṇād ūrdhvaṃ śivaśrāddhaṃ vidhīyate || 41 ||
 bhuvaneśapadārthānām tadīśaśrāddhaṃ ācāret |

uktaṃ ca kālottare lokadharminām

atha tasya kriyā kāryā svāśrame vā jalāśaye || 42 ||
 uttarābhimukhīm cullīm kṛtvāstreṇānalaṃ kṣipet |
 sthālīm āropya śastreṇa sodakaṃ taṇḍulaṃ kṣipet || 43 ||
 madhukṣīrāyasaṃyuktaṃ siddham uttārya maṇḍale |
 maṇḍalaṃ bhūtale kṛtvā keśakīṭādivarjite || 44 ||
 kṛtvārghyapātram astreṇa prokṣayet tajjalena tat |
 tatra bhadraśanaṃ śuddham avatāryāstramantritam || 45 ||
 tatocārya sakṛn mantraṃ āsanaṃ parikalpayet |
 hṛdā svasaṃjñayā tatra pūjayet parameśvaram || 46 ||
 arghyapuṣpādibhiḥ pūrvaṃ mantranyāsakramaṃ vinā |
 vahnau pūjā hṛdā śambhoḥ kāryā tadvan na vistarāt || 47 ||
 rājate tāmrāpātre vā carum uddhṛtya vai hṛdā |
 kukkuṭaṇḍapramāṇena satilaṃ piṇḍakalpanam || 48 ||
 saṃsthāpya tac chucāu sthāne hṛnmantreṇa udaṇmukhaḥ |
 puṣpārghyadhūpadīpādyair vastranaivedyakādibhiḥ || 49 ||
 svadhāntena svanāmnā tu taṃ pūjayet tadanantaram |

OM HĀM AMUKAGOTRĀYĀMUKAŚARMAṆE SVADHĀ NAMA ITI MANTRĀḤ

41b °puraḥsarāt] em.; °puraḥsarām M; °puraḥsarān T_{MP} 42a °padārthānām] T_PM; °padārghānām T_M 42d svāśrame] T_M; svāśraśro T_P; śāyame M 43a uttarābhimukhīm] em. Sanderson; uttarābhimukhī codd. 43b kṛtvāstreṇānalaṃ] conj.; dhanāstreṇānale M; dhṛtvāstreṇānalaṃ T_{MP} 44b uttārya maṇḍale] M; uktāntamaṇḍale T_{MP} 45c śuddham] MT_M; śrāddham T_P 45d avatāryāstramantritam] conj. Sanderson; avatārya trimantritam T_{MP}; avatāryatramantritam M 46a tatocārya] T_{MP}; kṣaṇec cārghya M 47d kāryā tadvan] conj.; kāryatajaṃ M; kāyā tadvan T_{MP} 49a tac chucāu sthāne] conj. Sanderson; tacchivasmāya M; tacchivāsthāne T_{MP} 49b hṛnmantreṇa udaṇmukhaḥ] T_M; hṛnmantreṇodaṇmukhaḥ T_P (unmetr.) 49c puṣpārghyadhūpadīpādyair] M; puṣpārghyaṃ gandhadhūpādyaiḥ T_{MP} 50a svanāmnā] M; svanām T_{MP} (unmetr.) 50b taṃ] em.; tat codd. Mantra text °śarmaṇe] M; °dharmiṇe T_{MP} • nama] T_{MP}; namama M

tatas tilena madhunā kuśair gandhodakena ca || 50 ||
 dadhikṣīrājyasammiśrair annair nānāvidhair hṛdā |
 pūrayitvāñjalim pātram rājataṃ vātha svarṇajam || 51 ||
 tat piṇḍaṃ cāpasavyena paritaḥ prokṣayed bahiḥ |
 namaskṛtya yathānyāyaṃ kṣamasveti visarjayet || 52 ||
 mudrayā saha mantreṇa pūrvoddiṣṭena ṣaṇmukha |
 pūrṇaṃ hṛdāmbhasā kṛtvā kalaśaṃ satilaṃ suta || 53 ||
 ācāryāya pradadyāt tat savastraṃ kāñcanānvitam |
 jale piṇḍaṃ viniṣṭipya vahnau vā tadabhāvataḥ || 54 ||
 bhūmau tilodakaṃ dattvā hṛnnāmnā svadhayā saha |
 prakṣālyā pāṇī pādau ca kuryād ācamanaṃ tataḥ || 55 ||
 saṃhṛtya pīṭhavinyastaṃ vahnisthaṃ ca viśṛjya ca |
 plāvayitvopalipyātha kṛtanyāso viśed gṛhaṃ || 56 ||
 astreṇa kṛtarakṣas tu bhuñjīyāt pāvanam laghu |
 pūrvānana gurunā saumyavaktraiś ca sādhakaiḥ || 57 ||
 putrakaiḥ samayasthaiś ca bhoktavyaṃ paścimānanaiḥ |
 ekapaṅktiḥ sadā varjyābhinnajātiṣu ṣaṇmukha || 58 ||
 catustridvyekarekhinaṃ viprādīnāṃ ca maṇḍalam |
 śuklena rajasā kāryaṃ bhojane pātrarakṣaṇam || 59 ||
 pūrvoditāsane sthitvā hy athavā kuśakalpite |
 dvādaśāṅguladīrghe vā vṛtte vā dvādaśāṅgule || 60 ||
 aghoraṃ bhojanānte ca yathāśaktyā japet tataḥ |
 dinānte 'streṇa siddhārthān kṣiptvā śayanam ācāret || 61 ||

50c tatas tilena] M; tasmims tile T_{MP} (unmetr.) **51b** annair] T_{MP}; narair M **51c** pātram] T_{MP}; pātrairam M (unmetr.) **51d** svarṇajam] conj.; saṅgajam M; svaṅgajam T_{MP} **52c** °nyāyaṃ] T_{MP}; °nāthaṃ M **53b** ṣaṇmukha] corr.; om. M; ṣaṇmukhaḥ T_{MP} **53c** pūrṇaṃ] T_{MP}; om. M • hṛdāmbhasā] T_{MP}; hṛdāmbhasā M **53d** kalaśaṃ satilaṃ] T_{MP}; satilaṃ kalaśaṃ M **54a** tat] T_{MP}; om. M **54c** jale piṇḍaṃ] T_{MP}; + + + mḍam M **55c** pāṇī] em. Sanderson; pāni codd. **56a** pīṭha°] T_{MP}; piṇḍa° M **56c** plāvayitvopalipyātha] T_{MP}; pāyatinopalipyātha M **57b** bhuñjīyāt] T_{MP}; ill. M • pāvanam] em. Sanderson; pavanam codd. **58a** putrakaiḥ samayasthaiś ca] T_{MP}; samayakṣaiś ca bhoktavyaṃ M **58b** paścimānanaiḥ] M; paścimānane T_{MP} **58cd** varjyābhinnajātiṣu] T_M; varjya bhinnajātiṣu MT_P **59a** catustridvyekarekhinaṃ] diagn. conj.; catustridvekareśāṭhram M; catustridvekayerekhā T_P; catustridvekayerevā T_M **59d** bhojane] M; vyojane T_{MP} **60a** pūrvoditāsane] em. Sanderson; pūrvāditāsane codd. **60b** kuśa°] M; krama° T_{MP} **60d** vṛtte vā] T_{MP}; patrakair M **61a** bhojanānte ca] M; bhojana cā T_{MP} (unmetr.) **61d** kṣiptvā] T_P; kṣitvā T_M

vidhānam etad akhilam kartavyam ca prayatnataḥ |
 dināni daśa medhāvī pretānugrahakāmyayā || 62 ||
 hṛdādinetrāparyantaiḥ kuryāt pañca dināni ca |
 sadyojātādivaktraiś ca tadūrdhvaṁ dinapañcakam || 63 ||
 daśāham evaṁ nirvartya prāpte tv ekādaśe dine |
 ekoddiṣṭam tatas tasya lokadharmasthitasya ca || 64 ||

tadyathā –

śrāddhakarma tadā kuryāt sampanne tv āhnikē sati |
 tadarthaṁ gurum abhyartha guruputram athāpi vā || 65 ||
 sādhaḥ tadabhāvād vā putrakam samayasthitam |
 vratinaṁ śivabhaktaṁ vā caikaikaṁ pratimāsikam || 66 ||
 prakṣālitāṅghrim ācāntaṁ kṛtvāntas sampraveśya tam |
 dattvāsanam athāsthāpya cottarābhimukhaṁ tataḥ || 67 ||
 tadagre pūrvavad devaṁ brahmāṅgasahitaṁ yajet |
 tataḥ pūrvavidhānena nāmagotrasamanvitaṁ || 68 ||
 ācāryaṁ pūjayitvātha †prāhanāman† nimantritam |
 gandhapuṣpapavitrādyair yathāśaktyāmbarādibhiḥ || 69 ||
 mr̥topakaraṇaṁ sarvaṁ tadā tasmai nivedya ca |
 tadājñātaś śivāgre ca piṇḍayāgaṁ samārabhet || 70 ||
 satilaṁ sarvapākāgraṁ sakuśaṁ madhuviplutaṁ |
 tatra sampūjya deveśaṁ gandhapuṣpapavitrakaiḥ || 71 ||
 naivedyaṁ śivamantreṇa dattvā piṇḍaṁ prayatnataḥ |
 piṇḍaṁ arpya vidhānena sampūjya bhaktipūrvakam || 72 ||

69ab Omitted in M.

63a hṛdādinetrāparyantaiḥ] T_{MP}; hṛdayān netrāparyantaṁ M **63d** tadūrdhvaṁ] T_{MP}; tadūrdhva M **64b** prāpte] T_{MP}; prāpta M • dine] T_{MP}; 'hani M **65b** sampanne tv āhnikē] T_{MP}; sampantvāhi M (unmetr.) **65c** tadarthaṁ] T_{Mpc}T_P; tadarghaṁ T_{Mac} • abhyartha] em. Sanderson; abhyarcya codd. **66a** tadabhāvād vā] T_{MP}; tadabhāvāt M (unmetr.) **66cd** vā caikaikaṁ] T_{MP}; vaithakaikaṁ M **66d** pratimāsikam] M; putrimāsakam T_M; putramāsakam T_P **67a** prakṣālitāṅghrim] conj.; prakṣālitādhim codd. **68a** devaṁ] M; evaṁ T_{MP} **68b** brahmāṅga°] em. Sanderson; brahmāṅgaṁ codd. • yajet] T_{MP}; tataḥ M **70c** tadājñātaś] T_{MP}; ta + + taḥ M • śivāgre] em. Sanderson; śivogre codd. **71b** madhuviplutaṁ] T_{MP}; madhuraplutaṁ M **72b** piṇḍaṁ] M; piṇḍe T_{MP} **72d** sampūjya] T_{MP}; pūjayed M

mudrām baddhvā japam kṛtvā vahnihomam samācaret |
 bhakṣyabhojyādikaṃ dattvā gurave ca hṛdāṇunā || 73 ||
 tadbhojanāvasāne tu mantrapīṭhasya cāgrataḥ |
 arghyapātreṇa cāstreṇa bhūmau dattvā tilodakam || 74 ||
 bhuktaśeṣam ca siddhānnaṃ grhītvā sodakānvitam |
 bhūtānām tarpaṇārthāya vikīred bāhyato balim || 75 ||
 saṃpannam iti saṃpṛcched dadyād ācamaṇam guroḥ |
 ucchiṣṭam api saṃhṛtya kṣitim abhyukṣya hetinā || 76 ||
 śivasamprīṇanaṃ kuryād grhītvā dakṣiṇām guruḥ |
 vahnisaṃsthasya devasya dadyāt pūrṇam śivāṇunā || 77 ||
 hṛdābjakaṇṇikāmadhye sūryakoṭisamaṇḍalam |
 mantreṣam upasaṃhṛtya pīṭhapīṇḍāgnimadhyataḥ || 78 ||
 anena vidhinā kuryān māsi māsi śikhidhvaja |
 niṣpanne vatsare caivaṃ prāpte māse trayodaśe || 79 ||
 tasya pretatvaśāntyartham pīṭhārdham samācaret |
 snānādiḥomaparyantam ādau nirvartya cāhnikam || 80 ||
 saṃskṛtāgnau tu siddhe 'nne ghṛtakṣīramadhuplute |
 āhūyāmantritān bhaktyā deśikāṃś ca kriyāvataḥ || 81 ||
 pādaprakṣālanam kṛtvā saṃpraveśya grhāntare |
 dvāv ādau pūrvavaktrau tu viniveśyāsanadvaye || 82 ||

73a baddhvā] T_M; kṛtvā T_P **73c** bhakṣya°] M; bhikṣā° T_{MP} **73cd** dattvā gurave ca hṛdāṇunā] T_{MP}; kṛtvā dattvā gurave ca hṛdāṇunā M (unmetr.) **74a** °bhojanāvasāne tu] T_{MP}; °bhojanāvasāne caivaṃ M **74b** mantrapīṭhasya] T_{MP}; antapīṇḍasya M **75a** bhuktaśeṣam] corr. scribe T_P; uktaśeṣaṇ codd. **75b** sodakānvitam] T_{MP}; sodadhānvitam M **75d** bāhyato] T_P; māhyato T_M **76a** saṃpṛcched] T_{MP}; saṃpṛcchya M **76d** hetinā] T_{MP}; hetibhiḥ M **77c** vahni°] T_{MP}; vahnim M **78d** pīṭha°] M; pīṭhe T_{MP} **79a** niṣpanne vatsare] conj.; niṣpanne vastare M; viṣpannaiva smare T_{MP} **79d** māse] T_{MP}; masi M **81a** saṃskṛtāgnau] T_{MP}; saṃskṛtyāgnau M • 'nne] em. Sanderson; na M; 'hne T_{MP} **81b** °madhuplute] M; °samāplute T_P; °samapluṭe T_M **81c** āhūyāmantritān] em. Sanderson; āhūya mantritān M; āhūyān mantritān T_{MP} **82b** grhāntare] T_{MP}; grhāṃgate M **82c** pūrvavaktrau] M; pūrvavaktre T_{MP}

rudraṃ kālānalaṃ viṣṇuṃ anantaṃ kalpayed ubhau |
 ā pādān mūrdhniparyantaṃ jānubhyāṃ avanau sthitaḥ || 83 ||
 akṣataiḥ puṣpadhūpādyair dvayam ādau prapūjayet |
 trīn atrodaṇmukhān nyasya pīṭhanyāsakrameṇa tu || 84 ||
 īsaṃ sadāśivaṃ śantaṃ tṛtīyaṃ teṣu kalpayet |
 tatrāhvānaṃ hṛdā kāryam īśasya pīṭsaṃjñayā || 85 ||
 sadāśivaṃ svamantreṇa kalpayet tu pitāmahaṃ |
 śivaṃ svasaṃjñāmūlena kalpayet prapitāmahaṃ || 86 ||
 vidhinā tu krameṇaitān arghyapuṣpādibhir yajet |
 prārthayitvā tato 'nujñāṃ mantreṣaṃ liṅgagaṃ yajet || 87 ||
 mahāsnānādibhir gandhavastrabhūṣaṇadāmabhiḥ |
 dhūpadīpādinaivedyair bhakṣyair nānānapānakaiḥ || 88 ||
 stotramantranamaskārais toṣayitvā maheśvaram |
 tam evānalamadhye ca saṃnidhīkṛtya ca tarpayet || 89 ||
 savyāsavopavītena teṣāṃ savyāpasavyataḥ |
 saptāstramantrajaptārghyaṃ pātram uddhṛtya bhaktitaḥ || 90 ||
 pīṭsaṃnidhyasiddhyartham dattvārghyaṃ tad adho nyaset |
 astu saṃpūrṇam ityuktvā pīṭsthānam aśīty api || 91 ||

84 After this M adds two pādas: prāṇmukho 'daṇmukhān pasā tu pīṭhanyāsakrameṇa tu | (unmetr.)

83c ā pādān] MT_M; ā pādā T_P 83d avanau] M; agnau T_{MP} (unmetr.) • sthitaḥ] corr.; sthitiḥ
 codd. 84c trīn atrodaṇmukhān] em.; trin etrodaṇmukhā codd. • nyasya] em. Sanderson;
 nyastvā codd. 85c tatrāhvānaṃ] T_{MP}; tatra snānaṃ M 85d īśasya] T_{MP}; īśasye M • pīṭr°] M;
 putra° T_{MP} 86b pitāmahaṃ] T_{MP}; pitāmaha M 86c svasaṃjñā°] conj.; svasamhā° M; sva-
 jñāna° T_{MP} 86d kalpayet prapitāmahaṃ] T_{MP}; kalpayetāpitāmahaṃ M 87d liṅgagaṃ] em.;
 liṅgaṃ M (unmetr.); liṅgakaṃ T_{MP} 88a mahāsnānādibhir] M; mahāsnānādibhir T_{MP} 88b
 °bhūṣaṇadāmabhiḥ] em.; °bhūṣaṇam ādibhiḥ M; °bhūṣaṇadhāmabhiḥ T_{MP} 88d nānā-
 nnapānakaiḥ] em.; nānānapānakaiḥ M; nānānavānnakaiḥ T_{MP} 89d saṃnidhīkṛtya] M; san-
 nikṛtya ca T_{MP} 90b savyāpasavyataḥ] M; savyopasavyataḥ T_{MP} 90c saptāstramantra-
 japtārghyaṃ] em. Sanderson; saptāstramantrajaptārghya° codd. 91a
 °sāṃnidhyasiddhyartham] T_P; °sānaidhyasiddhyartham T_M; °sānnidhya + + + M

dakṣiṇāgrakuṣopete maṇḍale śivasamnidhau |
 pitṛsāmīdhyasiddhyartham naivedyatritayam dadet || 92 ||
 vyañjanādisamopetaṁ madhvājyatilabhāvitam |
 samprokṣyāstrārghyato yena sthāneṣu triṣu vai hṛdā || 93 ||
 samhārakramayogena darbhopary apasavyataḥ |
 mṛtaṁ smṛtvā pitṛn dhyātvā mantraiḥ svaiḥ svaiḥ pṛthak pṛthak || 94 ||
 nāmagotrādinā prāgvac chivaṁ ca prīṇayet tataḥ |

atrādisābdasyāyam arthaḥ

amukamāsavāratithinakṣatrayoge amukagotrāyāmukaśarmaṇe 'smin kṣetre
 gaṅgātaṭe 'mukeśvarasamnidhau yuṣmāsu śrāddham ahaṁ kariṣyāmīty
 etadvākyapurāḥsaram pitṛn abhyarcya līṅgasthaṁ śivaṁ cārghyapu-
 spādibhiḥ prīṇayed ity arthaḥ.

pitṛn vahnau tu samtarpya prīṇayec caruhomataḥ || 95 ||
 bhojanam ca tato dadyāt pūjitanām purā suta |
 yathākramam tataḥ pṛcchet tṛptir astu parā tava || 96 ||
 svadhāntyena hṛdā dadyāc chivasyāgre 'tha dakṣiṇām |
 tataḥ pūrṇahutiṁ dattvā śivaṁ cāgnau visarjayet || 97 ||

92a °kuṣopete] em.; °kuṣopetaṁ codd. **92d** naivedyatritayam] corr.; naivedyan tritayam codd. **94a** samhāra°] T_{MP}; samskāra° M **94c** mṛtaṁ] T_MM; smṛtaṁ T_P **95b** prīṇayec] conj.; cāpi yajet M (unmetr.); ca prayajet T_{MP} (unmetr.) **Prose text** atrādisābdasyāyam] em. Sanderson; tatrāpi śābdasyāyam M; atrāpi śābdābhyām T_{MP} • amukamāsavāratithinakṣatrayoge] em.; amukamāsavāratithinakṣayayogam M; amukamāsasārīthi nakṣatrayoge T_{MP} • 'smin] MT_P; 'smin asmin T_M • yuṣmāsu] M; māsyā T_{MP} • kariṣyāmīty] T_{MP}; kariṣyety M • śivaṁ cārghya°] conj.; śivaṁ cāpsa° M; śi + + + T_{MP} • prīṇayed ity] T_{MP}; prīṇayety M **95c** pitṛn vahnau] M; pitṛchinnau T_{MP} **96c** yathākramam] em.; yathāgaman T_{MP}; yathākāmaṁ M **96d** tṛptir astu parā tava] em. Sanderson; pṛche pitara astuparābhava M; pṛcchet tṛptir astūparūpataḥ T_{MP} **97a** svadhāntyena] M; sāyāntena T_{MP} **97b** 'tha] T_{MP}; tu M • dakṣiṇām] T_{MP}; dakṣiṇā M

prāśayen madhyagaṃ piṇḍaṃ mūlamantrābhimantritam |
 nāryā putrāya yāpi syād bahukanyāprajāyinī || 98 ||
 janayec chāṅkaraṃ putraṃ lakṣmīsaubhāgyavardhanam |
 dharmajñānakriyāsaktaṃ satyavrataparāyaṇam || 99 ||
 athārghyapātram uddhṛtya hṛdā saṃkalpitaṃ purā |
 svamantreṇa pitṛṇ sarvān tatrasthān khagatān smaret || 100 ||
 arghyapātrodakenaiva netramantreṇa locane |
 apamārjyodakaṃ tad vai kṣipet sthāne 'tha pāvane || 101 ||
 iti mantramayaṃ śrāddhaṃ jñānadhyānasamanvitam |
 samayajñādikaiḥ kāryaṃ gurūṇāṃ mantrasiddhaye || 102 ||
 pitrādīnāṃ sutaiḥ kāryaṃ guruḥ śiṣyānukampayā |
 samayavratapūrvāṇāṃ śiṣyāṇāṃ bhāvitātmanām || 103 ||

102b After this M inserts two pādas: kartavyaṃ dīkṣitānāṃ tat jñānadhyānasamanvitam |

98a prāśayen] T_{MP}; dāpayen M **98cd** nāryā putrāya yāpi syād bahukanyāprajāyinī] conj. Sanderson; nāryyā putrārtham āmo sau bahukanyā prasūyate M; nāryā putrā yathāsau bahukanyāprajāyaṇam T_{MP} (unmetr.) **99c** °saktaṃ] T_{MP}; °bhaktaṃ M **99d** satyavrataparāyaṇam] T_{MP}; satyaṃ tūtaparāyaṇam M **100a** uddhṛtya] T_{MP}; samuddhṛtya M (unmetr.) **100d** khagatān] T_{MP}; vagatā M **101a** °pātrodakenaiva] M; °pātrodayenaiva T_{MP} **101c** apamārjyodakaṃ tad vai] conj.; apamārjyodakaṃ tadvi T_{MP}; apasārjyotadvai M (unmetr.) **101d** sthāne 'tha] T_{MP}; sthāneṣu M **102b** jñānadhyānasamanvitam] T_{MP}; ill. M **102c** °jñādikaiḥ] T_{MP}; °jñādibhiḥ M **102d** gurūṇāṃ] em.; guruṇā codd. **103b** guruḥ] M; guru° T_{MP} **103c** samayavratapūrvāṇāṃ] M; samā(g/d)hṛtasya pūrvāṇāṃ T_{MP}

yady atrānupayogi syāt śrāddhaṃ tad dīkṣitātmanāṃ |
 kriyāsaktena tatrāpi kāryam ātmahitāptaye || 104 ||
 dīkṣāmayam idaṃ śrāddhaṃ yathoktaṃ sugatipradam |
 kartavyaṃ dīkṣitānāṃ tu yāgajñena ca śāṅkare |
 deśe kāle ca satpātre śrāddhakarma samācaret || 105 ||

iti

śivaśrāddhe kṛte hy evaṃ āsādyā śivabhūmikam |
 tṛptim yānti śivaḥ prītaḥ prītaiś ca śivabhāvitaiḥ || 106 ||
 śrījñānaśaṅkarācāryeṇa jñānaratnāvalimate |
 siddhāntārtthānusāreṇa śrāddhakarmavidhiḥ kṛtaḥ || 107 ||

104ab Omitted in T_M and T_P.

104a atrānupayogi] conj.; atrāpy anuyogaṃ codd. **104b** syāt] em.; syā codd. • dīkṣitātmanāṃ] em. Sanderson; t-kṣatātmanāṃ M **104c** °saktena] T_{MP}; °saktena M **104d** ātmahitāptaye] T_{MP}; āprahitāpraye M **105d** tu yāgajñena] em.; tadyāgajñena T_{MP}; ta-nuyāgasya M • śāṅkare] M; sāṅgare T_{MP} **105e** satpātre] T_{MP}; satpātra M **106ab** evaṃ āsādyā] em.; evamāsādā M; evaṃ māṃ sadā T_{MP} **106c** yānti] T_{MP}; yāti M • śivaḥ prītaḥ] diagn. conj.; śivenātra codd.

Appendix B: Translations

Conventions

For the translations, the following conventions have been adopted: Text that has been supplied to assist in understanding the translation but not literally expressed in the Sanskrit is placed in square brackets. Supplementary explanations, as well as Sanskrit words (in italics) that reflect the translation just preceding, are placed in round brackets. Passages that constitute a tentative translation are printed in italics; if a tentative translation represents Sanskrit text that is marked with crux marks (†), these are repeated.

1. *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha* 22.9–20.¹

9. A wise *ācārya*, being pure,² should perform the cremation rite for a deceased twice-born in accordance with the rules outside the house.³

10. Having reached a pure place, and having smeared it with cow dung, he should worship Śiva there [on a sacrificial platform (*sthaṇḍila*)], [and] then [produce] a Śiva fire (*śivāgni*) south [of the *sthaṇḍila*].

11. Having brought the corpse – after having rubbed it with mud, ash and cow dung, and cleaned it with plenty of water – he should have it placed down [on the ground] to the south of that fire.

¹ Verses 1–8 contain the procedure for yogic suicide. A critical edition of verses 1–2 can also be found in Vasudeva 2004, p. 441, fn. 214.

² The phrase *ācārya ... śuciḥ*, “the *ācārya* being pure”, indicates that the *ācārya* has undergone the rites of purification such as bathing that are compulsory before any tantric rite.

³ It is not clear to me what the significance of this instruction at this point is, since a cremation takes place outside a house in any case. Perhaps this is rather intended to indicate that the corpse is taken outside the house for the preparatory rites in advance of the funerary procession, for which the corpse is prepared with garlands and pieces of cloth, a common feature in brahmanical sources.

12. Next, he should sprinkle [the corpse], dust it with ash, and visualize the syllable *om* in its heart. Then he should transform [himself] into Śiva with all his parts (*sakalīkṛtya*)⁴ and worship [the deity]. He should then perform a series of oblations.

13. He should meditate upon Śiva *through the path of the padas*,⁵ and then offer that [corpse] to him, [with the words:] “O Lord, please accept this great oblation of the corpse.”⁶

14. Having said this and having dismissed Lord Śiva, who had been staying in both [the *sthaṇḍila* and the fire pit], he should light the funeral pyre by means of faggots of an approved wood [for such purposes].

15. Having bathed and offered water [to the deceased], he should bath again and mutter the *śivamantra*, beginning with the *sadyojāta* and ending with the *netramantra* in order to purify himself from the impurity caused by the ritual of processing the corpse (*śāvakarmaviśuddhaye*).

⁴ The *sakalīkaraṇa* is a component of regular Śiva worship, whereby the worshipper transforms himself into Śiva by emplacing mantras onto his body, since only in his identity as Śiva may he worship Śiva; see Brunner 1963, p. 130 (fn. 3) and pp. 132–133, as well as Davis 1991. However, while one would expect that the Śaiva officiant must first perform the *sakalīkaraṇa* before proceeding to the worship, note that it is also possible that the meaning intended here is that the officiant transforms the deceased into Śiva, and that the ritual preparation of the *ācārya*, including the *sakalīkaraṇa*, is already implied in verse 9 by *śuciḥ*.

⁵ The *padādhvan* is one of the models according to which the universe is divided and through which the candidate’s soul is purified in the *dīkṣā* ritual (see *s.v. padhādhvan* in TAK 3, where it is clarified that in the SvāSS the *padādhva* signifies the path in which the levels of the universe are correlated to “the words of the *vyomavyāpin*, a garland-like *mūla-mantra* [...] reckoned [in older texts] to contain eighty-one words, or [in some later literature] ninety-four.”). In the present context it is not clear why Śiva should be meditated upon according to the *padādhvan*, given that one would expect such statements in the context of initiation and not in the simple cremation procedure taught here. However, it may be that before the concept of the initiatory cremation was established, this was a meditative element of the ritual used to establish a ritual link to the initiation procedure, so the deceased person’s spiritual status would be that of an initiate.

⁶ An extended version of this formula becomes standard in the ritual manuals. Cf. SP 10.33, JR AP 64a–65b, and KKD (e.g. T370, p. 183); *om tvam agne dakṣiṇaḥ kālāḥ kālena-ivopapādītām, grhāṇa mantrasampūtām śāvyām enām mahāhutim*. In all of the sources the formula is to be pronounced before pouring a full oblation. This is not made explicit here, but seems to be implied as part of the whole series of oblations to be performed (*homam samācaret*).

16.⁷ The disciples and those who are [considered to be] relatives of the guru †[*solely*] *through their connection with him as a guru*†⁸ should abandon all ritual activities such as the recitation [of mantras] for three days, with the exception of the obligatory ones (*nityād anyat*).

17–18.⁹ Others following the Śaiva path (*śivamārgasthāḥ*) [i.e. initiates other] than [those initiates who are direct students of the guru], whether they are householders or ascetics, should allow one day to pass for the [period of] impurity caused by the death [of the guru]. [Initiated] householders, [when] they are [in the context of] the mundane path (*lokamārgasthāḥ*), should not transgress the mundane (*laukikam*) [order]. Therefore, [though] initiated they should maintain [brahmanical] practice (*ācāram*) for the sake of mundane convention.¹⁰

19. [An initiate] should not do that which blocks something taught in Śiva's scriptures, such as [brahmanical regulations regarding accepting] food [from a person that has been affected] by impurity [through birth or death] [or] †*water considered forbidden [in the brahmanical context]*†.¹¹

⁷ For a discussion of this section in SvāSS 22.15–19, see chapter 2.

⁸ Note that this translation is based on a conjecture. Another possibility would be to accept the Mysore edition's reading *śiṣyaikagurusambandhād*, with a double *sandhi* between *śiṣyāḥ* and *ekagurusambandhād*, "only because of their connection [to him] as a guru", thus rendering *eka-* at the beginning of the compound to mean "only". This is admittedly an awkward interpretation of the compound. In both cases, the idea is that all these people are connected through a teaching line, just as relatives are through a patriline. Hence, the direct disciples are considered to be sons, and others beyond that, who share the same guru some generations back, are also considered to be family and are affected by his death, in the same way that a wider circle of family members – the *sapiṇḍas* and *samānodakas* – are affected in the familial context.

⁹ For a detailed discussion of this passage, see chapter 2, section 3.1. and 3.2.

¹⁰ The exact meaning of *lokasasamvṛteḥ* is problematic, also for later redactors, and rests on the interpretation of the verbal root behind *samvṛti*. I follow here the translation of the term offered by Sanderson (forthcoming a, p. 13, fn. 22), namely as originating from the verbal root *samman-*, "to agree", being a Sanskrit reflex of Middle-Indic, as in Pali *sammuti* "agreement", and *lokasammuti* "mundane convention".

¹¹ The translation and interpretation of this verse is not certain and problematic in the current context. The main point of the passage seems to be that the initiate should not do anything that contradicts the Śaiva scriptures, perhaps with the background that brahmanical impurity regulations, which would, for instance, forbid accepting food from persons affected by impurity, do not apply in the case of a Śaiva initiate, who is spiritually elevated and not affected by such impurities (see chapter 4, section 4.2. and 4.3.). However, the verse immediately preceding this injunction pronounces that the householder must not transgress mundane practice in his identity as a *lokamārgastha*; presumably we would therefore have to understand that the initiate follows the rules that come into effect at times of impurity out of

20. Thus I have in short taught the funeral rite. Now, [you] who are of devout conduct, listen to the set of deities [to be worshipped] mentally (*mānasam*).

convention according to the brahmanical tradition. On the other hand, the present verse seems to exclude parts of precisely this mundane practice applying to the initiate – such as certain dietary regulations alluded to here – classifying it as annulling (*bādhakam*) the injunctions laid out in the scriptures. Does this, then, perhaps refer to a similar regulation found in the SP? There, the initiate is not believed to be affected by death pollution and therefore does not need to observe the mundane procedures that would normally come into effect; nonetheless he distances himself from those affected according to conventional practice, as for instance only eating food prepared separately from food of those under the ban of impurity (see chapter 4, section 4.3.).

2.1. *Sarvajñānottara* 12

1. Is there liberation for someone who †*has reached the end in due course of time*† (i.e. died) and did not attain supreme initiation even though he was energetically devoted to the guru?
2. Is all the effort he has made for liberation in vain? Does there exist any rite whatsoever that would bring about liberation for him?
3. O Skanda of good conduct, for a person who was devoted to the guru, [spiritually] calm, and followed the conduct of the good,¹ there is a supreme initiation ritual taught, despite the fact that he has died.
4. † ... the detailed and the brief [exposition] of the ritual†.² [The guru], with his mind unwavering, focused and concentrated, should perform [the rite].
5. Having pronounced the *bīja*, he should install all the *tattvas* and the deities together with oleander flowers [and] buds³ onto a puppet made out of *darbha* grass.
6. He should bathe [the puppet] with Śiva water [mixed with] the five products of the cow [while uttering] the *astrabījamantra*, put it down on

¹ The reading *satyācārah* in the Pondicherry transcripts does make some sense, namely “one who practices truthfulness”, but is unusual. On the other hand, *sadācāra* is a common expression. Cf. JR AP 4ab.

² There is a *pāda* missing here and so it is difficult to interpret the remaining *pāda* of the half-verse. One possibility is that this refers to the two expositions of the two varieties of the *ṛtadīkṣā* that follow, namely one in which the initiation is performed modelled on the regular *dīkṣā* taught in SJU 10 through the levels of the cosmos as they are laid out in the *adhvaprakaraṇa* (SJU 9), and one in which the initiation of the soul is performed in accordance with the *pañcatattvadīkṣā* taught in SJU 11, in which the cosmos is installed within the five gross elements (*pañcatattva*). The second of these expositions, the *pañcatattvadīkṣā*, is shorter, which may be indicated by the expression *-saṃkṣepa-*, “brief”. Note that also in the chapter teaching the *pañcatattvadīkṣā* proper for a living candidate, the chapter opens by stating that it is being taught in a brief exposition. See SJU 11.1ab: *ataḥ saṃkṣepato vakṣye dīkṣāvidhiviniścayam*.

³ Note that the term for bud, *kalikā*, is normally feminine. The phrase *kalikaiḥ karavīrakaiḥ* is also attested in the *Mṛgendrapaddhatīkā*. It is translated here as buds and oleander flowers, but could also be understood in the sense of *kalikaiḥ kāravīrakaiḥ*, i.e. oleander flower buds.

the southern side and place the name of the [deceased] on the heart [of the puppet].⁴

7. Alternatively, O Skanda, the officiant should make that [puppet] with the five products of the cow [or] cow dung⁵ and install [the name] there, †*in the place of Vyoma*†.⁶

8.⁷ He should install the three *śaktis* and then [install] *dharma* and *adharmā* on them,⁸ O Skanda. In the same manner [as in the initiation ritual?] he

⁴ There is no information about how he places the name into the heart of the puppet. It is possible that this is a similar procedure to that found in the KKD in the section dealing with the rite to be performed in the case of unfortunate deaths (*durmaraṇaprāyaścittavidhi*), included by Brunner (1979, Appendix II): *darbhāḥ puttalikāṃ kṛtvā taddehe pratikāyikāṃ | pattre saṃlikhya tatsaṃjñāṃ gale badhvā vibhūṣya ca*. Note that this part of the text is also found at the end of the chapter on cremation rituals in the JR. In these passages a puppet made of *darbha* grass represents the deceased person and is cremated. In the procedures related to the preparation of the puppet, the name of the deceased is somehow written down (perhaps on a leaf?) and attached to a thread that is tied around the neck (i.e. the quoted verse). However, Brunner notes that Nirmalamāṇi interprets *saṃjñā* to signify not the name of the deceased but the name of the cause of the unfortunate death. I have no access to Nirmalamāṇi's full commentary at the moment. It may be that in SJU 13.17cd, a similar procedure is referred to, only that here the ceremony is performed on the actual corpse during the initiatory cremation: *svasaṃjñāṃ hṛdi saṃsthāpya tanmadhye pudgalam nyaset*.

⁵ I have supplied the sense of *vā*, “or”, to the verse, hence giving two alternative substances with which to make the puppet. The same substances are mentioned in lists of substances used to fashion puppets in parallel procedures found in the *Netratantra*, TĀ, and BK, as discussed by Sanderson 2005, p. 265, fn. 87.

⁶ It is not clear to me what the term *vyomasamsthāne* refers to here. Maybe this alternative way of making the puppet is connected to the alternative of performing the initiation of the soul through the five gross elements (*pañcatattva*) introduced in verse 26. May *vyomasamsthāne* therefore refer to the place on the puppet where the gross element void (*vyoma*, *ākāśa*, *śūnya*) is visualized? According to verse 36, this would be the place above the eyebrows and the ears, i.e. the top of the head. However, if the present verse teaches these substances as a general alternative, *vyomasamsthāne* could possibly also refer to the place into which *vyomeśvara* is installed in the first kind of initiation of the soul presented in this chapter. In this case this would correspond to the genital area in verse 17.

⁷ Note that the *Mṛgendrapaddhatiṭīkā*, which quotes this passage, envisages a different procedure for the visualizations and emplacements of cosmic entities onto the puppet at this point. In contrast to the passage SJU 12.8–10b, it is taught that the guru should meditate on the deceased person's form and visualize his three tubes (understand *nāḍīḥ* for *nāḍyaḥ*, with a feminine/masculine confusion) and place the *śuddhavidyā* in his heart-lotus; *Mṛgendrapaddhatiṭīkā* (T1021, p. 231): *dhyātvā tasya tathā rūpaṃ nāḍyas tisro vicintayet | hṛtpadmakarnikāmadhye śuddhavidyāṃ niyojayet ||*.

⁸ The translation is based on a diagnostic conjecture. In the chapter on the initiation procedure, the SJU prescribes that the three *śaktis* (*śaktitrayam*), identified as *jyeṣṭhā*, *vāmā*, and *raudrī*, are installed at the beginning of the initiation ritual in *dharma* and *adharmā*,

should do the touching (*ālabhanaṃ*) [of the puppet with mantras].⁹ [Then] he should draw [the soul] out (*saṃhṛtya*) from that (corpse [i.e. even if not present?])¹⁰ and perform the oblations.

9. Then he should install all the *tattvas*, starting from the head down to the soles of the feet, [and together] with the *tattvas* [he should install] the deities [respectively] in due order.

10. He should install the *bindutattva* on the head and there install *bindu*, and its power, having visualised it in the place that is *niṣkala* (*Śiva*) and facing all directions.¹¹

namely, in the following order: *jyeṣṭhā* is installed in *dharma*, *vāma* in *adharma*, and *raudrī* in both; see the chapter on initiation (*Dikṣaparakaraṇa*), SJU 10.15c–16 (following Dominic Goodall’s chapter numbering in his e-text): *dharme tu saṃsthitā* (conj.; *saṃstī* P₃₃₄; *yaṃstī* P₇₆₀) *jyeṣṭhā vāmādharme tathocyate* (P₇₆₀; *tatocyate* P₃₃₄) || *ubhayoḥ saṃsthitā raudrī tatrasitho homayed ubhau* | **tritatvabheditā* (P₃₃₄; *tritatvaveditā* P₇₆₀) *varṇāḥ* (corr. Kiss; *varṇā* P₃₃₄P₇₆₀) *śaktitrayam ihocyate*. As the present verse stands, the procedure would here be reversed, with the three *śaktis* being first installed, followed by the installation of *dharma* and *adharma* into them, a reversal which may be due to the funerary context; see p. 132. Alternatively, one might consider emending the verse parallel to 12.34cd: *śaktitrayaṃ nyaset tāvad dharmādharmau ca ṣaṇmukha*, which denotes the same point of the procedure in the *mṛtakādīkṣā*, but using a different cosmic visualization for the purification (from verse 26 onwards).

⁹ The translation is based on the reading of P₇₆₀. The term *ālabhana* may refer to touching the object/body with a *mantra* for purification or activation as part of the process of *nyāsa* (see s.v. *ālabhana* in TAK 1). In SP 3 such a process of “touching” (*ālabh-*) is also part of the preparatory rituals of the disciple before he is led into the initiation tent during the *saṃyadīkṣā* (*Samayadīkṣāprakarana* 102–104).

¹⁰ I am not sure about the precise procedure to be envisaged here. Is the soul extracted from its substrate, regardless of whether this is a corpse that is present or corpse of a missing person (and hence the imprecise *tasmāt*)?

¹¹ It is not clear to me yet what the intended procedure is, also in light of the rather obscure passage concerning the *bindutattva* in the *adhvaprakarana* that sets out the different levels of the cosmos. In particular it is not clear whether *bindu* and *śakti* are being treated as two separate entities or whether the *bindu* possesses or is the supreme *śakti*. The suggested translation assumes the latter (which, however, would require an emendation in 9.189c): In 9.183cd–9.185ad we learn that the *bindu* is situated in the *bindutattva*: *atordhvaṃ baṇḍavaṃ tattvaṃ vimalaṃ sarvatomukhaṃ* || *paramaṃ tattvānām anantaṃ jyotirūpiṇaṃ* | *tatra bindu sṭhitaṃ skanda śuddhasphaṭṭikanirmalaḥ* || *kadambagolakākāraṃ sphurat-kiraṇamālinam*. It seems to be taught in 9.188 that the *bindu* is segmented into, surprisingly, 16 vowels (?) and that there is an endless variety of it in the *śāstras*: *svaraiḥ ṣoḍaśabhir bhinnair bhinnātmā bindur ucyate* | *tato ’syānantato bhedaḥ* (conj.; *bheda* P₃₃₄P₇₆₀) *sarvaśāstreṣu ṣaṇmukha* ||. Next we are told that there is nothing in the mantras and the alphabet that is without a *bindu*, followed by a description of the supreme *śakti* that expands in all *tattvas* and is the cause for the existence of the whole universe and its beings: 9.189–191b:

11. Below the head and above the uvula he should install the deity *Sadāśiva*. There, within this [*tattva*], he should install the circle of *śaktis* joined [with *Śiva*].¹²

12. On the tongue in the middle of the mouth he should install *vidyā*. [Next] he [should install] the eight *vidyeśvaras* on the neck and on the joints of the arms.

13. He should install *māyā* on the left side and *kālā* on the right. *Kalā* he should install on the chest [and] the dark red [Rudra associated with *kalā*] in the heart.¹³

mantreṣu mātṛkāyāṃ ca na vinā bindunā kvacit | niṣkalasthā (conj.; *niṣkalastā* P₃₃₄P₇₆₀) *parā śaktir acintyā sarvatomukhī || susūkṣmā nirmalā nityānantā nirvāṇadāyinī | yā vijṛmbhati tattveṣu sarvatattveṣu caiva hi || tayā bhūtaṃ jagat sarvaṃ ekayānekarūpayā*. It seems that the above verse is talking about this supreme *śakti*, in whatever relation it stands to the *bindu*. I have made the tentative conjecture from *niṣkalastā* to *niṣkalasthā* in light of 9.187a *niṣkalah kevalo bindur*. If the *bindu* is *niṣkala* and *śakti* is visualized in *niṣkala*, then this may be suggesting that the *śakti* in the verse above is connected to *bindu*. Alternatively, one might understand the supreme *śakti* to be a separate level from *bindu*, since it is used in the nominative, leaving no grammatical connection to the instrumental singular of *bindu* in the previous *pāda*. There is also no indication where this supreme *śakti* would be in terms of the hierarchy of the cosmos that is being laid out in this chapter, since no word designating place such as *ūrdhva* “above” or *tatra* “there” is used here, although this seems to be the case for the other levels that are introduced. Reflecting an interpretation in which *bindu* and *śakti* are two separate and not intrinsically connected entities, verse 10cd could also be translated as “And [he should] visualize *śakti*, facing in all directions, in the place that is *niṣkala*.”

¹² This may refer to the circle of *śaktis* that is installed on the divine throne, the *yogapīṭha*, which is installed in *sadāśivatattva* according to SJU 9.177: *sadāśivaṃ paraṃ tattvaṃ śuddhasphaṭikanirmalam | yogapīṭhaṃ* (conj.; *yogapīṭhaṃ* P₃₃₄P₇₆₀) *paraṃ śuddhaṃ tasmin vidyāmahātmanaḥ*. However, this is only the case if the emendation from *yogapīṭhaṃ* to *yogapīṭha* in this verse is correct. The fact that in the next verses the term is qualified by adjectives that describe components of a *yogapīṭha* – having the *dharma*, etc. (i.e. the four corners *dharma*, *jñāna*, *vairāgya*, and *aśvarya* the divine throne is made of) and being adorned with a lotus, the *śaktis* and *vidyeśvaras* – probably indicates that what is meant here is indeed such a throne.

¹³ It is a little problematic that the text includes *nīlālohitam* at this point. This Rudra is described as dark red and associated with *kalā* (which is described in the preceding verses) in 9.122c–123b: *tatra rudro vibhur vyāpī sarvajño jñānabhāṣakaḥ || nīlālohitavarno 'sau śītendusadrśaḥ kvacit |*. Hence there would be no problem in placing this Rudra in the heart. However, the preceding *vidyā*, *māyā*, *kālā*, and *kalā* are all in the list of five coverings (*kañcuka*) deluding the soul, but the last one, namely *niyati*, which one would expect here is not included.

14. There he should install the lower *vidyā* (i.e. *aśuddhavidyā*). There too [he should install] *puruṣa* and also passion (*rāga*),¹⁴ which excites him and is characterized by not awakening knowledge.¹⁵

15. He should visualise *avyakta* (i.e. *prakṛti*) on the stomach, and then install the five subtle elements, namely sound, touch, form, taste, and smell, on the navel.

16. On the spine he should install *guṇa*, and there too the three *puruṣas*.¹⁶ Between the navel and the penis [he should place] *buddhi*, and on the joints he should [install] *ahaṁkṛti*.

17. †In the genital area† he should place the deity Vyomeśvara in the middle of *vyoma*;¹⁷ and there too he should place *vāyu* (wind) covered [by the *bhuvanas* called] *guhyādgūhyāṣṭaka*.¹⁸

18. In the place of the gall-bladder †...†¹⁹ he should install fire, O Skanda. Below that down to the kneecaps [he should install] the *tattva* belonging to Varuṇa [, namely, water].²⁰

¹⁴ This corresponds to SJU(G) 9.103c–104b, where *puruṣa* is situated where *rāga* is: *ta-trāste bhagavan rāgo japākusumasannibhaḥ || rañjakah sarvasattvānām aprameyasudur-jayaḥ* and 9.106cd: *tatraiva puruṣo jñeyas taddharmaguṇarañjitaḥ*.

¹⁵ This translation reads *-aprabodha-* in the compound. It would otherwise mean that *rāga* is associated with the awakening of knowledge. Note that the *Mṛgendrapaddhatiṭikā*, which quotes this passage, reads *vidyāprabodhalaṅkāṣaṇām*, which could be understood to qualify *aparāṁ vidyām* in *pāda* a, even though admittedly it is separated from it by an entire clause. This is a possibility, nevertheless; it would describe the inferior *vidyā* as prohibiting the production of true knowledge.

¹⁶ It is not clear to me what the phrase *puruṣatrayam* signifies here. Since the *puruṣatraya* is installed in the same locus as the *guṇa*, it is likely to be closely associated to this level of the cosmos visualized here. A likely correspondence for the triad of *puruṣas* would therefore be the three *guṇas sattva, rajas, and tāmas*. Note that in *Parākhyantra* 5.150, a *trideha* is situated in *guṇa*, which could be understood as synonymous with *puruṣatraya*. The three *puruṣas* could therefore be the three presiding deities over this *tattva*, and may more specifically correspond to the triad Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara, since these three deities seem to be associated with the three *guṇas* in the cosmology of the SJU (9.44). I thank Alexis Sanderson for having pointed out the latter observation to me. Additionally, the triad of *śaktis* could be correlated with the triad of *puruṣas*.

¹⁷ The precise order of visualization is puzzling. Is it to be understood that the order of installation is Vyoma, Vyomeśvara, followed by Vāyu? Also, the term *yonyām*, if indeed this is the reading, is puzzling. May it refer to the genital area (*yonyām*), without any female connotation?

¹⁸ Cf. SJU(G) 9.70: *tatrāstre bhagavān vāyuh kṣṇavarṇāñjanopamaḥ | subhagaḥ kāmārūpī ca guhyādgūhyāṣṭakāvṛtaḥ*.

19. Within the same [space]²¹ down to the ankles he should install the [seven brahmanical] worlds. Before (i.e. above) those worlds he should install the deities Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara [together with their worlds].

20. In the ankles, on the top of the feet [and] slightly below, O Skanda, he should visualize the seven *patālas*; the hells [he should install] on the soles of the feet.

21. On the big toe [he should install] the deity [Kālāgnirudra,] the deity who presides over the [fire of the end of the] Aeon. Having installed [all the *tattvas*] according to the rules, he should worship [them] in due order.

22. After having visualized (*saṃcintya*) and installed all [the *tattvas*] starting from the head,²² the officiant should [extract them] starting from the feet and place them all into the fire and purify them.

23. Having prepared the *yāga* as is fitting, he [should install] the wombs [into which the initiate will be projected] in [each of the] *tattva*[s] respectively. Having prepared that, he should extract the [bound] soul (*paśum*) as before and place it [in the wombs within the fire].

¹⁹ Presumably the first *pāda* is describing the location of the *pittasthāna*, “the place of the *pitta* (bile)”; for this we would expect something along the lines of the stomach area, where the main *pittasthāna* is supposed to be located (cf. *Carakasamhitā* 1.20.8: ...*svedo raso lasikā rudhitram āmāśayaś ca pittasthānāni tatrāpy āmāśayo viśeṣeṇa pittasthānam*...). However, the corrupted reading seems to suggest *yonyābhyantarataḥ*, “inside the *yonī* (i.e. the [female!] genital area)”, which does not fit and is problematic, but which is also suggested by the parallel passage in the *Mṛgendrapaddhatiṭīkā* (which reads *yonyābhyantarataḥ*).

²⁰ Varuṇa presides over water. Cf. SJU(G) 9.62ab *eṣām ūrdhvaṃ bhaved āpo daśadhāvṛtya saṃsthitāḥ*; and 9.63ab *tatrāste bhagavān devo varuṇo 'mṛtasambhavaḥ*.

²¹ Presumably *tasyaivābhyantare* does not denote the same place that was just described in the verse above, which was defined rather as the space between the gall bladder and the knee caps, whereas the current place reaches down to the ankles. The precise location intended in *pāda* a is thus obscure. Note that the *Mṛgendrapaddhatiṭīkā*, which quotes this passage, inserts an extra verse before 19: *tatpādamaṇḍalād dhaṣṭāt yāvat pādatalāntikam | vinyaset + + + + tasya rudraśataṃ bahiḥ ||*. The verse is corrupt, but may be enjoining the installation of a hundred Rudras in the space around the feet.

²² The emendation assumes that *sahitān* is a masculine plural accusative, even though *tattvāni* would be neuter. Also one would expect an ablative to go with *ārabhya*, rather than the locative, unless *mūrdhni* can be considered to be an *aiśa* frozen form.

24. He should perform all the [*saṃskāra*] rites as before,²³ starting [with that of] placing the [seed] into the womb. Having done that in all *tattvas*,²⁴ he should thus unite [the soul] with Śiva.

25. The officiant, having poured [a full oblation], should after that [offer] the doll [into the fire] together with milk, clarified butter, and sour milk, [all placed] on the *sruc* ladle.

26. Alternatively, he should thus install the five *tattvas* [of the gross elements] that are the ether, wind, fire, water, and earth in accordance with the distinction between gross and subtle elements.²⁵

27. O Skanda, he should install all the *tattvas* as being within those [five *tattvas* of the gross elements] and [as] pervaded by the *kalās śānti*, *śūnya* and so forth in the appropriate order.

28. Ether that is of the nature of *bindu* and supreme is pervaded by the *kalā śūnya*. *Sadāśivatattva* is pervaded by *śānti* in the form of wind.

29. [The levels] below that down to *avyakta* [are pervaded] by *vidyā* in the form of *tejas* (light, fire). [The levels that are situated from *avyakta* down to water are pervaded by *pratiṣṭhā* [in the form of water].

²³ Here the text is referring back to the *saṃskāras* that are visualized and given offerings in the chapter on initiation, starting with SJU(G) 10.39.

²⁴ The conjecture *kṛtvā* in 24c is slightly awkward since we already have the same absolutive in the preceding *pāda*, but the alternative reading *tatvā* of P₃₃₄ would be meaningless in this context.

²⁵ This seems to be an alternative procedure for performing the *mṛtadīkṣā*, in which the initiation of the soul is performed through the levels of the cosmos laid out in the initiation ritual presented in the chapter enjoining the *pañcatattvadīkṣā* (“initiation [performed according to the universe divided into] five *tattvas*”) (= chapter 11 according to Goodall’s numbering), where the cosmos is installed within five *tattvas* that pervade everything. SJU(G) 11.2–3: *saṃhṛtya sarvatattvāni pañcadhā parivartayet | devatāś ca tato bhūyas teṣu mantrān yathākramam || prthivy āpas tathā tejo vāyur ākāśam eva ca | etāni pañca tattvāni sarveṣāṃ vyāpakāni tu*.

Incidentally, the text specifies that this kind of alternative *dīkṣā* is taught for the benefit of all four *varṇas*; thus, SJU 11.1: *tataḥ saṃkṣepato vakṣye dīkṣāvidhiviniścayam | cātur-varṇyahitārthāya paramēśena bhāṣitam*. May it be that the *dīkṣā* in chapter 10 is only performed for the three twice-born classes, and thus accordingly such a distinction is also envisaged in the case of the *mṛtakadīkṣā* here, with the intention that the latter is performed for deceased initiated persons from lower *varṇas*?

30. After that, [he should install] the *brahmāṇḍa*, having the colour of molten gold, including both what is outside it and what is within it, and pervaded by *nivṛtti*²⁶ and the *śatarudras*.

31. That which is pervaded by *śūnyā* is called “the void” (i.e. *ākāśa*). Wind is covered by [the *kalā*] pertaining to wind, light is covered by [the *kalā*] pertaining to light.

32. Water is pervaded by [the *kalā*] pertaining to Varuṇa, earth is covered by [the *kalā*] pertaining to earth. [Each *kalā*] is named after that by which it is pervaded internally.

33. This is how there is external pervasion. Hear how it is within the body. This series [of *tattvas*] has now been established in the bound soul for the purpose of purification.

34. Having visualized the form as before, he should in the same way meditate on the *nāḍīs* and install the three *śaktis* (i.e. *vāma*, *jyeṣṭhā*, *raudrī*) and *dharma* and *adharma*, O Skanda.

35. In the heart [he should install] the *pudgala* (i.e. the bound soul) joined with the [five] subtle elements, the three *guṇas*, and *manas*, *buddhi*,²⁷ and *ahaṃkāra*, and together with *avyakta*.

36. Above the space between the eyebrows and the ears he should install the [the *kalā*] *śūnyā* in the void. [In the space] below that and above the heart he should install the [the *kalā*] *śānti* in the air.

37. He should install the [the *kalā*] *vidyā* [in the place reaching] from²⁸ the heart down to the penis in the element fire. [Into the space] from below the penis down to the knees he should install the [the *kalā*] *pratiṣṭhā* in the element water.

²⁶ The form *nivṛttayā* is an irregular instrumental of *nivṛtti*.

²⁷ The letter “r” in the expression *manobuddhi-r-ahaṃkāraiḥ* is a euphonic “glide” consonant (cf. Goodall 1998, p. lxviii) which breaks the hiatus, according to Goodall a regular feature in *aiśa* Sanskrit. However, the verse ends up hypermetrical.

²⁸ The use of *yāva* for *yāvat* for the sake of the metre is commonly encountered in this register of Sanskrit. See, e.g., *Svacchanda* 4.234d: *hṛtpadmād yāva śaktitāḥ*; 11.72d: *dehāntaṃ yāva caryayā*.

38. Below that down to the soles of the feet he [should install] the *tattva* pertaining to earth, and there he should [also] install *nivṛtti*. Having meditated [on all that] he should worship [the levels] as before.

39. He should prepare [the mantras for the procedures such as the purification of the five *kalās*, namely] the supreme seed that is the Lord of *vidyās* [i.e. the root mantra] and [next] the *kalā śūnyā* (*śūnyākalām*) [followed by the appropriate verb (*śodhayāmi* etc.) + *namaḥ*] and the *śivāṅga*[*bīja*]s such as the *kavacamantra*, and then, in the [appropriate] order, *śānti* and the remaining four *kalās*²⁹ [, each followed by the appropriate verb, etc.].

40. The *tattvas*³⁰ starting with ether and ending with earth are held to be joined with the two *bījas* of earth and water, and with those consisting of light,³¹ wind, and ether.

41. The best of gurus should recognize that the five short vowels at the beginning³² excluding the neuter vowels³³ (i.e. a, i, u, e, o) are the *tanmātras*, beginning with *gandha* (smell).

42. †...†.³⁴ *Manas* is taught to be the *akṣara* “ma” and *tamas* “ta”.

43. *Rajas* is known as the letter “r”, *sattvam* as “s”, and *prakṛti* as “pa”, O Skanda. Having installed [all these] he should purify [them].

²⁹ Hence the remaining *kalās* are *śānti*, *vidyā*, *pratiṣṭhā*, and *nivṛtti* and the *śivāṅgas*, the *kavaca*, *śikhā*, *śīras*, and *hṛdaya*.

³⁰ *Tattva* is here used in the masculine rather than neuter, which is another common feature of *aiśa* Sanskrit. See Goodall 1998, lxvii.

³¹ *Tejasa* is used here as an extended stem rather than the instrumental singular, since otherwise we would expect a dual instrumental ending for the compound. Thematicized a-stems are not unusual in Āgamic literature.

³² The expression *hrasvāḍau* is to be understood with a double *sandhi* for *hrasvā āḍau*.

³³ This means that the five short vowels in question are a, i, u, e, and o. Excluded here are short ɾ and ɭ, which are part of the group of the neuter or *napuṃsaka* vowels, which are summarized as ɾ, ɩ, ɭ, and ɩ̃ in the Ni GuhS 12.43cd (*kakārādiḥ smṛtā yoni ɾɩ̃ɩ̃ napuṃsaka*). I thank Csaba Kiss for clarifying this point to me and providing me with this reference.

³⁴ This line is very corrupt and I cannot see a satisfactory way to improve it. Alexis Sanderson has kindly suggested to me the following attempt in emending the text, which is, however, hypermetrical: *ahaṃkāro asaṃjñas tu am buddhiś ca betisaṃjñikā*. The structure behind this *pāda* would then match the following verses, in which the use of acronyms for the various terms is introduced.

44. He should purify the *tattvas* beginning with earth with [the *bījas* of]³⁵ *nivṛtti*, etc.³⁶ The five subtle elements starting with smell [he should purify] with [the group of mantras] starting with *sadyojāta*.

45. He should make offerings to *ahaṃkāra* [, *manas*, and *buddhi*] one by one with the three *tattvas*. The three *guṇas* the guru (lit. “the one knowing the ritual”) should [purify by] pouring an oblation together with the syllable *om*.

46. Understanding the reality of each *tattva* in succession (*tattve tattve tu tattvajñāḥ*), he should purify the five subtle elements, the three *guṇas*, [and] in the same way, *avyakta*, *manas*, *buddhi*, and *ahaṃkāra*.

47.–48. For each one of them he should make a hundred oblations with pure butter, or alternatively with sesame seeds mixed with ghee, rice grains mixed with ghee, *bilva* fruit (*śrīphala*), leaves of the *bilva* tree, or with beautiful flowers that are appropriate for sacrifice. Next he should offer a full oblation with the same substances I have just mentioned.

49. As before, he should purify the stream by purifying the *tattvas*, and having conjoined the *tattvas* [one by one] [with the soul of the initiand] in the correct order, he should thus abandon [them on behalf of the soul] and lead [the soul] to Śiva.

50. Thus the *dīkṣā* for the dead has been taught, O Skanda, or also for someone who is still alive. [This kind of *dīkṣā*] is free of such things as post-initiatory obligations. [Through this ritual the soul in question] is easily freed from bondage.

51. The preparation †[of the *tattvas* (?)] on the path [can be done] individually† in the order of emission or absorption. For both [kinds of *mṛtadīkṣā* presented in this chapter], the initiation ritual is performed with [the preparation of the path] in the order of absorption.

³⁵ Probably being referred to here are the different *bījas* that are taught in verse 39 to be used with the five *kalās*.

³⁶ There is an irregular *aiśa* elision of the final *visarga* for metrical reasons in *nivṛtyādibhi*.

52. For a dead person all the rituals are completed in a single day. *But for a living person, O Skanda, this procedure remains †...†³⁷ for the purpose of achieving [liberation?].*

³⁷ I do not know what *sthitam* refers to here. Grammatically it looks as if it refers to *siddhyartham*, but I cannot render this in any way that makes sense.

2.2. *Sarvajñānottara* 13

1. After this I shall teach how a person (lit. “an embodied [soul]”, *dehī*) is purified if he has transgressed post-initiatory discipline, even though he has died, O Skanda.

2. The guru should clean [the corpse] with water [mixed with] mud that has been empowered with the weapon mantra (*astrajaptena*), smear [it] with purified *āmalaka* fruit (i.e. the fruit of an emblic myrobalan tree), and bathe [it] with Śiva water.

3. Having performed the ash-bath in the reverse direction (i.e. from the feet to head) he should clothe [the corpse]. [Then] he should adorn it with flowers and scents and lay it down with its feet to the north (*udakpādam*).

4. Having covered [the corpse] with red scents (i.e. red scented powder), red flowers, [pieces of] cloth, and the sacred thread, he should have him lifted (*utkṣipet*)³⁸ by [bearers] who are reciting the weapon mantra and wear a [piece of] cloth.

5. Having led [those carrying the corpse] in the northeast direction (i.e. the direction of Śaṅkara), he should put him down on a pure ground. There he should prepare a Śiva field (*śivakṣetram*) sloping to the southwest.

6. The pit (*nimnam*) should be four *hastas* long and two *hastas* wide³⁹ and pegged on the outside in the mid-direction⁴⁰ with excellent wedges empowered by the weapon mantra.

7.–8. He should wrap them with a red thread in the reverse direction [while reciting] the armour mantra.⁴¹ In the middle of that he should draw a circle

³⁸ Note that there is no causative here, but the sense of the sentence seems to require it being understood as such.

³⁹ According to Monier-Williams, one *hasta* is 24 *aṅgulas* or 18 inches, which corresponds to the length from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger. According to this, the pit should measure 72 inches in length and 32 inches in width. On these measurements, see also p. 138.

⁴⁰ The term *vidikṣu* denotes the mid-directions, i.e. northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest.

with yellow powder. Above that he should draw a triangle with [another] triangle in its centre (*tryaśramadhyasamāyuktam*) with red powder or [powder] made out of all grains.⁴²

9. There he should prepare the fire according to the rules previously taught, [and] strew *darbha* grass in the reverse direction [while muttering] the weapon mantra †...†.⁴³

10. Then he should sprinkle around and on top of it (the corpse) using the ritual ladle. At the end of the series of oblations, he should place the *sruc* and *sruva* ladles on top of the corpse.

11. He should purify [the corpse] as taught before, having sprinkled [it] with clarified butter in the reverse direction (i.e. from the feet to the head). In the same way [as taught before], O Skanda, he should extract [the soul] and perform the expiation (*niṣkṛtim*).⁴⁴

12. And (*tathā*) having gratified the fire, he should then offer a full oblation. [Next] he should install the mantra throne in the reverse direction starting with *aiśvarya*.⁴⁵

⁴¹ The function of this procedure is probably to seal the area off from evil forces. The *kavacamantra* (i.e. the armour mantra) is used for protection and enclosure (see Brunner-Lachaux 1963, p.xxxvi), and hence used together with the thread, possibly fulfils this function. There several parallels to this: The *Dīkṣādarśa* (as cited in Brunner's [1979] annotations, p. 581, [6a]) cites the *Kālotara: ūrdhvamūlān adhograsthān astralabdhān sakṛt sakṛt || pañcaraṅgitasūtrena kavacena ca veṣṭayet* |. Also JR AP 46 seems to describe a similar procedure.

⁴² In comparison, the manuals JR (AP 43cd–44) and KKD (as cited in Brunner 1979, p.593, [19a]) instruct drawing a square with yellow powder and within that, a triangle with red powder. For example, KKD (Brunner 1979, p.593, [19a]): *citāyām madhye pītarajasā caturaśram tanmadhye raktarajasā tryaśram ālikhya, tayoṛ upari indram agniṃ ca sampūjya*. The triangle is linked to Agni in both texts; the square is linked to Brahmā in the former, Indra in the latter; note that the SJU does not make these correlations explicit.

⁴³ Here the word *devatāḥ* seems to be a corruption; I cannot see the intended sense.

⁴⁴ This last *pāda* seems to look forward in the text and announce what is going to be described. Otherwise it doesn't make sense, since the actual rite of initiation and expiation is only found in the following. Did the order of the verses get mixed up?

⁴⁵ Hence he should install the throne in the following order: *aiśvarya*, *vairāgya*, *jñāna*, and *dharma* (see also SJU(G) 4.51ab: *dhārmaṃ jñānaṃ ca vairāgyam aiśvaryaṃ ca ca- tuṣṭayam*).

13. He should install the mantras starting with *sadyojāta* on his own body, O Skanda, [and then] perform a series of oblations as before for both Śiva and the Śiva throne.

14. The guru should make offerings with scented powders, flowers, threads, and things such as water for the washing of the feet offered to a guest according to the rules and the [financial] capacity (*yathāśaktyā*) [of the sponsor].⁴⁶

15.⁴⁷ Then he should pile up the pyre there with sandal and *agaru* woods. †...†,⁴⁸ O Skanda.

16. He should sprinkle the deceased again [while reciting] the *astrabīja-mantra*, O Skanda, and put down [the corpse] that is covered with a cloth and soaked with clarified butter on the centre of the pile.

17. Then the officiant should meditate on the central channel in the body of [the deceased] and establish the name (*saṃjñāṃ*) in the [deceased person's] heart, and in the middle of that, emplace the bound soul.⁴⁹

18. Then the knower of mantras, having installed the *tattvas* [in the corpse] starting at the feet, should cut and remove [them] one by one and [then] join the soul with Śiva.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ The worship is performed according to the financial abilities (*yathāśaktyā*) of the person sponsoring the rite (*vajamāna*), rather than that of the officiating priest. Note that this is one of the indicators that the envisaged social context is that of the householder who possesses material wealth.

⁴⁷ There is an extra line preceding this verse in the Pondicherry transcripts that is not found in the Nepalese manuscript: "Then he should meditate upon the *nāḍīs*, which are beautiful and of heavenly form."

⁴⁸ The *pādas* 15cd do not make sense and seem to be corrupt. The topic appears to concern covering the corpse with cloth and *kuśa* grass.

⁴⁹ The translation of this *pāda* is not certain. This interpretation follows the procedure described in SJU 12.6., which contains almost the same phrasing; however there, as part of the *mṛtadīkṣā*, the ritual action of placing the name is performed on a puppet being used instead of the body of the deceased. This procedure for identifying a puppet makes better sense than here, where the substrate is a corpse. Alternatively, the verse may refer to the procedure of the guru entering the deceased person's central channel in order to extract his soul for purification, along the lines of "[the guru] enters [the deceased person's] heart (i.e. places his, the guru's, consciousness in the heart)"; however, this rendering of the Sanskrit is somewhat awkward.

19. Then he should light the fire all around [the pyre] in the reverse direction. The knower of mantras should concentrate on the fire fixation (*āgneyī dhāraṇā*) [using] the weapon mantra.

20. Next he should carry around [the jar to] pour an uninterrupted stream of water that has been empowered by the *aghoramantra* and *astramantra* [while reciting] the *astrabījamantra* [and] place the water jar (*jaladhāram*)⁵¹ down [on the floor].

21. Then the guru should go to a body of water, bathe, and being pure (i.e. having purified himself) perform the water offerings [for the deceased]. Having completed an oblation (*yāgam*) as already taught, he should offer it and seek pardon from the deity.

22. In this way, if [there were any] transgression of such things as post-initiatory rules, whether knowingly or unknowingly, the soul is released after the funeral rite has been performed.

⁵⁰ This verse is a short reference to the entire procedure of purifying each cosmic level (*tattva*) during the *dīkṣā* ritual.

⁵¹ This translation is based on the conjecture *jaladhāram* for *jaladhārām*, interpreting *jaladhāram* as referring to the water jar, literally “the [thing] containing water”, to avoid the repetition of *dhārām* in *pāda* a, and to give better sense to the ritual action; presumably the officiant is to put down the jar after carrying it around the pyre. However, note that *jaladhāra* or *jaladhārā* usually refers to the stream of water. Alternatively, the verse could be translated simply as “Next he should take around [the vase to] pour an uninterrupted stream of water that has been empowered by the *aghora*- and weapon mantra [while reciting] the *astrabījamantra*.”

3.1. *Kiraṇa* 60

Garuḍa said:

1. O God, you have alluded to the funeral rite but you haven't explained it to me at length. Tell me, for whom it is to be done, and how it is to be done.⁵²

The Lord said:

2. An initiate who has died is first taken [out] through the southern door. One should choose four bearers with the sacred thread placed (*kṛta*-) over the opposite (*vāma*) [i.e. the right] shoulder.⁵³

3. And then he, [already having made himself] pure (*śuciḥ*),⁵⁴ having [had] that [corpse] lifted,⁵⁵ should lead it to a level ground for the pyre; and having purified that place he should pile up a level pyre with firewood.

4. On the northern side of that [place for the pyre] he should make either a raised platform (*sthaṇḍilam*) or a lotus diagram (*padmam*). He should then perform the worship as before and begin the fire sacrifice (*vahnikāryam*).

5. Having done that, and having had the corpse brought (*ānīya*) [onto the pyre?] he should purify it with things such as cow dung. Once it has been purified (*śodhitam*) he should smear it with ash in accordance with the aforesaid procedure.

⁵² Note that the repetition of *katham* in the verse is puzzling.

⁵³ I read *vāma* here in the sense of *viparītam*, “opposite” rather than “left”, since the context of death rites usually requires that the sacred thread be worn in the opposite (i.e. inauspicious) direction from its usual position over the left shoulder (i.e. the auspicious direction). It would therefore be unusual in the light of common practice if the corpse bearer were to wear the sacred thread over the left shoulder, i.e. the regular way.

⁵⁴ The term *śuciḥ*, literally, “the pure one”, indicates that the officiant has performed all the required purificatory rites before the ritual.

⁵⁵ I translate *utkṣipya* here in a causative sense. Even though the officiant is the agent here, we are to understand that he has the corpse bearers lift and carry the corpse, as also indicated in the preceding verse.

6. First (*āditaḥ*), he should put a loincloth [on top of the corpse] and provide everything [else] (*sarvaṃ*) (i.e. other attributes)⁵⁶ for the [deceased], who should be south [of the *sthaṇḍila*] (*dakṣiṇāsāgatasya*) [and] facing north (*āsyadakṣiṇāmūrtigasya*, lit. in the position of facing the southern face of Śiva with his head).⁵⁷

7. He should sprinkle [the corpse] with Śiva water, and having visualized Kevala [Śiva] (i.e. the transcendent manifestation of Śiva, *niṣkala śiva*) in the heart of that [deceased person], he should meditate on him in the centre [of the heart] in the form of a pure and subtle point [of light].

8. After that (*paścāt*), having made him complete (i.e. having transformed him into Sakalaśiva) in the manner explained earlier, he should install the first series of consonants (*vargam*) of the alphabet (*mātarām*)⁵⁸ in the fire.

9.–10. Having prepared [the first series of consonants (*vargam*)], he should worship [this series] with scented powders and so forth. [Then] he should take hold [of the soul] *through the nādānta*,⁵⁹ and join that [soul with the

⁵⁶ The scripture is vague on this point. This is probably intentional. Details such as what kinds of things are bestowed to the dead are likely to differ according to location; a loose formulation such as this one allows for various practices to be subsumed under one authoritative text. It is probably for similar reasons that explicit details regarding the socio-religious context of the rites are often lacking.

⁵⁷ Note that this translation is based on the conjecture by Sanderson *dakṣiṇāsāgatas-yāsyadakṣiṇāmūrtigasya*, which tries to make sense of corrupt *pāda* c, but remains a conjecture and yields the rather strange compound *āsyadakṣiṇāmūrtigasya*. For lack of being able to offer a better solution, I have for now adopted this reading. The position of the corpse with the head in the south and feet in the north, thus effectively “facing” the north, fits the kind of instructions one encounters for the position of the corpse at this point in the other sources. For *dakṣiṇāmūrtiga-* denoting “facing north”, see Bakker 2001.

⁵⁸ I take *mātarām* here as an *aiśa* form of *mātṛṇām* for the sake of metre, and understand the plural (“the mothers”) to refer to the letters of the alphabet, though in normal usage *mātṛkā* refers to the whole alphabet.

⁵⁹ It is not clear what procedure is envisaged in *pāda* 9c: *graho nādāntato bhavet*. The context requires the guru to grasp the soul at this point. The term *nādāntato*, “the end of the subtle sound” (or “limit of resonance”, as translated by Vasudeva 2004, p. 267) refers to the transcendent part of the universe in its sonic and non-sonic representation and is experienced at the top of the cranium (see s.v. *nādānta* in TAK 3). While the language of cosmic sound suits the context of the letters of the alphabet being used as cosmic units for purifying the soul, using *nādānta* in the procedure to grasp the soul is unclear to me. Further, this translation assumes that the suffix *-tas* is understood to convey an instrumental meaning. Does the term *nādānta* refer here to the technical definition “limit of resonance”, as has been translated and discussed by Vasudeva 2004 (for example on page 267)? This might then allude to a procedure in which the mantra is raised through the body.

varga] with that heart mantra (*taddhṛdā*), offer ten oblations⁶⁰ with the *śivamantra*, cut the bonds with the sword mantra, and pour a full oblation again. He should then lift [the soul] up again with the heart mantra, return [it] to the heart [of the corpse] (*punar hṛtsthaṃ kṛtvā*), and install the next *varga* [in the fire] [for purification].

11. Thus the eight *vargas* are to be purified, †or else†⁶¹ in the reverse direction. He should purify [each level] with five oblations [into the fire] [with the procedure] as [taught] before in due order.⁶²

12. Having accomplished the dissolution of [the soul] [by fusing it] with Śiva, he should strew *kuśa* grass [on top of the pyre?] [while reciting] the weapon mantra. He should put the corpse with its face to the north on top of the pyre with the *īśānamantra*.

13. On top [of the corpse] he should place sandalwood, *agaru* wood, camphor, sesame seeds, and milk. Then he should light the pyre by means of approved woods.⁶³

14. Having lit that [pyre] he should move around (i.e. carry) the vessel that was prepared with the weapon mantra from the direction of the east to each of the various directions (*tattadantam*), and then (*punaḥ*) he should throw [it down] from his shoulder.

15. Having lit [the pyre] there is no obstacle [anymore] for him (i.e. the deceased person's soul?). [The officiant] should stay [there] until [the

⁶⁰ The expression “ten oblations”, *āhutayo daśa*, is found here in the nominative rather than the accusative governed by *datvā*; this may be due to the *āgamic* register of Sanskrit and I have thus preserved this reading here.

⁶¹ I am not sure what alternative might be offered here. As far as I am aware, every source enjoining the initiation of a deceased person's soul during the cremation rite prescribes the inversion of the order in which the existence levels are to be purified, i.e. starting with the highest and ending with the lowest. It would indeed be unusual if the Kir were to additionally allow the option of performing the purification in the order of a proper initiation.

⁶² More than five oblations are part of the purification procedure outlined in verses 9–10, so it is unclear to me what procedure *pañcāhutiprayogena* is referring to here. It may be an additional purificatory rite.

⁶³ Kir 60.14cd is parallel to SvāSS 22.13cd and JR AP 109ab.

corpse] is reduced to ashes.⁶⁴ Then he should go [to the water side for] a bath in the water, and perform the rites of water offerings to the [deceased].

16. He should offer three handfuls [of water] that had been mixed with *dūrva* grass and rice grains.⁶⁵ The *ācārya* should afterwards undertake the penance *as before*.⁶⁶

17. In this context (*iha*) it is prescribed that the purification from the impurity that has come about through contact with the corpse (*śāvaśuddhiḥ*) [is accomplished] by reciting the *aghoramantra* a hundred times. When this has been done, he should always perform a ritual meal according to the rules (i.e. the *śrāddha*).⁶⁷

18. Thus I have taught you the funeral ritual through the oblations to the syllabary. O Garuḍa, he should also purify the syllabary in the [ritual of] removing [a convert's previous] religious affiliation (*liṅgoddhāre*).

19. He who worships the syllabary will certainly attain success.

⁶⁴ I am uncertain about how to interpret *pādas* a and b; this interpretation is based on the conjecture *dīpya* for *dīpya* in N, with G and Ed₁ reading *diva*. However, note that the preceding verse 14 already has *prajvālyā*, making *dīpya* in verse 15 redundant.

⁶⁵ *trayaḥ* is understood here as an *aiśa* use of the nominative plural in place of the accusative plural *trīn*.

⁶⁶ I am uncertain which ritual is being referred to. This possibly has to do with standard expiatory rites performed following rituals to counteract accidental omissions, but may also be referring to a more substantial purificatory rite, such as that prescribed in the next verse, in which the guru removes the impurity he had contracted through contact with the corpse. The term *pūrvavat* suggests that this refers to a kind of *prāyaścitta* commonly performed at this point.

⁶⁷ In these last two *pādas* the scripture refers to the subsequent *śrāddha* rituals that will be taught in chapter 61. This preview of a topic at the end of the chapter is a characteristic feature of the Kir.

3.2. *Kiraṇa* 61

Garuḍa said:

1. [You] have earlier (i.e. in 60.17d) referred to the ritual meal (*vidhinā bhojanam*) [but] not explained it to me. Tell me, O Śiva, at what time, how, and for what purpose [is it to be performed?].

The Lord said:

2. That [*śrāddha*] which is performed for the first time on the eleventh day [after the death] and then in every month [once and in some months twice]⁶⁸ up to the end of a year [after the death] should be known as *ekoddiṣṭa*. During the year after that year there should be [another *śrāddha*] again [i.e. the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*?].⁶⁹

3.–4. After a year there should be a *śrāddha* lavishly (*viśeṣataḥ*) [performed] in the dark lunar fortnight dedicated to *śrāddha* rituals (*śrāddhapakṣe*).⁷⁰ He [should perform] the *śrāddha* in the month of Āśvina, in the dark fortnight thereof, when the sun is in the zodiac Virgo,⁷¹ on one of

⁶⁸ Note that it is ambiguous whether the scripture really means to enjoin an *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha* once a month only, or whether it refers here to the common sixteen (or fifteen) *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* to be performed throughout the year. This collection is also referred to as “the monthly” *śrāddhas*, namely *anumāsika*. See chapter 5.

⁶⁹ This sentence is a tentative translation of verse 2d, *varṣād varṣaṃ bhavet punaḥ*. Logically, between the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* and the regular *śrāddhas*, which are taught in the next verse, a *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* should take place to transform the recently deceased into an ancestral deity (see chapter 5). The tentative translation is an attempt to infer this meaning in *pāda* 2d.

⁷⁰ See chapter 5. This refers to the *pārvanaśrāddha*, the regular *śrāddha* in which the three ancestors are worshipped during a certain dark fortnight according to the lunar calendar (*pārvan*), called the *śrāddhapakṣa* or also *pitṛpakṣa*. The phrase *viśeṣataḥ*, “lavishly”, refers to the fact that the *pārvanaśrāddha* is far more elaborate than the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha*, which is essentially a reduced version of the former.

⁷¹ The month of Āśvina (according to the *pūrṇimānta* calendar in August/September and according to the *amānta* calendar during September/October) – based on a conjecture – is fitting, since it is during this period that the sun is in the zodiac Virgo. However, the southern witnesses seem to give two options for the time of *śrāddha*, which would be unusual. Hence in addition to the month, they prescribe *kumbhe ca kṛṣṇapakṣe*, i.e. during the zodiac Aquarius, which would be the month Phālguna. According to the *pūrṇimānta* calendar this

the fifteen days (*pañcadaśāhnikam*)⁷², [namely] either the eight, fourteenth, fourth, seventh, ninth [lunar day (*tithi*)], or *when the moon is in the [nakṣatra] called Maghā (maghāśaśi)*.

5. It is the general rule (*sāmānyam*) [applying to all three forms of *śrāddha*] that he should choose two *sādhakas* and three *ācāryas* for the purpose of [invoking into them] the gods and ancestors [respectively].⁷³ I shall now give the details (*viśeṣo 'trābhidhīyate*).

6. It is established that the three *ācāryas* are Īśa, Sadāśiva and Śānta [respectively], and the *sādhakas* are Rudra and Ananta.

7. By gratifying [the ancestors] (*tais trptaiḥ*)⁷⁴ everything [i.e. all levels] up to Śiva will be gratified, O Garuḍa. [This is] the *śivaśrāddha*, [which is to be performed] for initiates, and for *rudrāṃśas* (i.e. lay devotees of Śiva)⁷⁵ there is the *rudraśrāddha*.⁷⁶

8. There, [in the *rudraśrāddha*], amongst the [five invitees] (*tatra*), the two *gaṇas* Caṇḍa and Mahākāla are present in the two [*sādhakas*]; [and] Rudra, Skanda and Gaṇeśa are present in the other three.

9. He should arrange the *rudraśrāddha* with ascetics and Brahmins. Those men who perform [the *rudraśrāddha*] with devotion will go to the world of Rudra.

10. The mundane (*laukikam*) [*śrāddha*] is individualized (-*vikalpitam viśeṣataḥ*) by [invoking into the recipients] Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Sūrya

is in January/February, and according to the *amānta* calendar in February/March. However, performing *śrāddha* at this second time would not follow common practice.

⁷² I read the compound *pañcadaśāhnikam* as a *bahuvrīhi* that qualifies *śrāddham*, hence “the *śrāddha*, of which the day is [one of the] fifteen”.

⁷³ Though the expression *pitṛdevārtham*, strictly speaking, correlates the *pitṛs* to the *sādhakas* and the *devas* to the *ācāryas*, I have chosen to translate the phrase the other way around, mirroring the common practice we see in all other sources, with the group of three representing ancestral deities invoked into the *ācārya* and the other two deities into the *sādhakas*. Note that also the next verse confirms this interpretation.

⁷⁴ The expression *tais trptais* is translated here in accordance with the loose usage of this kind of construction as a kind of instrumental absolute.

⁷⁵ On the term *rudrāṃśa* in the Kir denoting lay devotees of Śiva, see Sanderson 2003, pp. 354–355, fn. 16.

⁷⁶ I have interpreted *tadātmakam* to denote the *rudraśrāddha*, namely “[the *śrāddha*] which is that [, namely Rudra]”.

and Yama, appointing as before the three [i.e. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Rudra for the deceased ancestors] and the two[, i.e. Sūrya and Yama for the position of the Viśvedevas].⁷⁷

11.–12b. First, I shall teach the *śivaśrāddha*, which is pure and born from the *śivamantra*. *In the absence of sādhakas and putrakas [i.e. ācāryas?] he may choose [as invitees] and [ritually] prepare [as receptacles] Brahmin devoted to Rudra (i.e. lay devotees of Śiva)*⁷⁸ *or, alternatively, non-Brahmins, provided these are devoted and initiated.*⁷⁹

12cd. If five [invitees] are not available (*pañcābhāve*), he may appoint two.

13. The same arrangement [of five] is to be achieved by installing [the two] on the two shoulders of one invitee and [the three ancestors] on the shoulders and head [of the other invitee].

14.–15. Having arranged the three, he should do the installation as before in due order. There should be two circular *maṇḍalas* in the eastern [part of the ritual area] situated south and north [respectively]. He should also make a

⁷⁷ Hence, we are to understand that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra are invoked in the three invitees representing the ancestors, and Sūrya and Yama for the two representing the Viśvedevas.

⁷⁸ Note that the ŚDh also recommends Śaiva Brahmin lay devotees as suitable invitees for *śrāddhas*. See Mirnig forthcoming b.

⁷⁹ The Sanskrit text as it stands is problematic and this is only a tentative translation. The context is a list of optional invitees if no *sādhakas* or *ācāryas* are available. First, it is surprising that *putrakas* are mentioned here instead of *ācāryas*. This might be understood, as I have added in my translation, that *putraka* stands for *ācārya*, with the reasoning that only *putrakas* can become *ācāryas*. Further, if the order of preference is to be accepted as it is, it is noteworthy that this passage enjoins that non-initiated Brahmin lay devotees are preferred to initiated non-Brahmins. The translation is a very tentative one, and accepts some irregular features in the grammar that are probably due to the *āgamic* linguistic register of the Sanskrit employed. Presuming that the passage is governed by *kalpayet*, the series of people in the nominative plural followed by *grhya* is puzzling. If some form of the verb *grh-* is indeed the original reading, then it may have been given as a gerundive with the nouns, as in “the lay devotees [...] are to be chosen”. In this case, the expression would have to be emended to *grāhyāḥ* (but then the problem remains that it cannot be governed by *kalpayet*). It is also possible to understand this as an irregular absolutive for *grhītvā*, which we have already seen. If this is the case, the nouns it governs should be understood in an accusative sense despite their nominative endings. This is not unusual for *āgamic* Sanskrit and thus I see the latter as the more likely reading.

square measuring one *hasta* [on each side].⁸⁰ They should be purified with cow dung and he should scatter sesame seeds, *darbha* grass, and barley grains onto them. In the southern [of the two *maṇḍalas*] he should wash the food [of those invited].

16.–17. In the second [*maṇḍala* (i.e. the square?)] he should do the purificatory rites such as sipping; this rite is to be performed with the *vāmadevamantra*. [Then,] having positioned⁸¹ those [invitees] who have been purified, he should [install] first the two facing east with the *vāmadevamantra*,⁸² and then install the three facing north. Having prepared *kuśa* grass (*kuśakṛptiḥ syāt*) with the *sayojātamantra*, the invocation [of the *śrāddha* deities] should take place repeatedly (*punar*), [that is to say, for each deity].

18. He should do the summoning with the names of each. [Having formally requested the invitees for permission to start the summoning], they (i.e. the invitees), being concentrated and with devotion, should [give the permission with] the declaration “You may invoke.”⁸³

19. The rite is taught [to be performed with the sacred thread] on the right [shoulder (i.e. the inauspicious direction)] for the three [ancestors], and over the left [shoulder (i.e. the auspicious direction)] for the two.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Compared to other accounts, the procedure seems confused here. The JR and KKD, as well as the brahmanical sources that include such a procedure, have either two squares and circles, or one each. In the southern witnesses, there are two circles and only one square.

⁸¹ I understand the expression *sthāpya* to be *aśa* for *sthāpayitvā*.

⁸² The expression *guhya* *amantra* for the *vāmadevamantra* is found frequently. This derives from the fact that the five *brahmantras* are held to be the constituent parts of Śiva’s body consisting of mantras; here the *vāmadevamantra* is held to be his genital organ (*guhya*), *īśāna* his head, *tatpuruṣa* his face, *aghora* his heart, and *sadyojāta* his whole body. See, e.g., *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, Vidyāpāda 4.14.–15a: *tanus tasyopacāreṇa pañcamantramayī śivā | īśānamūrdhā puṣṭvaktro hy aghoraḥṛdayaḥ prabhuḥ || ucyate vāmaguhyoktyā sadyomūrtiś ca śāsane |*.

⁸³ This passage does not clarify the procedure being alluded to. Assuming that the scripture aims to give an injunction analogous to the brahmanical account, one might follow, for example, Vijñāneśvara’s clarification of this in his *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, Ācāradhyāya 1.229, which enjoins that first the officiant is to request the invitees for permission with the words *āvāhayiṣya* (“May I invoke?”), followed by the invitees’ confirmation with the words *āvāhaya* (“You may invoke”), after which he continues to summon the deities. See chapter 5, pp. 178ff., for these procedures in the original context.

⁸⁴ This is the arrangement as expressed in the text preserved in manuscript N. However, manuscript G is corrupt, and Ed_h has changed the order so that the sacred thread is in the inauspicious direction for the two, and the auspicious direction for the three. Perhaps the redactor of Ed_h was conscious of the doctrinal inconsistency that is implied in worshipping

First (*pūrvam*), having brought some barley, he should scatter it around for the two.

20. For the three he should scatter sesame seeds [instead of barley grains] for the purpose of protection with the *vāmadevamantra* (i.e. the northern mantra). He should prepare a jar with flowers, water and unhusked rice grains with the *vāmadevamantra*.

21. He should give the guests water, each in turn (*sakṛt sakṛt*), with the purpose of [ensuring their] presence. He should give that [water] to the three using the *īśānamantra* and to the two using the *aghoramantra*.

22.–23. Having knelt on the ground, he should worship, one by one, each part of their body (*tadaṅgam ekaikam*) from the feet up to the head,⁸⁵ for the two as well as the three, with barley grains and sesame seeds, respectively, and the *aghoramantra* and the *sadyojāṭamantra* [, respectively]. [He should offer] scented powders and flowers with the *vāmadevamantra* and incense and lamps with the *tatpuruṣamantra*.⁸⁶

24. He should say “May it be sufficient” (*pūrnam bhavatu*). Then, [having given them water to] purify their hands (*hastaprasādanam*),⁸⁷ he should bring oily food (*snigdghānam*) in a vessel for each of them (*sakṛt sakṛt*).

25. Then he should perform the rite called the *agnaukaraṇa* with the *tatpuruṣamantra*.

†Having done [that]†,⁸⁸ the [invitee(s)] should then (*punaḥ*) eat in silence according to what they wish to eat.⁸⁹

the superior ancestors in the inauspicious manner and the inferior in the auspicious (see, p. 47). However, I have preserved the reading of N, since this arrangement reflects the procedure as found in all the other sources and also follows the principle in the brahmanical original.

⁸⁵ This preserves the *mūrdhnataḥ* of manuscript N; this seems to be an irregular form, taking *mūrdhna* instead of *mūrdhan* as the stem.

⁸⁶ The expression *vaktṛṇā* is an irregular instrumental singular of *vaktṛ-* “the speaker”, understood as a synonymous and metrical substitute for *vaktṛeṇa*; the *vaktramantra*, being the mantra of the mouth of Śiva’s mantra body, denotes the *tatpuruṣamantra*. However, Alexis Sanderson has drawn my attention to the fact that this kind of instrumental singular in *-tṛṇā* of a stem in *-tṛ* is not well attested in Śaiva sources, although it is found sporadically in both prose and verse in Buddhist Sanskrit (cf. Edgerton 1953, §13.38). I thank him for this reference.

⁸⁷ Cf. YājS 1.232b: *karaśaucārtham ambu ca*.

26. On the plates [should be] *pāyasa* (i.e. rice and milk curd) along with ghee, honey and molasses, or a well prepared dish of rice, or meat consisting of [varieties such as] hare.⁹⁰

27. Standing facing north, [the officiant] should recite the fifth mantra.⁹¹ Afterwards (*paścāt*), when he sees that they have eaten, he should address them again, saying “Are you satisfied?”

28abc. [And] they should then reply once by saying “We are satisfied”, after which he should give them⁹² water once [each].

28d.–30b. Facing south he should place [*darbha* grass] into the *maṇḍala* with the *sadyojātamantra*, and offer [a mixture of] water and sesame seeds with the *vāmadevamantra*. Then he should prepare three *piṇḍa* balls made out of all the food [that was prepared], and offer the three-food *piṇḍas* in due order with the *tatpuruṣamantra* †...† [on top of the *darbha* grass in the *maṇḍala*].

30. Having offered scented powder with the *vāmadevamantra*, he should offer the guests water with that same mantra.⁹³

⁸⁸ I am unsure what action this refers to. N is damaged at this point, and contains an extra line just before, according to which the *agnaukarāṇa* is performed. The southern witnesses include this instruction immediately after the food is brought, so *kṛtvāiva* may refer to that. However, a different subject for *aśnīyāt* would then be needed. Perhaps one can interpret *aśnīyāt* as a causative, in the sense of “he should feed [them]”.

⁸⁹ The *Mitākṣarā* on YājS, 1.240a comments on the words *annam iṣṭam* “preferred food” in this context, specifying that the kind of food to be prepared should be according to the preference of the invitee, the deceased person or the person sponsoring the rite (*vajamāna*).

⁹⁰ This prescription of hare meat is strange. However, there is a passage in YājS 3.259–261 giving a long list of various types of meat that can be used, including hare.

⁹¹ The fifth mantra refers to the fifth *brahmanamantra*, which is the *sadyojātamantra*.

⁹² The word *grāhya* then would be an irregular absolutive for *grāhayitvā* from *grh-*, i.e. “having had them taken”, i.e. having given them. This procedure involves the officiant giving them water to rinse their mouths after eating (cf. Vijñāneśvara on YājS 1.241d: *tadantaram brāhmaṇahasteṣu gaṇḍūśārthaṃ sakṛt apo dadyāt*).

⁹³ Note that in SP 10.33, at this point in the ritual the officiant is to pour a stream of water around the site. This is missing here. I raise this point because this translation is based on the reading of Ed_D; N and G have the corrupt reading *tenaivāśya*. Perhaps a procedure similar to the SP was originally indicated with this reading. Another possibility is that the water for the guests is poured around the site.

31. The wife, having been purified (*śuddhā*), should receive [and eat] the middle *pinda* for the purpose of [begetting] a son. Then she will have a son, who will be intelligent and, together with his wife, a devotee of Rudra (i.e. a lay devotee).

32. Alternatively, he should give it to cows [or] throw it into the fire or water. He should give the water for purification through sipping etc. (*ācamanam*) first to the group of three, and then to the group of two.

33. He should purify [himself], †*get up* (?), *perform the saṃkalpa* (the pronouncing of the intention of the rite)†, pay obeisance, ask them for pardon, and with devotion, give present[s] [to the invitees] according to his financial capacity, and finally dismiss [them].

34.–35. Such is the supreme Śaiva *śrāddha* (i.e. the *śivaśrāddha*) that bestows union with Śiva. [The mantras of] the *rudraśrāddha*⁹⁴ are characterized by the names [of the deities] proper to it; and [they] begin with *om* and end with *namaḥ*. And when the *laukikaśrāddha* has been performed using their own names for the deities, the [*yajamāna*] sees †...†.⁹⁵

36. The best of the twice-born who performs the *śrāddha*, taught in the Vedas and arranged (i.e. outlined) in the *smṛti* literature (i.e. *smārta*) [and that is] ordained for Brahmins who are learned in the Vedas (*viprāṇām*), attains the world of Brahmā.

37. That *śrāddha* which is in reference only to one [person] (*ekoddiṣṭam*) is taught here to be performed without the invocation [of *śrāddha* deities] and as starting with the [series] of *śrāddhas* [called the] *navāśrāddhas*. This has been taught [here] in brief.

⁹⁴ This is a tentative translation of 34cd; strictly speaking the expression *rudraśrāddham* is in apposition to the following accusative; however, these seem to describe the mantras used in the *rudraśrāddha*.

⁹⁵ Here *pāda* 35d is corrupt. The readings of both N and G do not make sense as they stand; in comparison, the Grantha edition (Ed_G) changes the reading completely to *na paitram ṛnam āsnute*, “[such a person] does not accumulate any debt to the fathers anymore”. This refers to the brahmanical principle of fulfilling one’s debt towards one’s ancestors by performing *śrāddha* rituals (see chapter 5); in comparison, the *śivaśrāddha* and *rudraśrāddha* bestow an elevated spiritual status of the *yajamāna*, namely ultimate liberation in the case of the *śivaśrāddha* and ascending to Rudra’s heaven in the case of the *rudraśrāddha*.

38. What effect can men have on Śiva, the highest soul? [*Hence,*] *the great benefit* [*that results from performing the śrāddha*] *is* [*merely*] *in reference to* [*the fact that*] *the rite goes to perfection.*⁹⁶

39.–40. Therefore, O Garuḍa, one should perform this rite even when [the corpse] cannot be found. For how does anyone become free of debt as long as the *śrāddha* is not performed?⁹⁷ †...†⁹⁸ Thus, [also] the cremation is performed even if [the person has died] abroad. Here the same applies (*tadvad atra tu*).

41. He should perform the *śrāddha* because (*yena*) the *dīkṣā* (initiation ritual) ends with it.⁹⁹
[Thus] the *śivaśrāddha* that consists of the five *brahmamantras* has been taught in brief.

⁹⁶ The second line in this verse is puzzling. I have provided a tentative interpretation, in which the benefit of the rite is conceived purely in terms of its completion. However, this seems indeed a weak point.

⁹⁷ The southern witnesses add another line here: “The entire rite [is performed] for sons etc. even if [the person has died] abroad, for the purpose of remembering [them].”

⁹⁸ I am currently unable to make good sense of 40ab. The purpose of the verses Kir 61.38–41 is to offer theoretical explanations of how the performance of *śrāddha* is beneficial, even though each of them contains different rationales. In verse 38 it is the mere fact that the rite has come to perfection which procures great fruit. In 39 its performance is binding as the only way to relieve oneself of the debt towards one’s ancestors. As for *pādas* 40ab, they constitute the final line in the southern witnesses; according to the text preserved there, this passage appears to refer to the fact that *śrāddha* can also procure a particular desired benefit (*iṣṭam phalam* EdD).

⁹⁹ This final verse is omitted in the southern witnesses and only preserved in N. The verse, however, contains an important statement regarding the rationalisation of the Śaiva *śrāddha* ritual, namely, that it completes the process that was initiated with the *dīkṣā* ritual. See chapter 5.

4.1. *Jñānaratnāvalī* Antyeṣṭiprakaraṇa

1ab. Next I shall explain the funeral rite in brief.

1c.–2. In the case of a *yogin*, who has died through yogic suicide, [and of whom therefore all] impurities have been incinerated: [The officiant] should burn his corpse, which is pure [and] consists of mantras, with Śiva fire. For him, neither the offerings of *piṇḍas* nor the offerings of water are to be performed.

3ab. However (*kim tu*), [his] disciples should perform worship to Śiva every day (*sadā*), in order to pay their debt [to the teacher].¹⁰⁰

3cd. [Now] I shall teach, because of a connection [of subject-matter], how that [funeral rite] is [to be performed] for all others.

4.–5. [The officiant] should also burn the corpse with Śiva fire of those established in reality as a result of *dīkṣā*, who have observed their post-initiatory discipline at all times,¹⁰¹ who have been devoted to the teaching of the Siddhānta, and who have died a timely death [with the difference that] for such a person the ritual post-mortem offerings of *piṇḍas* and water (*piṇḍakriyā* and *udakakriyā*) are prescribed.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ The statement that the disciples of the guru are to perform worship of Śiva every day in order to pay off their debt to him seems to be made in reference to the brahmanical tradition of the three debts discussed in chapter 5. This *pūjā* in reference to the deceased guru may be a kind of commemorative Śiva worship done by disciples in the *maṭha*.

¹⁰¹ The expression *sadācāravatām* could also be translated as “those who piously (*sad-* [lit. well]) [follow their] post-initiatory discipline”.

¹⁰² Note that this is in opposition to the practice taught just previously for a deceased *yogin*, for whom such post-mortem offerings are not performed. Even though this is not explicitly addressed here, this distinction presumably refers to the fact that the *yogin* is an ascetic practitioner and the regular initiate subject in verses 4–5 is a householder initiate. In the case of the latter and his householder setting, these post-mortem offerings would be considered conventional. Not performing them would be considered an unnecessary offence to the orthodox order, see, e.g., pp. 171ff.

In the case of those who have deviated from the post-initiatory discipline and certain others, the purification of the path [of the levels of the universe] is [also] prescribed.

And [Śiva] has taught:¹⁰³

6–8b. The funerary ritual has been ordained, O Skanda, to remove the sin of anyone who transgresses the rules to be observed during the period after initiation, [one who] is guilty of a major sin against Śiva and the gurus, those who have not lost their doubts [concerning their liberation at death through initiation and the Śaiva doctrine], and for any others who have some impurity. [*If an ordinary and not a tantric cremation were performed in such a case*], [*the individual's*] own consciousness (*svasaṃjñā*) reaches the state of cosmic dissolution (*layam*) [*rather than ultimate liberation*] due to [*his*] transgressions of such matters as [*his*] post-initiatory discipline.¹⁰⁴

And further it is said:¹⁰⁵

8c–9. For the funeral rite should be performed at the time of death (*antataḥ*) for those who have not lost their doubt [concerning their liberation through initiation], for those who are particularly impure, for those who have converted to another religion, and likewise for people who have violated their post-initiatory discipline. For otherwise [such a person] would not obtain the highest state.

10. The purification of the path should be performed for *sādhakas*, *ācāryas*, and *putrakas*, but not for a *samayin*. Alternatively [it may be performed] for [a *samayin*] who was [particularly] desirous of obtaining liberation [but died before he could receive further initiation].

11. Either an *ācārya*, *sādhaka*, *putraka* or *samayin* should bathe the deceased, whether he was an ascetic or a householder, and adorn him.

¹⁰³ The following passage, marked here as a quotation from a scripture by the words “Śiva said”, is parallel to SārK 26.6cd–8, which may be its source. The passage is also quoted by Trilocana in his commentary on the SP (cited in Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 571, [1b]), and by Nirmalamāṇi in his commentary on the KKD (quoted in Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 571, [1c]), although he leaves out the problematic last two *pādas*; see next fn.

¹⁰⁴ *Pādas* 8ab, parallel to SārK 26.8cd, are problematic and this is a tentative translation. For a commentary on this translation, see p. 62, fn. 67.

¹⁰⁵ This passage is parallel to BK, NGMPP B24/57, f. 214r1–214r2.

12.–13b. Further, [the officiant] should bind the toes of the corpse together with a white thread. He should lift [the corpse] onto a bier built out of moist bamboo canes, which is [like] a ladder leading to heaven,¹⁰⁶ and which is richly adorned with red cloth, and decorated with banners and garlands of flowers.

13c.–14. He should have [the corpse] taken [to the cremation ground] by many [corpse bearers], with their heads covered with a cloth, who are of the same caste as the [deceased] and not of any other, and who also are initiates, [in a procession] accompanied by various flags, and the sounds from [instruments such as] conch shells, drums, and *tūryas*.¹⁰⁷

15.–16b. And having had [the corpse] carried half way [to the cremation ground], he should scatter *bali* offerings in all directions. Then [he should proceed and finally] have [the corpse] put down, with its head in the south, on a piece of pure ground sloping to the southwest, [either] on a bank of a sacred river, [or] by a lake at a sacred place.

16c.–17. He should make a pavilion measuring either nine (i.e. 9x9) or seven (i.e. 7x7) *hastas*,¹⁰⁸ which is surrounded by a cloth, and with a door facing south that is furnished with an arched doorway. [This pavilion] is called an *avasānaka*[*maṇḍapa*] (“the death [pavilion]”). In some other sources it is called a *kr̥tānta*[*maṇḍapa*] (“[the pavilion] to bring about the end”).

18. In the [pavilion he should make] a fire pit, one *hasta* square, with a single raised “girdle”¹⁰⁹ [around the top of it]. With the earth of the pit he should make a platform in the northwest that is six *aṅgulas*¹¹⁰ high.

¹⁰⁶ See p. 135 for the ladder-type construction of the bier and the interpretation of its description as “steps leading to heaven”.

¹⁰⁷ According to Monier-Williams, *tūrya* is defined only as “some musical instrument”, and a *tūryagaṇḍa* as “a sort of tabor”.

¹⁰⁸ On these measurements, see p. 138.

¹⁰⁹ The *mekhalā* is the raised ridge around the fire pit.

¹¹⁰ The term *ṛtu*, “season”, is a so-called *bhūtasamkhyā*, i.e. a number expressed through a word (see Sircar 1996, pp. 228–233); it denotes the number six since there are six seasons in India. For the measurements of the *aṅgula* unit, see p. 138.

19. To the southeast of the fire pit, [he should dig out] a pit for the pyre that is four *hastas* long, eight¹¹¹ *aṅgulas* deep, and two *hastas* wide.

20. According to some sources he should make the pit for the pyre south of the *kuṇḍa*. Having prepared these three things [the fire pit, the platform, and the pit for the pyre], he should smear them with cow dung.

21.–22. Then the guru should, in a concentrated state, take the ritually purifying bath, sip water, and venerate the junctions of the day. Next [the guru], †wearing the upper garment the other way around†¹¹² and having taken the weapon water jar,¹¹³ should circumambulate [the prepared site] in a counter-clockwise direction and [go] in silence to the edge of the *sthaṇḍila*; facing north he should sit down on a pure seat¹¹⁴ and perform the ritual purification of his body (the *bhūtaśuddhi*).

23. The wise person, after having done the installation of the mantras in the reverse order, should perform internal worship. He should [then] purify the substances [that will be used in the ritual] with water from the weapon water jar that has been empowered by seven repetitions of the weapon mantra.

24. Next he should sprinkle and worship himself [as Śiva], perform the purification of the mantras (i.e. the *mantraśuddhi*),¹¹⁵ and sprinkle water from the weapon water jar and the five products of the cow¹¹⁶ around the ground.

¹¹¹ The term *maṅgala* is a *bhūtasamkhyā* (see previous fn.) for the number 8.

¹¹² The expression *atha savyottarāsaṃgo* is puzzling. Does it allude to a practice in which the guru wears the upper garment in a reversed manner on this occasion? Or was the verse originally closer to the parallel in SP 10.7: *atha snātaḥ kṛtanyāso grhūāstrāluko guruḥ*? In this case the procedure missing in the JR at this point would be the installation of the mantras on the guru himself.

¹¹³ This implies that the guru has already installed some jars at this point, procedures that have not yet been mentioned.

¹¹⁴ A pure seat here denotes an area that has been ritually purified by mantras, sprinkling and perhaps putting down some *kuśa* grass.

¹¹⁵ On *mantraśuddhi*, see Brunner-Lachaux 1963, p.144, particularly footnotes 2 and 3.

¹¹⁶ The *pañcagavya* consists of a mixture of the five products of the cow, namely milk, coagulated or sour milk, butter, and liquid and solid excreta.

25. Having consecrated [the *sthaṇḍila*] with the [series of] transformative rites ending with the *catuspaṭha*,¹¹⁷ he should also scatter around the *vikira*, gather it together, and heap it up to the northeast of the funeral pyre.

26. [Next] he should worship the *pāśupata* weapon mantra in the *vardhanī* jar, whose spout must be facing south, and worship the weapons of the *lokapālas* in jars that [are situated] in the [eight] directions starting with Īśa (i.e. the northeast).

27.–28. He should protect the site all around (*kṛtvā sthānasya parirakṣaṇam*) with a stream of water from the weapon [jar] [poured around the site] and, after putting the jar down, he should there worship the weapon mantra on a mobile seat. [And] having requested (*viññāpya*) [each] weapon-lord with the words “O venerable one, protect this site up to the end of the ritual!”¹¹⁸ he should [then] approach the outer edge of the *sthaṇḍila*.

29. Having protected the *sthaṇḍila* by strewing *kuśa* grass, ash, and sesame seeds over it, he should worship the door guardians and others with the weapon mantra and the heart mantra as before.

30.–33b. He should place (*samarpayet*) [the *śakti*] called *ādhārā* on a lotus that has been made with sesame seeds and rice and is brilliant with lines of coloured powders, or alternatively in a vase with seven [kinds of] grains that is richly decorated. [Then he should install] the lotus [throne] of Ananta, [that is] its [four] legs starting with *aiśvarya*¹¹⁹ and its cross struts starting with *anaiśvarya* (i.e. in the reverse order), variously coloured as before, the two coverings, above and below, and the lotus; on the pericarp of the lotus [he should install] *manonmanī*, and on the filaments the [circle of *śaktis*] starting with *sarvabhūtadamanī* and ending with *vāmā*; [then he

¹¹⁷ The term *catuspaṭhāntasamkārāḥ*, “with the rites ending with the cross-way” may refer to the same procedure seen during the *agnikārya* in the SP, where *darbhā* grass is put down in the *kuṇḍa* in the form of a cross (see Brunner-Lachaux 1963, pp. 236–237).

¹¹⁸ This formula is pronounced in every direction while this mobile seat is carried around.

¹¹⁹ The four lordly powers of Ananta are *aiśvarya*, *vairāgya*, *jñāna*, and *dharma*.

should install] the throne with the circuits of *śakti*, fire, the moon and the sun.¹²⁰

33c.–34. Then he should invoke the two divine bodies (*mūrtidvayam*) and install the *kalās* one by one starting with *nivṛtti* [hence *nivṛtti*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *vidyā*, *śānti*, *śāntyātīta*] starting from the feet [of the deity]. Then he should invoke Śiva as before, and having completed [him by visualizing all his parts] starting with his weapons,¹²¹ he should make him [rise to] the highest [level] by means of the root mantra.

35.–36. Now he, with devotion, should present [Śiva] [the offerings] beginning with the water for his feet, having first transformed them into nectar,¹²² and together with the acts of welcome. Then he should worship Śiva's *bhogāṅgas*,¹²³ starting with the weapon and ending with the heard mantra (i.e. back to front), and [install them] each in their respective places as before, with offerings of incense, lamps, and cooked food. Then he should do the recitation of the mantra and [when it is complete,] offer it [to Śiva].

37. Now, having prepared the fire pit, he should take the fire [, which he has brought with him] around it in the reverse direction, put [the embers in

¹²⁰ These verses describe the installation of the divine throne, which is part of regular Śiva worship. A detailed account of the building of the throne can be found in Goodall et al 2005, in particular pp. 20–23. For the worship during the cremation rite, the order of installation is inverted at each level: for example, the four corners that are usually installed in the order *dharma*, *jñāna*, *vairāgya*, and *aiśvarya* are installed in the reverse order starting with *aiśvarya*. The “vertical” order, however, remains the same; hence, the officiant starts building the throne from the bottom and not from the top.

¹²¹ Again, the order of visualization is inverted, since the weapons of Śiva are usually to be visualized at the end, but are here taken up first. See also Trilocana's commentary on SP 10.7b: *sāṅgaṃ sampūjya śaṅkaram*, specifying that the parts of Śiva are to be visualized starting with the weapons: *śivam āvāhyāstrādibhis sakalīkrtya bhogāṅgāni prapūjayet* (passage quoted in Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 593, [17a]).

¹²² Offerings are not suitable to be accepted and consumed by Śiva in an unprocessed state. They must first be transformed into *amṛta*, nectar, which is fit to be consumed by him. See, e.g., Davis 1991, p. 141 and p. 143.

¹²³ The *bhogāṅgas* are the limbs (*aṅga*) of Śiva when they are arranged around him. See Brunner-Lachaux 1963, p. 208, fn. 1, and Goodall 2005, p. 97 and pp. 154–155.

the fire pit], generate the ritual fire (*agni*) and carry out the purification of the path and the rest.¹²⁴

38ab. Then he should worship Śiva, gratify him [with offerings of ghee into the fire], and offer a full oblation [into the fire] according to the rules.¹²⁵

38c.–39. The site is called the *vetāla* and is furnished with bamboo canes¹²⁶ and strings, and divided into 25 *koṣṭhakas* †...†.¹²⁷ There the teacher should visualize the *vāstu*[*puruṣa*] (“the man of the site”) in accordance with his form, and worship it.

40.–41. He should fill the five central *koṣṭhakas* with yellow powder, and each of the four partitions in the southwest, southeast, northwest, and

¹²⁴ Verse 37 here refers to the collection of rites that make up the *agnikārya*, during which a fire is ritually transformed into Śiva fire (*śivāgni*). See, for example, SP 2 (Brunner-Lachaux 1968, pp. 230–277).

¹²⁵ The *pūrṇāhuti*, “the full oblation” is the final oblation within a series of oblations. According to SP 4.52c–57, the officiant uses both ladles for this oblation, as opposed to the single ladle as used for ordinary oblations. He is to stand up and place the *sruc* and *sruva* on top of each other, place a flower on the tip, press the end of the sacrificial ladle against his navel, and fixing his gaze on the tip of the ladles visualize the *kāraṇa* deities leaving one by one, then steadily place the end of the ladles on his left side, and reciting the *mūlamantra* followed by the term *vauṣaṭ*, pour the oblation into the fire.

¹²⁶ It is not specified here how these ropes and bamboo canes are arranged. Brunner-Lachaux, in her annotation to the SP, which also refers to such a construction, albeit only obliquely, has provided an extract from Anantaśambhu’s commentary on the *Siddhāntasarāvalī* (Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 585, 12a). It specifies an arrangement of robes and bamboo canes that are used to tie the *vāstupuruṣa* to the ground (see also Pl. XVII). Brunner-Lachaux, further provides a passage from the *Siddhāntaśekhara* that elucidates the myth of the demon born from a drop of Śiva’s sweat during the battle with the titan Andhaka. The demon, after some austerities to gain Śiva’s favour, was granted the boon to swallow the three worlds. The gods fled to Śiva for refuge, who created the Rudra Atibala to overcome the demon and tie him to the ground; from then on he served as a place for the gods to live.

¹²⁷ Cf. SP 10.11ab. There, the ritual area is described as divided into twenty-five compartments and also as divided into five parts: *pañcabhāgīkrte kṣetre pañcaviṃśatikosṭhake*. Perhaps something similar is intended here. In the KKD the area is divided into nine parts (hence, five times five), which are arranged in the following way, allegedly according to the *Vāṇula*. In the middle of the northwest quarter, the altar (measuring one by one *hasta*) should be installed; in the south-eastern quarter, the corpse; in the middle compartment, the fire pit; in the northeast quarter, the *vardhanī* jar; and in the northwest quarter, the *pañcagavya*. See KKD T 370, p. 164: *vāyukoṣṭhe tu tanmadhye vedīm caivaikahastakam | agnikoṣṭhe nyaset pretam madhyakoṣṭhe ṅnikuṇḍakam | aiśānyām vardhanīm sthāpya nairṛtyām pañcagavyakam. iti vātule*.

northeast with white, red, black and white powders, respectively, and the four [remaining *koṣṭhakas*] starting in the east respectively with yellow, black, white, and red [powder].

42. In them he should worship the elements, starting with the earth, together with their guardians as follows:

In the middle:

Om hām veneration to the element earth. Om hām veneration to Brahmā.

In the southwest:

Om hām veneration to the element water. Om hām veneration to Viṣṇu.

In the southeast:

Om hām veneration to the element fire. Om hām veneration to Rudra.

In the northwest:

Om hām veneration to the element wind. Om hām veneration to Īśvara.

In the northeast:

Om hām veneration to the element ether. Om hām veneration to Sadāśiva.

In the east:

Om hām veneration to Indra.

In the south:

Om hām veneration to Yama.

In the west:

Om hām veneration to Varuṇa.

In the north:

Om hām veneration to Kubera.

42cd. On those [places] he should put down *bali* offering[s] made out of boiled rice and lentils, [these] anointed with ghee, in due order.

43.–44. He should present [the guardian deities] with water and so forth, and again †...†, there [in the pit] that has been prepared in the same manner as the *kuṇḍa*, he should trace out a square with yellow powder and worship Brahmā [therein]. In the centre of that [square], he should trace out a triangle with red powder, in which he should worship Kālāgni.

Om hām obeisance to Brahmā.

Om hām obeisance to Kālāgnirudra.

45.–46. [Then,] having [empowered] four dry wedges by reciting the weapon mantra seven times, he should place them [in the ground] bottom up, tip down in the directions of Agni (southeast), Īśāna (northeast), Anila (northwest), and Rakṣas (southwest), in the counter-clockwise direction. Then he should wind a red thread around [them].¹²⁸ [Next,] he should fill the pit with sandalwood and other varieties of wood that are fit for sacrifices.

47. He should cover [the pit] with a cloth, whose fringe (i.e. the unfinished end) should be in the south, and worship it with the weapon mantra.

Oṃ hām haḥ veneration to the funeral pyre.

He should perform the rite of protection [with the] weapon mantra by [strewing] ash, *darbha* grass, and sesame seeds in the reverse direction (i.e. from left to right).

48. In the fire, he should worship and please the deities of the site of the funeral pyre. Next he should wash the corpse with mud, cow dung, and water, then smear it [with ashes], and take it [to the funeral pyre].

49. He should dress [the deceased] with the sacred thread, etc. without regard to his previous caste.¹²⁹ [Then] he should put him down on the “seat of oṃ” to the south of the fire pit with the head facing north.

50. When the corpse has been transformed into mantras by the prescribed procedure beginning with the *dhāraṇās*, he should draw in the soul with the *saṃhāramudrā*, uttering the great net mantra.

Oṃ hām hau hām hām hūm veneration to the soul of such and such.¹³⁰

51.–52. Having placed [the soul] in the heart-lotus, he should install the *vidyādeha* (i.e. the mantra-body), followed by the *śivatattva* and *śakti*. Then he should gratify the *nāḍīs* (i.e. the bodily channels) in the fire. Then he

¹²⁸ Perhaps the term *apasavyena*, “in the counter clock-wise direction”, is to be read again here, signifying that the red thread is to be wrapped around the pegs in that direction.

¹²⁹ The initiate is given the honorary status of a twice-born, regardless of the caste into which he was born.

¹³⁰ The expression *amuka* is a place holder for whichever individual’s name is to be added into the mantra.

should install the *kalās*, starting with *śāntyatīta*, which contain within themselves all the other [five] paths,¹³¹ [in the fire] in the order of emission, and on his head he should worship Śiva as before.¹³²

53. He should make a hundred [oblations] ending with a full oblation [while muttering the] root mantra together with its auxiliaries. Then he should install the *ādhāraśakti* in the fire pit, and worship and gratify it [there].

54.–55. [Next] he should take the *kalās* one by one starting with *nivṛtti*, by means of [those ritual procedures] starting with the tapping,¹³³ and worship and gratify them in the fire according to the procedure taught for the *dīkṣā* ritual. And there in the fire, he requests [the permission of] the *kāraṇas*¹³⁴ [one by one depending on the *kalā*], *śakti*, who is pervading the whole universe, and Śiva, who is the exciter of *māyā*, simultaneously in all paths (*sarvavartmani*).

56.–59. Then the guru, having tapped the soul introduces [it] into all incarnations (*yonīṣu*) [at all levels] in the form of the disciple,¹³⁵ starting with *nivṛtti* in the manner taught for the *dīkṣā* ritual; and he should perform all at

¹³¹ It is not clear to me what *sarvādhvagarbhitāḥ* refers to here. I have translated it as if *sarvādhva-* refers to all six *adhvas*, that is to say, paths or orders in which the impure and pure universe are purified during the initiation ritual; these are the *mantrādhvan*, *padādhvan*, *varṇādhvan*, *bhuvanādhvan*, *tattādhvan*, and the *kalādhvan*, the last being the one referred to in this verse (for this list, see s.v. *adhvan* in TAK 1). Hence, *sarvādhvagarbhitāḥ* might be describing the *kalās* as containing the entire universe, including the different paths.

¹³² Note that the order is slightly different in SP 10.24–25: *vidyādeham taddehe mastake vadane hṛdi | nābhāv adhaśārīre ca śāntyatītādītaḥ kalāḥ || vidyātattvaṃ ca vinyasya śakticakraṃ tathā śivam | caitanyasannidhānāya mūlena juhuyāc chatam*. Here, also the *vidyādeha* is placed first, but it is followed by the installation of the five *kalās*, followed by the *vidyātattva*, the circle of *śaktis* and finally Śiva.

¹³³ The procedure referred to in this verse by the term *tāḍanādibhiḥ*, “those starting with the tapping”, are the series of rites employed to activate a *kalā* in order to purify it by destroying all the *karmas* that pertain to it in reference to an individual soul. The entire series is outlined in a table in Brunner-Lachaux 1977, plate I, and also referred to on p. 261, fn. 226.

¹³⁴ Cf. SP 3.93: *brahmaṃstavādhikāre 'smin mumukṣuṃ dīkṣayāmy aham | bhāvyam tvayānukūlena vidhiṃ vijñāpayed iti*. Hence, he requests their permission to undergo initiation “under” their authority.

¹³⁵ I am not certain about the meaning of the expression *śiṣyākṛtiṣu*, “in the form of the disciple”. May this refer to the fact that these are the incarnations bound to the individual disciple?

once the conception, birth, bestowing the capacity to experience, dissolution, the purification of the streams, the purification of the reality levels (*tattva*), expiation, the suppression of the power of impurity,¹³⁶ the putting an end to all future *karma*, [also] *including the present left over [karma] (vartamānaṃ ca saṃyojya bhuktaśeṣaṃ)*,¹³⁷ the cutting of the thread with the *śivāstramantra*, the burning [of it], and the imparting of the complete prize (*śulka*) for all the *kāraṇadevatās* beginning with Brahmā as before.

60. Having done [all that], the guru himself should extract the consciousness as before and unite it with Śiva in the *dvādaśānta*¹³⁸ through the *viṣuvat*¹³⁹ method.

61. Some gurus hold that [*the officiant*] [*should perform*] *the union after having placed [the soul] in Śiva beyond the [place of the] śikhā*.¹⁴⁰ In this case, one should act in accordance with one's own teacher.

62. Having lifted the corpse onto the pyre, [placing it] stretched out on its back with his head in the south and covered with a piece of cloth turned inside out, he should cover it with suitable fuel.

63. The guru should install the deity [Śiva, whose presence was earlier invoked in the] *sthaṇḍila* [now] in the fire. He should then, facing north, light the funeral pyre at its southern end with fire from the fire pit.

64. He should pour a full oblation on to the face [of the corpse] starting from the top of the head, [uttering] the following mantra:

Om, O Agni, you are the southern one, you are Time, accept this great oblation of the corpse which is the product of time¹⁴¹ alone and has been purified by mantras.

¹³⁶ Cf. SP *Nirvāṇadīkṣāvidhi* 106: *malaśaktitirodhāne pāśānāṃ ca viyojane | svāhāntā-yudhamentreṇa pañca pañcāhutīr yajet ||*.

¹³⁷ This is probably a reference to any remaining *prārabdha karman* (on *prārabdha karman*, see p. 24).

¹³⁸ The *dvādaśānta* is the space located twelve finger breadths above the head.

¹³⁹ *Viṣuvat* (or *viṣuva*) is a technical term from Śaiva yoga; see p. 153 for a description.

¹⁴⁰ This is a tentative translation. It is not clear how the Sanskrit should be interpreted here nor how the procedure is different than the preceding one; there Śiva is united in the *dvādaśānta*, which is also situated “beyond the *śikhā*”. Might the difference be that the guru is first to place (*vinasya*) the soul in Śiva before explicitly uniting them?

[Having recited] this, he should throw the *sruc* and *sruva* ladles [of the deceased], facing downward, into the blazing fire.

This is the meaning of this [mantra]: O venerable Agni, you are the southern one [because you are] the southern face of Lord Sadāśiva (that is to say Aghora). [You are] Time (*kāla*), [that is to say] you are the Lord Kalāgnirudra. Accept this great sacrifice, which is of the following kind: it is accomplished only by the time of the fruitions of the actions that had to be experienced. It is purified by mantras, [that is to say] purified by placing the mantras on it internally and externally after the *dikṣā* ritual and purified by the mantras of the funeral ritual that has just now (*samprati*) been performed (*vihita-*). This is the meaning.¹⁴²

66.–67. The teacher should now dismiss the Śiva who is in the fire. He should now place the weapon jar (*vardhanī*) on his left shoulder, [and walk around the pyre] in the counter-clockwise direction, releasing a stream of water behind him while uttering the weapon mantra, and then throw down (*nikṣipet*) [the weapon jar] in the northeast. Then he should go to a place close to water together with the relatives without looking back [at the funeral pyre].

68. There he should wait until the skull has burst. Then he should take a ritually purifying bath with the sacred thread over the left shoulder, and then [purify himself by] sipping water wearing the sacred thread over the right shoulder.

69. He should spread out good *darbha* grass with its tips to the south, and (*some with*) *the face (tips) to the west*, on the riverbank. Then he should offer three handfuls of [water] offerings for the deceased, together with sesame seeds, *darbha* grass, and rice.

Om hām, O such and such of pure soul, become Īśa, svadhā.

¹⁴¹ The translation “product of time” for *kālenaivopapāditām* (literally “accomplished through time alone”) is based on the commentary following these verses.

¹⁴² This commentary is similar to Trilocana’s commentary on the same mantra in the SP. See Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 605, [33a].

Oṃ hām, O such and such of pure soul, become Sadāśiva, svadhā.
 Oṃ hām, O such and such of pure soul, become Śānta, svadhā.¹⁴³

70. He should again bathe, sip water, and venerate the junction just as before.

The corpse bearers should recite the *aghoramantra* two hundred times, and the guru a hundred times.

71. [The guru] should go to his own hermitage and worship the deity as lavishly as he can afford. He should throw the bones into sacred water either on that very day or on the third day [after the cremation].

72. [Alternatively] he, after performing the collection of the bones, should [put them] in a jar which is filled with milk and set it up on a [sacred] mountain, on sacred ground, or into sacred water at a sacred site (*tīrtha*).

73. Then he should bathe, sip water, and touch ghee and fire. Next he should place the mantras on his body (*kṛtanyāso*), bathe again, and crush white mustard seeds.

74ab. Thus I have taught the funeral rite in the case of one who has died in the proximity of the guru.

74c.–75b. [If] someone has died out of reach [of the guru] or else in situations such as a battle,¹⁴⁴ [the officiant] should make an image [made out of materials such] as *darbha* grass [and] perform everything else just as before.¹⁴⁵

75cd. The funeral rite should never be performed for one who has abandoned his discipline.

And it has been said:

¹⁴³ These mantras seem to anticipate the states that the deceased is going to take on during the *śrāddha* rites. See chapter 5.

¹⁴⁴ The idea is that if someone has died in battle or other situations involving violence, the corpse would be too mutilated to be considered fit for an ordinary cremation.

¹⁴⁵ The expression *pūrvavat* indicates that the only difference is that he makes a substitute substrate.

76.¹⁴⁶ Next I shall explain (*athocyate*) how (*yathā*) out of compassion (*anukampayā*) the guru may initiate [a *samayin*] who has died in the vicinity or out of reach, in case [the deceased was] qualified [to receive full initiation].¹⁴⁷

77.–78. The guru should make an image, made either out of *kuśa* grass, flour, or cow dung, of the unfortunate *samayin* who [has died] abroad lacking the higher [liberating] *dīkṣā*, [but] desirous of liberation, [and] soak it in the five products of the cow, [and then] prepare [the deceased person's] characteristic mark (*liṅga*) on it.¹⁴⁸

79.–80b. Having drawn in [the soul], which was established *in the constituents of the mantra body*,¹⁴⁹ with the great net method together with the powers of mantras and *mudrās*, he should thus place it [in the corpse], and having purified the bonds as before, he should unite [the soul with Śiva] in the pure domain.

80c.–81b. Then he should burn the image of him together with some milk, clarified butter, and honey, with Śiva fire. [Next] he should perform a *śivaśrāddha* (*tadātmakam*)¹⁵⁰ for the sake of him.

81c.–82b. This is the procedure for a dead relative who has died nearby, and who [...] the *śivadharma*, [and therefore lived] in accordance with the mundane (i.e. brahmanical) religion.

¹⁴⁶ This is probably the beginning of the quotation from the NaiKri. See p. 103.

¹⁴⁷ This appears to be one of the instances in which there is an overlap of instructions. Earlier, in verse 10, it is stated that *samayins* who were intent to undertake liberation before they died could receive the full initiatory initiation rather than the special procedure about to be taught.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. SJ 12.6–7. In a similar procedure for a posthumous initiation on a puppet, at this point, before the purificatory procedure starts, the name of the initiate is to be placed on the puppet. The procedure indicated in the present verse could be referring to the same.

¹⁴⁹ It is unclear to me how to translate *mantradehakaḷāsamsthā*. Is this a summary of the whole procedure described above in verse 50?

¹⁵⁰ The interpretation here of the expression *tadātmaka* is analogous to the phrase *rudrāṃśānām tadātmakam* in Kir 61.7, which I have translated as “and for *rudrāṃśas* (lay devotees of Śiva) there is the *rudraśrāddha* (*tadātmakam*)”, taking *tadātmakam* to stand for *rudrātmakam*. If *tadātmakam* has a similar function here, the appropriate mode of *śrāddha* would be the *śivaśrāddha*, since the purpose of the rite at this point is to liberate the deceased person's soul by uniting it with Śiva. The deceased is thus clearly considered an initiate.

82cd. [The procedure] should be performed outside the house, [and] just as the *sadyonirvānadīkṣā*.¹⁵¹

83ab. There is no difference in the (procedure of the) funeral rite;¹⁵² †one who knows it should say “no”†.

And [in the case of] those who have died through yogic suicide or are [deceased] *samayins*¹⁵³ the funeral ritual is understood to be merely the burning [of the corpse] with Śiva fire.¹⁵⁴

83cd. *Because (yataḥ) that [funeral rite] is the all-consuming forest fire [removing the] obstacles for such people as putrakas.*¹⁵⁵

84. Here (*atra*) [according to our doctrine,] death¹⁵⁶ [takes place] through the cessation of experiences of the experiencer in this world (*kṣītau*) [and is] the final separation (*atyantaṃ viyogo*) from [all that needs] to be experienced together with the means of experiencing.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵¹ It is not clear what the significance of this instruction is. While this passage has a parallel in the NaiKri (see chapter 3), the relevant part, which may have shed some light on the instruction in question, is unfortunately lost.

¹⁵² Again, this instruction is unclear. The possible intention is that the rites for a fellow initiate should not be different than for the *sapiṇḍa*.

¹⁵³ The syntax of the phrase *utkrāntinā ca samayasthānām ca vipannānām* is awkward here.

¹⁵⁴ This passage was probably not written by Jñānaśiva. In fact, it seems out of place and the text makes more sense if it is omitted; moreover, the procedure for a deceased *yogin* is treated several verses later. Nonetheless, all witnesses include this passage.

¹⁵⁵ This is a tentative translation. As they stand, these two *pādas* lack a main clause. Perhaps the passage should be read with the prose text just before it, in which case it may simply be explaining why cremation is performed at all. However, in the context, this statement seems to allude to the purificatory function of the initiatory cremation rather than simple cremation. Strictly speaking, simple cremation is performed for those who do not need a purificatory final rite because of their elevated spiritual status. Further, this statement also only applies to *putrakas*, ostensibly {maybe?} since they have received the *nirvānadīkṣā*. If this passage is read as continuing the preceding prose, we would have to consider the emendation *samayasthānām*, “for *samayins*” therein.

¹⁵⁶ Literally, the expression *bhogāyatanapāto* means “the fall from the place where experiences take place (i.e. the body)”, that is to say, death.

¹⁵⁷ Here, the expression *bhogasādhanaḥ* presumably refers to the sense organs.

85. In this doctrine (*atra*) [dying] is of two kinds: there is voluntary [death] and involuntary [death]. [Dying] voluntarily again is either [of] a forbidden or a permitted [kind]. There is no other kind than this.

86. The forbidden [voluntary death] is of three kinds: *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa*.¹⁵⁸ The *sāttvika* [kind of death] is dying in water, fire, or on a mountain [by throwing oneself from a cliff].

87. A *rājasa* death is said to be that of one [who dies] holding his weapons in battle, while being in the service of a friend, when [defending an attack by] cattle raiders, and while protecting something being stolen.

88. If one kills oneself in situations of wrongdoings out of anger *towards someone who is unable to counteract* (*pratikartum aśaktasya*) [*the situation*], †*or in situations of distress*†,¹⁵⁹ then this is a *tāmasa* [suicide] [and] completely condemned.

89.–90b. [The voluntary death] of a knower of reality who kills himself by [the method of] *utkrānti*,¹⁶⁰ after †*having understood*† the means of experience by means of his [own power of] mind (*buddhyā*) is permitted. In this case, the [funeral] rite should be performed without the purification of the path.

90c.–91b. Someone from a higher caste should not follow¹⁶¹ [a funeral procession to the cremation ground of a deceased person] of a lower caste,

¹⁵⁸ These three categories of death relate to the traditional list of three qualities that are present in everything in the cosmos, i.e. the three *guṇas*, a concept originally derived from the Sāṃkhya system. These qualities are: (1) *sattva* (the quality of purity); (2) *rajas* (the quality of passion); (3) and *tamas* (the quality of darkness).

¹⁵⁹ The category *upadrava* (the situation of distress) has been added by a redactor.

¹⁶⁰ The expression *utkrānti* denotes yogic suicide, literally the “[death] by raising [one’s spirit out of the body through meditation]”. See pp. 57ff. for *utkrānti* in the SvāSS.

¹⁶¹ The verbal root *anugam-* means “to follow”, and I have translated it here in this sense as referring to those participating in the funeral procession. Another possibility would be to take *anugantavyaḥ* and *anugamya* as referring to the action of the corpse bearers; there is secondary literature suggesting that similar passages with forms of *anugam-* are to be understood in this way (see, for example Kane 1986, p. 214). I hesitate to accept this in this case since other verbal roots are used in this text to specifically refer to carrying a corpse, such as *nirhr-*, *vah-*, and *nī-* in the causative. The same distinction can be found in *Manu*. For instance, *anugam-* is used for the instructions regarding the participants in the funeral procession in *Manu* 5.103: *anugamyecchayā pretam jñātim ajñātim eva vā | snātva sacailaḥ*

unless the latter is an ascetic. If someone does accompany [the corpse of such a person], he should bathe in water and recite the mantra of the deity of his own caste¹⁶² one hundred times.

91c.–92b. Whoever carries a dead Śaiva initiate Brahmin, regardless if [the deceased] is an ascetic or not, will be spared untimely death.

92c.–93b If someone carries a dead Śaiva *yogin* who has no assistant or protector [to carry out the funeral rites for him] and has [the cremation ritual] performed for him, he will be freed from all ills.

93c.–94b. If [an ascetic] observing the *śivavrata* [is acting as an officiant,] there is neither death nor birth [impurity] because his former life stage does not count anymore, since his causes of *saṃsāra* have [already] been destroyed.

94c.–96b. But in the case of a householder [there is impurity, though it] lasts only for an instant and is removed just by bathing, even though he maintains his former life-stage [after initiation] [since] his seed of *saṃsāra* was destroyed by *dīkṣā*, provided, [however], he is knowledgeable and also observes the required rites. Otherwise there would be a neglect of [the householder's] obligatory [duties] and that would not be acceptable for a ritualist.

96c.–97b. The property of a deceased disciple goes to the guru. But in the absence of the guru, it should go to another disciple, and in the absence [of a co-disciple] it should go to his own [initiatory] lineage.

97c.–98b. If through the passage of time there is no [initiatory] lineage [of the deceased person present any longer] in this world (*iha*), then that [prop-

sprṣtvāgnīm ghr̥taṃ prāśya viśudhyati. In contrast, in *Manu* 5.101, i.e. two verses earlier, the passage clearly refers to the carrying of the corpse and uses the verb *nirhr̥tya* 5.101: *asapiṇḍaṃ dvijaṃ pretaṃ vipro nirhr̥tya bandhuvat | viśudhyati trirātreṇa mātur āptāṃś ca bāndhavān*.

¹⁶² For the *jātīśa*, “the deity of each *jāti*”, see, for example SP *Prāyaścittavidhi* 89: *puruṣāghoravāmajā jātīśā brāhmaṇādiṣu | sādharmaṇo 'py aghoras tu īśaḥ sādharmaṇaḥ paraḥ*. According to this passage, the mantras are the *tapapurūṣamantra* for the Brahmins, the *aghoramantra* for the *kṣatriyas*, the *vāmanamantra* for the *vaiśyas*, the *sadyojātanamantra* for the *śūdras*, and the *aghoramantra* for all of them.

erty], which should not be taken by anyone else, should go to [someone in] his initiatory clan (*gocara*).

98c.–99b. Alternatively his property can be offered to Śiva, offered up into the Śiva fire, or donated to a Śiva temple for repairs of whatever is broken or split.

99cdef. And those who are concerned with maintaining good order (*sthiti-cintakaiḥ*) should not transgress that order *which had been agreed upon* (*anumanyam?*), [since] otherwise that property becomes unfit [for use]. In [one of] those ways (*tathā*) [the officiant] should dispose of everything.

Further in some scripture [it has been taught]: Having prepared the Śiva jar, the *astravardhanī*, and the *sthaṇḍila*, he should have the corpse lifted up [onto the pyre] as before.

100. Now he should worship Śiva by mentally pouring a full oblation only for the Śiva invoked in the fire pit, [and] only dismiss Śiva from the *sthaṇḍila* and the fire.¹⁶³

He should [now] burn the funeral pyre with the Śiva fire only. [To this effect] it has been said:

101.¹⁶⁴ He should cause [the funeral rite] to be performed by an *ācārya* for all four [groups], by a *sādhaka* for the three groups, by a *putraka* only for the two groups, and by a *samayin* only for people of his own rank.

102. But if there are no [*ācāryas*, *sādhakas*, or *putrakas*,] he may have it performed by a *samayin* for all groups.

Having arrived at the bank of the river, the officiant should smear [the place] with cow dung.

¹⁶³ The point of this verse is difficult to understand as it stands. Some insights might be derived from Nirmalamani's commentary on the KKD (quoted in Brunner-Lachaux 1977, p. 601, 31a, 31b), where he insists on there being a difference between Śiva present in a fire and a Śiva fire, a *śivāgni*; even when Śiva is dismissed from the fire once he had been installed, the fire remains a *śivāgni* and is not the same as an ordinary fire.

¹⁶⁴ Here begins the section that is parallel to BK NGMPP B24/57, ff. 214r1–215r1, (see pp. 108ff.), which was originally redacted from the SvāSS's chapter 22 (see pp. 53ff.).

103. Having worshipped the [Śiva] jar and weapon jar according to the rules, he should worship Śiva on a *sthaṇḍila* which measures one *hasta* as before.

104.–105c. He should then perform a series of oblations in the same way [as has been performed for the Śiva in the *sthaṇḍila*]. Having pleased the mantra deities, he should activate them. He should rub [the corpse] with earth, ash, and cow dung and purify it with the Śiva weapon mantra, and then carry it and place it to the south of the fire.

105cd. He should sprinkle and smear [the corpse with ashes] and next direct his thoughts to the *om*-syllable in the heart of the [deceased].

106. Having completed [the mantra body of Śiva] (*sakalīkṛtya*) and having worshipped him, he should then perform a series of oblations [into the fire]. He should meditate upon Śiva as identical with that [corpse] and then offer the [corpse] to the deity, saying:

107.–108. “O Lord, accept this great offering consisting of this corpse.”¹⁶⁵ Having said this and having dismissed the God Śiva, who had stayed in both [the *sthaṇḍila* and the fire pit], he should light the pyre from the fire with a faggot of an approved wood. After this he should release an uninterrupted stream of water from the weapon jar.

109.–110b. “May the *śiva*[*tattva*] (i.e. the reality level of the supreme Śiva), whose form is the unbroken circle, be yours now.”¹⁶⁶

Then he should bathe and make a water offering [to the deceased], bathe again, and after having repeated the auxiliary mantras beginning with *sadyojāta* and ending with the *netramantra* in order to purify [himself from the] death impurity,¹⁶⁷ he should recite the *śivamantra*.

¹⁶⁵ Note that this is a shorter version of the mantra used in the preceding account in JR AP 64c–65b and SP 10.33.

¹⁶⁶ I have not found this formulation in the other sources, including chapter 22 of the SvāSS, which seems otherwise to be the source for this passage.

¹⁶⁷ The term *śavaśodhana* means only “the purification of the corpse”. But what we really want here is *śāvaśodhana*: “the purification from [the impurity that] pertains to the corpse”. However, this is not a possible reading in light of the metre.

110c.–111b. Disciples or those who are the kin of the guru through their [spiritual] connection with the guru should perform the procedures such as *japa* and *homa* for each other.

111c.–112. One's own disciple is considered a son, and a *putraka* a brother, provided he is at all times devoted to his discipline, [since only then] is he considered a [proper] *putraka*. A *putraka* is a brother to the *sādhaka*,¹⁶⁸ and a *samayin* is like a grandson [to the guru].

113. The *ācārya* is [considered] the father of all ritualists. For all those [initiates,] the period caused by the impurity relating to the corpse is one day.

114. A householder must not transgress the mundane religion even in his thoughts, [and therefore] [the duration] of [his] impurity is in accordance with the practice of the mundane religion, [i.e.] that determined by his caste.

115. Truly speaking there is, [however], no impurity for initiated people. Here ends my brief treatment of their funerary rites.

¹⁶⁹116.–117b. Now [the following is to be done for those] who have died out of carelessness, [at the hands] of a thief, through a snake[-bite], fire, and by elephants or tigers, [drowned] in the torrent of a river, or in battle, and for those who have died through lifting [their soul] up [through the central channel (i.e. yogic suicide)],¹⁷⁰ and for others who have killed themselves.

117cd. [The officiant] should burn the corpse in complete silence with Śiva fire.

118. Then he should mutter a hundred thousand *aghoramantras*, and offer a *rudrabali* as follows (*yathā*). On the cremation ground (*raudrabhūmai*)¹⁷¹ he should worship and gratify the *rudras* and *kṣetrapālas*, [saying]:

¹⁶⁸ Note that within the hierarchy of the initiatory levels, the *sādhaka* is clearly considered subordinate to the *ācārya* and is here even equated in status to the *putraka*.

¹⁶⁹ This passage, JR AP 117–125, has a parallel in the KKD (see chapter 3).

¹⁷⁰ Including yogic suicide in a list of inauspicious deaths is strange.

¹⁷¹ The term *raudrabhūmi*, literally meaning “the ground pertaining to Rudra”.

119.–121b. “You, who are the Rudras, whose actions are terrible, who abide in terrible places, you who are the guardians of sites and other *piśācas*, and those [creatures] such as *dānavas* – all [of you please] accept this *bali* offering with a very pleased disposition. Liberate [that soul] that has become a *piśāca* as a result of [his] horrible death.” Having requested thus, he should throw forward a lavish *bali* offering [and recite the following:]

Om, hām veneration to Rudra, those pertaining to Rudra, the guardians of the field, *piśācas*, *rākṣas*, *dānavas*, *bhūtas*, *grahas*, *kuṣmāṇḍas* and others, [all who are] desirous of *bali* offerings, *svāhā*.

This is the mantra procedure for their worship, for presenting *bali* to them, and the like.

121c.–122. Having bathed, sipped water for purification and having returned [home], he should feed eight *mahāvratas* ascetics, or ascetics such as *pāśupatas*. Having pleased them with offerings of clothes and a ritual fee (*dakṣiṇā*), he should let them go.

123. He should now make a small puppet out of *darbha* grass that looks like the body of the deceased, perform the rest of the rites as before, and unite [the soul of the deceased with Śiva] in the pure domain.

124. Thus (I), Śrīśivajñānaśambhu, have explained the funeral rite[s] for [the various cases] of death in all sorts of circumstances, following the procedures of various *siddhāntas* only.

4.2. *Jñānaratnāvalī Śrāddhaprakaraṇa*

1ab. Next I shall teach the *śrāddha* ritual, which removes the debt to the gurus and so forth.

And it has been said:

1c.–2. 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 (*askhalitācāro*); and to [his] gurus and the like he should [pay the debt] by [performing] the *śrāddha*.

3.–4b. Having abandoned this rite, how does a disciple become free of debt? *Śrāddha* is defined as those goods that wise disciples offer with faith [in the efficacy of this ritual] to fitting recipients (*satsu pātreṣu*), specifying the guru [as the beneficiary].

4c. For ascetics [he should perform the *śrāddha*] on the third day after the cremation.

5.–6. For householders this rite [is performed] after the day on which the period of impurity has ended (*visūtakadināḍ ūrdhvaṃ*); and up to the *sapīṇḍīkaraṇa* the rites are taught to be Vaidika [i.e. according to the brahmanical convention] for the purpose of worldly interaction (*loka-samvyavahārārtham*). After this [point] (*tataḥ param*), the *śivaśrāddha* is to be performed for *putrakas* and the like who adhere to the Śaiva teaching (*śivadharmasthitātmanām*).

7. In that case (*tatra*) it is obligatory on an auspicious day (*sampadi*), and on the day of the death (*mṛtāhani*) within the *pitrpakṣa* (dark fortnight dedicated to *śrāddha*), every month on the new moon, or every year [on the day of the death?].

8–9b. And on the death-day during the *śrāddhapakṣa* [the *śrāddha* should be performed by] suitable disciples as well as sons. [It should also be performed] out of compassion for disciples who have adhered to the post-

initiatory rules and observances; *ācāryas* or [others who are considered a spiritual] brother [should perform it] for “brothers” (i.e. co-disciples) out of affection.¹⁷²

9c.–10b. On the day before [the *śrāddha* is to take place], [the *yajamāna*] should reverentially invite ascetics [of any of the four classes] starting with *ācāryas*, disciples, and approved initiated householders.

10c.–12. On the next day (*anyasmin divase*), having properly performed the two [morning and midday] obligatory rites, and after a meal of various foodstuffs has been cooked on the Śiva fire, he should worship his chosen *liṅga* in a pure, concealed place smeared [with *pañcagavya*] †...†, [with] abundant [offerings] such as incense and lamps; he should offer abundant food and perform the series of oblations into the fire (*homam*) according to the rules.

13.–14. [Then] he should formally request permission from Śiva [to perform the rite] †...†.

In the eastern part of the ritual area (*prāṅgane prācyām*), he should prepare two square *maṇḍalas* each measuring one *hasta* [square], in the south and north, respectively, being separated by a distance of one *hasta* (*karāntaram*). He should sprinkle the *maṇḍala*[s] only with the common guest water (*sāmānyārghyodakenaiva*), [pronouncing] the weapon mantra.

15. Facing east, he should worship those [deities] who are on [the] throne with the heart mantra, each with his own name (*svasvanāmnā*) in the correct order, together with offerings of white flowers together with barley grains, *darbha* grass, and unhusked rice grains.

16. With the heart mantra, he should offer the two [that represent Kālāgnirudra and Ananta] a handful of water for washing the feet, together with

¹⁷² This passage seems to enjoin that *śivaśrāddhas* are also performed in the context of the spiritual lineage in the initiatory community; here it appears important that the *śivaśrāddha* is not only performed for a guru, but also for an initiate at the same level (like brothers) and also for disciples, that is, initiates of a lower level. While from the context of the previous passages it is understood that the *śivaśrāddha* for one’s guru or elder is performed as a ritual duty that must be fulfilled (i.e. the debt to the gurus/ancestors), here it is specified that the *śivaśrāddhas* for co-disciples on the same or an inferior level are to be performed out of affection and compassion.

flowers and unhusked rice grains. He should have them both take up their position in the south and north, after having first given them water to rinse their mouth (*ācamana*).

Just as follows:

Om hām guest water for the feet for Kālāgnirudra svāhā
Om hām guest water for the feet for Ananta, who is Viṣṇu svāhā

In the west in a round *maṇḍala* [he should offer] for the three [representing the *pitṛ* deities] a handful of water for washing the feet together with sesame seeds[, with the mantras]:

Om hām guest water for [my] father [who is] Īśa svadhā
Om hām guest water for [my] father's father [who is] Sadāśiva svadhā
Om hām guest water for [my] father's father's father [who is] Śānta svadhā

17. He should offer [them] the *ācamana* just as before and have them also come inside [the house]. For them [he should perform] the rites with the sacred thread over the right shoulder (i.e. the inauspicious direction) (*apasavyam*). Having sipped water himself he should take his place.

18. On the right side of the God (i.e. facing north)¹⁷³ the guru should first install the two [i.e. Rudra and Ananta] facing east, and then on the seat[s] install the three [ancestor deities] facing north.

19. [He should address the invitees, saying:] “Today, on day X¹⁷⁴ (*amuke dine*), the *śrāddha* will be performed in you, O sirs.”

He should [now] carry out the rites starting with the [preparation of] thrones, the invitation of the deities, etc., using the heart mantra together with the appropriate name [of the deity].

¹⁷³ This position on the right side of the God indicates that the officiant is facing the *dakṣiṇāmūrti*, the southern face. See Bakker 2001.

¹⁷⁴ “X” denotes any given day that is to be inserted here accordingly. In Sanskrit this expression is conveyed by the term *amuka*, which is also used to refer to “such and such a name” that is to be inserted; hence, in conjunction with a name, I will not use “X” but the letter “N-” to denote the name to be supplied.

20. He should worship the two with unhusked rice grains starting from the feet and ending with the head, and then the three with scented powder, flowers, and sesame seeds starting from the head (*śirasah prabhṛti*).

21.–22b. He should worship [them] with incense, lamps, and things such as the *pavitra*, with clothes, and with ornaments.

Then, with their permission, he, wearing his sacred thread on the right shoulder (*apasavyavān*), should make a *maṇḍala* to the south of the gods, with *kuśa* grass with its tips to the west and filled with sesame seeds.

22c.–23. He should choose (*uddhṛtya*, lit. “extract”) the best of all the food, together with honey, clarified butter, and sesame seeds, make three *piṇḍa* balls the shape of hen’s eggs, and place them there starting in the east in order to bring about the presence of the ancestors.

24. He should worship Īśa, Sadāśiva, and Śānta in those [*piṇḍas*], offering in abundance (*vistaraiḥ*) such things as incense, lamps, and food, and make a hundred oblations into the fire to each.

25. In the fire he should worship [all the deities] starting with Kālāgnirudra, just as before. Having offered into the fire three mouthfuls of food he should go close to [the invitees].

26. He should separately offer each a vessel [with food] together with such things as barley grains, just as before. He should say the words “Is everything complete?” [Now,] he should take out [some food] to bring about the presence of the deities.

27. That gift [of food] to bring about their presence *should be empowered by reciting the weapon mantra seven times* [and offered to them] when he has heard [the invitees] reply [to his enquiry] with the words “Let it be complete.”

28. The wise one should put the water [first] in their left hand and then [collect it] in the vessel. He should say the words “You are the place of the ancestors”, first with the thread on the left shoulder [in the case of Kālāgnirudra and Ananta] and then with the thread on the right shoulder [in the case of Īśa, Sadāśiva, and Śānta] (*savyāsavyakrameṇa*).

29.–30. Next, having placed [the chalice on the ground] in the western area, he, having himself purified his feet and hands, should lavishly (*atyartham*) place food – beginning with all that remains of [the food that was selected as] the offering into fire (*hutaśeṣapuraḥsaram*) consisting of *bhakṣya* (food which requires chewing), *bhojya*¹⁷⁵ (food that requires no chewing) and drinks – onto five [plates] and worship [it]. Having empowered the food with the *mṛtyuñjaya* mantra,¹⁷⁶ he should offer them †...†¹⁷⁷ with the heart mantra.

31. Having said “You may enjoy the nectar!” he should offer [the food]. He should feed without hesitation also other [uninvited] guests and Brahmins etc.¹⁷⁸

32. When they are satisfied, then he should ask them “Have you had sufficient [food]?” Next, he should approach [the area] close to the remainders and offer food together with water.

33. He should give the *ācamana* water to the three, and then to the two. Then he should dismiss the vessel.¹⁷⁹

When they have finished the sipping of water, he should offer betel nut together with the sacrificial fee for the ritual.

34. [The officiant], after having sipped water [himself], should install the mantras [on himself] (*kṛtanyāsaḥ*), offer a full [oblation] into the Śiva fire,

¹⁷⁵ According to Monier-Williams, there are four kinds of food, namely *bhakṣya*, *bhojya*, *lehya* and *peya*. Of these, *bhakṣya* is food that requires chewing, *bhojya* that which does not.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. SP 11.26: *nyubjaṃ savyaṃ tadaṅguṣṭham amṛtāyānnasaṃgatam | vāmaṃ mṛtyu-jitaṃ vāpi parito bhrāmayet paṭhan ||*. Here, the food is empowered with the *mṛtyuñjaya* mantra while making the invitee stir the food in the inauspicious direction with his left thumb, which is standard in brahmanical sources.

¹⁷⁷ The expression *apośanam* here is corrupt but present in all witnesses. One would expect that water would be offered at this point, so perhaps a compound with *apo-*, “water” was originally in the text.

¹⁷⁸ This injunction is standard across all the sources. Cf., e.g., SP 11.28, or, for brahmanical sources, Manu 3.243.

¹⁷⁹ It is confusing what is intended by the expression “he should dismiss the vessel”. Perhaps something similar to the procedure in the regular *pārvaṇaśrāddha* is intended here, in which the vessel is put upside down at the beginning of the worship of the ancestors and then is returned to its normal position (see chapter 5, and for an example from the Śaiva sources SP 11.34).

dismiss [the invitees], and having worshipped the Lord, he should offer the *śrāddha* [to Śiva] [in the following way:]

35. He should kneel on the ground with both knees and worship the fruit of the pious act of *śrāddha* [present] in his left hand, [visualizing it] as white, together with [actual] flowers, water, and unhusked rice grains.

36. He should say “O Lord, please accept this *śrāddha*, which has been done by me with your permission, and brings about union with you for my venerable ancestors.”

37. Then he should offer it into the left hand of Śiva. Having lifted up the guest water, he should ask pardon of the Lord of Gods and also of [the three ancestor deities] Īśa [, Sadāśiva, and Śānta].

38. He should take care (*ādarāt*) that his wife eats the middle *piṇḍa* for the sake of male offspring. That woman will give birth to a fine son who will be devoted to Śiva and learned in the knowledge [of his scriptures].

39.–40. Or he should [dispose of] the *piṇḍa* as he pleases [and] give [it] to a cow, a Brahmin, [or throw it into] the fire or water. Then the *yajamāna* (*kartā*) should purify the ground and eat the pure remainders such as [the leftover] food and drink together with people *from the* [same?] *gotra etc.* Thus I have taught in brief the *śrāddha* for those adhering to Śiva’s teaching (*śivadharmin*).

41. Next, for those [adhering to] the [brahmanical] religion of mundane society, the *śivaśrāddha* is enjoined after the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*, which is preceded by the *navāśrāddhas*.

42ab. *For those who wish [to obtain] the cosmic level of some deity of a [different] world (bhuvaneśapadārthānām), he should perform a śrāddha [using the respective] deity of that [world].*¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ This is a tentative translation. Maybe this refers to a mode of *śrāddha* comparable to the *laukikaśrāddha* of the Kir for ordinary members of the brahmanical mainstream (see chapter 5, section 5). If this interpretation is correct, this would open up the range of potential clients substantially.

And it is said in the *Kālottara* for the *lokadharmin*:¹⁸¹

42cd. Next, the rite is performed for him either in his house or at the water side.

43.–44. Having prepared a fire hearth that faces north, he should add fire to it with the weapon mantra, put on a cooking pot with the weapon mantra, and add husked rice with water, together with honey, milk, and butter. When it has been cooked, he should lift it off (*uttārya*) [and place it] onto a *maṇḍala*.

[Next,] he should prepare a *maṇḍala* on a piece of ground that must be free of such things as hair and worms.

45.–46. He should prepare the vessel for the guest water and sprinkle that [*maṇḍala*] with water from it [while] reciting the weapon mantra. Having sat down on a pure throne (*bhadrāsana*) which has been empowered by reciting the weapon mantra, he should then recite [the mantra] once and construct the throne. [Then] he should worship Parameśvara there with the heart mantra and his own name.

47. With guest water, flowers, and the rest he should first worship Śiva in the fire, in the same way (*tadvat*) [but] in an abbreviated form (*na vistarāt*), with the heart mantra [but] without the installation of the mantras.

48.–50ab. Having taken out the rice pudding (*carum*) from a silver or copper pot with the heart mantra, he should, facing north (*udaṇmukhaḥ*), make *piṇḍas* [out of it] mixed with sesame seeds [and] of the size of hen's eggs, and lay it out on a pure ground with the heart mantra; and he should worship him [i.e. the deceased] immediately afterwards (*tadantaram*) with [offerings of] flowers, guest water, incense, lamps, clothes, food offerings and the rest, with [a formula containing] the name of the recipient followed by *svadhā*.

Om hām for N-śarman¹⁸² of *gotra* X *svadhā* namaḥ

¹⁸¹ This passage up until JR ŚP 105 is parallel to the *śrāddha* chapter in the BK, NGMPP B 24/57, ff. 224r2–227v5.

¹⁸² Note that the name ending –*śarman* indicates that the person is being addressed here with his mundane name, rather than an initiation name, which would end in some synonym

50cd. Then [he should worship him] with sesame seed[s], honey, *kuśa* grass, and scented water.

51. With the heart mantra, he should fill his cupped hands, or a vessel made out of silver or of gold with a variety of food mixed with sour milk, milk, [and] clarified butter.

52. And he should then sprinkle that *piṇḍa* around and outside of it, [wearing the sacred thread] on the right shoulder; having duly (*yathānyāyam*) paid obeisance, he should dismiss [the invitee] with the words “May you pardon [me].”

53.–54. O Skanda, he should [pour] a full oblation with the *mudrā* and the mantra taught above, and having prepared a vessel filled with sesame seeds and water with the heart mantra, he should give it to the *ācārya*, together with clothes and gold. He should throw the *piṇḍa* into water, or alternatively if there is [no water] into the fire.

55. He should pour water [mixed with] sesame seeds on the ground with the heart mantra [followed by] the name [of the deceased] and *svadhā* [at the end]. He should [then] wash his hands and feet and do the sipping of water.

56. Having withdrawn [the deity] on the throne and dismissed the deity which is in the fire, he should clean the area, smear it [with cow dung], install the mantras [on his body] and go home.

57.–58. Having protected [himself] with the weapon mantra, he should eat pure and light [food]. The guru should eat facing east, the *sādhakas* facing north, the *putrakas* and *samayins* facing west. [Eating seated in] one line is always to be avoided amongst those of different castes, O Skanda.¹⁸³

of Śiva. This practice could be understood a meaning this procedure is envisaged for a *laukikadharmin* initiate, so the beneficiary receives a Śaiva *śrāddha* but is addressed with his mundane name. Further, it is noticeable that by citing a name ending in *–śarman*, the author of the manual envisages a Brahmin as the recipient, since members of other castes would have other name endings, such as *–varman* for *kṣatriyas*.

¹⁸³ That caste distinctions are to be observed in the context of eating is common in the Siddhānta, and also apparent in injunctions for the rites of expiation (*prāyaścitta*), which

59. He should make a *maṇḍala* with white powder that protects the vessel for food for the [various castes], beginning with the Brahmins with [a border consisting of] respectively four, three or two [parallel] lines or a single line [corresponding to the caste status].¹⁸⁴

60. [The guru?] should remain on the aforesaid seat or, alternatively, one made of *kuśa* grass that is twelve *aṅgulas* long, or in the shape of a circle of twelve *aṅgulas* [in diameter?].

61. And at the end of the meal, he should utter the *aghoramantra* as often as he can (*yathāśaktyā japet*). At the end of the day, he should scatter white mustard seeds and prepare his bed.

62.–63. The entire rite should be performed zealously (*prayatnataḥ*) for ten days. Out of his desire to help the deceased, the wise [officiant] should perform [this ritual] for [the first] five days with [the five *aṅgamantras*, one after another,] from the heart to the eyes, and for the five days after that, with the [five] face mantras beginning with *sadyojāta*.

64. Having thus completed the [rites of the] ten days, when the eleventh day has arrived, then [he should perform] the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha* for that person adhering to the mundane practice.

Just as follows:

65.–66. When the daily duty has been completed (*saṃpanne tv āhnikē sati*) he should perform the [*ekoddiṣṭa*]*śrāddha*. [He should perform] one each month (*ekaikaṃ pratimāsikam*).¹⁸⁵ For that purpose he should request the guru or else the son of the guru, or in the absence of him a *sādhaka*, or *putraka*, or *saṃayin*, or else an ascetic devoted to Śiva.

67. After having washed his feet and having given him water to sip, he should lead him in, offer him a seat, [and] make him sit there facing north.

prescribe purificatory rites in case the initiate has eaten with or been touched by people from lower castes. Cf, for example, SP *Prāyaścittavidhi* 79–88.

¹⁸⁴ This means that the lower the caste, the fewer the outer lines of the *maṇḍala*.

¹⁸⁵ These two verses have a strange order, with the verb *kuryāt* governing both *śrāddhakarma* in verse 65 and *ekaikaṃ pratimāsikam* at the end of 66.

68.–69. In front of him he should worship the deity as before, together with the *brahma-* and the *aṅgamantras*. Then, he should worship the invited †...† *ācārya* by the aforesaid procedure using his name and *gotra*, [and offering him] such things as clothes, scented powders, flowers and a *pavitra*, according to his [financial] abilities.

70.–71. And he should give all the paraphernalia of the dead (*mṛtopa-karaṇam*) to [the *ācārya*]. With his permission he should begin the *piṇḍa* sacrifice (*piṇḍayāgaṃ*) in the presence of Śiva. [The *piṇḍa* should be made out of] the best of foods (*sarvapākāgram*), with sesame seeds, *kuśa* grass, and soaked in honey. There he should worship Śiva with scented powders, flowers, and threads.

72. He should offer the food offering which is the *piṇḍa* with great care, [pronouncing] the *śivamantra*. [And] having offered (*arpya*)¹⁸⁶ the *piṇḍa*¹⁸⁷ with the prescribed rite, he should worship [Śiva] with devotion.

73. Having shown the *mudrā* and performed the *japa*, he should carry out the oblations into the fire (*vahnihomam*). He should present [foods such as] *bhakṣya* and *bhojya* to the guru with the heart mantra.

74. At the end of the meal he should pour water and sesame seeds onto the ground from the vessel for the guest water (*arghyapātra*) in front of the mantra throne while reciting the weapon mantra.

75. And having taken the cooked food that remains from the meal, together with water, he should scatter a *bali* offering outside [the ritual area] in order to gratify the *bhūtas*.

76. He should enquire with the words “Is it complete?” and offer water for the ritual purification through sipping to the guru. And having gathered up the leftovers, he should sprinkle the ground while reciting the weapon mantra.

¹⁸⁶ The term *arpya* being *aiśa* for *arpayitvā* “having offered”.

¹⁸⁷ The procedure of offering the *piṇḍa* seems to be given twice in this verse.

77. The guru, after accepting his ritual fee, should please Śiva (*śi-vasaṃprīṇanam*). [Then] he should pour a full [oblation] for the deity in the fire with the *śivamantra*.

78. Reciting the heart mantra (*hṛdā*), he should withdraw the Lord of the mantras – [who should be visualized] as equal in radiance to ten million suns [and residing] on the pericarp of a lotus – from the centre of the throne, the *piṇḍa*, and the fire.

79.–80b. He should perform [this rite] with the same procedure in the subsequent months (*māsi māsi*),¹⁸⁸ O Skanda. When in this way the year is completed and the thirteenth month has arrived, he should perform the *pitṛśrāddha* for that [deceased person], in order to put an end to his being a ghost (*preta*).¹⁸⁹

80c.–81. Having first completed his regular daily obligatory rites from the bathing to the fire sacrifice, when cooked rice (*anne*) drenched with ghee and honey has been prepared (*siddhe*) in a consecrated fire, he should summon invited ritualist gurus with devotion.

82. Having washed their feet, he should bring them into the house. First he should seat two facing east on two seats.

83.–84ab. He should prepare the two as Kālāgnirudra and Viṣṇu Ananta [respectively] and first worship them, starting from the feet and up to the head, with unhusked rice grains and flowers, incense and the like, while kneeling on the ground (*jānubhyām avanau sthitau*).

84cd. [Then] he should position the [group of] three [invitees] here, facing north [and] [on seats] with the procedure of placing the mantras on the throne[s].

¹⁸⁸ It is not likely that this denotes months in the strict sense of twelve months, but more probably refers to the fifteen or sixteen *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* to be performed throughout year.

¹⁸⁹ Note that the instructions jump from the *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhas* straight to the *pitṛśrāddhas* without specifying that a *sapiṇḍikaraṇa* needs to be performed in between. However, the passage does specify that after a year, the *pitṛśrāddha* is performed in order to end the individual's existence as a ghost, a transformation that is usually achieved through the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa* (see chapter 5).

85.–86. In these [three invitees], he should arrange Īśa, Sadāśiva, [and] Śānta as the third (*tr̥tīyam*). There, [into the first invitee], he should summon Īśa with the heart mantra together with the name of the father. He should [then] arrange the grandfather as Sadāśiva with his own mantra (i.e. using the grandfather's name). [Then] he should arrange the great-grandfather as Śiva using the root mantra and [the great-grandfather's] own name.

87.–88. He should worship these one by one according to the rule with guest water, flowers, etc. Having formally requested their permission, he should then worship the Lord of mantras in the *līṅga*, [offering such things as] great baths [of the *līṅga* with milk and the like], scented powders, clothes, ornaments and garlands, incense, lamps, oblation food, boiled rice, and various foods and drinks.

89. Having pleased Maheśvara with obeisances, mantras, and hymns, he should make him present in the centre of the fire and gratify him there.

90.–91. With the sacred thread on the left shoulder [in the case of the two] and on the right [in the case of the three] (*savyāsav̐yopavītena*) *because of the auspicious and inauspicious [ritual language used respectively] for them*,¹⁹⁰ he should, with devotion, raise a vessel with guest water that has been empowered seven times with the weapon mantra, offer the guest water in order to ensure the presence of the ancestors, place the [vessel] [on the ground] upside down, and say “May it be complete” (*astu sampūrṇam*) and “You are the place of the ancestors” (*pitṛsthānam asi*).

92.–93. In order to bring about the presence of the ancestors, he should place three food offerings mixed with *vyañjana* food (i.e. spicy food), and

¹⁹⁰ The passage in italics is an attempt to give a meaningful interpretation to *teṣāṃ savyāpasavyataḥ*. As noted in chapter 5, some features during the *śrāddha* rituals – such as the position of the sacred thread or the choice of substances scattered during offerings – follow a different ritual language depending on whether the group of two or the group of three is addressed. In the original brahmanical context, the two representing the Viśvedevas are addressed in an auspicious ritual language (e.g. with the sacred thread worn in the regular manner), and the three representing the ancestors are addressed with an inauspicious ritual language (e.g. wearing the sacred thread in the opposite manner). As discussed above, this ritual codification is adopted in the Śaiva model, despite the inconsistency that strictly speaking the group of three, representing the superior Śiva manifestations, should be addressed in an auspicious manner.

steeped in honey, butter, and sesame seeds into a *maṇḍala*, furnished with *kuśa* grass [laid out] with the tips to the south, in the presence of Śiva, after having sprinkled three areas [within the *maṇḍala*?] with water from the weapon water jar, while reciting the heart mantra.

94.–95ab. Wearing the sacred thread over the right shoulder (*apasavyataḥ*) [and seated] on top of *darbha* grass, he should meditate on the deceased¹⁹¹ [and] visualize the ancestors in reverse order (*saṃhāarakramayogena*), each with their own mantra. [Pronouncing his own] name, *gotra*, etc. he should please Śiva as before.

Here this is the [full procedure intended with the] meaning of the word “etc.” (*ādi*) [in the compound]:

First he should pronounce the following formula: “[Today] in month X, on X day of the week, on lunar day X, when the moon is in conjunction with asterism X, I shall perform a *śrāddha* in you here on the banks of the Gaṅges, in the vicinity of [the temple of the Śiva called] N-*īśvara*, for N-*śarman* of *gotra* X.” He should then worship the ancestors and thereafter gratify Śiva present in the *liṅga* with [offerings of] guest water, flowers, and the rest.¹⁹² This is the meaning.

95cd. Having gratified the ancestors in the fire, he should please them with oblations of *caru* (i.e. oblations made out of rice pudding).

96. O son, he should then first give the food to those who were worshipped, and after this, ask one after the other, “Are you completely satisfied?”

97. Then he should give the ritual fee (*dakṣiṇā*) in the presence of Śiva with the heart mantra ending in *svadhā*.

Then he should pour a full oblation and dismiss Śiva in the fire.

¹⁹¹ It is strange that the officiant should meditate on the recently deceased as well as the three ancestors during the *pārvaṇaśrāddha*. This passage may be corrupt.

¹⁹² From this commentary we can infer three things. The person in question is a Brahmin, since his name is to end in *-śarman* (see fn. 182 above); the *śrāddha* is to take place in a temple, since a *liṅga* is worshipped; if we take *gaṅgātāṭe* literally, the author of this commentary was somewhere along the Gaṅges, although the expression could also be a way to refer to any pure site. Unfortunately, there is no way to tell when and by whom this insertion was made; all three present witnesses contain this passage.

98. He should feed the central *piṇḍa*, which was empowered by the recitation of the *mūlamantra*, to [his] wife in order to secure a son, even if she has given birth [only] to many girls.

99. She will give birth to a son who will be devoted to Śiva, who will increase wealth and well-being, be attached to knowledge and pious activity, [and] determined to be true to his word.

100. Next he should raise the vessel for the guest water prepared earlier with the heart mantra, and meditate on all the ancestors present there in the air with [their] own mantra[s].

101. [Next,] with that same water from the vessel for guest water, he should wipe his eyes pronouncing the *netramantra* and pour that water out on a pure place.

102. Thus this [tantric] *śrāddha*, which consists of mantras and which entails both gnosis and visualization, should be done by [initiates of all initiatory classes] starting with the *samayins* for [their] gurus so that [their] mantras may be accomplished.

103. And it is to be done by sons for their fathers and so forth. [And] the guru [should do it] for devoted disciples who have been faithful to the discipline out of compassion for [these] disciples.¹⁹³

104. Even though here [in the Śaiva tantric doctrine] *śrāddha* should be without use for those who have been initiated, nevertheless one engaged in performing rites (*kriyāsaktena*) should do it in order to secure his own good.

105. This *śrāddha*, since it is a form of initiation, bestows liberation in the manner stated. [Therefore] one who knows the rituals should do it for initiates in the religion of Śiva (*śāṅkare*). He should perform the *śrāddha* in the [right] place, at the [right] time, and with suitable receptacles [to represent the *śrāddha* deities].

¹⁹³ The syntax in this verse changes from past passive constructions governed by *śrāddham* to active construction governed by *guruḥ*.

End of quotation.

106. When the *śivaśrāddha* has been performed in this way, [the ancestors] reach the level of Śiva and so achieve [final] satisfaction, and by gratifying the devotees of Śiva [in this *śrāddha* ritual] one has gratified Śiva himself.

107. This *śrāddha* has been explained following the teaching of the Siddhāntas in the *Jñānaratnāvalī* composed by the venerable Jñānaśiva.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ Note that *pāda* ab is hypermetrical.

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Abbreviations

f./ff.	Folio/Folios
NAK	National Archives Kathmandu
NGMPP	Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project
GOML	Government Oriental Manuscript Library
AP	Antyeṣṭiprakaraṇa
ŚP	Śrāddhaprakaraṇa

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