Università di Napoli L'Orientale
Dipartimento Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo

The Śivadharma Project

Studies on the History of Śaivism
II

Śivadharmāmṛta
Essays on the Śivadharma and its Network

Florinda De Simini & Csaba Kiss (eds)

UniorPress
Napoli 2021

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Via Nuova Marina, 59 - 80133, Napoli
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ISBN 978-88-6719-228-1

Stampato in Italia

Il presente volume è stato sottoposto al vaglio di due revisori anonimi

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On how we got here

by Florinda De Simini and Csaba Kiss

This volume is a collection of articles that have come to fruition in the course of the first year of the SHIVADHARMA and DHARMA projects[1] and thus reflect the starting point of our work on the textual tradition included under the umbrella category of the 'Dharma of Śiva' and its wide sphere of influence. The first idea to conceive such a volume came on the occasion of the Kickoff Workshop of the Śivadharma Project, held in Naples from the 30th September to 2nd October 2019, during which several scholars—both project members and advisors on the project—gave presentations that we felt contained important seeds for future research developments. Therefore, despite the early stage of research the project was in back then, we almost immediately decided that we should preserve those ideas in a volume, in which those seeds could develop into full-fledged articles. In addition to that, we have included in this volume other contributions from project members that were presented and discussed on other occasions, such as the two-week reading workshop of the SHIVADHARMA project in February 2020 at the EFEO in Pondicherry, the first in a planned series of gatherings between Naples, Pondicherry and Bologna. Little did we know that our research group, along with the entire world, would soon go down a different path, and everyone would be forced to retreat from the *laukika* experience,

[1] European Research Council projects nos. 803624 ('Translocal Identities. The Śivadharma and the Making of Regional Religious Traditions in Premodern South Asia') and 809994 ('The Domestication of Hindu Asceticism and the Religious Making of South and South-East Asia').

like tortoises into their shells, according to a famous metaphor attested in classical Indian texts (among which our *Śivadharmottara*, 10.151).

However, in spite of (or perhaps precisely due to) the circumstances, we kept working together as usual, doubling our efforts to connect, and read and discuss each other's work, through all the means provided by technology. We feel that this continuous endeavour has paid off in several ways. On the practical side, we have made the most out of editing and studying our texts as a form of group enterprise, and our work has benefited enormously from the possibility of looking at things from different angles, and from joining our diverse expertise. We feel that this kind of group approach is enabling us to produce results that are not just the sum of individual research lines, but rather a new entity emerging from our exchange.

The 'nectar of the Śivadharma' (*śivadharmāmṛta*) that we now present to the readers mostly focuses on research around the texts that form the so-called 'Śivadharma Corpus.' It is only a fragment of the scholarship recently produced around a topic attracting increasing attention. Only very recently there has been a blossoming of studies on this subject, particularly on the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, the most widely attested texts out of the eight that we regard as the Śivadharma corpus. The first fully critical editions of chapters of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* appeared in Bisschop 2018 and Bisschop, Kafle and Lubin 2021, the volume that starts off the present monograph series, while editions with no apparatus (or a very basic one) of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, with Hindi and Nepali paraphrases respectively, appeared in 2014 (Jugnū and Śarmā) and 2018 (Śarmā and Jñavālī). In 1933 the *Śivopaniṣad* was printed by the Adyar Library in a volume of 'unpublished' Upaniṣads (*aprakāśitā upaniṣadaḥ*, under the supervision of Kunhan Raja). More recently, Kafle published a collation of two manuscripts of chapters five to nine of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* in the appendix to his work on the *Niśvāsamukha* (2020).

In the past ten years, a number of studies focusing on specific topics regarding these texts and their important manuscript tradition have appeared in relatively rapid succession: Goodall 2011, De Simini 2013*, 2016a, 2016b and 2017, Kafle 2013 and 2019, Bisschop 2014, 2018a, 2018b, 2019a and 2019b, De Simini and Mirnig 2017, Mirnig 2019, Barois 2020. As a matter of fact, the seeds for this first harvest of Śivadharma-focused publications were sown by Alexis Sanderson, who has always generously shared his unpublished materials with students and other scholars, and highlighted the importance of the Śivadharma texts in several conversations, teaching sessions and talks. One may find some of his thoughts on the Śivadharma already being expressed in his publications as early as in Sanderson 2003-2004, and then in 2014 and 2019. A further contribution towards the

growing of *Śivadharma*-research was made by Hans Bakker and the Skandapurāṇa project team members—many of whom are now working on the *Śivadharma*—thanks to their efforts of illuminating the historical context of early Śaivism in Northern India.

The work of collecting and cataloguing images of Śivadharma manuscripts spread through archives in South Asia and Europe, continuously carried out by De Simini since 2011, has certainly been one of the catalysts for research in this field. A scholar who now wants to get acquainted with the Śivadharma can do so on the basis of a relatively substantial number of identified and catalogued manuscripts and scientific contributions, to which we now add the present volume, digging even deeper into this body of literature and its vast network. The picture was certainly very different ten years ago in 2012 when De Simini was required to write the catalogue entries for the Śivadharma manuscript holdings of the Cambridge University Library and provide a bibliography on the topic. Apart from sections in the aforementioned Sanderson 2003-2004 and Goodall 2011, and some learned footnotes in Goodall 1998 and Bisschop 2006, all that was available in print were two pioneering articles by Hazra on the contents of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, based on his reading of the Kolkata manuscripts (1954 and 1956). These articles present detailed overviews of the two texts and transcriptions of some key-passages, jointly with a table of identifications of some of their reuses in Sanskrit literature. In hindsight, Hazra's preliminary work on these texts aptly prepared the ground for what followed. Some other, less useful surveys of the contents of these works have been produced since then by Bonazzoli (1993) and Magnone (2005).

The numerous and early manuscripts of the Śivadharma are always the most reliable way to access these texts, considering that only two chapters have so far been critically edited. At a time when no printed versions of the Śivadharma corpus were available, with the notable exception of the *Śivopaniṣad*, reading manuscripts was the only way to have any understanding of what these texts were about. This was the case until 1998, when Yogi Naraharinath put together a book containing a transcription of the eight texts of the Śivadharma corpus, probably based on one of the many manuscripts preserved in Kathmandu, accompanied by his glosses in Nepali (and some politically motivated materials). This transcription contains many silent emendations, random mistakes and intentional alterations. In spite of all this, access to it has enormously helped scholars of the past two decades to get acquainted more easily with all the texts of the corpus: all of us have used Naraharinath's edition as a starting point, and this book is no exception.

Thus in 2020 we felt that the time was ripe to prepare a collected volume, consisting of contributions entirely based on primary sources and deeply rooted in previous research. Some of our articles represent pioneering research on individual texts of the Śivadharma corpus: Kafle's analysis of aspects of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, and Kiss' assessment of the role of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* in the corpus are the first contributions to ever appear on these two works. Both articles confirm the slowly emerging picture of these texts as unique mixtures of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava (and less evidently Buddhist) teachings, possibly reflecting the religious milieu in which they were composed. Bakker outlines the historical background of the early works of the corpus by offering a compelling hypothesis on the history of the Pāśupata tradition and the emergence of the Śaiva Siddhānta and the Śivadharma therefrom. Other authors offer contributions on specific aspects of slightly better-known texts of the corpus and also of texts related to it. De Simini addresses the question of what the mantric teachings of the *Śivadharmottara* can reveal about the affiliations and history of that text, while Goodall, starting from a similar point, i.e., an analysis of the use of mantras in the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, investigates the possibility of the presence of any tantric, Mantramārgic influence. Yokochi studies two chapters of the *Śivadharmottara* describing Śaiva cosmography in order to strengthen the view that the target audience of the text was lay devotees. Takahashi choses the topic of the *dharma* of gleaners to examine possible links between the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of the Śivadharma corpus and the sections of the *Mahābhārata* conventionally called the same. Törzsök shares an edition, translation and study of chapter twenty-one of the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*—a work profoundly related to the Śivadharma. She illustrates how the Kashmirian version of a story on *bāṇaliṅga*s transformed a Kṛṣṇaite myth into a Śaiva one. Battistini presents his findings on a commentary on Utprekṣāvallabha's *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya*, a recent discovery by him, analysing historical phenomena concerning Śaivism through Kāvya.

At the start of our project in December 2018, we had a relatively solid footing when it came to the Sanskrit texts of the Śivadharma; this, however, was just one side of the story. Thanks to Ganesan (2009), we knew that the *Śivadharmottara* had been translated into Tamil in the sixteenth century, and then commented upon in Tamil, but nothing more was known about that work (the *Civatarumōttaram*) and its impact on Tamil Śaivism. De Simini gained access to the two rare nineteenth-century printed editions of this text and its commentary in 2015 at the Institut Français de Pondichéry; these editions (1867 and 1888) became the starting point for the work of the members of the Śivadharma Project who focus on Tamil texts. Since 2019, they have been uncovering an extensive wealth of knowledge about these

and other related Tamil texts, by reading and translating several chapters of the *Civatarumōttaram,* as well as identifying and photographing more manuscripts of our Tamil texts. We are therefore finally getting a better understanding of both the nature of this Tamil translation and the environment in which it was conceived and circulated until recent times. Trento's and Nachimuthu's contributions to our volume are the first articles to ever appear on this topic, paving the way for further scholarship.

We hope that the reader will enjoy tasting this fresh nectar of the Śivadharma that we prepared from the fruits of our work as much as we have enjoyed the process of growing and picking them. In our plans, more such works will follow, in which we aim to climb to still higher branches of the Śivadharma tree, to pluck new fruits for an even richer distillate.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank all the colleagues who acted as 'blind' reviewers on the articles of this volume: Peter Bisschop, Whitney Cox, Lucas den Boer, Csaba Dezső, Marco Franceschini, Kengo Harimoto, James Hegarty, Timothy Lubin, Dorotea Operato, Ofer Peres, Francesco Sferra, and Raffaele Torella. Furthermore, we are thankful to the scholars at the EFEO-Pondicherry who provided us with materials and insights, such as SAS Sarma, R. Sathyanarayanan, T. Rajarethinam, S. Saravanan, Indra Manuel and G. Vijayavenugopal.

We are grateful for the help we always receive at the National Archives, Kathmandu, from Saubhagya Pradhananga, Jyoti Neupane, Kumar Shrestha, Manita Neupane, Rubin Shrestha, Sahan Ranjitka and others. Additionally, we want to express our gratitude to the Government Oriental Manuscript Library in Chennai, for allowing us to take pictures of previously unstudied manuscripts of the *Civatarumōttaram*, as well as to Emmanuel Francis and Eva Wilden, for sharing with our project members pictures of three manuscripts of the *Civatarumōttaram* kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

We thank the European Research Council for having funded our work and making this publication possible. We acknowledge the ERC starting grant project 'Translocal Identities: The Śivadharma and the Making of Regional Religious Traditions in Premodern South Asia' (SHIVADHARMA; project no. 803624) for publishing and distributing the book. Several authors who contributed to this volume—Florinda De Simini, Dominic Goodall, Margherita Trento, Krishnaswamy Nachimuthu, Nirajan Kafle, Alessandro Battistini—are team members of the SHIVADHARMA Project, working at its three partner institutions. Csaba Kiss, co-editor of the

volume and author of an article, is a team member of the DHARMA project ('The Domestication of Hindu Asceticism and the Religious Making of South and South-East Asia,' no. 809994), under Task-force D, along with Dominic Goodall and Florinda De Simini. Hans Bakker, Judit Törzsök and Yuko Yokochi are members of the advisory board of the SHIVADHARMA project; we would like to express all our gratitude to them for playing an active role in our workshops, publications and reading sessions. We would also like to use this opportunity to thank Kenji Takahashi for having been a very active collaborator of the SHIVADHARMA project during his two-year JSPS-sponsored fellowship at the University of Naples (2019-2021), and for continuing his work with us.

Our gratitude also goes to our project-coordinator, Daniela Cappello, for easing the difficult paths of administration for us; to Michael Brendan Bluett and Antonella Santoro for their editorial work on the volume, and to Mariano Cinque for typesetting the articles.

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Diversity and organisation in early Śaivism

Hans Bakker
(British Museum)

1. *Early Śaivism and funerary practices*[*]

As Śaivism was evolving and became tangible in textual and visual documents during the fourth century CE, one of the ways it manifested itself was through its engagement in funerary cults. In Gupta Year 54, 373 CE, we encounter Pāśupatas and others whose rights to live by the revenues of the deity Father (Bappa) Piśācadeva and his landed property were confirmed by Mahārāja Bhuluṇḍa. The deity Piśācadeva had been installed in Valkhā by the eminent Lady (*bhojikābhaṭṭa*) Bhandulā after the death of her father, probably in a sort of memorial shrine.[1] The connection of Piśācas to ghosts of human beings (*bhūta*) or ancestors, both linked to Rudra Bhūtapati, is well established.[2]

Seven years later and around 630 km to the northeast, we find another instance of Pāśupata involvement in a funerary cult, viz. in the *Mathurā Pilaster Inscription of Candragupta II, Year 61*, 380 CE. This inscription testifies to the installation of two cult objects that bore the names of Upamiteśvara and Kapileśvara in a 'preceptor's shrine' (*gurvāyatana*). These two objects, probably *liṅga*s, were installed there to commemorate (*kīrti*) Lord (*bhagavat*) Kapila

[*] Research for this contribution has been made possible thanks to financial support from the European Research Council (ERC Project no. 609823).

[1] Siddham database (https://siddham.network): IN00506 Bagh Hoard (6), https://bit.ly/Bhulunda; Ramesh & Tewari 1990, 12–15.

[2] Arbman 1922, 165ff; Gonda 1960–63 I, 37, 322; Ramesh & Tewari 1990, xiii ff.

Vimala and Lord Upamita Vimala, who were respectively the *guru* and *guru*'s *guru* of the honourable teacher Uditācārya. The latter declared himself to be the tenth in the lineage that descended from Lord Kuśika.[3]

If we go 500 km south again to the ancient metropolis of Ujjain we obtain more evidence regarding this Lord Kuśika, not in the form of an inscription this time, but of a Sanskrit text, the celebrated commentary by Kauṇḍinya on the *Pāśupatasūtra*s, which we may date to the same period, the second half of the fourth or fifth century. Kauṇḍinya places himself in the lineage of preceptors descended directly from Kuśika via the latter's pupil Īśāna.[4] This Kuśika is said to have met his divine preceptor in Ujjain, after Lord Śiva had assumed human form in Kāyāvataraṇa.[5] The meeting is said to have taken place in a sanctuary (*āyatana*), the name of which is not specified; the commentator, however, may have been thinking of the famous Mahākāla Temple in Ujjain, where Kālidāsa situated Paśupati's frightful dance (*Meghadūta* 34–36), and whose image, as suggested by Peter Bisschop, he may have been describing in *Kumārasaṃbhava* 7.32 where Śiva's ferocious attributes become his wedding decorations:[6]

> His ashes indeed became white unguent on his body, the skull a sparkling crown, the elephant hide the quality of a silken robe with a yellow design on its border.

Kuśika's stay at the porch of death would conform to the funerary pattern that we have surveyed so far and is confirmed by the later tradition as found in the *Skandapurāṇa*, which basically retells Kauṇḍinya's story, but adds a few significant details: Kuśika meets the divine preceptor in Ujjain's cremation ground (*śmaśāna*) in the guise of an ascetic who is smeared with ashes and carries a torch in his left hand.[7]

[3] Siddham database (https://siddham.network): IN00008 *Mathura Lakulisa Pilaster Inscription*, https://bit.ly/MathuraPillar; CII III (1981), 234–242.

[4] Kauṇḍinya *ad Pāśupatasūtra* 4.10: *kuśikeśānasambandhāt*. Bakker 2019, 529, 541 and Bisschop 2006b, 49ff.

[5] Kauṇḍinya *ad Pāśupatasūtra* 1.1. This place is called Kārohaṇa in the *Skandapurāṇa* (SP_S 167.110). It is commonly identified with modern Karvan 290 km to the southwest of Ujjain.

[6] Bisschop 2008, 5; Kālidāsa, *Kumārasaṃbhava* 7.32: *babhūva bhasmaiva sitāṅgarāgaḥ kapālam evāmalaśekharaśrīḥ | upāntabhāgeṣu ca rocanānko gajājinasyaiva dukūlabhāvaḥ ‖*

[7] *Skandapurāṇa*, as in SP_S 167.124–127. Excavation by M.B. Garde in 1938–39 at a mound known as Kumhāra Ṭekḍī near the northwestern corner of the Undasa Tank, a little north of the present-day city of Ujjain, uncovered a cremation ground (see Garde 1940; Bakker 2019, 430).

Living in the cremation ground constitutes the last stage of the Pāśupata *sādhana* or praxis as described by Kauṇḍinya in his Pañcārtha system. In the first stage, the practitioner resides within the temple precincts and lives by alms and other forms of revenue that the temple holding, and lay visitors (*laukika*) may offer. It is this privilege that King Bhuluṇḍa recognised in the Piśācadeva Temple in Valkhā:[8]

> Those who are consuming and ploughing by virtue of (their) rightful enjoyment of (this) landholding of the god (*devāgrahāra*), such as the Pāśupatas and servants of god (*devaprasādaka*), they are doing this for the sake of the deity; (this) should be recognised by all our people.

Teaching tasks aside, these inhabitants may have had various functions, such as running and governing the temple rituals and protocols. Though they were formally ascetics, this privileged way of life would have been attractive to many. Kauṇḍinya acknowledges that the divine preceptor resorted to dwelling in a temple in Ujjain for the sake of making contact with pupils.[9] Admittance to the Pāśupata praxis, however, was heavily regulated. Basic conditions were set by caste, *gotra*, Vedic affiliation, and finances.[10] Kauṇḍinya describes the process of selection when he explains the future tense *vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*, 'we shall expound,' in the first *Pāśupatasūtra*:[11]

> 'Shall' (*syā*) refers to the time required, namely the time that is required by the *ācārya* (before the exposition of the doctrine can begin) to consecrate a Brahmin at Mahādeva's *dakṣiṇāmūrti* with ashes that are consecrated with the (five) mantras, 'Sadyojāta' etc., and to initiate him in the mantra, after he has made him relinquish the signs of his origin—a Brahmin whose (antecedents) have earlier been screened, as follows from the word 'therefore' (*ataḥ*) in the Sūtra, who comes (to him) from amongst the householders etc., and who has (already) engaged himself in fasting and other observances.

[8] Siddham database (https://siddham.network): IN00505 Bagh Hoard (5), ll. 6–8 (https://bit.ly/Bhulunda): *ucitayā devāgrahārabhuktyā pāśupatadevaprasādakādyā nāṃ devatārtham upabhuñjatāṃ kṛṣatāṃ ca sarvair evāsmadīyaiḥ samanumantavyam*; cf. Ramesh & Tewari 1990, 11.

[9] Kauṇḍinya *ad Pāśupatasūtra* 1.1: [...] *āyatane śiṣyasambandhārthaṃ śucau deśe bhasmavedyām uṣitaḥ* |.

[10] Kauṇḍinya *ad Pāśupatasūtra* 1.1: [...] *jātigotraṃ śrutam aṇṛnatvaṃ ca nivedayitvā* [...].

[11] Kauṇḍinya *ad Pāśupatasūtra* 1.1: *syā ity eṣye kāle | yāvad ayam ācāryo gṛhasthādi bhyo 'bhyāgataṃ pūrvam ataḥśabdāt parīkṣitaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ kṛtopavāsādyaṃ mahāde vasya dakṣiṇasyāṃ mūrtau sadyojātādisaṃskṛtena bhasmanā saṃskaroti utpattiliṅgavyā vṛttiṃ kṛtvā mantraśrāvaṇaṃ ca karoti tāvad eṣyaḥ kālaḥ kriyate* |.

As these cases seem to affirm, the temples that admitted Pāśupata practitioners may have been close or connected to a cremation ground. The Pāśupata praxis lent itself well to offering services in that sphere. The *sādhaka*s were trained in ignoring the pollutive potential of contact with the dead in the expectation of thereby transcending the world of opposites. In the ethical sphere too taboos were broken, for instance in the notorious method of conning innocent victims out of their good *karma* by a process of merit exchange, in the second stage of the *sādhana* (Bakker 2019, 545–549).

Temples that supported these practitioners may have met a social need and likely derived a substantial income therefrom. I see this as one of the main reasons why we encounter so many instances of Pāśupata temples and settlements associated with death and funerary services in the fourth to sixth century, when the Pāśupata movement spread over northern India and beyond. Also, the fact that they were situated mostly in holy places contributed to their success, since it guaranteed a continuous stream of clients. Such settlements include Mahākāla in Ujjain, Mahākapāla in Kurukṣetra, Avimukteśvara in Vārāṇasī, Gṛdhrakūṭeśvara in Gayā, and Paśupatinātha in Nepal.[12] I suspect that there were many more, but only further study of individual cases can prove their connections with the industry of the dying. The Śivadharma project may contribute to confirming this theory, or refuting it.

2. *A theology of hope*

Another reason for the success of the Pāśupata organisation may be sought in its theology of hope. This hope is succinctly expressed in a beautiful passage of the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* in which Kauṇḍinya describes Kuśika's motivation to enter the Atimārga when he meets his divine preceptor:[13]

> Thereupon Lord Kuśika arrived, impelled by Rudra. He saw the signs of perfection, such as complete contentment, in the preceptor and the opposites thereof in himself, and, falling at His feet, he informed Him dutifully about his caste, *gotra*, Vedic affiliation, and his being debt-free. Then, like

[12] For Mahākāla see Granoff 2003; for Mahākapāla see Bakker 2021, 112–124; for Avimukteśvara see *Introduction* to *Skandapurāṇa* IIA; for Gṛhdakūṭeśvara see Bisschop 2006a, 20ff, 217ff (SP$_S$ 167.166–167); for Paśupatinātha, see Mirnig 2016.

[13] Kauṇḍinya *ad Pāśupatasūtra* 1.1: *ato rudrapracoditaḥ kuśikabhagavān abhyāgatyācārye paripūrṇaparitṛptyādyutkarṣalakṣaṇāni viparītāni cātmani dṛṣṭvā pādāv upasaṃgṛhya nyāyena jātigotraṃ śrutam anṛṇatvaṃ ca nivedayitvā kṛtaparīkṣaṇam ācāryaṃ kāle vaidyavad avasthitam āturavad avasthitaḥ śiṣyaḥ pṛṣṭavān bhagavan kim eteṣām ādhyātmikādhibhautikādhidaivikānāṃ sarvaduḥkhānām aikāntiko 'tyantiko vyapoho 'sty uta neti*.

> a sick person, (this) pupil consulted the preceptor, who had finished his examination and was like a doctor who had appeared at the right moment (*kāle*): 'Lord, is there a remedy that is effective and final for all these sufferings which fate, the world and we ourselves afflict upon us, or not?'

On this pertinent question, the divine preceptor answered: *atha*, 'certainly' Kauṇḍinya explains:[14]

> The word 'certainly' in the Sūtra refers to what earlier had been put forward. [Pupil]: 'How?' He has spoken 'certainly' in answer to the question asked previously by the pupil. Hence this word 'certainly' signifies the answer to that which had been asked: the one whose sufferings have come to an end (*sa duḥkhāntaḥ*) is real (*asti*). This is the meaning.

'Certainly' is the opening word of the Pāśupata gospel, being the first word of the first Sūtra. It is followed by the word *ataḥ*, 'therefore,' which is taken, as we have seen, to refer to the positive outcome of the screening of the pupil. Then follows the word *paśupateḥ*, 'of Paśupati,' i.e., 'of God.' This expression Kauṇḍinya takes as the answer to a further question: 'Due to what is this "being without suffering" reached?' It is reached, Kauṇḍinya teaches, due to the grace (*prasāda*) of God, which initiates union (*yoga*) with Him.

3. *The Pāśupata accommodates to existing forms of Śaivism*

We have singled out two factors that may have contributed to the success of the Pāśupata movement in establishing itself in the heart of the religious geography of northern India during the fourth to sixth centuries. Two short comments on this observation may be called for: the first one concerns the limited range of the Pāśupata school, the second its internal diversity.

First of all, we should note that contemporary sources are scarce and limited. If we were to restrict ourselves to the *Pāśupatasūtra* and Kauṇḍinya's commentary, we would certainly end up with a lopsided view, namely that of a confined group of orthodox ascetics whose philosophy is contained in the Pañcārtha system. When the Pāśupata movement spread from its region of origin in Gujarat, it accommodated itself to a religious world in which worship of Śiva was ubiquitous for centuries in a variety of forms. Worshippers of Śiva made up communities which sometimes referred to themselves as followers of Maheśvara, i.e., Māheśvaras. The Pāśupata movement gave

[14] Kauṇḍinya *ad Pāśupatasūtra* 1.1: *atra pūrvaprakṛtāpekṣo 'yam athaśabdaḥ | katham | śiṣyeṇodīritaṃ pūrvaṃ praśnam apekṣyoktavān atheti | evam ayam athaśabdaḥ pṛṣṭaprativacanārthaḥ | asti sa duḥkhānta ity arthaḥ |* .

some of these communities a sectarian identity and it may have contributed to establishing some degree of internal organisation and standardisation by linking them to a wider network of Śaiva practitioners. In my view, however, the Pāśupata should be seen above all as a doctrinal superstructure which at times informed local modes of worship and conduct, but which basically left the diversity of Śiva worship and devotion intact.

That local forms of Śaivism could be of great refinement and sophistication is exemplified by the Māheśvara complex that was built near the Eastern Vākāṭaka capital Pravarapura in the middle of the fifth century. The Pravareśvara Temple is a complex near the village of Mansar uncovered by archaeological exploration at the end of the last century (Fig. 1). Although I have studied this complex for twenty years, all my efforts to relate the forms of Śaivism of this site to the Pāśupata tradition have met with little success.[15] Its iconography seems *sui generis*, though elements thereof, like the skull in Śiva's crown, noticed already by Kālidāsa as we have seen, became common features of Śaiva iconography.

Fig 1: Pravareśvara Temple Mansar excavation (MNS 3)

Second, the Pāśupata movement involved more than the Pañcārtha tradition. This is apparent from the Pāśupata history that is found in chapter

[15] Bakker 1997, 2004, 2008.

167 of the *Skandapurāṇa*. Here we are told that before he left for Ujjain where he initiated Kuśika, Śiva's Kārohaṇa incarnation went to the house of a Brahmin named Somaśarman, a descendant of Atri, after he had assumed a white, ash-smeared body, that is, after he had adopted the appearance of a Pāśupata ascetic. The *Skandapurāṇa* (SP_S 167.125–126) twice explicitly says that this Lord initiated Somaśarman along with his family (*sakulam*), something not said of Kuśika and the other three disciples in Mathurā, Jambumārga, and Kanyakubja (SP_S 167.119–123, 128–130). This feature is significant, since it indicates that this Pāśupata branch, of which Somaśarman was believed to be the fountainhead, was conceived of as including more than only male ascetic *sādhaka*s. The text continues by saying that the Lord bestowed favour upon the members of the House of Atri by granting *yogasiddhi*, 'perfection in yoga.'[16]

As luck would have it, this tradition is confirmed by an inscription found near Malhār in Chhattisgarh (the 'Junvānī Copperplate Inscription of Mahāśivagupta,' Year 57) which may be dated to about 647 CE.[17] It testifies to a lineage of local preceptors whose names end in Soma and who traced their pedigree back to Somaśarman. The recipient of the grant, Bhīmasoma, was in charge of the *tapovana* attached to the Bāleśvara-bhaṭṭāraka Temple in Sirpur.[18] In this office, he seems to have succeeded the Siddhāntin Astraśiva, who had become head of the Bāleśvara Temple complex. The inscription further attests that these Soma Pāśupatas received the grant for sacrificial rituals (*yāga*), initiations (*dīkṣā*), teaching (*vyākhyāna*), housing of pupils and grand-pupils, and for repairs to the temple. In other words, these Pāśupatas acted as *ācārya*s and temple priests. Some of them may have been ascetics, but sacrificial rituals, for instance, may have been done by Brahmins who maintained the sacrificial fires, i.e., householders, a group explicitly said by the *Skandapurāṇa* to belong to the Pāśupata community from the very start, called *vaitānikavratin*s.[19]

4. *The concept of Dakṣiṇāmūrti*

An important new development in the Indian religions that is pronounced for the first time in the Pāśupata religion has been of great and lasting consequence: the belief that god or Śiva incarnated in a human being, a divine Brahmin preceptor, to reveal a unique doctrine that leads to salvation (*duḥkhānta*).

[16] SP_S 167.125; Bakker 2014, 140ff.

[17] Shastri 1995 II, 380–381; Bakker 2014, 143–145; Bakker 2019, 283–297; Bosma 2018, 82–85, 257.

[18] For this temple complex see Bosma 2018, 75–85, 161–162.

[19] *Skandapurāṇa* IIA, 29.60–63; Bakker 2014, 139.

Of course, the idea of divine incarnation was not invented by Śaivism alone, since we can date some of the Vaiṣṇava *prādurbhāva*s or *avatāra*s before the Christian Era, but they are of another nature and serve a cosmological rather than a soteriological function. And in the heterodox fold, we see that from the beginning the *bodhisattva* Gautama was invested with semi-divine qualities of a Mahāpuruṣa. However, it seems that in more or less the same period in which Śākyamuni Buddha came to be seen as just one incarnation in a long series of divine predecessors and successors and was elevated to the Mahāyāna pantheon, the contrapuntal movement of a godhead descending to human form to spread a doctrine was formulated in Pāśupata Śaivism. Intrinsic to this belief is the idea that the divine revelation, the word of god as laid down in the *Pāśupatasūtra*, can be passed on by successive human preceptors after initiation. It gives an ontological status to the *guruparaṃparā*. This idea is embedded in the concept of *dakṣiṇāmūrti*, which we came across in Kauṇḍinya's *dīkṣā* passage. I have previously discussed this concept at length and therefore like to restrict myself to a recapitulation of its major features.[20]

Kauṇḍinya uses the term *dakṣiṇāmūrti* to refer to a situation or state rather than to a specific 'image,' namely, the state in which Śiva, who faces east, appears to the one who sits or stands at His right side (*dakṣiṇā*) and sees Him in front of him, either in a temple image such as a *liṅga*, or in the *guru*. It is the situation in which Śiva reveals himself by turning His auspicious, gracious side towards the *sādhaka* who is facing north—the sitting position of the novice since Vedic times.

The *guru*, who initiates the student into the Pāśupata observance (*vrata*), thus, like an icon, embodies Śiva. The neophyte is seated next to him on his right-hand side, that is, as Kauṇḍinya says: 'at Mahādeva's *dakṣiṇāmūrti*'; he sees His benign epiphany, His *rūpa*, in front of him in the preceptor. This holds true for the divine Brahmin who initiates Kuśika in Ujjain and for all succeeding *guru*s in the *paraṃparā*. The relationship of the two natures of the preceptor, the learned person of flesh and blood, and the divine archetype that empowers him is made explicit in Bhāsarvajña's *ṭīkā* on the *Gaṇakārikā* when he comments on the word *guru*:[21]

> '*Guru*' is the preceptor (*ācārya*); [the concept] is twofold (*dvividha*), on account of the distinction between supreme and not-supreme (*parāpara*). With regard to this [duality], not-supreme is the *guru* as being circumscribed

[20] For a full historic treatment of this concept see Bakker 2019, 505–526.

[21] Bhāsarvajña *ad Gaṇakārikā* 5c (Dalal 1920, 9): *gurur ācāryaḥ sa dvividhaḥ parāparabhedāt | tatrāparaḥ pañcārthajñānamaryādānvitaḥ || [...] tasyādhiṣṭhātā bhagavān maheśvaraḥ paro guruḥ.*

by the knowledge of the five categories (*pañcārtha*). [...] The supreme *guru* is Lord Maheśvara, who empowers the former.

5. *The rise of the Mantramārga*

We return to the history of early Śaivism. When we discussed the lineage of preceptors whose names end in Soma and who traced their pedigree back to Somaśarman, we also came across a representative of the Śaiva Siddhānta, Astraśiva, who had become head of the Bāleśvara Temple, the royal, state sanctuary in Śrīpura in Sirpur (Bosma 2018, 78–81). Both the Soma and the Śaiva Siddhānta orders were close enough to share functions in the same temple complex and its adjuncts. A great number of inscriptions testify to the prominent position of the Śaiva Siddhānta under King Śivagupta Bālārjuna in Dakṣiṇa Kosala during his long reign from circa 590 to 650 CE.

The undated 'Senakapāṭ Inscription' of this king records a grant to an *ācārya* Sadāśiva, who belonged to one of Kosala's Śaiva Siddhānta lineages. The fountainhead of this lineage was Sadyaḥśiva, who is said to have come from the *tapovana* Āmardaka, an event that must have happened in the middle of the sixth century.

Alexis Sanderson has argued that Āmardaka was 'the mother institution to which all subsequent Saiddhāntika branch-lineages traced their authority.'[22] Pohnerkar & Thosar, followed by Kanole, had located this Āmardaka hermitage in Auṇḍhā in the Hingoli District, halfway between Vatsagulma (Wasim), capital of the Western Vākāṭakas, and Nāndeḍ on the banks of the Godāvarī River.[23] Auṇḍhā today derives its fame from the sanctuary of Nāganātha, one of the twelve Jyotirlingas. As far as I can see, the identification is primarily based on the 'Ardhapur Inscription of Ballāla' of 1192 CE, in which King Ballāla Raṭṭa, who was a feudatory of the Yādava king Billama V, is called, among other things, 'Proud recipient of Nāgeśa's grace' and 'Lord of Āmardakapura.'[24] The connection of Āmardaka with Nāganātha is supported by local Māhātmya literature.[25] Ritti & Shelka comment on Āmardakapura in the *Introduction* to their edition of the 'Inscriptions from

[22] Sanderson 2013, 236; see Bosma 2018, 89.

[23] Ritti & Shelka 1968, xl fn. 20: 'Śri Pohnerkar and Thosar identify this place with Aundhe in Parbhani district, in their monograph on this inscription entitled *Rattavamsya Ballala Yachā Ardhapur Śilalēkh*, p. 15.' The latter monograph is unavailable to me. Cf. Kanole in the *Preface* to Ritti & Shelka 1968, iv ff.

[24] Ritti & Shelka 1968, 191 (v. 6 of the *praśasti* portion): *śrīnāgeśapadāmbhojaprāsā dadhanagarvitaḥ*; and *op. cit.* 197 (prose portion 9): *śrīmadāmardakapuravareśvaraḥ*.

[25] In his *Preface* to Ritti & Shelka 1968, Kanole adduces, in addition to Ballāla's inscription, a number of passages quoted from *Sthalamāhātmya*s that support the re-

Nanded District' saying that 'It is difficult to identify this place correctly,' (1968, xl), yet this identification has been accepted by Alexis Sanderson (2013, 236).

There are thus some reasons to assume that a new movement within monastic Śaivism emerged from southern Maharashtra in the sixth century, which joined with the more comprehensive branches of the Pāśupata. In this process of transformation a key role was given to the belief that liberation can be obtained, not by ascetic practice alone, but by initiation rituals in which Śiva acts 'through the *guru* and with mantras as his instruments,' to quote Dominic Goodall in his *Short Preface* to the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* edition (Goodall et al. 2015, 16). The idea of the human *guru* or officiant as the personification of god had been developed in the Pāśupata fold, as we have seen when we discussed the *dakṣiṇāmūrti*, but this concept was now broadened into a ritual setting to which also householders were admitted, among whom, we presume, was King Śivagupta Bālārjuna, initiated by his *rājaguru* Astraśiva.[26]

6. *The Śaiva turn*

These were new departures in the history of Indian religion. An altered political reality in northern India expedited this process. The Hunnic wars, which had begun with Toramāṇa's invasion of the Gupta Empire and his conquest of large parts of western and northern India at the end of the fifth century, had come to an end with the victory of king Yaśodharman of Daśapura (Mandasor) and his allies over Toramāṇa's son Mihirakula in circa 532 CE (Bakker 2017, 21–25). The Hūṇas withdrew to their base in the northern Punjab, but the Gupta Empire was gone forever.

The most obvious change that took place in this period was the rise of autonomous, regional states in northern India. Examples are the Aulikara kingdom of Daśapura, the Maukhari kingdom of Kanyakubja, the Maitrakas of Valabhī, the Kalacuris of Māhiṣmatī, the Vardhanas of Sthāneśvara, and the Pāṇḍavas of Śrīpura. Since their independence had to be reconfirmed time and again, this new constellation was in a constant state of flux. This development marks the transition from the classical to the early medieval period in Indian history.

Another significant change was that all royal dynasties of these successor states confessed Śaivism. In his attempt to explain the Śaiva dominance in

lation of Nāganātha and Āmardaka, which place he identifies with Auṇḍhā (Onda-Naganath; *ib.*, iv ff).

[26] Bosma 2018, 87; see Sanderson 2013, 236.

the early Indian Middle Ages, Alexis Sanderson advanced the following hypothesis (Sanderson 2006, 4):

> The principal cause of this success was that Śaivism greatly increased its appeal to a growing body of royal patrons by extending and adapting its repertoire to contain a body of rituals and normative prescriptions that legitimated, empowered, or promoted all the key elements of the social and political developments that characterize the early medieval period.

What remains unclear in this hypothesis is why Vaiṣṇavism itself could not have developed such an adaptation, as it did, for instance, in the period that northern India was threatened by Muslim forces, the eleventh and twelfth centuries. I therefore see Sanderson's theory, though not untrue in itself, as tautological and, as such, inadequate to explain the remarkable Śaiva turn.

There are two decisive factors that enabled Śaivism to evolve into the dominant strand within medieval Hinduism in northern India. One is political. The fall of the Empire had discredited the Gupta state religion in the Empire's former territories. Because Vaiṣṇavism had thus lost value as a credible form of religion that could strengthen state authority and the prestige of the king, it attracted less patronage. Consequently, it became less well positioned and equipped to develop a new repertoire to cater for social and royal needs.

The other factor is ideological. That which gave the Śaiva officials a decisive edge over their rivals was the concept of the *guru*'s personification of Śiva, which empowered the *ācārya*s of the Śaiva lineages and their mantras, and promised direct access to the divine—a concept that was worked out initially in the Pāśupata fold, as we have seen. It made Śaiva initiation rituals and rituals in general, in the eyes of the believers, more powerful than their Vaiṣṇava counterparts.

7. *Two new Śaiva texts: the Skandapurāṇa and the Śivadharma*

When in the second half of the sixth century Śaivism acquired a prominent position in the doctrinal edifice of Indian religion through the various branches of the Pāśupata orders and the emerging Śaiva Siddhānta and it increasingly accommodated and informed the ways of popular worship and devotion, the need was felt to comprehend and take stock of these lay forms of religious belief and practices from which the orders largely drew support.

We may single out two erudite schemes that contributed to this aim. The first was designed to collect the various strands of Śaiva mythology and link them to the geography of northern India. On the one hand, this was meant to strengthen the position of individual Śaiva communities vis-à-vis their non-Śaiva rivals by providing them with an authoritative proof of identity through

Māhātmya narratives. On the other, it constructed a Śaiva universe that joined together these communities ideally in a web of common beliefs and spatially in a network of holy places over the length and breadth of northern India, from Śaṅkukarṇeśvara in the Indus Delta (Banbhore/Debāl) to Koṭivarṣa (Bangarh) in Bengal (Bakker 2014, 2). The geographical heart of the text of which I am speaking, the *Skandapurāṇa*, alternates between Kurukṣetra and Vārāṇasī. I have conjectured that the idea to compose such a Purāṇa was conceived in the latter holy city,[27] though recently strong arguments have been brought forward by Martine Kropman to see Kurukṣetra and adjacent Thanesar as the cradle of the composition (Kropman 2018).

During our work on the critical edition of this Purāṇa, which has now advanced into the second half of the text, we came across textual passages of a somewhat deviating nature, for instance in the Māhātmya of Vārāṇasī. The materials treated in these passages are of particular interest to the lay devotee. They deal with devout acts, worship ceremonies and observances, that is, with the kind of rituals that are performed by innumerable pilgrims even today. Though they may seem pedestrian to the highbrow, they form the heart of everyday Hinduism and, in so far as their performances require a priest and an exchange of goods, they provide the economic backbone of the holy city.

The importance attached by the Purāṇa composer to these precepts of devout behaviour also emerges from the additional legitimation that he was eager to lend them. An extra layer is built into the frame story, ensuring us once more that the doctrines and precepts that we learn from the *Ska ndapurāṇa* are indeed proclaimed by Śiva himself and passed on to the world of devotees by his most intimate servant, Nandīśvara.[28] Evidently, Nandīśvara was seen as an authority on Śaiva ritual for the laymen (*laukikas*). It became obvious to us that this fitted a pattern, as soon as we realised that Nandīśvara is also the speaker in the Śivadharma, a cluster of texts that was largely unexplored at the time we worked on the *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya*.

This brings me to the second textual scheme that may have been designed in the sixth century, the Śivadharma.[29] More than fifteen years ago, when Isaacson and I worked on the edition and annotation of the *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya* in *Skandapurāṇa* chapters 27–28,[30] we asked Dr Grünendahl

[27] *Skandapurāṇa* IIA, 52.

[28] *Skandapurāṇa* IIA, 27.8–10.

[29] Cf. Bisschop 2018b, 3: 'I conclude that the *Śāntyadhyāya* was most probably composed in North India towards the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century at the latest. To what extent this date also applies to other parts of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* remains to be evaluated.'

[30] *Skandapurāṇa* IIA, 197.

to collate the text of these chapters with texts of the Śivadharma corpus and he reported the following, which I quote here, since it might be of interest to reassess these preliminary observations within the framework of the current Śivadharma Project:

> The verbatim parallels between *Skandapurāṇa* 27–28 and the epic *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*s are insignificant in number and character; the same holds for the Śivadharma, *Śiva-Upaniṣad* and the parts of the *Śivadharmottara* that are available to me as e-texts. My present database of c. 21,860 *pāda*s yielded only 15 verbatim parallels.

These parallels, it turned out, are of a general and formulaic character. With respect to the contents, Grünendahl remarked that *Skandapurāṇa* 27 'encompass[es] the kind of practices described extensively in the Śivadharma, although rules and rewards usually differ.'

Research since these initial investigations has already made it clear that the Śivadharma 'played a crucial role in the formation, development and institutionalisation of Śaivism' (Bisschop 2018b, 1). But many questions as to the origin and role of this corpus within the religious developments in early medieval India and the Śaiva tradition remain. One of the challenges, it seems to me, is to relate this corpus to contemporaneous Śaiva texts, such as the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* and early Siddhānta writings, and to define its place of origin, in other words, to give it a Sitz im Leben. With regard to the latter, I would like to conclude my keynote with a speculation.

8. *Nandinagara*

In her important publication *Of Gods and Books*, which opened up the Śivadharma research, Florinda De Simini discusses the precept found in the second chapter of the *Śivadharmottara* regarding the writing of the manuscript:[31]

> One should transcribe the manuscript of Śiva with letters belonging to the Nandināgara script that are quadrangular, aligned in the upper part, not too thick nor thin, whose elements (*avayava*) are well filled, smooth, not too disjointed nor joined together, characterised by metrical quantities, *anusvāra* and combined consonants with signs for short and long vowels.

[31] Translation De Simini (2016a, 378) of *Śivadharmottara* 2.40–41: *caturasraiḥ samaśīrṣair nātisthūlair na vā kṛṣaiḥ | sampūrṇāvayavaiḥ snigdhair nātivicchinnasaṃhataiḥ* || 40 || *mātrānusvārasaṃyogahrasvadīrghādilakṣitaiḥ | nandināgarakair varṇair lekhayec chivapustakam* || 41 ||.

The word *nāgara* in the compound *nandināgarakair*, a derivation of *nagara* 'town,' may have the connotation 'script,' as in *kāśmīrair nāgarair varṇaiḥ* ('letters of the Kashmiri script') found in the *Hayaśīrṣapāñcarātra*.[32] The question is, 1) whether the first element *nandi/nandin* ('joy'/'gladdening') refers to an eponymous deity or locality, and 2) whether the compound signifies a script that is connected with the deity, Nandin or Nandikeśvara, or with a region where this script was in use. In the latter case, the locality is the eponym of the script, whereas the deity Nandin could of course be the eponym of the toponym, though not necessarily so.

De Simini (2016a, 113) observes that the *Mahāmāyūrī* (104) in a list of tutelary deities states: 'Nandin is assigned to Nandinagara.' She further observes that the toponym Nandinagara is well attested in early Buddhist donative inscriptions, but she refrains from a geographical identification of this 'Town of Nandi' which possibly lent its name to the script. Peter Bisschop reverts to De Simini's suggestion and observes in his *Universal Śaivism*, that Nandinagara has been identified by Trivedi with the village of Nadner/Nandner on the northern banks of the Narmadā River in the Hoshangabad District of Madhya Pradesh, where excavations under Trivedi's direction recovered an ancient settlement going back to Palaeolithic times (Bisschop 2018b, 13). This settlement, however, was abandoned in the third century CE, to be occupied again in the ninth to tenth century.[33] It was therefore certainly not a site of great learning in the fifth and following centuries, let alone one that lent its name to a prestigious script in use in Śaiva circles during the sixth and seventh centuries.

As both De Simini and Bisschop point out, if *nandi* stands for the deity Nandikeśvara, this would provide a nexus between script and the Śivadharma literature, since he is, as we have already observed, the speaker in early Śaiva ritualistic texts.[34] This nexus, if not secondary, may be considered as a fitting case of eponymy, in which the Śaiva deity lent his name to the script. A topographic derivation, however, which in the words of Bisschop 'does not necessarily exclude' the first option, seems worthwhile to pursue a little further.

Toponyms containing derivations of the root *nand* ('to rejoice') such as *nanda*, *nandā*, *nandi* or *nāndī* are legion; instances that spring to mind are the capitals of the Eastern Vākāṭakas and of the Gurjaras, Nandivardhana and Nāndīpura respectively. To be plausible as an eponym of the script in which Śaiva literature is to be written, the eponym should have demonstrable connections with the

[32] *Hayaśīrṣapāñcarātra* 2.31.10, according to De Simini 2016a, 110 fn. 285.
[33] Misra & Sharma 2003, 138–144.
[34] De Simini 2016a, 113, and Bisschop 2018b, 13.

learned Śaiva community of the sixth and seventh centuries; and this brings me to my speculation. As we have seen, there are reasons to believe that the school of the Śaiva Siddhānta came into being in the hermitage of Āmardaka in the vicinity of present-day Auṇḍhā in Maharashtra. According to the 'Bāsim Plates' of the Western Vākāṭakas king Vindhyaśakti II, dateable to circa 400 CE and issued from Vatsagulma, this region, i.e., the northern bank of the Godāvarī, is known as the Nāndīkaḍa/kaṭa District (Fig. 2).[35]

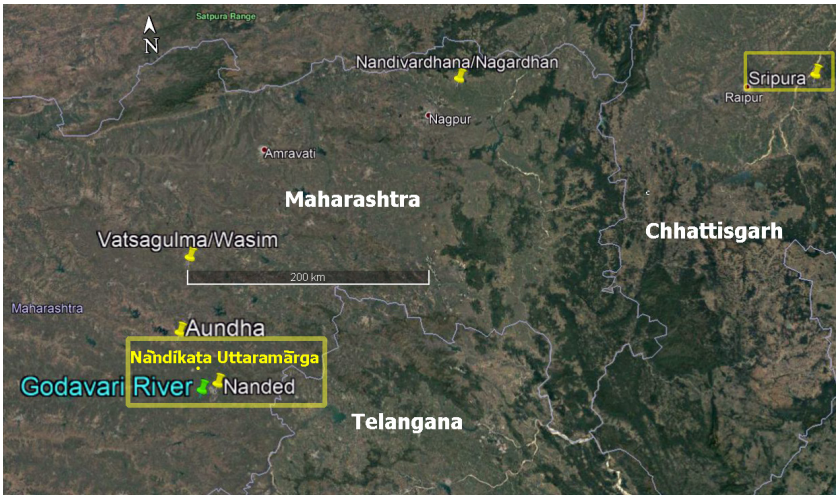

Fig 2: Nāndīkaṭa District on the north bank of the Godāvarī River

In addition to this epigraphic testimony, there are other sources which corroborate that certain reaches of the Godāvarī River were known under the name of Nandā or Nāndī.[36] On the bank of that Nāndī or Godāvarī Riv-

[35] CII V, 94–98 (l. 5): *nāndīkaḍasa uttaramagge*. Cf. Shastri 1995, 37–40. Balogh in *Siddham* reads °*kaca-* instead of °*kaḍa-*. As Mirashi points out, the cerebral *ṭ* becomes voiced *ḍ* in Śaurasenī Prakrit, in which language the inscription is partly written. I take *kaṭa* in the sense of (river)bank, synonymous with *taṭa* (see CDIAL s.v. *kaṭa*$_4$, *kaṭi*). Cf. Bennākaṭa, a name of a district on banks of the Bennā or Waingangā River (*Tirodī Plates of Pravarasena* II (CII V, 50 l. 13).

[36] The *Brahmapurāṇa* gives Nandā as one of the alternative names of the Godāvarī (*Brahmapurāṇa* 77.10). The 'Fragmentary Rashtrakuta (Pillar) Inscription from Kandhar'—ascribed by Sircar & Bhattacharya 1966 (EI 35, 106) to 'the reign of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III (939–967 CE)'—mentions a 'college, *vidyāsthāna*, situated on the bank of the Nāndī in the Godāvarī Valley: *godāvarītaṭādhyāsini nāndītaṭe*'

er, 50 km south of Auṇḍhā, we find today the town of Nāndeḍ. Although little is known of the antiquity of Nāndeḍ, it may well be possible that its history goes back to the fourth century, since *nāndeḍ* seems to derive from *nāndīkaḍa* 'through the intermediate Prakrit form **nāndīaḍa*.'[37]

In the region between Auṇḍhā and Nāndeḍ was the village Ākāśapada, which according to the 'Bāsim Plates,' was situated in the northern division (*uttaramārga*) of the Nāndīkaḍa District, which village was the home of an Atharvaveda community (*ādhivvaṇika-caraṇa*), whose Brahmins were the donees of Vindhyaśakti's charter; among them were Rudrārya of the Kapiñjala, Devārya of the Kauśika and Pitrārya of the Paippalādi *gotra*.[38] A line of these 'Bāsim Plates' (Fig. 3) may illustrate fairly well the Nandināgara script as defined in the *Śivadharmottara*. If this script is written with ink on palm leaf the square headmarks will be solid, that is 'well filled' (*saṃpūrṇa*):

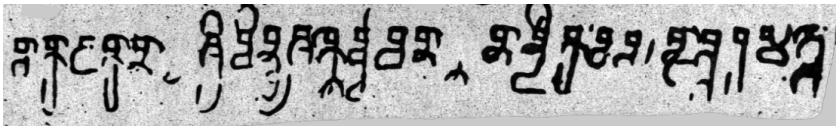

Fig 3: Bāsim Plates *(l. 5) of the Western Vākāṭaka king Vindhyaśakti II*

vākāṭakānāṃ śrīvindhyaśakter vvacanāt [|] *nāndīkaḍasa u*[39]*ttaramagge*

In an article on the *pāśupatavrata* in *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 40 Bisschop and Griffiths wrote that 'the only available early medieval grants to Atharvavedic brahmins hail from Gujarat.'[40] The 'Bāsim Plates' seem to contradict this statement; more important, however, is that these authors pointed out rightly the common social background of both groups, the Pāśupatas and the Atharvins:[41]

> The inclusion of the *Pāśupatavrata* among the Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭas indicates the prominent role which Pāśupata Śaivism must have played in or around the Atharvavedic milieu in which these texts were composed.

(EI 35, 107, 113; SI II, 510, 513). An old fort on the banks of the Godāvarī River c. 4 km from Nāndeḍ centre is known today as Nandagiri Fort, listed as a state protected monument S-MH-143: https://bit.ly/Nandagiri.

[37] Sircar & Bhattacharya 1966 in EI 35, 112; Mirashi 1963 in CII V, 96.

[38] CII V, 97 ll. 9ff.

[39] Mirashi notes: 'The engraver first incised *dā* which he afterwards altered to *u*.'

[40] Bisschop and Griffiths 2003, 320ff.

[41] Bisschop and Griffiths 2003, 323.

The tradition of the Atharvaveda Brahmins is often considered to be at odds with the other three Vedic branches, exactly because in this tradition, as of old, innovative rituals were developed, which could pass as magic recipes for a great variety of pains and worries. Though frowned at by their more conservative colleagues, these Brahmins placed their practical ritual skills at the disposal of those who could afford them.

The theory that we develop here, speculative as it may be, allows us to tackle one more question which has not found a satisfactory answer. The head of the Bāleśvara-bhaṭṭāraka Temple in Sirpur, the Siddhāntin Astraśiva, *sthānaguru* and *rājaguru* to King Śivagupta Bālārjuna, traced his pedigree back to Aghoraśiva, who in four donative inscriptions is said to have come from Nandapura.[42] The place is as yet unidentified, but in the light of our present investigation it may be suggested that this Nandapura is also to be looked for somewhere on the northern banks of the Godāvarī River, in the Nāndīkaṭa District, the same region that may have given birth to the Siddhānta lineage of Āmardaka as recorded in the Senakapāṭ Inscription.[43] This location in the centre of India would help to explain that, unlike the *Skandapurāṇa*, both the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* have been transmitted in both North and South India.

9. Conclusions

The hypothesis that I would like to present to the Śivadharma Project is that the Atharvavedic milieu on the northern bank of the Godāvarī or Nāndī River, the ancient Nāndīkaṭa District, comprising the present-day cities of Auṇḍhā and Nāndeḍ in southeast Maharashtra, had evolved in the sixth century into a bustling, diverse community of religious specialists. This happened in such a way that out of it new ritualistic Śaiva schools such as the Śaiva Siddhānta and the Śivadharma could emerge, schools that published their writings in what came to be called the Nandināgara script.

[42] Bosma 2018, 251–252: Inscriptions Dk 37, 38, 40, 42.

[43] The 'Pīparḍūlā Plates' of king Narendra of Śarabhapura, datable to the first half of the fifth century, that is two hundred years before Śivagupta Bālārjuna, records a grant of the village Śarkarāpadraka in the Nandapura-*bhoga* (Bosma 2018, 13–15: Dk 1). The kings of Śarabhapura came from Mekhala. Geography and chronology make it unlikely that this Nandapura-*bhoga* has anything to do with the Nandapura from where the Śaivasiddhānta lineage of Aghoraśiva originated.

The mantra in six syllables of the Śivadharma and its place in the early history of Śaivism

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1. *The śivamantra of the Śivadharmottara**

> Thus, this Dharma of Śiva has been taught to you in the first chapter in a concise form, without gaps, in due sequence; and what follows is an elaboration. (39) / Praise to those people who have taken refuge in Śiva, whose thoughts are always addressed to Śiva, day and night. (40) / The life of someone who has the couplet of syllables 'Śiva,' along with '*namaskāra*' and so on, on the tip of their tongue, will be full of auspicious results. (41) / Someone who always recites this mantra, or listens to it very attentively, will, freed from all sins, rejoice in the world of Śiva (42).[1]

* I wish to express my gratitude to Dominic Goodall, Kengo Harimoto, Csaba Kiss, Francesco Sferra, Raffaele Torella and Judit Törzsök for all the improvements they have suggested at various stages of this work. Research for this article was part of my work for the ERC Project SHIVADHARMA (803624).

[1] *Śivadharmaśāstra* 1.39–42 (N^{K}_{82} fol. 2r, ll. 5–6; N^{P}_{57} fol. 2r, ll. 5–6): *ity eṣa vaḥ samāsena śivadharmo 'khilaḥ kramāt | nirdiṣṭaḥ prathame 'dhyāye śeṣo 'sau ca pravistaraḥ* || 39 || *namas tebhyo manuṣyebhyo ye śivaṃ śaraṇaṃgatāḥ | yeṣāṃ divā ca rātrau ca nityaṃ śivagatā smṛtiḥ* || 40 || *namaskārādisaṃyuktaṃ śiva ity akṣaraṃ dvayaṃ | jihvāgre vartate yasya saphalaṃ tasya jīvitam* || 41 || *imaṃ yaḥ paṭhate nityaṃ śṛṇuyād vāpi bhāvitaḥ | sa muktaḥ sarvapāpais tu śivaloke mahīyate* || 42 ||.

A methodological note on my practice of quoting from *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s chapters one and seven: in the absence of a critical edition, I decided to rely on a collation of two of the Nepalese manuscripts that are proving reliable in the editorial work on this

These verses conclude the first chapter of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, in which Nandikeśvara has started his exposition of the *śivadharma* to Sanatkumāra and other *ṛṣi*s in response to their request for an 'easy,' less expensive means to worship Śiva as opposed to the Vedic sacrifice, characterised as costly and not advantageous.[2] Śaiva devotees are here enjoined to recite the mantra formed by the word 'Śiva,' along with the *namaskāra* 'and so on'; in light of what follows, both in this text and in the *Śivadharmottara*, we can easily identify this addition (°*ādi*) with the *oṃkāra* and with the dative ending *-āya*, and thus recognise a reference to the popular mantra *oṃ namaḥ śivāya*. The *Śivadharmaśāstra* imparts more teachings on this mantra, which it calls the 'mantra in six syllables' (*ṣaḍakṣaramantra*), in chapter seven, dealing with the topic of *śivapūjā* primarily in the form of a *liṅga* cult, as is typical of this work. The onset of the chapter, stating that the *liṅgapūjā* is superior to Vedic sacrifices, refers to the beginning of chapter one.[3] In this context, the mantra *oṃ namaḥ śivāya* is presented as a ritualistic tool that augments the results of rituals, and eases the path towards emancipation since it removes all sins.[4]

and other Śivadharma texts. These passages are also attested, with variant readings, in the Southern branch of the tradition of this work, so we can be reasonably sure of their being a stable part of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*. However, not having myself transcribed these chapters in their entirety, for *śloka* numbers I rely on the current printed edition by Naraharinath (1998), which is rather faithful to the text transmitted in this manuscript. This means that a note of caution is needed when using these *śloka* numbers, since the critical edition could still result in a different numbering.

[2] For a comparative study of the information found in the initial and concluding passages of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, the *Śivadharmottara* and the *Śivopaniṣad,* see De Simini 2016a, 46ff, and De Simini 2016b, 263–268.

[3] *Śivadharmaśāstra* 7.3–4 (N^{K}_{82} fol. 20v, ll. 4–5; N^{p}_{57} fol. 20v, ll. 4–5): *agnihotrāś ca vedāś ca yajñāś ca bahudakṣiṇāḥ | śivaliṅgārcanasyaite koṭyaṃśenāpi no samāḥ* || <3> || *sadā yajati* [em.; *yajanti* N^{K}_{82}, *yajayanti* N^{p}_{57} ac, *yajanti* N^{p}_{57} pc] *yajñena sadā dānaṃ prayacchati | sadā sa* [N^{K}_{82}; *saṃ*° N^{p}_{57}] *jñānadakṣaś ca yaḥ sadārcayate śivaṃ* || <4> ||; 'Fire-oblations, Vedic prescriptions and sacrifices are very expensive, [but] these are not even worth the ten-millionth part of the worship of the *liṅga* of Śiva (3). / Someone who always worships Śiva, he always performs sacrifices, always gives donations, is always well-versed in scriptural knowledge (4).'

[4] *Śivadharmaśāstra* 7.39–41 (N^{K}_{82} fol. 21v, ll. 4–6; N^{p}_{57} fol. 21v, ll. 4–5): *śivam iṣṭvā naraḥ so 'pi prayāti paramāṃ gatim* || <39> || *ayaṃ vinaiva mantreṇa puṇyarāśiḥ prakīrtitaḥ | syād idaṃ mantrasaṃyuktaṃ puṇyaṃ śataguṇādhikam* || <40> || *tasmāt mantreṇa śarvāya snānaṃ gandhajalādikam* [conj.; *snānaṃ gandhajalādhikam* N^{p}_{57}; *snāgandhārcanādikam* N^{K}_{82} ac, with *-na-* added pc in margin] | *kṣitiṃ gām aśvaratnaṃ ca vastraṃ hemaṃ* [N^{K}_{82}; *hema* N^{p}_{57}] *nivedayet* || <41> || *jñeyo namaḥ śivāyeti mantraḥ sarvārthasādhakaḥ | sarvamantrādhikaś* [N^{p}_{57}; °*ādhikaṃ* N^{K}_{82}] *cāyam oṃkārādyaḥ*

The *Śivadharmottara* gives an even higher relevance to the mantra in six syllables, as it deals with it rather extensively at the beginning of the work, and later highlights its role in the context of the main rituals and doctrines enjoined by the text. Chapter one dedicates stanzas 1.23–46 and 1.63–75 to describing the nature and functions of the *ṣaḍakṣaramantra*, interrupting its treatment only to introduce deliberations on the *śivaguru* and his commitment to converting the king to the Śivadharma (1.47–62); this passage turns out to give a rather transparent insight into the Śaiva strategy of converting the state's elites in order to secure patronage (see De Simini 2016a, 68ff). The topics of the mantra and that of the authority of the teacher are not disconnected, since the *Śivadharmottara* presents the six-syllabled mantra as the direct command of Śiva (*vākyam* [...] *śivātmakam*, 1.23d) and the source of the Śaiva scriptures. Only upon deriving his authority from a faithful reliance on Śiva's command can a teacher claim that his teachings are worthy of

ṣaḍakṣaraḥ [N^{P}_{57}; °*ādyaṃ ṣaḍakṣaram* N^{K}_{82}] || <42> ||; 'Having worshipped Śiva, even a human being attains the supreme seat (39). / This person is known as extremely meritorious even if he did not use the mantra; such merits, when [the worship is performed] with the mantra, shall be a hundred times higher. (40) / Therefore, one should use the mantra when offering a bath with perfumed water and so on, land, a cow, a horse-jewel, garments, [and] gold to Śarva. (41) / The mantra *namaḥ śivāya* is known as accomplishing all goals, and this mantra, in six syllables with *oṃ* at the beginning, is superior to all mantras (42).'

The two manuscripts I have consulted for the collation read *jñeyo* in *pāda* 42a, and thus the mantra that follows is simply *namaḥ śivāya*. Others, such as N^{Ko}_{77} (fol. 24rl2), read *jñeyoṃ*, and, as a consequence, give at *pāda*s 42ab the mantra *oṃ namaḥ śivāya*. The two Cambridge manuscripts are divided on this point, with N^{C}_{94} (fol. 21vl3) reading *jñeyo*, and N^{C}_{45} (fol. 20rl3) *jñeyoṃ*. However, the latter has been heavily corrected exactly in the folios transmitting this chapter, and, at a closer look, the *anusvāra* above the *akṣara -yo* turns out to be a later emendation. A plausible explanation is thus that *jñeyo* was the correct reading, but then some copyists or later scholars felt it was incoherent with the following reference to the six-syllabled mantra and corrected it on purpose. Such a small change could have even just happened automatically.

As it will become clearer in the following pages, the versions in five or six syllables are seen as two clearly distinct mantras, and the *Śivadharmottara* specifies that they have two separate domains. The *Śivadharmaśāstra* devotes some of the coming stanzas to the mantra *oṃ* (*Śivadharmaśāstra* 7.43–49; see also *infra*), and finally enjoins the devotees to 'always think of the mantra starting with *oṃ*, because muttering *oṃ namaḥ śivāya* one is freed from all sins' (*Śivadharmaśāstra* 7.53, N^{K}_{82} fol. 22v, l. 2, N^{P}_{57} fol. 21r, ll. 2–3: *kṛtvauṃ namaḥ śivāyeti mucyate sarvapātakaiḥ | yasmāt tasmāt sadā mantram oṃkārādyam anusmaret*). At the same time, just like the *Śivadharmottara*, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* acknowledges the use of the five-syllabled version, by conferring powers to the *namaskāra* itself.

the trust (*śraddhā*) of an audience of Śaiva devotees, including the political elites. The *Śivadharmottara* thus weaves the powers of the *ṣaḍakṣaramantra* together with the epistemological discourse on the source of the validity of the Śaiva scriptures, linking both to the human authority of the main actors on the public religious scene, namely the teacher and the king. No mention is made in this chapter of a ritual use of the mantra. Only towards the end (1.76–97) do we find some stanzas that are dedicated to a form of *liṅga*-worship performed 'with six tools' (*ṣaḍaṅgavidhi*), corresponding to six products of the cow, in which however the mantra plays no function. These stanzas actually seem rather unrelated to the preceding contents except for two points: the performer of this *liṅga*-worship ceremony, arguably more expensive for the use of orpiment in addition to the five traditional cow-products, might be the king; and the six *aṅga*s of this ritual recall the six syllables of the mantra in number, and both are presented as an original five-fold division (the *pañcagavya* and the *pañcākṣaramantra*) to which a sixth element (the orpiment and the *praṇava*) is added to make it more powerful.

Chapter two further develops the topic of the mantric nature of the *śivajñāna* by stressing the salvific and protective powers of its textual and material embodiments, with one specific text—the *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*—being expressly evoked for its mantric function during the ritual of *vidyādāna* (De Simini 2016a, 118ff, and Bisschop 2018b). The *vidyādāna* was also the context of the first reference to the ritual use of the *śivamantra*, which I take here to correspond to the *ṣaḍakṣaramantra*, when the text enjoins the king to mutter such mantra during his participation in the public procession taking the manuscript of the Śaiva scriptures to the temple (*Śivadharmottara* 2.55; De Simini 2016a, 114). Here, again, the mantra is given a relevance in the public arena as a token of the king's adherence to the Śaiva religion. Another reference to using the *śivamantra* for rituals is found in the prescriptions of the ritual ablutions of chapter eleven (*Śivadharmottara* 11.17). Parallel to these ritual usages, the mantra plays an important function also in meditation and yoga. Chapter three, for instance, lists the repetition (*japa*) of the *śivamantra* as one of the five *mahāyajña*s, the main ritual and spiritual practices of a Śaiva devotee.[5] Such *japa* precedes the continuous meditation on Śiva, one of the

[5] The five *mahāyajña*s are listed in *Śivadharmottara* 1.10: *karmayajñas tapoyajñaḥ svādhyāyo dhyānam eva ca | jñānayajñaś ca pañcaite mahāyajñāḥ prakīrtitāḥ* || 10 ||. See *Śivadharmottara* 3.13 for a definition of *svādhyāya* as the *japa,* i.e., the muttering, of the *śivamantra*: *svādhyāyaś ca japaḥ proktaḥ śivamantrasya sa tridhā | dhyānayajñaḥ samākhyātaḥ śivacintā muhur muhuḥ* || 13 ||. While in the verses quoted above the third *yajña* is called *svādhyāya*, later on (see for instance *Śivadharmottara* 3.59) the text

steps that will eventually lead the *yogin* to emancipation: in chapter ten, on the topic of *jñānayoga*, the practice of mantra-repetition is in fact one of the six yoga-ancillaries, immediately preceding *dhyāna* (*Śivadharmottara* 10.165–174). The topic of the *ṣaḍakṣaramantra* in the *Śivadharmottara* is thus tightly interrelated both with issues of authority, scriptural and political, and with the more doctrinal sphere of the religious and meditative practice culminating in the *jñānayoga*—that is to say that it permeates two of the major topics of the *Śivadharmottara*, roughly corresponding to the 'mundane' and the 'ultramundane' aspects of the (Śaiva) religion. All these topics were mentioned and briefly dealt with in the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, but their treatment is amplified in the *Śivadharmottara*, which thus fulfils its function of 'going beyond' its forerunner.

The next pages will be devoted to a study of the extensive presentation of the six-syllabled mantra found in chapter one of the *Śivadharmottara*, which I will place in the context of early Śaiva sources whenever the interpretation requires it. This is meant in the first place as a contribution towards the understanding of a teaching that was of prime importance for those who composed and read the *Śivadharmottara*, but also as an attempt to advance our knowledge of the doctrinal world in which such people must have acted. One key omission of this study concerns the important history of the reception of the *Śivadharmottara*'s teachings on the six-syllabled mantra in later Śaiva manuals and Purāṇas. Given the extent and implications of such history, this will form the subject of a separate study (De Simini forth.a). This impact on other texts adds to the reasons why understanding the teachings on the *ṣaḍakṣaramantra* in the *Śivadharmottara* can contribute a missing link in the history of the formation of Śaiva practices and doctrines.

2. *Śiva in the mantra*

The *Śivadharmottara* first introduces the six-syllabled mantra *oṃ namaḥ śivāya* in typically eulogistic terms by defining it as a 'means to accomplish everything' (1.25), 'the true seed of all mantras, like the seed of the Ficus Religiosa' (1.26),[6] and then moves on to a more analytical definition in stanzas 1.27–29. Here the text locates Śiva in the *praṇava*, and then connects

refers to it as *japayajña*. On the topic of the *Śivadharmottara*'s appropriation of the five *mahāyajña*s from the Brahmanical tradition, see De Simini forth.b.

[6] *Śivadharmottara* 1.25–26: *mantraṃ sukhamukhoccāryam aśeṣārthaprasādhakam | prāhauṃ namaḥ śivāyeti sarvajñaḥ sarvadehināṃ* || 25 || *sadbījaṃ sarvavidyānāṃ mantram ādyaṃ ṣaḍakṣaram | atisūkṣmaṃ mahārthaṃ ca jñeyaṃ tad vaṭabījavat* || 26 ||.

the five syllables of the *pañcākṣaramantra*—corresponding to the words *namaḥ śivāya*, without *oṃ*—to the five *brahmamantra*s:

> Having transcended the *guṇa*s of the three gods, the omniscient, omnipotent lord, Śiva, who pervades everything, is established in the mantra of one syllable, that is *oṃ* (27). / The [five] subtle *brahmamantra*s starting with *īśāna*, corresponding each to one syllable, are in sequence established in the mantra *namaḥ śivāya*. (28) / Śiva, whose body is made of the five *brahmamantra*s, himself resides in the subtle mantra of six syllables according to a signified-signifier relationship (*vācyavācakabhāva*), in agreement with his own nature. (29)
>
> *devatrayaguṇātītaḥ sarvajñaḥ sarvakṛt prabhuḥ | om ity ekākṣare mantre sthitaḥ sarvagataś śivaḥ* || 27 || *īśānādyāni sūkṣmāṇi brahmāṇy ekākṣarāṇi tu | mantre namaḥ śivāyeti saṃsthitāni yathākramam* || 28 || *mantre ṣaḍakṣare sūkṣme pañcamantratanuḥ śivaḥ | vācyavācakabhāvena sthitaḥ sākṣāt svabhāvataḥ* || 29 ||

The *ṣaḍakṣaramantra* does not simply result from the combination of two mantras, the *praṇava* and the *pañcākṣara,* but each of its six syllables corresponds to a different mantra. The first element of this ensemble is the *praṇava*, in which Śiva is located as *devatrayaguṇātītaḥ* (1.27). Such expression recalls stanzas 7.43–49 of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, devoted exactly to the analysis of *oṃ* as *ekākṣaramantra*. Here the three morae (*mātrā*s) into which *oṃ* is divided (a-u-m) are connected to a series of triads, following a model attested since early Upaniṣadic speculation, as shown for instance by the *Praśnopaniṣad* (chapter five) or the brief *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad*, and mentioned in early Dharmaśāstra (see *Manusmṛti* 2.74ff). Among the triads identified by the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, the most important one is exactly a *devatraya* composed of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra, corresponding to the three actions of creation, obfuscation and salvation of the universe, the three worlds and the three *guṇa*s,[7] to which we can also read a reference in the expression *devatrayaguṇātītaḥ*. In the context of *Śivadharmaśāstra* chapter seven, Śiva is conceived as the supreme cause (*paramakāraṇa*,

[7] *Śivadharmaśāstra* 7.44cd–49 (N^{K}_{82}, fols 21r, l.6–22v, l.2; N^{P}_{57}, fols 21v, l.6– 21r, l.1): *rudro brahmā hariś caiva mātrās tisraḥ prakīrtitaḥ* || <44> || *dakṣiṇe 'ṅge bhaved brahmā harir vāmāṅgasambhavaḥ | hṛdayān nirgato rudro brahmaviṣṇuprabodhakaḥ* || <45> || *jagatsṛṣṭikaro brahmā viṣṇur lokavimohakaḥ | anugrahakaro nityaṃ līno rudraḥ śivātmakaḥ* || <46> || *tribhir etair jagad vyāptaṃ kāraṇair ātmakarmabhiḥ | tisro mātrāḥ śivasyaitāḥ sarvalokaprapūjitāḥ* || <47> || *etā eva trayo lokās trayo devās trayo <'>gnayaḥ | trayo guṇās trivargaś ca yac cānyad jagati sthitaṃ* || <48> || *ardhamātrāt paro rudraḥ śivaḥ paramakāraṇaḥ | tasmād etat samutpannaṃ jagataḥ kāraṇatrayam* || <49> ||.

Śivadharmaśāstra 7.49), surpassing everything in the form of the half-mora (*ardhamātrā*), the final nasalisation at the end of the mantra. The *Śivadharmottara*'s description of Śiva as 'surpassing' or 'transcending' the *guṇa*s of the three gods in the mantra *oṃ,* meant to convey the superiority of this form of Śiva over the three gods who are worshipped in the constituents of the *praṇava*, is thus a direct reference to the *Śivadharmaśāstra*. However, the *Śivadharmottara* also suggests a different interpretation. Mentions of the mantra *oṃ* occur again in chapter ten of the *Śivadharmottara*, on the topic of *jñānayoga* (see *Śivadharmottara* 10.85–94). Here the meditator is enjoined to visualise Śiva in the *oṃ* placed in the middle of the pericarp of the lotus-throne that one is supposed to mentally build in one's heart as a support to meditation (Goodall 2011, 233–238, referring to *Śivadharmottara* 10.72–88). Following this, the *Śivadharmottara* mentions again a triad of gods corresponding to the three components of the *oṃkāra*, but this time the text presents two possible interpretations: that the three morae of *oṃ* correspond to Skanda, the Goddess, and Maheśvara (*mātrās tisraḥ samākhyātāḥ skandagaurīmaheśvarāḥ*, 10.89ab; the printed edition and part of the manuscript tradition read °*devī*° instead of °*gaurī*°), or that they correspond to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara (*athavānyaprakāreṇa brahmaviṣṇumaheśvarāḥ*, 10.91ab), which is the same triad mentioned in the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, with the sole difference of Rudra being replaced by Maheśvara. That the *Śivadharmottara* might have seen the first option as preferable is hinted at by the connection between the first triad of gods and the *mātrā*s of *oṃ* that the text creates by associating each of them to the initial phoneme of the gods' names:[8] 'From the phoneme "a" Skanda is perceived, because he is Agni's offspring;[9] from the phoneme "u" the goddess Umā, and from the phoneme "m" Maheśvara.' The three morae thus enable

[8] *Śivadharmottara* 10.90: *akārād agnigarbhatvāt kumāraḥ parigṛhyate | ukārād apy umādevī makārāc ca maheśvaraḥ* || 90 ||. The text quoted from chapter ten, here and elsewhere, is extracted from Goodall's forthcoming critical edition, which he kindly accepted to share with me.

[9] The text refers here to the role of Agni in the birth of Skanda. Early sources associate Skanda with Agni, who is described as his father in the *Mahābhārata*'s *Āraṇyakaparvan* (book three, chapters 213–214 of the critical edition; here the mother is said to be Svāhā, the daughter of Dakṣa). A kind of fatherly function is also reflected by some of the accounts that make Skanda the son of Rudra or Śiva, already found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s *Bālakāṇḍa* (chapters 35–36) and in the *Śalyaparvan* (book nine) of the *Māhābhārata* (chapters 45–46 in the critical edition); in these, Agni is variously assigned the function of entering Rudra/Śiva's semen or taking it and placing it into the Gaṅgā, which will then become the birthplace of Skanda. An overview of the accounts on the birth of Skanda in Sanskrit literature can be found in Clothey 1978, 49ff.

meditation on this triad of gods, with Śiva being evoked by the *ardhamātrā* (*Śivadharmottara* 10.91d).

In an article in this volume (see chapter four), Yokochi points out that both the triad mentioned in *Śivadharmaśāstra* 7.44cd–49, and that hinted at by *Śivadharmottara* 1, possibly corresponding to that of 10.89, are mentioned in chapters five and twelve of the *Śivadharmottara* as five extra supramundane worlds added to the usual set of seven that forms the Brahmāṇḍa. As she remarks, 'the addition of further upper five worlds or domains (of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Skanda, Umā and Śiva) or three (of Skanda, Umā and Śiva) above the Brahmāṇḍa, seems to be an entirely new invention in this work' (p. 77). In this light, the idea of Śiva as 'transcending' the other gods also acquires a cosmological meaning, since it expresses the superiority of the Śivasthāna over the worlds presided over by the other deities, and which are ultimately also associated with the *mātrā*s forming *oṃ*.[10]

The second main component of the mantra in six syllables is the *pañcākṣaramantra*, whose five syllables are associated, in stanzas 1.28–29, to the five *brahmamantra*s, which are additionally described as the components of Śiva's body. These are five mantras whose use is especially important for the Pāśupata tradition, and which are given at the end of each of the five chapters of the *Pāśupatasūtra*;[11] they correspond to different aspects of Śiva, but with time they came to be associated with the five faces of Sadāśiva. The *Śivadharmottara* expressly prescribes the chanting of the *brahmamantra*s on the occasion of an installation ceremony (see the *pavitra*s mentioned at 2.153), or of the performance of *prāyaścitta* (*pañcabrahma* in 11.78), thus attributing to these mantras the purificatory function by which they are also known in later Śaiva texts.[12] They are still in use in the Mantramārga, but they become less central than they were for the Pāśupatas, partly in favour of other, Tantric mantras.[13]

[10] Note, however, that this is not an exact correspondence, since in the case of *oṃ* we have a triad of *mātrā*s being surpassed by a superior form of Śiva, which is therefore a fourth component, whereas in the case of the three corresponding ultramundane worlds we lack a fourth element.

[11] On discrepancies between these mantras in the Sūtrapāṭha and in Kauṇḍinya's commentary *Pañcārthabhāṣya*, see Bisschop 2006b.

[12] See for instance the frequency with which the *brahmamantra*s, above all the *aghoramantra*, are prescribed for expiation ceremonies in the *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*, a twelfth-century digest by Trilocanaśiva. The five *brahmamantra*s are described as the five *pavitrāṇi* in the *Ratnaṭīkā*, one of the few extant works of the Pāśupata Pāñcārthika tradition (Oberhammer 1991, 209).

[13] For more considerations of the *brahmamantra*s in the Mantramārga, see Goodall 2013, TAK s.v. *pañca brahmāṇi*.

In an article in this volume (see chapter three), Goodall observes that at this point the *Śivadharmottara* alludes to the five syllables of the *pañcākṣaramantra* as the seed-syllable forms of the *brahmamantra*s (see p. 63). While the earliest reference to the *brahmamantra*s being used as seed-syllables can be found in the *Mūlasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa*, Goodall points out that this is not an indication that the *Śivadharmottara* should predate that occurrence, but rather of the *Śivadharmottara*'s knowledge of distinctively Mantramārgic doctrines. As we will see, more aspects of the mantra teachings of the *Śivadharmottara* seem to point towards contacts or at least a shared body of knowledge with Mantramārga Śaivism, while the text still remains anchored in the non-Tantric traditions. The homologisation of the mantra *namaḥ śivāya* with the five *brahmamantra*s attested in *Śivadharmottara* 1.28 is a rather isolated case in the context of early Śaiva literature,[14] also due to the association between this form of the five-syllabled mantra and non-Tantric circles. The growing popularity of the *pañcākṣaramantra* in Southern post-twelfth century Śaiva environments will lead to a parallel rise in the number of attestations connecting these two sets of five. Such occurrences, albeit not derived directly from the *Śivadharmottara*, are still part of a broader history of how its spread and reception—especially through the rewriting of the *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā*—might have played a role in the process of adoption of the *pañcākṣaramantra* among Vīraśaivas and later Śaivasiddhāntins.[15]

[14] One possible exception, albeit not very early, is the *Dhyānaratnāvalī*, composed by Trilocanaśiva in the twelfth century: in two consecutive *pāda*s (p. 99, stanza 68cd), the *Dhyānaratnāvalī* refers to Śiva both as 'reciting the five-syllabled [mantra]' (*pañcākṣarajapam*) and as 'having a great body [made] of the five [*brahma*]*mantra*s' (*pañcamantramahātanum*). This description resonates with stanza 1.28 of the *Śivadharmottara*. However, there is a substantial difference as to the type of five-syllabled mantra that these texts support, since the mantras in the *Dhyānaratnāvalī* are distinctively Tantric. Note that the expression *pañcamantramahātanu* can be traced in early Tantra such as the *Svacchandatantra* (10.1206), which also attests the use of *pañcamantrātman* (8.29), along with other similar compounds describing Śiva as having the five mantras as his body (see *infra* fn 18).

[15] Note that it is in the light of the popularity of the *pañcākṣaramantra* in Southern Śaiva environments that we have to read the testimony of the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā*, a work that originated most likely in the Tamil South around the thirteenth century (Kiss 2021, 51ff). This is the sole attestation that I was able to locate in a Sanskrit text that details the method of dividing the syllables of *namaḥ śivāya* according to the *brahmamantra*s by also giving the resulting mantras (Kiss 2021, 145). Here Kiss, whom I thank for pointing out this reference to me, notes that in the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* the *pañcākṣara*, unlike other mantras, was not secret, and was used for daily purification rites; its main function was to confirm the belonging to the Śaiva tradition as opposed to the Vaiṣṇava

The use of the expression *pañcamantratanu* in 1.29, for which the manuscript tradition of the *Śivadharmottara* also attests the variant *pañcabrahmatanu*,[16] recalls those attested in Tantric literature to describe Sadāśiva, whose subtle body is in fact thought to be made of the five *brahmamantra*s: in such classification, each one of the *brahmamantra*s is matched with a different body part of Sadāśiva, while also being connected to other pentads, such as Sadāśiva's faces (*pañca vaktrāṇi*), named after the *brahmamantra*s, from which as many currents of scriptures or religious observance emerge (*pañca srotāṃsi*), or Śiva's five actions (*pañcakṛtya*).[17] Under the influence

or Buddhist. The analysis of the *pañcākṣaramantra* is one of the points in which Kiss sees a possible influence from the Tamil Siddha and the Vīraśaiva traditions—citing as examples texts such as the *Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi* by Śivayogin (fifteenth to sixteenth century) and the *Kriyāsāra* by Nīlakaṇṭha (seventeenth century), without maintaining that the influence came exactly from these texts (Kiss 2021, 81ff), which would be impossible for chronological reasons.

The sequences of mantras derived from the *pañcākṣara* as attested in the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* are two. In stanzas 2.38–40: *naṃ* corresponding to *īśānāyākāśātmane namaḥ*; *maṃ* corresponding to *tatpuruṣāyānilātmane namaḥ*; *śiṃ* corresponding to *sadyojātāyānalātmane namaḥ*; *vāṃ* corresponding to *aghorāya jalātmane namaḥ*; *yaṃ* corresponding to *vāmadevāya pṛthivyātmane namaḥ*. In stanzas 2.40–41: *naṃ* corresponding to *īśānāyorddhvavaktrāya namaḥ*; *maṃ* corresponding to *tatpuruṣāya pūrvavaktrāya namaḥ*; *śiṃ* corresponding to *sadyojātāya dakṣiṇavaktrāya namaḥ*; *vāṃ* corresponding to *aghorāya paścimavaktrāya namaḥ*; *yaṃ* corresponding to *vāmadevāya vāmavaktrāya namaḥ*. These tables of correspondences can be found in Kiss 2021, 145; see ib., 190–191 for the text, and 391–392 for the translation.

[16] The two readings are equally well supported in the manuscripts consulted for the edition: *pañcamantra*° is attested in Nepalese manuscripts dated ninth to eleventh century such as N^{K}_{A12}, N^{K}_{28}, N^{Ko}_{77}, as well as in a twelfth-century one, N^{O}_{15}; the reading *pañcabrahma*° finds support in the eleventh-century Cambridge manuscript N^{C}_{45}, as well as in the eleventh-century N^{K}_{82} and in the two Grantha manuscripts, while also being accepted in both Nepalese printed editions (Naraharinath 1998 and Śarmā and Jñanavālī 2018).

[17] Among the pre-twelfth century Siddhāntatantras that describe Sadāśiva as *pañcamantratanu*, *pañcamantramayī*, or other similar expressions, see for instance *Mṛgendra*, VP 3.8 (*tadvapuḥ pañcabhir mantraiḥ pañcakṛtyopayogibhiḥ | īśatatpuruṣāghoravāmājair mastakādikam* || 8 ||), also referring to the association between these five mantras (Īśa/Īśāna, Tatpuruṣa, Aghora, Vāma/Vāmadeva, Aja/Sadyojāta) and the five actions of Śiva (*pañcakṛtya*), as well as five parts of his body; *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, VP 4.13–15ab (*yair vṛtaḥ parame vyomni rājate mantranāyakaḥ* || 13 || *tanus tasyopacāreṇa pañcamantramayī śivā | īśānamūrdhā puṃvaktro hy aghorahṛdayaḥ prabhuḥ* || 14 || *ucyate vāmaguhyoktyā sadyomūrtiś ca śāsane*), singling out the different parts of the body associated to each mantra (respectively: the forehead, *mūrdhan*, the face, *vaktra*, the heart, *hṛdaya*, the genitals, *guhya*, and the legs, *mūrti*). The notion of Sadāśiva's body made of the five *brahmamantra*s is also attested in some non-Śaivasi-

of these later teachings, the rewriting of verse 1.27 of the *Śivadharmottara* in chapter thirty of the thirteenth-century *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* introduces the word *vaktrāṇi* at this point.[18] We see that, starting with early Tantras, the *brahmamantra*s are also worshipped as separate deities forming the inner circle (*garbhāvaraṇa*) of the main god, as for instance in the *Mataṅga*, which gives prescriptions both for their visualisation (KP 3.83-91) and sculptural representation (KP 14.1-6).[19] Nothing like this seems to emerge from the *Śivadharmottara*: the text does not mention Sadāśiva, nor any association between the *brahmamantra*s and specific body parts, faces, or independent deities and, as such, seems to reflect an early stage in the development of this doctrine. Goodall et al. (2015, 37) remark that the earliest layers of Śaiva Tantric literature, which are the Sūtras of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā,* do not link the *brahmamantra*s with the faces or body of a deity. It is first in the *Guhyasūtra* (chapter twelve), whose composition the authors date to the seventh century ca., later than the other three Sūtras, that the five *brahmamantra*s are said to be the source of five currents of scriptures culminating with the Mantramārga, and that Śiva is called *pañcatanu* (Goodall et al. 2015, 38). Even though the *Guhyasūtra* does not speak expressly of 'faces,' it seems clear from the context that the sources of the currents are either faces or fully anthropomorphic forms of Śiva; at the same time, the use of *pañcatanu* might be an equivalent of *pañcamantratanu*. Alternatively, as Goodall points out, the expression *pañcatanu* could also

ddhānta Tantric texts, such as Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka,* 15.203cd–204ab: *kramāt sadāśivādhīśaḥ pañcamantratanur yataḥ* || 203 || *īśanraghoravāmākhyasadyo 'dhobhedato diśaḥ* |. Here Abhinavagupta links the *brahmamantra*s to the five faces of Sadāśiva, each associated with a different region of space (a more detailed discussion is in the verses that follow in *Tantrāloka* 15), but also adds a sixth one: this addition, featuring also in the *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā*, has to be seen, in light of the *pañcasrotas* teaching, as a strategy to add a sixth stream of scriptures, teaching non-dual knowledge, which is superior to other faces (Hanneder 1998, 20). For more occurrences of the compound *pañcamantratanu* in Tantric literature, see also TAK s.v.

Rocher 1991, 192, reports two occurrences of *pañcamantratanu* in the *Śivapurāṇa*: once in the *Kailāsasaṃhitā* (6.12.15), as an attribute of Sadāśiva, and once in the *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* (7.2.12.9). The latter reference occurs in a chapter that is part of a larger borrowing from the *Śivadharmottara*, and therefore the occurrence of *pañcamantratanu* here can be traced back exactly to *Śivadharmottara* 1.29.

[18] *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* 30.16: *om ity ekākṣare mantre sthitas sarvagataḥ śivaḥ | īśādyā api sūkṣmāṇi vaktrāṇy ekākṣarāṇi tu* ||. This verse is extracted from the critical edition in preparation by Judit Törzsök.

[19] This and other references to the visualisation of the *brahmamantra* deities can be found in Goodall et al. 2005, 153–158.

refer to the god as 'having five bodies' (2015, 38). A further step can be observed in the *Niśvāsamukha*, the self-claimed introductory book of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* that was composed after (some of) the latter's Sūtras, and thus might in fact have been redacted during the seventh century, just like the *Guhyasūtra* (Kafle 2020, 32; Goodall et al. 2015, 35). This text revolves around the teaching of the five currents (*srotas*, with a special relevance given to the *laukika*; see *infra*), which are different from those of the *Guhyasūtra*, but are emitted from the same five faces bearing the names of the five *brahmamantra*s (Kafle 2020, 39ff).

The *Śivadharmottara*'s mention of Śiva as *pañcamantratanu*, in the absence of any references to such mantras as part of Sadāśiva's iconography, might align our text with developments immediately prior to the circa seventh-century layers of the *Niśvāsa* corpus.[20] At the same time, one could argue that the absence of the doctrines of the *pañca vaktrāṇi* or *pañca srotāṃsi* does not necessarily suggest that the *Śivadharmottara* predates these layers of the *Niśvāsa*, but that it simply was not Śaivasiddhāntic, and thus did not reflect any innovations concerning the doctrines and iconography of this school, while still sharing general notions and terminology. As Bakker has observed with reference to early *liṅga* representations (2019 [2002], 492), the development of a five-faced image from a more archaic four-headed model might have come to pass under the influence of the adoption of the five *brahmamantra*s into Śaiva cultic practice.[21] The *Śivadharmottara* neither mentions nor describes icons of Sadāśiva. Besides the description of Lakulīśvara in chapter two (De Simini 2016a, 170), the text gives a further description of Śiva in 10.107–111 (Goodall 2011, 236–237), in which he is described as four-faced and four-armed. It has been noted that the attributes he holds in his hands—the pomegranate and the rosary—came to be asso-

[20] When considering possible doctrinal connections between the *Śivadharmottara*, the *Niśvāsamukha* and the *Guhyasūtra*, one cannot avoid mentioning that the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, a later text that was included in multiple-text manuscripts along with the other Śivadharma works, has literal borrowings from the *Niśvāsamukha* (significantly, from the materials on the descriptions of the *laukika* and *vaidika* currents) in chapters five to nine, while its chapters ten and eleven are parallel to the *Guhyasūtra* (Kafle 2020, 101ff). Given that the direction of the borrowings went from the *Niśvāsa* to the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, the composition of the latter can be assigned to a period following the seventh and preceding the eleventh century, when the text is attested in the first manuscripts, which also confirms the inner chronology of the Nepalese corpus that sees the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* as earlier works than the rest.

[21] For a study of the progress from four-headed to five-headed representations in early Tantras, and the dynamics persisting in the worship of deities with four or five heads, see Törzsök 2013.

ciated to the iconography of Tatpuruṣa (Goodall 2011, 236), even though his association with the brilliancy of crystal (*śuddhasphaṭikasaṃkāśam*, 10.108a) and the tiger-skin (*dvīpicarmaparīdhānam*, 10.110a) are reminiscent of representations of Īśāna.[22] Note that the visualisation of *brahmamantra* deities with four arms and four faces is prescribed in the already mentioned passage from *Mataṅga*, KP 3.83-91. Also, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* describes Śiva as four-headed, according to the more archaic, non-Śaivasiddhāntic fashion (see *Śivadharmaśāstra* 6.4–5, in Bisschop 2018b, 66).

The correspondence between each syllable of the *namaḥ śivāya* part of the mantra and the five *brahmamantra*s, and between the latter and Śiva's body, strengthens the idea that Śiva's essence is truly present in all of its components, just like he was said to be fully present in the *praṇava*. This makes the mantra *oṃ namaḥ śivāya* the phonic embodiment of the real nature of Śiva. As remarked by Padoux (2011, 7), Tantric traditions have often stressed the identity in nature and form between god and the mantra by equaling such connection to the one that exists between the language and its object, a relationship that is expressed in terms of *vācya* ('expressible object') and *vācaka* ('means of expression').[23] The same notion and terminology is adopted in *Śivadharmottara* 1.29–30. In stanza 1.30, the *Śivadharmottara* specifies the terms of this relationship by stating that 'Śiva is [only] expressible, because he cannot be directly known; the mantra is considered his means of expression. Between those two, such a relationship of expressible object and means of expression is established without beginning.'[24] This teaching, which in *Śivadharmottara* 1.35 is described as being analogous to a relationship between *abhidhāna* ('designator,' 'signifier') and *abhidheya* ('object to be designated/signified'),[25] can have ritual implications in the use of mantras (see, for example, the use of *brahmamantra*s during the *āvahana* to evoke the real presence of the god in the ritual). However, it also acquires epistemological value, as the *Śivadharmottara* roots it in the common belief that Śiva cannot be known through any valid means of correct knowledge (*aprameya*) but can only be expressed

[22] One could see, in this regard, *Pañcāvaraṇastava* 47 and 82, by Aghoraśiva. The association with a crystal-like splendour is rather ubiquitous in the early Tantras describing the icon of Īśāna.

[23] For considerations on the *vācyavācakabhāva* existing without beginning between Śiva and his mantras, connected to epistemological disquisitions, one can for instance see chapter six of the *Parākhya*, on which more later.

[24] *Śivadharmottara* 1.30: *vācyaḥ śivo 'prameyatvān mantras tadvācakaḥ smṛtaḥ | vācyavācakabhāvo 'yam anādiḥ saṃsthitas tayoḥ* || 30 ||.

[25] *Śivadharmottara* 1.35: *asyābhidhānamantro 'yam abhidheyaś ca sa smṛtaḥ | abhidhānābhidheyatvān mantrasiddhaḥ paraḥ śivaḥ* || 35 ||.

by his *vācaka*. The six-syllabled mantra is, therefore, an exact expression of his nature. As stanza 1.35cd states, 'because of the relationship between signifier and object to be signified [that exists between the mantra and Śiva], the supreme Śiva is attained through the mantra' (*abhidhānābhidheyatvān mantrasiddhaḥ paraḥ śivaḥ*). Śiva is thus not directly knowable, but expressible (*vācya, abhidheya*); as other parts of this chapter will explain, Śiva is also the omniscient and perfect author of this *vācya-vācaka/abhidhāna-abhidheya* relationship. As a consequence, his *vācaka*—a notion not just encompassing the mantra, but everything that forms part of his direct teaching (*vākya*)—can be considered a source of correct knowledge (*pramāṇa*; on this point, see *Śivadharmottara* 1.23, 1.27, 1.42–46, and *infra*).

The text does not present supporting arguments or contradicting views on such topics. However, in the more doctrinally loaded early Śaiva scriptures it is possible to follow in more detail those debates of which only echoes emerge in the *Śivadharmottara*. One such example is chapter six of the *Parākhya*, an early Siddhāntic scripture,[26] which devotes this chapter to the nature of language and the mantras. In dealing with this topic, the *Parākhya*'s *siddhāntin* openly criticises the *mīmāṃsaka* viewpoint[27] and expounds at length the thesis that the relationship between word and meaning is based on a convention (*saṅketa*) established by Śiva (6.17ff). This applies to language, as well as to mantras. In the conclusion of the section on the *saṅketa*, the text states that the connection between *vācya* and *vācaka* was thus created by Śiva so that mantras could produce their fruits; 'And [so], since the fruit has Him as its agent, Śiva resides in the mantra (*mantrasthitaḥ*)' (*Parākhya*, 6.58; Goodall 2004, 339). The idea of Śiva residing (*°sthitaḥ*) in the mantra, and of doing so in force of the *vācyavācakabhāva*, is expressed quite literally in *Śivadharmottara* 1.29, though in the absence of all the philosophical underpinnings that this notion receives in chapter six of the *Parākhya*. At this point the latter has to deal with an objection that tries to undermine the idea that the deity is the *vācya*, and that the fruits of the mantra derive from it rather than from the rituals for which it is used (6.59), followed by more objections concerning the alleged corporeal nature of the deity, and how this could be an obstacle to the god actually being present during rituals (6.65–66). The conclusion of the *Parākhya*, which will be expounded in the replies to such objections, is that it is the god, resid-

[26] For a study, edition and translation of the surviving chapters of the *Parākhya*, see Goodall 2004.

[27] Criticism against the Mīmāṃsā theories of knowledge and language are prominent in chapters three and six of the *Parākhya*, but the school is taken as a main opponent in all the philosophical debates of the *Parākhya*, as observed by Goodall 2004, xlix ff.

ing in the mantras (*mantrasaṃśraya*, 6.70) as a *vācya* distinct from a *vācaka* (a notion that had been clearly stated in 6.61–62), to be in fact responsible for the ritual action leading to the production of fruits: since the deity joins the performers to the fruit of their ritual action (*phalayojikā*, 6.74), she is thus the most important factor in the ritual (6.72–74).

The influence of these beliefs, epistemological in nature, also reverberates on the level of meditative practice. As pointed out in § 1, the *Śivadharmottara* prescribes the use of mantras not just as a ritual aid, but also as a step in the process of meditation that will lead to the one-ness with Śiva. The identity of Śiva and the mantra proclaimed in stanzas 1.27ff thus also qualifies as a presupposition for the efficaciousness of the mantra in the process of leading the soul of the practitioner to achieve the ultimate goal of Śaiva yoga, which is union with Śiva's nature. A similar notion concerning the relationship between the mantra and god can be seen even in a mainly non-sectarian early type of yoga, which is the one taught in the *Yogasūtra*. This text defines the *praṇava* as the *vācaka* of the Lord (*tasya vācakaḥ praṇavaḥ*, *Yogasūtra* 1.27). The *Yogabhāṣya* commentary on this point questions exactly how the *vācya-vācaka* relationship has come about in this case, asking whether this happened artificially through a human convention (*saṅketa*), or if it has always existed, like that between a lamp and its light.[28] This passage becomes relevant to our discussion on the mantra of the *Śivadharmottara* in light of Oberhammer's observation (1991, 205–206) that such considerations, attested in the otherwise non-sectarian system of the *Yogasūtra,* seem to be a straightforward derivation from the yoga of the Pāśupatas. Stressing the importance of mantra-muttering in the Pāśupata yoga as taught in the *Ratnaṭīkā*, but also in the early *Pañcārthabhāṣya* by Kauṇḍinya (fifth to sixth century) on the *Pāśupatasūtra*, Oberhammer brings attention to the role played in such types of meditation both by the five *brahmamantra*s, mainly associated with a lower-level type of meditation, and by the *oṃkāra*. The latter is in fact the object to be meditated upon (*oṃkāram abhidhyāyīta*, *Pāśupatasūtra* 5.24) in a higher type of meditation to which Kauṇḍinya refers as a 'more subtle worship' (*sūkṣmatarā upāsanā, Pañcārthabhāṣya* 5.23.10), in which the *praṇava* conveys the real presence of Maheśvara.

These considerations bring us to the context of Pāśupata Śaivism, which is not foreign to the authors of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*: on the contrary, it seems to form one of the main religious backgrounds

[28] *Yogabhāṣya ad* 1.27: *vācya īśvaraḥ praṇavasya, kim asya saṃketakṛtaṃ vācyavācakatvam atha pradīpaprakāśavad avasthitam iti sthito 'sya vācyasya vācakena saṃbandhaḥ. saṃketas tu tam evārtham jvalayati*.

of the authors of our texts. As just observed, the *brahmamantra*s were essential in the cultic and meditative practice of the Pāñcārthika Pāśupata doctrine taught in the *Pāśupatasūtra* and its commentary *Pañcārthabhāṣya*. These mantras were associated with the Vedas, too, as they are given in *Taittirīyāraṇyaka* 10.43–47, an association that could be one of the reasons for their waning centrality with the emergence of Tantric mantras. However, Bisschop has recently argued that, in spite of widespread scholarly consensus around the Vedic origin of the *brahmamantra*s, Kauṇḍinya did not present nor perceive the *brahmamantra*s as Vedic, but rather as part of an entirely new revelation (2018c, 3–4). According to such a view, this circumstance, alongside the shakiness of the transmission of the Vedic passages in which the *brahmamantra*s are attested, which could in fact be later than the *Pāśupatasūtra*, suggests that the connection with Vedic literature might have emerged later on, and was not intended by the early Pāśupatas themselves.[29]

The presentation of the mantra of the *Śivadharmottara* as a combination of the *ekākṣaramantra* and the five *brahmamantra*s, while revealing awareness of debates going on in yogic and Mantramārgic environments, at the same time places our text firmly against the early Śaiva tradition of Pāśupata Śaivism, whose mantras are epitomised in the *ṣaḍakṣaramantra* of the *Śivadharmottara*. However, in doing so the *Śivadharmottara* does not refer to the newness of the six-syllabled mantra as a way to promote its powers, but rather insists on its being tightly grounded both in the Śaiva revelation and in the Veda, as one of the following verses will unambiguously maintain.

3. *The mantra in the scriptures*

In stanza 1.36 the *Śivadharmottara* marks the scriptural domains in which the six-syllabled mantra is attested, and contrasts it with the version of the same mantra in five syllables:

> This mantra of six syllables is established in both places, in the Veda and in the Śaiva revelation, always with the aim of attaining liberation; among common people (*loke*), it is taught in five syllables. (1.36)

[29] Bisschop argues that one could even read the presence of the *brahmamantra*s in the *Taittirīyāraṇyaka* as an influence of Pāśupata Śaivism on the Vedic tradition (2018c, 5). Concerning this passage from the *Taittirīyāraṇyaka,* Bakker also notes that in this occurrence the *brahmamantra*s are not connected to the iconography of a deity, but Sāyaṇa, commenting upon this passage in the fourteenth century, makes a straightforward association with the *vaktra*s of Śiva (*parameśvara* in the commentary on stanza 43), attesting that the tradition received this passage as a reference to a by then well-known Śaivasiddhānta teaching (Bakker 2019 [2002], 492).

vede śivāgame cāyam ubhayatra ṣaḍakṣaraḥ | mantraḥ sthitaḥ sadā muktyai
loke pañcākṣaraḥ smṛtaḥ || 1.36 ||

This statement is followed by stanzas that pronounce the uselessness of resorting to multiple mantras, as well as of knowledge obtained from long treatises, for the person who has this mantra fixed in their heart—a reference to its use for meditation—and regularly engages in the repetition of the six-syllabled mantra, which is held to be the essence of all scriptures.[30] In *pāda* 1.36a, the *Śivadharmottara* mentions as the source of the *ṣaḍakṣaramantra* the two main branches of scriptural authority, the Veda and the 'Śaiva revelation'; one could deduce that the *Śivadharmottara* associates itself to the latter notion of *śivāgama*—which is not further expanded, but solely linked to the transmission of the six-syllabled mantra—on account of its support for the *ṣaḍakṣaramantra*.

As for the claim that the *ṣaḍakṣaramantra* is attested in the Veda, we can take it partly at face value, and partly as ideological. What we do find in Vedic literature is the *pañcākṣaramantra* form *namaḥ śivāya*, which is notably attested in the 'Hundred Rudras' invocation (*Śatarudrīya*) of the Black Yajurveda.[31] The difference between the two versions of this mantra is very subtle, as it only lies in the use of the *praṇava*, yet stanza 1.36 mentions both versions as distinct, and associates them to different domains. However, given that the *praṇava* is a distinctively Vedic mantra, one could take the statement of the *Śivadharmottara* as to mean that both 'components' of the six-syllabled mantra are truly Vedic.[32] At the same time, one could read

[30] *Śivadharmottara* 1.37–38: *kiṃ tasya bahubhir mantraiḥ śāstrair vā bahuvistaraiḥ | yasyauṃ namaḥ śivāyeti mantro 'yaṃ hṛdi saṃsthitaḥ* || 37 || *tenādhītaṃ śrutaṃ tena tena sarvam anuṣṭhitam | yenauṃ namaḥ śivāyeti mantrābhyāsaḥ sthirīkṛtaḥ* || 38 ||.

[31] See *namaḥ śivāya ca śivatarāya ca* attetsted in *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* 4.5.8.1, or *Maitrāyaṇīyasaṃhitā* 2.9.7.

[32] Note that the actual occurrence of the *pañcākṣaramantra* in the *Taittirīyasaṃhitā*, along with the importance that this mantra indeed acquires in later practice, and the association of the Śivadharma with the Purāṇic genre (De Simini 2016a, 61–63), is likely to have prompted the rewording of this stanza in a short parallel to *Śivadha rmottara* chapter one attested in *Agnipurāṇa* (3.326), which reads (stanza 8ab): *gītaḥ pañcākṣaro vede loke gītaḥ ṣaḍakṣaraḥ*. Here we see a complete inversion of what is stated in *Śivadharmottara* 1.36. The parallel is extended to other verses, part of a larger section titled *devālayamāhātmya*, so that we can indeed regard it as a reference to *Śivadharmottara* 1.36, rather than an independent composition. The text reads as follows (*Agnipurāṇa* 3.326.7cd–10): *skando namaḥ śivāyeti mantraḥ sarvārthasādhakaḥ* || 7 || *gītaḥ pañcākṣaro vede loke gītaḥ ṣaḍakṣaraḥ | om ity ante sthitaḥ śambhur mudrārthaṃ vaṭabījavat* || 8 || *kramān namaḥ śivāyeti īśānādyāni vai viduḥ | ṣaḍakṣarasya sūtrasya bhāṣyadvidyākadambakam* || 9 || *yad oṃ namaḥ śivāyeti etāvat paramaṃ padam | ane-*

the association with the Veda, regardless of the mantra's literal attestation in the Vedic tradition, as a way to claim authority on the basis of its reliance on Vedic orthodoxy. Despite their claim of substituting the Vedic sacrifice with easier and cheaper means (*Śivadharmaśāstra* 1.3–4), which reverberates here also in the idea, expressed in mostly eulogistic terms, that the mantra is capable of replacing the entire scriptural traditions of the Veda, the Purāṇas and the *śāstra*,[33] the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* are and will be perceived as orthodox texts,[34] as their willingness to create a public and social sphere for the Śaivas is mostly framed within the boundaries established by the Brahmanical tradition. More evidence of this is being provided by current research on the *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s revision of classical Dharmaśāstra (Bisschop, Kafle and Lubin 2021), or on the *Śivadharmottara*'s reception of the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Manusmṛti* (De Simini forth.b). It is thus in line with their general attitude towards the tradition to claim a Vedic origin for their mantra. Given the limited data available to us, it would be far-fetched to hypothesise that *Śivadharmottara* 1.36 is claiming a Vedic origin also for the *brahmamantra*s, which were said to be the seed-syllables of the *namaḥ śivāya* part of the mantra.

Stanza 1.36 suggests an additional interpretation to the view expounded in the previous stanzas, which presented the *ṣaḍakṣaramantra* as a synthesis between the *praṇava* and the *brahmamantra*s. Here, we are confronted with the idea that the five syllables *namaḥ śivāya*, without *oṃ*, belong to a *laukika*, 'worldly,' sphere; on the other hand, its combination with the *praṇava* falls into the domain of higher forms of religious observance, the *vaidika* and the *śaiva*, which are conducive to emancipation. Therefore, the

na pūjayel liṅgaṃ liṅge yasmāt sthitaḥ śivaḥ || 10 ||. All these verses are loosely parallel to stanzas of chapter one of the *Śivadharmottara*, following the ratio that each half stanza of the *Agnipurāṇa* (AP) corresponds to an entire stanza of the *Śivadharmottara* (ŚDhU): ŚDhU 1.25 = AP 3.326.7cd; ŚDhU 1.26 = AP 3.326.8cd; ŚDhU 1.28 = AP 3.326.9ab; ŚDhU 1.36 = AP 3.326 8ab; ŚDhU 1.39cd = AP 3.326.9cd; ŚDhU 1.40 = AP 3.326.10ab. Only *Agnipurāṇa* 3.326.10cd has no direct parallel in this chapter of the *Śivadharmottara*, which however deals with the topic of *liṅga* worship in its stanzas 1.76–94.

[33] *Śivadharmottara* 1.67: *purāṇaṃ bhāratañ vedāḥ śāstrāṇi sumahānti ca | āyuṣaḥ kṣepaṇāḥ sarve dharmo 'lpo granthasaṃsthitaḥ* || 67 ||; 'The Purāṇas, the *Mahābhārata*, the Vedas and the very long treatises are all ways to consume [one's] life: little Dharma is established in [such extensive] books.'

[34] Note for instance that a 'Śivadharma' associated with Nandīśa/Nandikeśvara will become a stable element of the Purāṇic lists of Upapurāṇas, and that Aparārka's testimony in the twelfth century confirms that the *Śivadharma* and the *Viṣṇudharma* were regarded as something akin to the epics and the Purāṇas (De Simini 2016a, 61–63).

three categories that we encounter in this stanza—the *veda*, the *śivāgama*, and the *loka*—do not (solely) refer to scriptural traditions, but also to ritual and doctrinal domains. As a matter of fact, if one reads the word *loke* in 1.36d as a reference to specific scriptures, these will have to be the Śaiva Purāṇas, because it should be texts in which the Śaiva *pañcākṣaramantra* is taught. But in this case, one should also accept that the *Śivadharmottara*, which associates itself to the *śivāgama* and the *ṣaḍakṣaramantra*, is here at the same time distancing itself from the Purāṇic tradition—of which it will be considered a part by later Purāṇas. This would not be impossible in the light of a hierarchical view of the Śaiva revelation that places the Śivadharma above the Śaiva Purāṇas, but neither the *Śivadharmaśāstra* nor the *Śivadharmottara* give any information about this. At the same time, both works deal with topics that perfectly resonate with those that the ca. seventh-century *Niśvāsamukha* mentions in its description of the *laukika* stream, such as donations, devotion, and *liṅga* worship.[35] Although such themes do not cover all the contents of the *Śivadharmottara*—the text, for instance, unlike the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, also gives relevance to teachings on yoga—the topics of the *Śivadharmottara* are fully in line with a *laukika* production and view-point, if we consider for instance the attention given to rules for moral behaviour (see, above all, chapters four, on *dāna*, and six, on the various types of sinful actions) and the punishment of sinners in hells, to which the long and detailed chapter seven is dedicated. What seems to distinguish the *Śivadharmottara* from a purely worldly perspective is that these contents are also balanced by teachings on the practice of the *jñānayoga,* taught in chapters three and ten, which is a practice conducive to liberation (among the many possible references, see *Śivadharmottara* 3.15d, stating *jñānadhyānaṃ vimuktidam*). Thus, the role attributed to the mantra in the practice of *jñānayoga*, to which we referred in § 1, is coherent with the claim that the six-syllabled mantra expounded in the Śaiva scriptures leads to emancipation. At the same time, I do not think that this argument is sufficient to maintain that the *Śivadharmottara* regards itself as opposed to Śaiva ~~*laukika*~~ scriptures teaching the *pañcākṣaramantra*, but rather that *loke* in 1.36d has to be interpreted in the sense of *lokācāra*, and implies therefore a social rather than a scriptural distinction. To clarify this point, we may turn our attention to similar uses in other branches of early Śaiva literature.

The *Niśvāsamukha* inserts its definition of the *laukika* current within a more complex classification of five currents springing from the five faces

[35] For an account of the 'worldly current' described in the *Niśvāsamukha*, see Kafle 2020, 252–334.

of Śiva and encompassing the main categories of religious observance, as amply discussed in Kafle 2020, 39ff. This might look like an expanded view of the tradition compared to the one succinctly presented in stanza 1.36 of the *Śivadharmottara*, since the *Niśvāsamukha* contrasts the mundane (*laukika*) and the Vedic (*vaidika*) currents with the philosophical teachings of Sāṅkhya and Yoga (those 'related to the soul,' *ādhyātmika*), and finally with two Śaiva streams, which in a hierarchical sequence are the Atimārga and 'the one called mantra' (*mantrākhya*), i.e., the Mantramārga. While there is overlap in the use of some categories, their understanding is very different from that of the *Śivadharmottara*. As Kafle remarks, the pentadic structure proposed by the *Niśvāsamukha*, also attested in later Tantras such as the *Svacchanda* or the *Mṛgendra* (KP), was most likely fashioned after the triadic model offered in *Manusmṛti* 2.117 and *Viṣṇusmṛti* 30.43, with which the *Niśvāsamukha* also has a direct textual parallel (Kafle 2020, 48–49, 51). Such a model presents a tripartition of knowledge into a *laukika*, *vaidika*, and *ādhyātmika* type, and is attested among a series of instructions addressed to a twice born fit for Vedic learning.[36] The *laukika* type of knowledge is glossed in Medhātithi's commentary *ad loc*. as the 'teaching [based] on common usage' (*lokācāraśikṣaṇa*). On the basis of the general influence of early Dharmaśāstra emerging both from the *Śivadharmottara* and from the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, it is not implausible to assume that this conceptual framework has perhaps influenced *Śivadharmottara* 1.36. At the same time, one might want to ponder the level of knowledge that the authors of the *Śivadharmottara* had of the five-fold division of the *Niśvāsamukha*, or vice-versa. According to current scholarly opinion, the two texts could be contemporary and therefore reflect similar views, albeit from different perspectives.

Furthermore, the binary opposition between a Śaiva and a worldly domain attested in *Śivadharmottara* 1.36, in which the Vedic sphere is also evoked, is reminiscent of the use of the two categories of *śivadharma* and *lokadharma* in Medieval Tantric exegesis, such as we see it in the *Kiraṇavṛtti* (*ad* 6.12) and *Mataṅgavṛtti* (*ad* VP 4.49–50) by Rāmakaṇṭha II, or in the *Svacchandatantroddyota* by Kṣemarāja (*ad* 4.83–85). Such texts unanimously explain the two terms as referring to a lesser level of Śaiva revelation on one side (the *śivadharma*), and the *śruti* and *smṛti* on the other (the *lokadharma*), while they variously associate them with the religious practice of different groups of initiates. A highly relevant example is offered

[36] *Manusmṛti* 2.117: *laukikaṃ vaidikaṃ vāpi tathādhyātmikam eva vā | ādadīta yato jñānaṃ taṃ pūrvam abhivādayet ||*.

by Rāmakaṇṭha in his *Kiraṇavṛtti ad* 6.11–12 (translated and discussed in Goodall 1998, 373–378): here he comments upon a passage in which the Tantra enjoins that those among the *samaya* initiates who are incapable of performing post-initiatory rites should receive an initiation that would remove their obligation to perform these activities and liberate them at death. According to Rāmakaṇṭha, people such as women, the diseased, children, and the elderly, should be redirected to the practice taught in the *śivadharma* or the *lokadharma*. Rāmakaṇṭha does not explain these terms further; Goodall (1998, 375 fn. 616) suggests a possible identification of the *śivadharma* with the texts of the Śivadharma corpus, and the *lokadharma* with *śruti* and *smṛti*. The latter interpretation is based on the same words of the Kashmirian exegete in *Mataṅgavṛtti*, VP 4.49–50: here Rāmakaṇṭha maintains that those who could not benefit from the *anugraha* of the Lord can still perform his service 'in the way prescribed in the *śruti* and so on, or in the way taught in the Śivadharma'; *śrutyādivihitena*[37] *śivadharmoditena vā vidhinā īśvaropāsanaiva kāryeti pratīyate*.

The topics defining the *laukika* stream of the *Niśvāsamukha* also form part of the definition that Kṣemarāja gives for the *laukikadharma* as opposed to the *śivadharma* in his commentary on a point of the *Svacchanda* dealing with a different topic than the *Kiraṇa* and the *Mataṅga* referred above, but which still reveals a common ground of doctrines and ideas.[38]

[37] Corr. Goodall 1998, 375 fn. 615, based on a variant reading given in the apparatus; Bhatt 1977, 98, reads *śrutau vihitena*.

[38] The context of *Svacchandatantra* 4.83–85 is different from that of the occurrences in the commentaries on the *Kiraṇa* and the *Mataṅga*. However, when considered along with its *Uddyota*, one can see a common ground with the categorisation known to Rāmakaṇṭha: besides the identical denomination of the two categories, the definition of the *laukikadharma* given by Kṣemarāja (the 'conduct taught in the *śruti* and *smṛti*,' *śrutismṛtyācāraḥ*) is ultimately the same as the one given in the *Mataṅgavṛtti*. The *Svacchandatantra* deals with a different topic, namely that of the two subdivisions of the *sādhaka*s, the highest level of initiates after the *ācārya*. The first division is the *śivadharmin*, whose main characteristic is the dedication to the mantra practice as a means to purify his spiritual path and develop *siddhi*s (*sādhako dvividhas tatra śivadharmy ekataḥ sthitaḥ | śivamantraviśuddhādhvā sādhyamantraniyojitaḥ* || 83 || *jñānavāṃś cābhiṣiktaś ca mantrārādhanatatparaḥ | trividhāyās tu siddher vai so 'trārhaḥ śivasādhakaḥ* || 84 ||). The word *śivadharma* is glossed by Kṣemarāja with *śivaśāstroktasamācāraḥ*, 'a conduct corresponding to the one taught in Śaiva scriptures.' The second type of *sādhaka* is the *lokadharmin*, here defined in a way that recalls the *laukika* stream of the *Niśvāsamukha*: 'The second is the one who walks on the worldly path, who rejoices in accumulating merits through rituals, who performs rituals with the expectation of fruits, solely focused on what is auspicious

These three categories echo those used in *Śivadharmottara* 1.36—*veda*, *śivāgama*, *loka*. However, like in the case of the *Niśvāsamukha*, the difference in their use is substantial: while in the context of medieval Tantric exegesis those three scriptural traditions are all seen as inferior to the Śaiva Tantric revelation, for which the notion of a hierarchy of Śaiva scriptures was an established teaching, the *Śivadharmottara* places together the Śaiva revelation and the *śruti*, and opposes them to the *loka*. On the contrary, the notion of *lokadharma* in the Tantric sources examined above subsumes both *śruti* and *smṛti* and is therefore not a plausible interpretation of *loka* in *Śivadharmottara* 1.36.

As a matter of fact, the reference to the practice of lesser Śaiva devotees, which the Tantric traditions associated to both categories of *śivadharma* and *lokadharma*, is reflected in the interpretation that the reception of the *Śivadharmottara* gives while explaining *loke* in *Śivadharmottara* 1.36d. The anonymous Sanskrit commentary on the *Śivadharmottara* transmitted in a single, partly damaged palm-leaf manuscript in Malayalam script from the Trivandrum Manuscript Library (no. 12766), now being studied in the framework of the Śivadharma Project by S.A.S. Sarma, offers a few insights in this regard. Unfortunately, its consultation on this point is made more difficult by the almost entire loss of the right sector of the folio (fol. 119) immediately following the second string-hole, resulting in the loss of ca. fifteen *akṣara*s per line. In spite of this, we can reconstruct a few coherent pieces of information about the commentator's views on stanza 1.36. The topic of the stanza is given as the 'difference in the mantra's own form on the basis of the categories of eligible users' (fol. 119v, line 4: *athādhikāribhedena mantrasya svarūpavaiṣamyam*). Before the gap in line five, we read that *loke* is understood as 'a devotee of Parameśvara who is deprived of the meaning of the Veda and the Śaiva scriptures' (*loke vedaśivāgamayos tātparyarahite parameśvarabhakte jane*).[39]

On this point we can also resort to the testimony of the *Civatarumōttaram*, the sixteenth-century translation of the *Śivadharmottara* authored by Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar of Chidambaram, better preserved and more un-

and avoiding what is inauspicious (85)'; *dvitīyo lokamārgastha iṣṭāpūrtavidhau rataḥ | karmakṛt phalam ākāṅkṣan śubhaikastho 'śubhojjhitaḥ* || 85 ||. The word *lokamārgaḥ* is explained by Kṣemarāja's commentary *ad loc*. as the 'conduct taught in the *śruti* and *smṛti*' (*śrutismṛtyācāraḥ*), implying the practice of rituals and not the propitiation through mantras (*mantrārādhana*).

[39] After *jane* one can only read the beginning of a *-ya*, and then the manuscript is broken; this circumstance hinders our full understanding of this point.

ambiguous. This text states in stanza 1.21 (which I quote from the ongoing translation by Rajarethinam and Goodall):[40]

> To women and good people among Śūdras one may teach the five syllables, avoiding the letter *oṃ*.

In this and previous stanzas dealing with the topic of the mantra, the *Civatarumōttaram* had placed a higher emphasis on the 'one-syllable mantra' *oṃ*, 'containing all the six syllables' (*āṟeḻuttiṇaiyum uṭaittē*, 1.20), rather than on the *ṣaḍakṣara* properly meant. The text of *Civatarumōttaram* 1.21 that precedes the *pāda*s quoted above states that those who recite the *praṇava* would become masters of all knowledge, 'beginning with the Veda.'[41] The Tamil text thus makes no reference to a mantra found 'in the Veda,' as the *Śivadharmottara* phrases it, but more clearly links the use of the *praṇava* with the mastering of Vedic knowledge. As in many other cases, especially those outside the realm of rituals, Maṟaiñāṉa does not translate literally, but reinterprets the text. However, in the *pāda*s cited above, the Tamil text maintains the notion of a hierarchy between two mantras in which the *pañcākṣara* occupies a lower position, just as in *Śivadharmottara* 1.36. Such a lower position is, for our sixteenth-century author, the domain of women and 'good *śūdra*s,' the *sacchūdra* being a category of *śūdra*s who had accepted some of the restrictions of Brahmanical life, and which became of special relevance in the Tamil-speaking South, where they even gave rise to monastic lineages within the local Śaivasiddhānta tradition (Sanderson 2009, 284–286). Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar's view is confirmed by the commentator Maṟaiñāṉa Tesikar.[42]

The idea of excluding women and *śūdra*s from access to Vedic studies and the practice of Vedic mantras reflected in the Tamil translation is certainly not an innovation of our authors but firmly grounded in classical Dharmaśāstric

[40] *Civatarumōttaram* 1.21: *ōmeṉṉum patamoḻit tañceḻuttu mātark | koḻuṅkuṭaiya cūttirarkku muraikka lāmē* || 21 ||.

[41] *Civatarumōttaram* 1.21: *ōmeṉṉum patamataṇai yuraittār tāmē yōtiṉarkaḷ vētātiyu raikaḷellā*.

[42] I thank Margherita Trento for her help in consulting the commentary on this stanza. Maṟaiñāṉa Tecikar mainly confirms the contents of *Civatarumōttaram* 1.21, only adding the notion that the women who are allowed to use the *pañcākṣara* are those who belong to the four *varṇa*s (translation by Trento): 'Therefore, both the women belonging to the four castes, beginning with the Brahmins, and the pure *śūdra*s, might recite the five–syllable mantra, which exonerates from *oṃ* (*piraṇavam*), which is the root of the Vedas (*vētamātā*)'; *ātalāṟ pārppār mutaliya nāluvaṇṇattuṇ mātaruñ caṟcūttirarum anta vētamātāvākiya piraṇavattai nīkki niṉṟa añceḻuttaiyumē yuccarikkalām.*

tradition. The *Manusmṛti,* for instance, expressly limits the practice of *saṃskāra*s through the recitation of Vedic mantras to twice-born males, and asserts that women should have the same rituals practiced without the use of such mantras.[43] Moreover, the mantra *oṃ*, to which the *Manusmṛti* dedicates verses 2.74–84, is praised by this text as the mantra that inaugurates and concludes each session of Vedic recitation, and which prevents the Vedic texts to slip away from memory.[44] Its recitation, tied to Vedic learning, is thus restricted to the above-mentioned twice-born males. Furthermore, verses 2.85–87 of the *Manusmṛti* are devoted to the praise of the act of muttering the mantra, a practice labelled *japayajña*. As we previously observed (see fn. 5), this category is known in the *Śivadharmottara* as one of the five *mahāyajña*s in chapter three, but also as one of the *aṅga*s of yoga in chapter ten. Here the text dedicates a whole section to the *japayajña* (10.165–174), in which *pāda*s from this portion of the *Manusmṛti* are literally paralleled.

At this point, it seems plausible that restrictions to women and *śūdra*s in the access to Vedic mantras, as enjoined in chapter two of the *Manusmṛti*, were what the authors of the *Śivadharmottara* had in mind when they taught a version of their mantra without *oṃ.* The *loka* of 1.36d thus refers to those who were exempt from Vedic initiation, a category that also includes some of those people who, in the Tantric traditions, would be excluded from the performance of post-initiatory rites, as per the testimony of Rāmakaṇṭha cited above, and directed to the *śivadharma* and *lokadharma* instead. It still remains unclear whether this tripartite category of *śivāgama*, *veda*, and *loka*, perhaps inspired from *laukika*, *vaidika*, and *ādhyātmika* of *Manusmṛti* 2.117, could indeed in turn have inspired Rāmakaṇṭha, or the tradition that he reflected, in those two passages of his exegetical works, exactly on points in which he discussed the topic of the *adhikārin*—where the access under scrutiny was not to Vedic mantras but to Tantric rites.

The reception of the *Śivadharmottara* in the Tamil tradition had thus made the connection with the Dharmaśāstra more explicit, besides ground-

[43] See *Manusmṛti* 2.16: *niṣekādiśmaśānānto mantrair yasyodito vidhiḥ | tasya śāstre 'dhikāro 'smiñ jñeyo nānyasya kasyacit* || 16 || as well as 2.66–67: *amantrikā tu kāryeyaṃ strīṇām āvṛdaśeṣataḥ | saṃskārārthaṃ śarīrasya yathākālaṃ yathākramam* || 66 || *vaivāhiko vidhiḥ strīṇāṃ saṃskāro vaidikaḥ smṛtaḥ | patisevā gurau vāso gṛhārtho 'gniparikriyā* || 67 ||. In the latter example, besides prohibiting the use of mantras for women during the performance of the *saṃskāra*s, Manu maintains that marriage is for women the equivalent of Vedic initiation.

[44] See *Manusmṛti* 2.74–75: *brahmaṇaḥ praṇavaṃ kuryād ādāv ante ca sarvadā | sravatyanoṃkṛtaṃ pūrvaṃ parastāc ca viśīryate* || 74 || *prākkūlān paryupāsīnaḥ pavitraiś naiva pāvitaḥ | prāṇāyāmais tribhiḥ pūtas tata oṃkāram arhati* || 75 ||.

ing it into the local context through the mention of the *sacchūdra*s. However, the topic of the access of women and *śūdra*s to Vedic knowledge and mantras, including the use of *oṃ*, had also acquired relevance in later scriptural traditions such as the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra and the Śrīvaiṣṇava literature in Tamil, Sanskrit and Maṇipravāḷa (see Young 2002), so that we can regard the less ambiguous remarks by Maṟaiñāṉa not just as an attempt to make the Dharmaśāstric background of this teaching more explicit, but also as a way to participate in a current debate. To cite an example from the Śaiva fold, we might refer to Śivāgrayogin, a contemporary of Maṟaiñāṉa from the nearby centre of Thanjavur,[45] who in his *Kriyādīpikā* offers more detailed information on the social background of the use of the *pañcākṣaramantra*. In this work, also relying on the authority of the *Siddhāntabodha*, Śivāgrayogin divides the *pañcākṣaramantra* into six different categories.[46] The six-syllabled mantra *oṃ namaḥ śivāya* is in fact called *tārapañcākṣara* (*tāra* being a synonym of *praṇava*) and considered an extension of the five-syllabled mantra; it is only imparted to those who belong to the first three *varṇa*s. For the *śūdra*s, according to Śivāgrayogin and the *Siddhāntabodha*, the mantra is *oṃ hāṃ hauṃ śivāya namaḥ*, and is called *prasādapañcākṣara*.[47] The simple five-syllabled mantra *namaḥ śivāya* is here called *sthūlapañcākṣara*, and is for those who have received the 'ordinary initiation' (*sāmānyadīkṣā*).[48] In conclusion, Śivāgrayogin, who knew the *Śivadharmottara* and quoted from it in his commentary on the *Civañāṉacittiyār* of Aruḷnandi,[49] confirms a social distinction between the users of the six-syllabled and the five-syllabled mantra, although he adds more categories and details that are ultimately not coherent with the simpler distinction made by Maṟaiñāṉa.[50]

[45] The activity of Śivāgrayogīndra Jñānaśivācārya can be placed in the second half of the sixteenth century, coinciding with the rulership of the Vijayanagara emperor Sadāśivarāya (crowned in 1543) and of Cinna Cevappa, Nāyaka of Thanjavur from 1532 until 1563 (Sanderson 2014, 87, fn. 354).

[46] A description of such categories can also be found in Brunner-Lachaux 1963, xxxii.

[47] See the *Siddhāntabodha* quoted by Śivāgrayogin (*Kriyādīpikā* p. 97, verses not numbered): *tatroṃ namaḥ śivāyeti tārapañcākṣaraṃ bhavet | oṃ hāṃ haum śivāya namaḥ iti prāsādapañcākṣaram* || [...] *tārapañcākṣaraṃ tatra trivarṇānāṃ vidhīyate* || *śūdraḥ prāsādamantreṇa saṃjaped bhuktimuktidam* |.

[48] *Siddhāntabodha* in *Kriyādīpikā*, p. 97, verses not numbered: *namaḥ śivāyeti sthūlapañcākṣaram iti smṛtam* | [...] *sāmānyadīkṣāyuktānāṃ sthūlapañcākṣaraṃ smṛtam* ||.

[49] I owe this information to Krishnaswamy Nachimuthu, to whom I express my gratitude. For more information on this point, see his article in this volume.

[50] Three further categories that are listed in the source quoted and commented upon by Śivāgrayogin are the 'mixed' (*miśrapañcākṣara*), also called 'gross and subtle' (*sthūlasūkṣmapañcākṣara*), which is *namaḥ śivāya śivāya namaḥ*; the 'subtle' (*sūkṣmapañcākṣara*),

Turning again to chapter one of Maṟaiñāṉa's work, it is also relevant to observe that in the immediately preceding stanza he clearly associates meditation on the five-syllabled mantra to the attainment of 'two fruits' (*iṟupayaṉum*, 1.20), which can be identified as fruition and liberation, and would thus point to the *pañcākṣaramantra* also having an emancipatory function. This questions the interpretation of *pāda* c of *Śivadharmottara* 1.36, where the scope of the mantra—in my interpretation, of the *ṣaḍakṣaramantra*—is said to always be liberation (*sadā muktyai*). In this regard, also the anonymous Sanskrit commentary seems to reflect a different view, even though its full reconstruction is hindered by the already mentioned gap in line five. What we can deduce from the remaining *akṣara*s of the line is that *sadā* could mean, for the commentator, 'both when it is used in six syllables and when it is used in five syllables.'[51] A note of caution is needed, because we cannot read any further than this on the line. From what is readable, the commentator seems to understand *pāda* c as asserting that the mantra always retains its emancipatory power, regardless of which one of the two forms is used. On the other hand, in my interpretation *pāda* c is syntactically connected to *pāda*s ab, providing a past participle (*sthitaḥ*) that goes with the locatives *vede śivāgame*. I think that this interpretation is still maintainable even in view of the commentator's brief (and lacunose) remarks; at the same time, reading *pāda* c along with the previous two does not completely rule out the possibility that the *pañcākṣaramantra* has liberating powers, too, which would be in line not only with the more inclusive attitude of the *Śivadharma* towards the members of all *varṇa*s (see on this Bisschop, Kafle and Lubin 2021), but also with the later success of the version of the mantra in five syllables. This success, particularly evident in Southern Śaiva environments, probably lay behind the choice of the commentary and the Tamil translation to make the expression concerning the emancipatory powers of the *pañcākṣaramantra* less ambiguous. This brings us to the nec-

corresponding to *śivāya namaḥ*, and the 'pure' (*śuddhapañcākṣara*), i.e., *śivo 'ham asmi*. See *Kriyādīpikā*, p. 97, verses not numbered: *namaś śivāya śivāya namaḥ ity etat sthūlasūkṣmakam || sūkṣmaṃ namo 'ntam ity uktaṃ śuddhapañcākṣaraṃ yathā || [...] śivo 'ham asmi siddhānte vedānte so 'ham asmi tu |*. Among these, the mixed is said to confer the accomplishment of *bhoga* and *mokṣa* for those without *varṇa*-status (*avarṇin*), the subtle is for the *yogin* and the *jñānin*, and the pure one for the renunciants, who are beyond *varṇa*s and *āśrama*s (*ativarṇāśrama*); see *Kriyādīpikā*, p. 98 (verses not numbered): *bhogamokṣaprasiddhyarthaṃ miśraṃ proktam avarṇinām | yogināṃ jñānināṃ tatra sūkṣmapañcākṣaraṃ smṛtam || ativarṇāśramāṇāṃ tu śuddhapañcākṣaraṃ smṛtam |*.

[51] Fol. 119v, l. 5: *ṣaḍakṣaraprayogavelāyāṃ* [em.; °*velāṃ* cod.] *pañcākṣaraprayogavelāyāñ cāyam* [em.; *cālayam* cod.] *mantro mukhyaḥ* (•) *sarve*...

essary caveats that we need to keep in mind when using these texts to shed light on the Sanskrit source, namely that, being significantly later than the *Śivadharmottara*, they reflect an agenda meant for the communities around the centres of their composition—in the light of which their authors do not hesitate to force or distort the interpretation of the Sanskrit text. As amply discussed in an article by Trento in this volume, the *Civatarumōttaram* and its Tamil commentary must primarily be studied against the background of sixteenth-century Chidambaram and the authors' efforts to adapt the *Śivadharmottara* to a neo-Śaivasiddhānta environment.

4. *The scriptures in the mantra*

While stanza 1.36 explains the connection between the *ṣaḍakṣaramantra* and the Śaiva scriptural tradition in terms of attestation—the six-syllabled mantra is attested or revealed in the *śivāgama*—this idea is balanced by a symmetrical statement at the beginning of the mantra-section, in which the *ṣaḍakṣaramantra* was presented as the source and essence of Śaiva scriptures. After an introductory section giving the topics of all the chapters of the *Śivadharmottara*, chapter one started off its exposition with a celebration of *śraddhā*, exalted as the essence of the Śaiva teachings and the only means to attain Śiva (*Śivadharmottara* 1.18-22).[52] In stanza 1.23, the use of the particle *atha* marks a change of topics, with the text moving to teaching about the *ṣaḍakṣaramantra* presented as a form of the *śivavākya*—here *vākyam* [...] *śivātmakam* (1.23d), literally the 'speech permeated by Śiva' or, less literally, 'belonging to Śiva,' an expression meaning his teachings and commands:

> Thus, all the Śaiva precepts (*śivadharma*) are known as consisting of faith, and Śiva shall be attained with faith, worshipped and meditated upon with faith. (22) / Now, the speech consisting of a few syllables, [but] rich in meaning, of finest essence, conferring liberation, established by [Śiva's] command, beyond doubt: this [speech] belongs to Śiva. (23)
>
> *evaṃ śraddhāmayāḥ sarve śivadharmāḥ prakīrtitāḥ | śivaś ca śraddhayā gamyaḥ pūjyo dhyeyaś ca śraddhayā* || 22 || *athālpākṣaram arthāḍhyaṃ mahāsāraṃ vimuktidam | ājñāsiddham asandigdhaṃ vākyam etac chivātmakam* || 23 ||

[52] For a discussion of this topic in the *Śivadharmottara* and other parallel sources, such as the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* and the *Devīpurāṇa*, both containing rewritings of chapter one, see De Simini 2016a, 66ff. Note above all that the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* parallel reverses the line of thought followed by the *Śivadharmottara*, for which *śraddhā* in Śiva and the *śivadharma*s is a requirement that precedes the demonstration that Śiva's speech is a *pramāṇa* (De Simini 2016a, 68 fn. 196).

The two topics of *śraddhā* and the mantra are ultimately linked by the view that the latter is encompassed in the notion of *śivavākya*, an expression translated above as 'speech,' but that is in fact equivalent to the 'teachings' imparted directly by Śiva. Such teachings are authoritative on account of Śiva's perfection, and are as such worthy of *śraddhā* (1.45–46). Note that the expression *śivātmaka*, with reference to teachings that belong to Śiva, and thus have him both as an author and an object, also occurs in stanza 1.41, in which the text opposes a *vidhivākyam* [...] *śaivam* to an *arthavādaḥ śivātmakaḥ* (see *infra* for discussion); chapter two of the *Śivadharmottara*, in the first verse, defines the knowledge to be taught and donated as *jñānaṃ śivātmakam*; in the end of chapter twelve of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, the title of the work is given as *dharmaśāstraṃ śivātmakam* (12.102 in the current edition). The elements of the definition of *śivavākya* in stanza 1.23 resonate with the description of the mantra: it is *alpākṣara*, 'consisting of a few syllables,' *mahāsāra*, 'of finest essence,' as well as *vimuktidam*, 'conferring liberation,' an idea that stanza 1.36 associates with the *ṣaḍakṣaramantra* transmitted in the Veda and the *śivāgama*. The notion of *śivavākya* is not limited to the mantra, in spite of the prominence it is given in this chapter, but covers the teachings that have originally been uttered by Śiva's mouth(s), as is deducible from stanzas 1.39–46:

> All the Śaiva scriptures that exist, as well as [those disciplines] that are the 'fields of knowledge' (*vidyāsthāna*s), these together are the exposition (*bhāṣyaṃ*) of the *sūtra* that is the six-syllabled [mantra]. (39) / As extensive as this Śaiva knowledge, as extensive as the supreme abode [of Śiva] is the teaching of Śiva (*śivavākya*) [condensed] in six syllables, i.e., *oṃ namaḥ śivāya*. (40) / This is a prescriptive statement (*vidhivākya*) of Śiva, not a secondary expression (*arthavāda*) regarding Śiva; how could he, who bestows his grace on the world, speak the untruth? (41) / Given that he is omniscient and perfectly full, for what reason would Śiva, who is appeased, devoid of all defects, give an erroneous teaching? (42) / The omniscient will teach something as it is in reality, with qualities and defects on the basis of its true nature, including the [desired] fruit and merit. (43) / If one is affected by defilements such as attachment, ignorance and so on, [this person] will speak the untruth. But these [defilements] do not exist in Īśvara: how could he say anything other [than the truth]? (44) / That pure teaching that has been composed by the omniscient Śiva, in whom no defilements have arisen, is no doubt a means of correct knowledge (*pramāṇa*). (45) / Therefore, a learned person should trust the teachings (*vākyāni*) of Īśvara. Someone who has no faith in them in matters of meritorious and sinful actions will have a lower rebirth. (46)
>
> *śivajñānāni yāvanti vidyāsthānāni yāni ca | ṣaḍakṣarasya sūtrasya tāni bhāṣyaṃ samāsataḥ* || 39 || *etāvat tac chivajñānam etāvat tat paraṃ padam | yad oṃ namaḥ śivāyeti śivavākyaṃ ṣaḍakṣaram* || 40 || *vidhivākyam idaṃ śaivaṃ*

nārthavādaḥ śivātmakaḥ | lokānugrahakartā yaḥ sa mṛṣārthaṃ kathaṃ vadet || 41 || *sarvajñaparipūrṇatvād anyathā kena hetunā | brūyād vākyaṃ śivaḥ śāntaḥ sarvadoṣavivarjitaḥ* || 42 || *yad yathāvasthitaṃ vastu guṇadoṣaiḥ svabhāvataḥ | yāvat phalaṃ ca puṇyaṃ ca sarvajñas tat tathā vadet* || 43 || *rāgājñānādibhir doṣair grastatvād anṛtaṃ vadet | te ceśvare na vidyante brūyāt sa katham anyathā* || 44 || *ajātāśeṣadoṣeṇa sarvajñena śivena yat | praṇītam amalaṃ vākyaṃ tat pramāṇaṃ na saṃśayaḥ* || 45 || *tasmād īśvaravākyāni śraddheyāni vipaścitā | yathārthaṃ puṇyapāpeṣu tadaśraddho vrajed adhaḥ* || 46 ||

The direct teachings of Śiva expressed in his scriptures, along with all the 'fields of knowledge'—a traditional notion in Dharmaśāstra literature that corresponds to the fourteen established areas of Brahmanical learning (see *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 1.3)—are thus all condensed in the brief six-syllabled mantra, which is a *śivavākya*, a direct teaching/speech of Śiva. The idea that scriptures are the exposition, like a commentary on the *sūtra* that is the six-syllabled mantra, is a comparison that was already attested in the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, where the *ṣaḍakṣaramantra* is called a *śivasūtra*, and the *bhāṣya* on it is said to have been composed by Svayambhū.[53] Note that in the *Śivadharmaśāstra* there is no reference to the *vidyāsthāna*s, and the only texts considered a commentary on the mantra are the Śaiva scriptures. Further arguments brought forth by the *Śivadharmottara* in these stanzas are that a *vākya* can be considered a means of correct knowledge as long as its speaker is deprived of defilements, and Śiva is the sole speaker in whom there are no defilements, as he is omniscient and perfectly full of all good qualities. The reason that prompts him to teach is his *anugraha*, the favour that he manifests to human beings through his salvific teachings. His *vākya*—note that stanza 1.46 uses the word in the plural, referring to its manifold manifestations—is thus worthy of faith on account of the perfection and omniscience of its speaker.[54] For the same reasons, stanza 1.41 specifies

[53] *Śivadharmaśāstra* 7.59–60ab (N^{K}_{82}, fol. 22r, ll. 5-6; N^{p}_{57}, fol. 21v l.5): *sadbījaṃ* [N^{K}_{82}; *sa*° N^{p}_{57}] *sarvavidyānām ādyaṃ brahma* [N^{K}_{82}; *brahmā* N^{p}_{57}] *parātparam* [N^{K}_{82}; *parāparam* N^{p}_{57}] | *sarvārthasādhakaṃ mantraṃ śivasūtraṃ ṣaḍakṣaram* || 59 || *bhāṣyam asyaiva sūtrasya sarvajñena svayaṃbhuvā* |. Note that in *pāda* 60b manuscript N^{Ko}_{77} reads *sarvajñānāni aṃśunā*, as reported by Bisschop 2018a, 404 fn. 29. This recalls the term *śivajñānāni* that the *Śivadharmottara* uses in apposition to *bhāṣyam* (1.39a). Possibly under the influence of the latter, the IFP transcript T. 72 reads this *pāda* as *śivajñānāni śambhunā*.

[54] Note that this line of thought is very close to early Buddhist speculations on the notion of the Buddha as *pramāṇabhūta*, a definition given by Dignāga in the *maṅgala* verse of his *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and then commented upon by himself and others such as Dharmakīrti. Here, too, although in a non-theistic context, the Buddha's teaching is considered authoritative mainly on account of the perfection of the Buddha's compas-

that the *vākya* of Śiva is a 'prescription' (*vidhi*), not a 'secondary expression' (*arthavāda*), using categories of Mīmāṃsā hermeneutics that by that time had become standard in discussions on scriptural authority. This means that the teachings of Śiva, condensed in the mantra and expressed in his scriptures, have an injunctive value, they are not just for eulogistic purposes, but an order not to be doubted (see *ājñāsiddha* in 1.23c).

The notion of Śiva as a source of correct knowledge, perfectly in line with the general consensus of theistic traditions, is also connected to the idea expressed in the previous verses (see § 2) about Śiva as the meaning (*vācya*, *abhidheya*) of the mantra (*vācaka*, *abhidhāna*), which is a form of his speech, on the basis of a beginningless relationship existing between words and meanings. For once there is an irrefutable correspondence between the language and its object, then the teachings that express such object, as they furthermore convey the direct speech of Śiva, become a perfect reflection of his nature, and therefore cannot be false. As the Kashmirian author Abhinavagupta sums up in his treatment of purity in chapter four of the *Tantrāloka* (4.234–35): 'God, who is perfectly full of unlimited consciousness and manifoldness, has taken the form of scriptures (*śāstrātmanā sthito*); [therefore,] nowhere can falsity be admitted. (234) / Just like Īśvara, on account of his will, wished to take the form of reality, in the same way he wished to take the form of designator of the own nature of such reality (*tatsvarūpābhidhānena*); [as such] he is established (235).'[55] In his commentary on these verses, Jayaratha interprets the compound in *pāda* 235a (*bhāvarūpeṇa*) as a reference to the *vācya*, which is the totality of knowers and knowledgeable objects, and the one in *pāda* 235c (*tatsvarūpābhidhānena*) as referring to the *vācaka* which are the scriptures of Śiva. Therefore, he concludes that Īśvara 'is established as taking the form of the scriptures, which are the "signifier" part (*vācaka*).'[56]

These verses quoted from the *Tantrāloka* occur within a discussion in which Abhinavagupta resorts exactly to the categories of *codanā* (a synonym of *vidhi*, see *Tantrāloka* 4.228–230) and *arthavāda* (*Tantrāloka*

sion towards all beings, which is the reason that prompts him to teach, and his perfect accomplishment of his own spiritual aims (Rogers 1988).

[55] *Tantrāloka* 4.234–235: *anavacchinnavijñānavaiśvarūpyasunirbharaḥ | śāstrātmanā sthito devo mithyātvaṃ kvāpi nārhati* || 234 || *icchāvān bhāvarūpeṇa yathā tiṣṭhāsur īśvaraḥ | tatsvarūpābhidhānena tiṣṭhāsuḥ sa tathā sthitaḥ* || 235 ||.

[56] *Tantrālokaviveka* ad 4.235: *yathā khalu parameśvaraḥ svecchāmāhātmyād vācyātmapramātṛprameyādibhāvarūpeṇa sthātum icchuḥ san, tathā vācyātmaviśvarūpatayā sthitaḥ; tathāśabdasyāvṛttyā tathā tadvad eva tasya pramātṛprameyātmano vācyasya viśvasya yat svam anyāpoḍhaṃ rūpaṃ tasyābhidhānena vācakatayā sthātum icchuḥ san, tathā vācakātmaśāstrarūpatayā sthita ity arthaḥ* || 235 ||.

4.232) in order to support the statements of the *Mālinīvijayottara* passage that he discusses (*Mālinīvijayottara* 18.74–81) which, as it is the word of the Lord, must be considered 'a prescription told by Śiva' (*eṣā codanaiva śivoditā* 4.229). Again, Jayaratha's commentary gives hints that allow us to place the *Śivadharmottara*'s discussion within the general context that is reflected in this part of Abhinavagupta's work. For in commenting upon *Tantrāloka* 4.232cd, in which Abhinavagupta had asserted that 'concerning the speech of Maheśvara there can be no doubt that it is *arthavāda* and so on' (*nārthavādādiśaṅkā ca vākye māheśvare bhavet* || 232), Jayaratha quotes a verse from a supporting scripture, which he does not identify nor was I able to identify otherwise: *pāda*s ab of this anonymous quotation—*vidhivākyam idaṃ tantraṃ nārthavādaḥ kadācana*—are very close to *Śivadharmottara* 1.41ab—*vidhivākyam idaṃ śaivaṃ nārthavādaḥ śivātmakaḥ*.[57]

In conclusion, Śiva, as the only perfect speaker, has pronounced his salvific speech for the benefit of all living beings,[58] and the mantra is taught as the essence, but also as part of the scriptural teachings that have descended directly from him—thus conveying all the benefits attributed to Śiva's speech. However, the 'speech of Śiva' is not the only type of *vākya* mentioned in this chapter of the *Śivadharmottara*, for in the immediately following stanza 1.24 the text speaks of a *gāṇeśvaraṃ vākyam*:

> The teaching connected [to the attainment of] various powers, divine, pleasing the mind of people, whose meanings are well ascertained, profound, is traditionally held as coming from the Lord of the Gaṇas. (24)
>
> *nānāsiddhiyutaṃ divyaṃ lokacittānurañjakam | suniścitārthagambhīraṃ vākyaṃ gāṇeśvaraṃ smṛtam* || 24 ||

The difference drawn here between the *śivavākya* and the *gāṇeśvaravākya* is thus that between a set of teachings conferring liberation (*mukti*) and a further set that delivers *bhukti*, reflecting a duality of salvific paths that is

[57] The entire stanza quoted by Jayaratha *ad Tantrāloka* 4.232 reads as follows: *vidhivākhyam idaṃ tantraṃ nārthavādaḥ kadācana | jhagiti pratyavāyeṣu satkriyāṇāṃ phaleṣv api* ||. During a reading of chapter thirty of the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, composed by Jayadratha in thirteenth-century Kashmir, Judit Törzsök noticed that *pāda*s 30.4ab of the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, parallel to *Śivadharmottara* 1.41ab, are also close to the *pāda*s quoted in this passage of the *Tantrālokaviveka*, as they read: *vidhivākyam idaṃ śaivaṃ nārthavādaḥ kadācana*.

[58] *Śivadharmottara* 1.25: *mantraṃ sukhamukhoccāryam aśeṣārthaprasādhakam | prāhauṃ namaḥ śivāyeti sarvajñaḥ sarvadehinām* ||; 'For the sake of all embodied beings, the Omniscient told a *mantra* that can be chanted easily by the mouth, which accomplishes all goals, namely *oṃ namaḥ śivāya*.'

attested in the *Śivadharmottara* and that is central to the same definition of the Śaiva traditions. The *Śivadharmottara* does not elaborate further on the topic; nevertheless, it is relevant to recall here that in the introductory verses to chapter one, Skanda had just been mentioned as the expounder of the *Śivadharmottara*, having heard its teachings directly from Śiva. Therefore, we could connect the *śiva-* and the *gāṇeśvara*-type of speech to the first and second level in the transmission of the scripture: the first is Śiva, the author of the *śivavākya*, and then comes a divine expounder.

As we know from the incipit and conclusion of the *Śivadharmottara*, the transmission of the teachings does not end with Skanda, as he furthermore teaches it to the *muni* Agasti, who abridges it into the twelve-chapter composition that we now know as the *Śivadharmottara*; the *Śivadharmaśāstra* had given a slightly more complex account of its transmission, that goes from Śiva to Nandikeśvara, to Sanatkumāra, and finally reaches the *muni* Candrātreya.[59] The traditional disclosure of the teachings thus happens in three steps, although the number of transmitters may vary: Śiva, his divine attendants, and the *muni*s, responsible for the origination, transmission and composition of these scriptural texts. From these considerations it looks like a natural conclusion to connect stanzas 1.22–23 to 1.63–66, in which the *Śivadharmottara* describes exactly the *vākya* 'pronounced by the best of *muni*s' (*bhāṣitam … munivaraiḥ*). In this case, the text focuses on distinguishing a 'badly spoken' (*durbhāṣita*) teaching, which is taught by false teachers and leads to hell, from the teaching that is transmitted by the best of the *muni*s, which is conducive to heaven and liberation (*svargāpavarga*). These are the same two goals that the text associated with the teaching of Śiva, conferring liberation (1.23), and that of Skanda, connected to enjoyments (1.24):

> That very auspicious teaching that has been uttered by the best of *muni*s, [whose senses are] appeased, with the aim of attaining heaven and liberation, shall be known as 'well spoken.' (63) / The teaching that is permeated by attachment, hatred, falsity, rage, lust, and craving, since it is the cause of going to hell, is called 'badly spoken.' (64) / What is the use of that teaching inspired by ignorance and attachment, which is the cause of the defilements of transmigration, even though it is in Sanskrit, and is elegant and charming? (65) / The teaching that, after hearing it, generates merit and the destruction of attachment and so on, even though its form is not elegant, this has to be known as extremely auspicious. (66)

[59] These topics, and the relevant passages, are discussed in De Simini 2016b, 263–268, also with reference to the account given by the *Śivopaniṣad*.

svargāpavargasiddhyarthaṃ bhāṣitaṃ yat suśobhanam | vākyaṃ munivaraiḥ śāntais tad vijñeyaṃ subhāṣitam || 63 || *rāgadveṣānṛtakrodhakāmatṛṣṇānusāri yat | vākyaṃ nirayahetutvāt tad durbhāṣitam ucyate* || 64 || *saṃskṛtenāpi kiṃ tena mṛdunā lalitena ca | avidyārāgavākyena saṃsārakleśahetunā* || 65 || *yac chrutvā jāyate puṇyaṃ rāgādīnāṃ ca saṃkṣayaḥ | virūpam api tad vākyaṃ vijñeyam atiśobhanam* || 66 ||

These stanzas on the speech of the *muni*s follow the section on the requirement that the Śaiva teacher should convert the king to the Śivadharma (1.47–62), which was in turn preceded by the considerations on the *śivavākya* and its reliability as a *pramāṇa*. The teacher in stanza 1.47 is called a *śivavākyapravaktṛ*, an expression that links the first level in the transmission of the teachings with the final phase, the one in which these will be circulated among human recipients. With *muni*s and teachers we leave the domain of Śiva's infallibility and enter the field of fallaciousness, as defilements might affect the transmitters and reverberate in their teachings (1.64). The *Śivadharmottara* warns that more wariness is required at this point. Such preoccupation with wrong teachers affecting the transmission of texts occurs in other chapters of the *Śivadharmottara*, such as chapter two and six; particularly in chapter two, we find comparable statements concerning the use of the Sanskrit language, as the text prescribes here that the teaching should not necessarily take place in Sanskrit, but in any language that may be needed to aid communication with the students (on this point, see De Simini 2016a, especially 83ff, 159, 342). Through these statements, the *Śivadharmottara* thus claims that the languages used for teachings must be as exoteric as the teachings themselves. Following this line of thought, stanzas 1.65–66 warn against the criterion of formal elegance as a way to assess the validity of the 'speech of the *muni*s,' a notion that includes the actual texts of the scriptures circulating among devotees. Written in a rather grammatical Sanskrit, belonging to the same register adopted in the epics and the early Purāṇas, the *Śivadharmottara* thus demands wariness of teachers who might conceal their false learning behind eruditeness and eloquence, as their speech is apt to convey fruition and emancipation only on the basis of their moral pureness.

Under the influence of this passage from chapter one of the *Śivadharmottara*, transmitted by the text itself or one of its extended parallels, such as the one in *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* 2.12,[60] stanzas 1.65–66 made their way into

[60] Here I refer to the chapters of the *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* as numbered in Barois 2012. In chapter 2.12, *Śivadharmottara* 1.65–66 correspond to verses 31cd–33ab. A more extended study of the reception of the *Śivadharma* in the *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* is the topic of De Simini forth.a.

the *Niśvāsakārikā* transmitted in the Southern transcripts from the Institut Français de Pondichéry (IFP).[61] Some of the topics of this chapter, which corresponds to the thirty-fourth in the transcript that I used, echo those of *Śivadharmottara*'s chapter one: chapter thirty-four of the *Niśvāsakārikā* is opened by a consideration of the goddess on 'the *ācārya*, who knows the Śaiva scriptures and all the Śaiva knowledge [originating] from Śiva, entirely, being free from worldly logic. Indifferent to secular knowledge, he only rejoices in the scriptures of Śiva. By your grace, I wish to hear by what means the Lord [is] the supreme object expressed (*vācya*) by those [scriptures], o great Lord.'[62]

We recognise here several elements of the *Śivadharmottara*'s treatment of the topic of the six-syllabled mantra and the speech of Śiva. In the *Niśvāsakārikā* this question will open a disquisition which also encompasses linguistic speculations influenced by Śaivasiddhānta theology. At this point we find a parallel to *Śivadharmottara* chapter one, concerning *Niśvāsakārikā* 34.16cd–17ab, which is parallel to *Śivadharmottara* 1.18.[63] This is followed by a paragraph on the 'eight types of words,' a topic also dealt with in *Svacchandatantra* 11, until, at stanza 34.31, the goddess demands to hear about the *śabdārthasambandha*, which will be explained by Īśvara both in terms of a *kārya-kāraṇa* and in those of a *vācya-vācaka* relationship. It is in this context that the *Niśvāsakārikā* inserts the following stanzas:[64]

> An expression deprived of meaning that is commonly used must be known as an ungrammatical word, be it in Sanskrit or in Prakrit. Yet scholars know

[61] The *Niśvāsakārikā* is still unpublished and is so far only known through South Indian manuscripts. I could verify that the text that I quote as 'chapter thirty-four' is attested in two paper transcripts of the IFP: T. 17a (pp. 286–301), where it is chapter thirty-four and from which I have transcribed the stanzas in the following footnotes, and T. 127, copied from a manuscript of the Government Oriental Manuscript Library of Chennai, in which the same text is distributed between chapters thirty-two (pp. 295–298) and thirty-four (pp. 309–319). A further paper transcript reporting the *Niśvāsakārikā* is T. 150, but it does not contain the text of this chapter. For considerations on an early dating to the seventh century of at least parts of the *Niśvāsakārikā*, see Goodall et al. 2015, 23ff.

[62] *Niśvāsakārikā* 34.1–3ab (T. 17, p. 286): *ācāryaḥ śivatantraṃ tu śivajñānaṃ śivasya ca | vetti sarvam aśeṣeṇa lokahetuvivarjitaḥ* || 1 || *virakto laukike śāstre śivajñānaikarāgavān | teṣāṃ ca uttaraṃ vācyaṃ yenopāyena īśvaram* || 2 || *tad ahaṃ śrotum icchāmi tvatprasādād maheśvara* |.

[63] Compare *Niśvāsakārikā* 34.16–17ab (T. 17, p. 289): *sūkṣmāt sūkṣmataro devī divyaḥ śiva iti smṛtaḥ | śrutimātrarasād yeṣāṃ pradhānapuruṣeśvarān* || 16 || *na śabdenātra gṛhyante na kareṇa na cakṣuṣā* |; with *Śivadharmottara* 1.18: *śrutimātrarasāḥ sūkṣmāḥ pradhānapuruṣeśvarāḥ | śraddhāmātreṇa gṛhyante na kareṇa na cakṣuṣā* || 18 ||.

[64] *Niśvāsakārikā* 34.40cd–44ab: *yad arthahīnaṃ loke 'smin vacanaṃ sampravartate* || 40 || *apaśabdas tu taj jñeyaṃ saṃskṛta prākṛto'pi vā | gamakāś caiva śabdās tu*

> [and] describe ungrammatical words which are transmitted in the Āgamas and other [scriptures] as meaningful words pronounced by *ṛṣi*s and gods. What is the use of this teaching inspired by ignorance and appetites, which is the cause of the defilements of transmigration, even though it is in Sanskrit, and is elegant and charming? The teaching that, after hearing it, generates merit and the destruction of sins and so on, even though it is corrupted, this has to be known as extremely auspicious.

The stanzas of the *Śivadharmottara* are taken literally, with the sole difference of *vinaṣṭam api* in *Niśvāsakārikā* 34.44a instead of *virūpam api* in *Śivadharmottara* 1.66c, which does not imply any significant changes in meaning. However, a variation is introduced by the transposition of these stanzas into the context of the *Niśvāsakārikā*, where they are used in support of the claim that in the scriptures *ṛṣi*s and gods may have used ungrammatical expressions that would be considered meaningless in common language, but that are meaningful if uttered by divine and semi-divine authors. The linguistic arguments of the *Śivadharmottara* in chapters one and two do not aim to support the use of ungrammatical language, which is more justifiable in an initiatic context, but rather to maintain that the choice of the teaching language is dictated by the necessity to adapt to different audiences and ease the transmission of such teachings (and, thus, of their salvific functions). The *Niśvāsakārikā* shares the claim of the *Śivadharmottara* that it is not the beauty of the language that makes scriptures authoritative, but rather the efficaciousness of the teachings, and thus the morality of their authors and transmitters.

The broader context for the teachings on the *ṣaḍakṣaramantra* in chapter one of the *Śivadharmottara* is thus that of a tripartite classification of the 'authoritative speech'—*śaiva*, *gāṇeśvara*, and *munibhāṣita*—which reflects different stages of knowledge transmission. These elements also constitute the basic steps of the so-called 'descent of scriptures' (*tantrāvatāra*) of which we find countless examples in Purāṇic and Tantric literature of all traditions. The earliest in Śaiva Tantras is the *śivatantrotpatti* described in the *Uttarasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, in which the *śāstra* or *śivatantra* is said to emerge from Śiva in the form of pure sound (*nāda*); then Sadāśiva communicates it in linguistic form to the gods, from whom it will then reach humankind in various redactions (*Uttarasūtra* 1.22cd-25). More complex ones appear also in early texts, such as the circa seventh-century *Brahmayāmala*, in the

ṛṣidaivatabhāṣitāḥ || 41 || *āgamādyapaśabdāni varṇayanti vidur budhāḥ | saṃskṛtenāpi kiṃ tena mṛdunā lalitena ca* || 42 || *avidyārāgavākyena saṃsārakleśahetunā | yac chrutvā jāyate puṇyaṃ pāpādīnāṃ parikṣayaḥ* || 43 || *vinaṣṭam api tad vākyaṃ vijñeyam atiśobhanam* |.

tantrāvatāra is interwoven with a cosmogenesis, and with a classification of scriptures into three 'streams' stemming directly from the level of the primeval knowledge (Hatley 2018, 167ff and 383–420).

The *Śivadharmottara* does not articulate this topic following the scheme of a descent of scriptures—this is a connection that the reader can do by linking these contents to those of chapter one and twelve of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*—but rather the ratio of the different domains of authoritativeness of the *vākya*s, starting with the source of all authority that corresponds to Śiva's command, embodied by the mantra. This observation leads one to wonder whether such taxonomy does not also reveal a basic classification of scriptural authority. Sparse examples throughout Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava Tantric literature make it possible to at least consider this hypothesis plausible. For instance, the *Caryāpāda* of the *Mṛgendra*, moving through miscellaneous teachings concerning the Śaiva community—such as those about the *vratin*s and *avratin*s (CP 1.3–21), or the four categories of Śaiva initiates—devotes some verses to the duties of the *ācārya*s (CP 1.23ff), covering among other things the impartation of initiation to people converted from other sects (CP 1.27–28), and the teaching (*vyākhyāna*) of the scriptures (CP 1.30–33). At this point, the *Mṛgendra* prescribes that, 'in order to account for the validity [of the scripture],' the teacher should also declare the divisions and names of the 'currents' (*srotas*) and the 'sub-currents' (*anusrotas*).[65] The text then moves on to teach about the five currents (*pañca srotāṃsi*), 'the earliest and most comprehensive' among the classifications of Śaivasiddhānta scriptures (Sanderson 2014, 32).[66] Corresponding to the five currents are eight fur-

[65] *Mṛgendra*, CP 1.34ab: *sroto brūyad anusroto bhedān saṃkhyānam eva ca*.

[66] In this classification, the foremost *srotas*, associated with the Īśāna-face of Sadāśiva, corresponds to the twenty-eight Śaivasiddhānta scriptures 'starting with the Kāmika,' while the remaining four collect different classes of scriptures, which are considered inferior to the Siddhāntatantras. While the twenty-eight Śaivasiddhānta scriptures 'starting with the Kāmika' are listed later on according to the division into the *śivabheda* and the *rudrabheda* (CP 1.42cd–47ab), *Mṛgendra*, CP 1.35–36ab, does not list all the titles of texts belonging to the other four groups, but only the first of each group, which are: the southern current, to which scriptures 'starting with the *Asitāṅga*' (i.e., the Bhairavatantras) belong; the northern current, comprising the scriptures 'headed by the *Saṃmoha*' (i.e., the Vāmatantras); the eastern current, which includes the group of scriptures 'starting with the *Trotala*' (i.e., the Gāruḍatantras); and the western, with texts concerning Caṇḍeśvara, such as the *Caṇḍāsidhāra* (i.e., the Bhūtatantras): *srotāṃsi kāmikādy ūrdhvam asitāṅgādi dakṣiṇam | sammohādy uttaraṃ prācyaṃ trotalādi suvistaram || 35 || āpyaṃ caṇḍāsidhārādi caṇḍanāthaparigraham |*. Other sources on the topic, among which the very detailed Śrīkaṇṭhī–*Srotobheda*, are collected in Sand-

ther currents that the commentator Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha calls *anusrota*s, 'sub–currents,' using a definition that the *Mṛgendra* had given in CP 1.34a but which is not repeated here, where the *mūla*-text refers to these simply as *srotas*. Among these further currents, we encounter definitions that loosely recall the exposition of *Śivadharmottara* 1.23–24 and 1.63–66:[67]

> The knowledgeable know of eight currents: the one of Śiva, the one of the Mantreśvaras, the one of the Gaṇas, the one of the gods, and the one of the *ṛṣi*s, as well as the one related to the *guhyaka*s, (36) / to the families of *yoginī*s and *siddha*s. These follow the main currents. The teacher should proclaim them along with their subdivisions. (37) / The current of Śiva is the primeval Tantra, established by [his] command, without doubts; After that [knowledge] was learned by the Lords, the Gaṇas, the gods and the *muni*s, by his will, (38) / it was composed in their own words, [and] it obtained the names of its [authors].

While variants of the *srotas*-teaching are attested in other sources, as we observed throughout this article, the teaching on the *anusrotas* belongs exclusively to the *Mṛgendra*. Neither the text nor the commentary identify specific scriptures as part of this taxonomy, which classifies different types of knowledge originating from Śiva on the basis of their transmitters. They are secondary with respect to the five *srotas*, as is acknowledged by the text and also elucidated by the commentator.[68] In the conclusion to the section on the *anusrotas*, the *Mṛgendra* informs us that, given this criterion of classification, their own internal subdivisions (*bheda*s) are countless.[69] In commenting upon 39b, Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha lists the names of these classes of compositions besides the primeval knowledge of Śiva as *māntreśvara*,

erson 2014, 32–34 and footnotes. On the topic of the classification of Śaiva scriptures into *srotas*, I refer the reader to Hanneder 1998.

[67] *Mṛgendra*, CP 1.36cd–39ab: *śaivaṃ māntreśvaraṃ gāṇaṃ divyam ārṣaṃ ca gauhyakam || yoginīsiddhakaulaṃ ca srotāṃsy aṣṭau vidur budhāḥ | pratisroto 'nuyāyīni tāni brūyād vibhāgaśaḥ* || 37 || *śaivaṃ prāktantranirmāṇam ājñāsiddham asaṃśayam | tad īśānair gaṇair devair munibhiś ca tadicchayā* || 38 || *vijñāya sambhṛtaṃ svoktyā tādākhyaṃ samupāgatam* |.

[68] In commenting upon verse 37, Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha explains that these subcurrents are 'placed' in each of the main *srotas*—namely that the subdivision according to spreaders and composers is possible for every one of the five branches of Śaiva scriptures. See *Mṛgendravṛtti* ad CP 1.36cd–37: 'Those starting with the *śaiva* are "the eight currents;" "following the main currents" [means] conforming to the main currents. The meaning is that these are placed within every current, such as the "upper," as secondary currents'; *śaivādīny aṣṭau srotāṃsi pratisroto 'nuyāyīni pratisroto 'nuvidhāyinīty etāny ekaikasminn ūrdhvādau srotasy anusrotastvena sthitānīty arthaḥ* |.

[69] *Mṛgendra*, CP 1.42ab: *vādibhedaprabhinnatvāt teṣāṃ saṃkhyā na vidyate*.

gāṇeśvara, *divya*, and *ārṣa*. The *śaiva*, *gāṇeśvara* and *munibhāṣita* types of *vākya* of the *Śivadharmottara* seem thus to find some correspondence in this part of the *anusrotas* classification; moreover, the use of the clause *ājñāsiddham asaṃśayam* in *Mṛgendra*, CP 1.38b to describe the *śaiva* knowledge—the word *jñāna* being supplied by the commentator—is analogous to *ājñāsiddham asandigdham* of *Śivadharmottara* 1.23c, describing the *śaiva* category, and thus the mantra in six syllables. Note that the *Mṛgendra* hints at a hierarchical distinction between the first five types, which were associated with the five main *srota*s, and the remaining three, arguably held at a lower level. It is undeniable that the *Mṛgendra* teachings on the *anusrotas* are of minor importance against the background of the Śaiva theories of scriptural revelation, and this assonance with the *Śivadharmottara*'s teaching on the *vākya*s may therefore remain in the realm of speculations. However, we cannot avoid mentioning here a similar classification, comparable both to the *Śivadharmottara* and to the paragraph of the *Mṛgendra* that we just examined, that is attested in the scriptures of the Pāñcarātra tradition, where it plays a bigger role than the *anusrotas* of the *Mṛgendra*. We see it for instance in chapter twenty-two of the *Sātvatasaṃhitā*, one of the early scriptures of the Pāñcarātra. Analogously to the *Mṛgendra*, this chapter of the *Sātvatasaṃhitā* contains instructions on the behaviours of the four groups of initiates, which include references to modes of teaching and learning in an initiatic context. After discussing the characteristics of the *sādhaka* (22.41–47), the *Sātvatasaṃhitā* moves on to deal with those of the teachers. While their first requirement is the knowledge of mantras, the teacher is further directed to be knowledgeable in the 'mixing of scriptures' (*sāṅkaryam āgamānāṃ,* 22.52a)[70] on the basis of the types of authoritative speech (*vākyavaśāt,* 22.52b). While the context is similar to the one outlined in the *Caryāpāda* of the *Mṛgendra*, the terminology and classification of the *vākya*s emerging from the *Sātvatasaṃhitā* is akin to the one of the *Śivadharmottara*, as the following stanzas show:[71]

> In this regard, there are three types of authoritative teachings: divine, uttered by the *muni*s, (52) / and human. O you with lotus-eyes, understand the distinction among these: the one that is rich in meaning, without

[70] For this notion in the Pāñcarātra tradition, see Rastelli 2006, 101.

[71] *Sātvatasaṃhitā* 22.52cd–59ab: *tatra vai trividhaṃ vākyaṃ divyaṃ ca munibhāṣitam* || 52 || *pauruṣaṃ cāravindākṣa tadbhedam avadhāraya* | *yadarthāḍhyam asandigdhaṃ svaccham alpākṣaraṃ sthiram* || 53 || *tat parameśvaraṃ vākyam ājñāsiddhaṃ ca mokṣadam* | *praśaṃsakaṃ vai siddhīnāṃ sampravartakam apy atha* || 54 || *sarveṣāṃ rañjakaṃ gūḍhaniścayīkaraṇakṣamam* [em. following Veṅkaṭanātha's *Pāñcarātrarakṣā; gūḍhaṃ* ed.] | *munivā-*

> doubts, clear, consisting of a few syllables, stable, (53) / this is the teaching of Parameśvara, established by [his] command and conferring liberation. Praising as well as generating powers, (54) / attractive to everyone, apt for clarifying obscure matters: know the teaching of the *muni*s to be like this, conferring results suitable to the four lifegoals. (55) / Meaningless, lacking logical connections, poor in content, verbose, not accomplishing the foremost teachings (*scil.*: of the god and the *muni*s): this is a human teaching, (56) / and [it] has to be abandoned, as a source for useless powers conducive to hell. That teaching that supports well established notions, has a fitting meaning [and] is [therefore] different [from other human teachings], (57) / even if it is human it has to be accepted like a teaching coming from the *muni*s. That scripture that originates from teachings that are thus fit to be accepted, o great-minded one, (58) / know that its doctrines lead to the right path, [and] that it is entirely an injunctive teaching.

The three *vākya*s described in the *Sātvata* do not completely overlap with those of chapter one of the *Śivadharmottara*, but there certainly is ground for comparison: the first two, the 'divine' and the one 'uttered by the *muni*s,' are connected to the two goals of liberation and enjoyment, just like the *śaiva* and the *gāṇeśvara* types of the *Śivadharmottara*, which in turn knows of a third *vākya* associated with the *muni*s. The 'human' *vākya* described by the *Sātvata* does not seem to have a wordily correspondence in the *Śivadharmottara* at first; one can nevertheless detect a resemblance to the *durbhāṣita* kind of teaching mentioned in the Śaiva text (1.64–65). Furthermore, literal correspondences exist in the definitions of the *śaiva/divya* teachings (see *Sātvatasaṃhitā* 22.53–54, parallel to *Śivadharmottara* 1.23) which are also partly shared with the *Mṛgendra*.

The *Sātvatasaṃhitā* introduces these teachings as an excursus on the necessity for the teacher to be able to distinguish scriptures on the basis of the *vākya*. Later Pāñcarātra scriptures such as the *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā* (dateable 1100–1300 according to Rastelli 2006, 54) have used these categories attested in the *Sātvatasaṃhitā* as the basis for the classification of Pāñcarātra scriptures into three groups, namely the *divyaśāstra*, the *munibhāṣitaśāstra* and the *pauruṣaśāstra*. This is attested above all in *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā* 10.336–345 and *Īśvarasaṃhitā* 1.54–63. As observed by Leach (2014, 118), and as already partly remarked by Schrader (1916, 22–24), the passage

kyaṃ tu tad viddhi caturvargaphalapradam || 55 || *anarthakam asambaddham alpārthaṃ śabdaḍambaram | anirvāhakam ādyokter vākyaṃ tat pauruṣaṃ smṛtam* || 56 || *heyaṃ cānarthasiddhīnām ākaraṃ narakāvaham | prasiddhārthānuvādaṃ yat saṃgatārthaṃ vilakṣaṇam* || 57 || *api cet pauruṣaṃ vākyaṃ grāhyaṃ tan munivākyavat | evam ādeyavākyottha āgamo yo mahāmate* || 58 || *sanmārgadarśanaṃ kṛtsnaṃ vidhivādaṃ ca viddhi tam* |.

of the *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā* and its parallel in the *Īśvarasaṃhitā* are the first attestations that the tradition confers a higher status to the so-called 'three jewels' of the Pāñcarātra, i.e., the *Sātvatasaṃhitā*, the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*, and the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā*, which are grouped together in the *divyaśāstra* category, namely the scriptures proclaimed directly by god and in accordance with the Veda. Moreover, such interpretation is also maintained by Veṅkaṭanātha (1270–1369) in his *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, where he quotes in its support exactly the afore-mentioned passage from the *Sātvatasaṃhitā*. Writing about Veṅkaṭanātha's use of this passage, Cox (2016b, 106ff) links it with the concerns afflicting the Pāñcarātra textual composers, and the interpretive tradition that has in Veṅkaṭanātha its foremost representative, towards interpolations and the corruption of scriptures. The fear for 'false teachers,' and thus of the corruption of the teachings, played a role also in the *Śivadharmottara*'s criticism towards the *durbhāṣita* scriptures and the corrupt teachers who were responsible for their composition, in this chapter and, above all, in chapter two. In both places, the text concludes their disquisitions on the topic by threatening those bad teachers with hell, a menace that the *Sātvatasaṃhitā* similarly addresses to the 'human' teachings that did not comply with divine command.

5. *The six-syllabled mantra beyond the Śivadharma*

A high level of complexity lies behind the treatment that the *Śivadharmottara* devotes to its chief mantra, and its understanding has several implications on our knowledge of how this early Śaiva work mediated with the Dharmaśāstra and the Vedic tradition on one side and other early forms of Śaivism on the other. The following eleven chapters of the *Śivadharmottara* will showcase the powers of their mantra from multiple angles, but above all by turning it into a liberating tool thanks to its association to the practice of the *jñānayoga*.

The impact of the mantra in six syllables does not end with the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* but reverberates in scriptures and practices of Śaiva believers up to modern times. Given the general character of this rather ubiquitous mantra and its non-sectarian nature, assessing the role that the *Śivadharma* might have played in spreading its use can be an intricate question to unfold; nevertheless, some recent attempts and the solid testimony of textual sources suggest a few directions that are worth taking.

In the first place, a recent study by Bisschop (2018a) has brought forth the hypothesis that the six-syllabled mantra of *Śivadharmaśāstra* chapter seven might have influenced the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* in fashioning the notion of the *ṣaḍakṣarī vidyā*, which corresponds to the mantra *oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ,* one of the most popular in Mahāyāna Buddhism, especially in the Tibetan re-

gion. This hypothesis rests on the possibility of tracing connections between this Buddhist Sūtra and early Śaiva environments, which has been the topic of early scholarship and has been discussed most recently by Eltschinger (2014, 81–85). As highlighted by the latter, the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* regards Maheśvara as the most important Brahmanical deity of the Kaliyuga, produced from Avalokiteśvara's forehead in a prophecy-style description that echoes, among others, the Vedic *Puruṣasūkta*. In the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra*'s envisioning of the Kaliyuga as a period that will see the prevalence of the devotees of Maheśvara and, thus, of practices such as the *liṅga*-cult, Bisschop (2015) had recognised a previously unidentified Śaiva quotation as corresponding to *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.17. This could be a hint that the authors of the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* knew the text of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, which makes it plausible that they were also aware of its teachings on the six-syllabled mantra.

The assumption of a Śaiva influence for the Buddhist mantra in six syllables had already been made by Studholme in his study of the origin of the mantra *oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ* (2002). Here, he compared the characterisation of the *ṣaḍakṣarī vidyā* of the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* with that of the mantra *namaḥ śivāya* and *oṃ namaḥ śivāya* in Śaiva sources, arguing for similarities that, according to him, could prove a Śaiva derivation for the Buddhist doctrine on the mantra in six syllables. However, failing to historicise his sources, the Śaiva texts that Studholme quotes in support of this hypothesis—mainly the *Brahmottarakāṇḍha* of the *Skandapurāṇa* (Venkateśvara Press edition), the *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* of the *Śivapurāṇa,* and a related passage in the *Liṅgapurāṇa*—turn out to be demonstrably later than the first mention of the *ṣaḍakṣarī vidyā* occurring in a manuscript of the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra*. Such mention is already available in the Gilgit manuscript G1 dateable on palaeographical grounds to the early seventh century (Mette 1997, 9).

Future research may or may not be able to add more to our knowledge of the actual link, if any, between the early *Śivadharma* texts and the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* regarding the doctrine of the mantra in six syllables. At the same time, the Śaiva passages examined by Studholme highlight a tendency that was also noticed by Rocher 1991, and has surfaced several times in the present article, i.e., that some of the Purāṇic passages most often cited to illustrate the topic of the Śaiva mantras in five and six syllables are derived from the *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* and the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, which in turn rely heavily on the testimony of chapter one of the *Śivadharmottara*.

This circumstance points out that a viable path to study the impact of the mantra teachings of the *Śivadharmottara* beyond the *Śivadharma* passes once again through the rich reception history of our text, which allows us to reconstruct the process of adaptation and conservation that carries the *Śivadharmottara* from the earliest phases of the history of Śaivism into modernity.

On mantrasaṃhitā, śivaikādaśikā and related expressions: A note on awareness of mantras of the Mantramārga in the Śivadharma corpus

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One of the factors that led R.C. Hazra (1983a, 296) to propose an early date for the *Śivadharmaśāstra* was that it displayed no knowledge of Tantras. Works of the Mantramārga that we now commonly refer to as Tantras, such as the earliest *sūtra*s of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, might well already have been in existence at the time of the composition of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, but if so the Mantramārga had perhaps not become sufficiently dominant for it to be reflected in the characterisation of what seem to be 'lay' practices reflected in the *Śivadharmaśāstra*. The *Śivadharmottara*, however, was different for Hazra (1983b, 204) because multiple occurrences of the word *tantra* suggested a familiarity with tantrism. This seemed a weak argument (Goodall 2011, 232), bearing in mind for instance that the *Śivadharmottara* prescribes the installation of an icon of Lakulīśa in the library of a Śaiva monastery (Goodall 2009, 74–75, fn. 88 and De Simini 2016a, 388 and 403), suggesting that the dominant professional Śaiva religion in the background was of Atimārga type, not Mantramārga.

But what about Tantra-related terms, or Tantra-related usage of terms such as *mantra*? What is the evidence of awareness of mantras typical of the Mantramārga in the different layers of the Śivadharma corpus? Any examination of such a question is of course necessarily preliminary given that the various critical editions of different parts of the corpus are still underway

and in very different states of advancement. Just to illustrate how this is important, we may cite the issue of the distribution of the term *mantrin*, an extremely widespread term in literature of the Mantramārga, which, used in a weak sense, may simply refer to anyone performing a given ritual, but which, in a stronger sense, may emphasise the ritualist's qualification, conferred by *dīkṣā* (and perhaps also by the lengthy and arduous procedure of propitiating a mantra known as *pūrvasevā* or *puraścaraṇa*), to wield the power of a tantric mantra. In other words, it may refer to a *sādhaka*, one questing for special powers and pleasures by means of mantras. And even if it is used more neutrally to refer to anybody performing any rite of the Mantramārga, this usage is possible precisely because such a person must inevitably have received some form of initiation in order to have the power to use the required mantras. So we may be justly surprised to read the following half-line in the *Śivadharmaśāstra*:

> *parameśvarapūjāṃ ca kuryān mantrī samāhitaḥ |*
>
> Attentive, the Mantrin should perform worship of the Supreme Lord.

And indeed this line almost certainly does not belong there. It is transmitted as *Śivadharmaśāstra* 1.21ab in the Pondicherry manuscript T. 32 (p. 143), but appears not to be included in the numerous Nepalese manuscripts.

In other words, pending further work on the transmission, we should remain consciously unsure of the constitution of the text, which is often transmitted with very considerable variation.[3] With this caveat stated, it seems at the moment that there were originally no such usages whatsoever of the word *mantrin* in the first two treatises of the corpus, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, and there may have been none in the subsequent texts either.

How did that half-line get there? We should bear in mind that in recent centuries the Southern transmission of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Śivadharmottara* may largely have taken place in a milieu in which those two texts were actually regarded as scriptures of the Śaivasiddhānta, since they are presented as *upabheda*s of the *Santāna* (one of the twenty-eight principal scriptures of the Saiddhāntika canon) in, for instance, *Pūrva-Kāraṇa* 1.63 (see Filliozat's 1961 preface to the first volume of the *Rauravāgama* for a tabulation of the *upabheda*s according to several South Indian Temple Āgamas). Reception of the *Śivadharmottara* as though it were a Saiddhāntika work certainly seems to have affected the interpretation reflected in the sixteenth-century Tamil translation of Vedajñāna I (d. 1563 CE), as we shall

[3] For further discussion of the transmission of works of the Śivadharma corpus, see for instance De Simini 2017.

have occasion to show in future publications by members of the Śivadharma Project team, and it may well have affected the transmission of the Sanskrit text in some places, as for instance here. For it is not difficult to imagine that a South Indian copyist might have inserted this half-line, feeling that some such sentiment needed explicit statement at this point and believing it to be totally in keeping with the spirit of the text, which the copyist believed to be a Siddhāntatantra.

There is in fact only one mantra that receives extensive attention in the earliest two works of the corpus, namely the *ṣaḍakṣara*/*ṣaḍakṣarī* (six-syllabled mantra): *oṃ namaḥ śivāya*. Since that is the subject of the article of De Simini in this same volume, there is no need to devote attention to it here. We may just mention in passing that there is one instance (*Śivadharmottara* 1.28–29) in which the five syllables *na*, *maḥ*, *śi*, *vā*, and *ya* are said to be seed-syllable forms (*bīja*) of the five *brahmamantra*s. There is nothing distinctively tantric about the use of the five *brahmamantra*s, since, as is well known, they are central to Atimārga practice too, as we know from the *Pāśupatasūtra*s.[4] But since seed-syllable forms of the *brahmamantra*s, and indeed seed-syllable mantras generally (with the notable exception of the *praṇava*), are characteristic of the Mantramārga, we should note that this claim about the five last syllables of the *ṣaḍakṣarī* appears to point to awareness of Mantramārga usage. One could of course instead posit the passage to be an instance of an independent parallel phenomenon, or even a prefiguration of tantric practice, if we believed the *Śivadharmottara* to be earlier than the earliest works of the Mantramārga to include seed-syllable *brahmamantra*s, but this seems unlikely.[5] For the earliest known mention of seed-syllable forms of the *brahmamantra*s may be that in the *Mūlasūtra* (6.16), which we think is the earliest surviving layer of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* and may date to as early as the fifth century CE (see the prolegomena of Goodall, Sanderson, Isaacson et al. 2015, in particular p. 35).

Pointers to an awareness of tantric notions about mantras in texts of the Śivadharma corpus that are later than the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* are not likely to surprise anyone. Indeed, as Nirajan Kafle (2020) has demonstrated at length, the *Niśvāsamukhatattvasaṃhitā*, which seems to be one of the latest layers of composition in the body of text included in the ninth-century Nepalese manuscript transmitting the *Niśvā-*

[4] For a discussion of the earliest history of the *brahmamantra*s, see Bisschop 2018c. For more on uses of the *brahmamantra*s in Southern ritual contexts, see Sarma 2018.

[5] For a lengthy and wide-ranging recent discussion of the date of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, and therefore also the *Śivadharmottara*, see the introduction to Bisschop 2018b.

satattvasaṃhitā, has evidently been drawn on extensively in order to compose the *Śivadharmasaṅgraha*, which is usually the third text to be copied in the large Nepalese Sammelhandschrift-copies of the Śivadharma corpus (see Kafle's edition, presented in an appendix, of chapters five through nine of the *Śivadharmasaṅgraha*).[6] Thus, unsurprisingly, we find an allusion to *bījamantra*s in *Śivadharmasaṅgraha* 6.22, and to *mantrasādhana* in conjunction with *liṅga*-worship in 6.27–28. And in the *Śivopaniṣad* we find a reference to the *śivamantra* (7.63), to *mūrtimantra*s (2.25), as well as to a conglomeration of mantras that we shall be discussing below, which appears in the context of bathing by means of mantras (*mantrasnāna*, 5.33). In the *Dharmaputrikā*, which Barois (2020) argues to be earlier than the *Śivadharmottara*, yogic practice is combined with what seem to me to be distinctively tantric mantras such as the 'Death-conqueror,' *mṛtyuñjaya* (presumably *oṃ juṃ saḥ*, which we know, perhaps most famously, from the *Netratantra*, but which already makes two appearances in the *Kiraṇatantra*, in chapter thirty-four and in 45.20, where it protects from disease and is used for the purification of food), a *daśākṣara* (perhaps the Daśākṣaradeva taught in chapter sixteen of the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*), and the *ekāśītipada*, a label often used for the *vyomavyāpimantra* (*Dharmaputrikā* 9.15–16, numbered 247–248 in Naraharinath's edition of 1998, 718–719).[7]

[6] Of course the fact that the *Śivadharmasaṅgraha* is usually placed third in manuscript bundles is not necessarily evidence that the *Śivadharmasaṅgraha* was the third text to be composed.

[7] For a couple of other allusions to tantric mantras, see Barois (2020, 10). However, she opens her paragraph on the subject with this sentence: 'Mentions of specific *mantra*s are also rare, scantily detailed, and do not explicitly show Śaiva features.' This stance seems to be preparing the ground for arguing for the antiquity of the *Dharmaputrikā*, but it seems somewhat tendentious. Barois seems not to take notice of the *daśākṣara*, and she observes that the *ekāśītipada* is alluded to 'without the term *vyomavyāpin* being mentioned.' But *ekāśītipada* is surely rather a distinctive name? What other mantra could it refer to? Both mantras are to be found in the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, with which Barois notes the *Dharmaputrikā* shares common ground, albeit, according to her, only in the domain of yoga (2020, 23). Of course the presence of allusions to tantric mantras does not resolve the issue of the relative datings of the *Śivadharmottara* and the *Dharmaputrikā*, which Barois argues to be the earlier text using other evidence that, while suggestive, does not seem to me conclusive (2020, 17–20), and could in fact be used to argue the opposite case (since it rests on the unwarranted presupposition that the earlier of the two texts must necessarily present such material as they both share in greater detail, and with greater clarity and cogency). But the mantras mentioned in the *Dharmaputrikā* could be considered a small piece of inconclusive

But can we find any other traces of distinctively Mantramārga mantras or notions about mantras in the earliest two works of the Śivadharma corpus? We have noticed nothing in the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, but in the *Śivadharmottara* there are two instances of an expression that seems to allude to what I had supposed until now to be a distinctively tantric grouping of mantras. Both instances occur in the treatment of expiation rites (*prāyaścitta*). This portion of the text has not yet received a full critical edition taking into account all the manuscripts, but we have an old and useful independent witness to the text in the Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript of 1157 CE transmitting Hṛdayaśiva's *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*, which Sathyanarayanan and Goodall (2015) have transcribed in an appendix in that book. That text quotes whole chapters relating to expiation from a range of Śaiva works, including the eleventh chapter of the *Śivadharmottara*, which fortuitously appears as the eleventh chapter in Hṛdayaśiva's compendium. The mantra-expression in question is *śivaikādaśikā* (11.61, 11.72), the 'Śiva Eleven .' The two mentions of the term are in close proximity with two instances of what seems to be a synonymous expression, namely *ekādaśikā* (11.65 and 66), 'group of eleven.' Furthermore, there are expiations prescribed that involve repetition of a *śivamantra* (11.56), afterwards called simply *śiva* (11.63, 11.65, 11.68, 11.71–72). Unfortunately, it is not clear from the immediate context what is meant by *śivaikādaśikā*, either here or in *Śivopaniṣad* 5.10 and 5.33, where the expression also occurs. But it is clear that the expression is used in a few other works of the early Mantramārga, often in contexts of expiation. Thus we find it, for instance, in the opening verse of chapter thirty-one of Hṛdayaśiva's *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*, a chapter attributed to the *Vāmadevīya-Kriyāsaṅgraha*, where its recitation is enjoined, as in *Śivadharmottara* 11.61, as an expiation for omitting to perform *sandhyā*-worship in case of illness:

> *sandhyālope tu sañjāte śivaikādaśikāṃ japet* |
> *sarujo nirujo mantrī sadyojātaśataṃ japet* ||
>
> If omission of the *sandhyā* occurs, the Mantrin, if he was ill, should recite the *śivaikādaśikā*. If he was free of illness, he should recite *sadyojāta* one hundred times.

We find its recitation enjoined again in the same text as part of an expiation for eating food sullied by owls, vultures, crows or the like (Hṛdayaśiva's

counter evidence suggesting that we should be cautious with Barois' hypothesis. While perhaps arguably less archaic-seeming in some respects, the *Śivadharmottara* seems more archaic, for instance, in that it does not blend mantras that distinctively belong to the Mantramārga with the practice of yoga.

Prāyaścittasamuccaya 31.26–27), which is closely paralleled in *Śivadharmottara* 11.71–72. Enjoining the recitation of the *śivaikādaśikā* for missing the *sandhyā* seems well-established in subsequent works of the Śaivasiddhānta too. Verse thirty-nine of Trilocanaśiva's *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*, for instance, reads as follows:

> *sandhyākālaparibhraṃśe śivaikādaśikāṃ japet* |
> *sandhyātrayaparibhraṣṭaḥ śivaikādaśikātrayam* ||
>
> If he does not observe the time for *sandhyā*, he should recite the eleven mantras of Śiva (*śivaikādaśikām*). If he fails to observe all three *sandhyā*s, he should recite the *śivaikādaśikā* three times. (Sathyanarayanan 2015, 224)

Note that Sathyanarayanan's translation 'the eleven mantras of Śiva' makes an assumption that may fit Trilocanaśiva's understanding, but may not be warranted in our context, as shall be explained below. Trilocanaśiva's manual on expiation is largely a concatenation of unmarked quotations from earlier (particularly scriptural) sources, and here the second half of the verse is *Śivadharmottara* 11.61cd, while the first half is quoted elsewhere with attribution to the *Mṛgendratantra* (e.g. in the same Trilocanaśiva's *Somaśambhupaddhatiṭīkā*, GOML MS M. 14735, p. 101; and in the *Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati*, T. 55, p. 133), and we find it incorporated in Aghoraśiva's *Mṛgendrapaddhati* (T. 1021, p. 25). It cannot be found today, however, either in Bhatt's edition of the *Mṛgendra*, or in chapter twenty-six of Hṛdayaśiva's *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*, which corresponds to CP 107–123 of the *Mṛgendratantra*. But the expression *śivaikādaśikā* does occur in the *Mṛgendra* in the context of expiation in another verse (CP 119cd–120ab):

> *mahāpātakasaṃyoge śivaikādaśikāyutam* ||
> *japed daśaguṇaṃ prāṇasaṃyamī phalamūlabhuk* |
>
> In the case of having [committed one of the five] grave misdeeds [that cause a fall from status], he should recite the *śivaikādaśikā* ten times ten thousand times, restraining his breath [all the while by means of *prāṇāyāma*] and eating [only] fruits and roots.[8]

The tenth-century Kashmirian commentator Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha glosses *śivaikadaśikā* with *saṃhitā* here, and that expression, used here as a

[8] Brunner-Lachaux (1985, 406), following Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha's commentary, supplies a distinction between deliberate and involuntary commission and renders this unit thus: 'S'il est coupable d'un grand péché, il récitera dix mille fois les onze [mantra de Śiva]; dix fois plus s'il est volontaire, en maîtrisant son souffle et en vivant de fruits et de racines.'

gloss, occurs often in the instrumental elsewhere in the root text. Often, Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha offers no gloss of *saṃhitayā* (e.g. *ad kriyāpāda* 2.28, 6.23, 7.41), but he glosses it with *saṃhitāmantraiḥ ad kriyāpāda* 7.16ab and with *śivaikādaśinyā ad kriyāpāda* 7.43, and he glosses the expression *saṃhitāvigrahe* in *kriyāpāda* 8.154b with *śivaikādaśikasaṃhitārūpe*. We may note also that *saṃhitāṇubhiḥ* in *caryāpāda* 6 has been glossed with *śivaikadaśikayā saṃhitayā*.

In other words, Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha appears to use the expressions *saṃhitā*, *saṃhitāmantrāḥ*, *śivaikādaśinī*, and *śivaikādaśikasaṃhitā* as synonyms. To this list we may add the expression *mantrasaṃhitā*, which is used *ad kriyāpāda* 8.63 in the context of *ālabhana* (exactly as *saṃhitāmantraiḥ* is used *ad* KP 2.9 and 7.16ab). We may also add *śivasaṃhitā*, used for example by Somaśambhu (1.51 in Brunner's edition of 1963).

We might assume, then, that all six expressions could be understood synonymously by Saiddhāntika authors of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. But what did they refer to? Brunner at first assumed (1963, xxxiii) that what was meant was a combination of the five *brahmamantra*s and the six *aṅgamantra*s (including *netra*). Trilocanaśiva, however, gives two other answers when explaining the following verse of Somaśambhu (1.37 in Brunner's edition of 1963):

> *athāto vidhisiddhena saṃhitāmantritena ca* |
> *nivṛttyādiviśuddhena bhasmanā snānam ācaret* ||
>
> Next one should bathe with ash that has been prepared according to injunctions, over which the *saṃhitāmantra* has been recited and that has been purified by [recitation of the five mantras] of *nivṛtti* and so forth.

The mantras of *nivṛtti* and the others of the five *kalā*s need not concern us here. Here is what Trilocanaśiva has to say about the *saṃhitāmantra* (quoted from S.A.S. Sarma's forthcoming edition of the *Somaśambhupaddhatiṭīkā*):

> *saṃhitāśabdas tu dviśatikālottaradṛśā mūlādyastrāntamantraṣaṭkavācakaḥ. sārdhatriśatikādidṛśā tu mūlabrahmāṅgavācakaḥ. asyās tu paddhateḥ dviśatimūlatvāt taduktaiva saṃhitā grāhyā.*
>
> Now the word *saṃhitā*, according to the *Dviśatikālottara*, refers to the group of six mantras beginning with the root-mantra and ending with the *astra*. But according to such authorities as the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara*, it refers to the root mantra, the [five] *brahmamantra*s and the [five] *aṅgamantra*s [excluding *netra*]. Now since this manual is based on the *Dviśatikālottara*, the *saṃhitā* taught by that [Tantra] must be used.

In his *Prabhāvyākhyā* on Aghoraśiva's *Kriyākramadyotikā*, Nirmalamaṇi (p. 15) quotes these remarks of Trilocanaśiva, but with two important dif-

ferences. One is perhaps just a copying slip: instead of *dviśatimūlatvāt*, the printed text of his commentary has *sārddhatriśatimūlatvāt*. The second is an extra sentence, perhaps an interpolation, before *asyāś ca paddhateḥ*. It reads *tathā ca śrīmatkāmike sabrahmāṅgaś śivaś śāstre saṃhitety abhidhīyate iti*. The quoted half-line is found in the *Uttara-Kāmika* as 30:135ab and supports the same view as is ascribed to the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara*.

We should note at once that the interpretation favoured by Trilocanaśiva for interpreting *Dviśatikālottara*-based manuals (in other words all surviving Saiddhāntika manuals except the *Mṛgendrapaddhati* of Aghoraśiva) consists of only six elements, which means that the expressions *śivaikādaśikā*, *śivaikādaśinī* and *aikādaśikā* cannot be synonymous with *saṃhitā*. Once she had taken cognisance of this passage, Brunner revised her view of Somaśambhu's usage (1977, 71–73, *Somaśambhupaddhati* 3), concluding that the older vision was probably of a unit formed by the root-mantra (*śiva*) and Śiva's five primary *aṅgamantra*s.[9] This understanding is certainly what is suggested by *Dviśatikālottara* 1.10–11 as it appears in NAK MS 5-4632 (NGMPP Reel No. B 118/7):

> *prathamaṃ hṛdayaṃ vidyād dvitīyaṃ tu śiraḥ smṛtam |*
> *tṛtīyā tu śikhādevī caturthaṃ kavacaṃ bhavet ||*
> *pañcamaṃ tu śivaṃ vidyāt ṣaṣṭham astraṃ visargajam |*
> *ṣaḍaṅgam etat kathitaṃ śivena paramātmanā ||*
>
> One should understand the first to be the Heart; the second is held to be the Head; the third is the [mantra-]goddess Crest; the fourth is the Cuirass; one should understand the fifth one to be Śiva; the sixth is the Weapon, born of the *visarga*.[10] This is the group of six constituent parts taught by the Supreme Soul Śiva.

It will be noticed, incidentally, that the *śivamantra* is here presented as being itself one of the six a*ṅga*s, which, from the point of view of later usage, is unusual.

As for Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha's understanding of the referent of the various expressions used in the *Mṛgendratantra* that we have alluded to above, that of course has to be of a group of eleven, and Brunner explains (1985, 38,

[9] 'L'ensemble formé par Śiva et ses Membres reflète donc très probablement une vision plus ancienne que celle où les cinq Brahman sont introduits dans le 'cercle' avec les Membres.' (Brunner 1977, 73).

[10] This alludes to the form of the *astramantra* in the *Dviśatikālottara*, for whereas all the other mantras here listed end in a nasalisation, marked graphically by an *anusvāra*, the *astramantra* ends in a *visarga*. When he quotes this couplet in his commentary on Aghoraśiva's *Kriyākramadyotikā*, Nirmalamaṇi (p. 290) reads *vinirgatam* instead of *visargajam*.

fn. 12) that it was the second of Trilocanaśiva's interpretations, namely a group consisting of the root-mantra, the five *brahmamantra*s and five *aṅgamantra*s. This is nowhere very clearly enunciated, as far as I can see, by Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, but there is one telling indication, rather late in the text: the expression *śivādibhiḥ* in *kriyāpāda* 8.213 is glossed by Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha with *saṃhitāmantraiḥ*, which shows that his *saṃhitā* was not the five *brahmamantra*s and the six *aṅgamantra*s including *netra*.

Concerning the two eleven-mantra options (five *brahmamantra*s + six *aṅgamantra*s, or five *brahmamantra*s + five *aṅgamantra*s + *mūlamantra*), Brunner presents a muddled picture. In *Somaśambhupaddhati* 1 (1963, xxxiii) and *Somaśambhupaddhati* 3 (1977, 71–73) she speaks exclusively of the first option (five *brahmamantra*s + six *aṅgamantra*s) as though it were the only eleven-mantra formula and as though it were what Trilocanaśiva attributed to the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* and as though it were favoured by Aghoraśiva and the subsequent tradition. In her annotation to the *Mṛgendratantra*, however, she mentions (1985, 38, fn. 12) only the second option (five *brahmamantra*s + five *aṅgamantra*s + *mūlamantra*). I have not been able to find a passage in which Aghoraśiva declares that the eleven mantras of the *saṃhitā* should be the five *brahmamantra*s and the six *aṅgamantra*s including *netra*. But we do find something that might seem close to such an interpretation elsewhere.

The anonymous commentary on the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Śivadharmo ttara* that survives in a single palm-leaf manuscript in Malayalam script kept in Trivandrum and that is currently being edited by S.A.S. Sarma in the Pondicherry Centre of the EFEO offers two possible interpretations when commenting on *Śivadharmottara* 11.61cd, which we saw above (*sandhyātrayaparibhraṣṭaḥ śivaikādaśikātrayam*) (fols 175v–176r):

> *śivaikādaśikātrayam śivamantrasyaikādaśikā*[11] *vaikādaśikā tasyās trayaṃ śivaikādaśikātrayam; ekādaśānāṃ vā*[12] *samāhāraḥ ekādaśikā. śivamantraḥ khalu pañcabrahmarūpeṇa hṛdayādiṣaḍaṃgātmanā* (f. 176r) *caikādaśadhā bhavati. tādṛśyāś śivekādaśikāyās trayaṃ sandhyāstrayaparibhraṣṭo japtvā śuddhim avāpnoti*
>
> [The expression] *śivaikādaśikātrayam*: either (*vā*) the 'group of eleven' means a group of eleven [instances] of the *śivamantra*, and *śivaikādaśikātrayam* means three instances of that [group]. Alternatively the

[11] *śivaikādaśikātrayaṃ śivamantrasyaikādaśikā*] emend; *śivekādaśikātrayam śivamantrasyekādaśikā* MS.

[12] *ekādaśānāṃ vā*] conj.; *ekādaśānāṃ* MS. This second *vā* is a conjectural restoration, but one that seems warranted since there is a first *vā* marking the first option.

> group of eleven is a grouping of eleven [elements]. [For] the *śivamantra*, as is well known (*khalu*), becomes elevenfold as the five *brahmamantra*s and as the six *aṅga*s beginning with the heart. One who fails to perform three observances of the *sandhyā*-rite obtains purity upon reciting three instances of such a *śivaikādaśikā*.

Now we could understand this to mean that, for the anonymous commentator on the *Śivadharmottara*, *śivaikādaśikātraya* means either thirty-three repetitions of a mantra that may be referred to as *śiva*, or three repetitions of a group of eleven made up of the five *brahmamantra*s and the six *aṅgamantra*s. Both interpretations might appear at first blush to assume a manner of mantra-use that is characteristic of the Mantramārga, for the expression *śivamantra*, used in a Siddhāntatantra, typically refers to whatever has been taught as the *mūlamantra* of that Siddhāntatantra, and the use of a combination of *brahmamantra*s and *aṅgamantra*s as part of the basic mantra-set for worship of a divinity is typically tantric. But in fact, as we have learnt from the first chapter of the *Śivadharmottara*, the *śivamantra* here refers not to root-mantras of seed-syllable type, such as we find in the *Mūlasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa*, the *Kālottara*, the *Kiraṇa* and the like, but rather to the formula *namaḥ śivāya*, prefixed by *oṃ*. Furthermore, we also learn from that first chapter that the five syllables of that formula yield seed-syllable forms of the *brahmamantra*s. As for the *aṅgamantra*s, they can be thought of as inalienable properties that inhere in Śiva, namely *icchakti* (*hṛdaya*), *aiśvarya* (*śiras*), *vaśitva* (*śikhā*), *tejaḥ* (*kavaca*) *pratāpa* (*astra*), according to Somaśambhu (*Somaśambhupaddhati* 1, 3.72–74, quoted with some further discussion by Goodall et al. 2005, 163–164). So it is perhaps conceivable that the anonymous commentator is after all not saying that the *śivaikādaśikā* refers to Śiva expressed as the five *brahmamantra*s and the six *aṅgamantra*s, but rather saying that it is eleven repetitions of the *śivamantra*, which in any case contains the five seed-syllable *brahmamantra*s *na maḥ śi vā ya*, and which in any case , since it is the mantric essence of Śiva, contains his inalienable properties that are his *aṅgamantra*s.

What is certain is that the anonymous commentator was aware of the typical structure of the basic mantra-set and of the widespread tantric use of the expression *saṃhitā* (and related expressions) to refer to a set of eleven mantras. What is not entirely clear is whether he was really imputing such an understanding to the teaching of the *Śivadharmottara*, which after all does not allude to *aṅgamantra*s.

Incidentally, the notion of *aṅgamantra*s is not one that is only attested in Mantramārga works that some may suspect of being uniformly later than the *Śivadharmottara*, since we find four *aṅgamantra*s in the *Ucchuṣmakalpa* of the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* (see Goodall & Isaacson 2015, 10, quoting Bis-

schop and Griffiths 2007), whose date is uncertain. Furthermore Kālidāsa may already refer to Śiva's *brahmantra*s and *aṅgamantra*s with the expression *brahmāṅgabhūḥ* in *Kumārasambhava* 3.15 (see Hanneder 1996).

But on balance it seems rather unlikely that the *Śivadharmottara* was intended to refer to a *saṃhitāmantra* of eleven constituents, not only because it does not teach any *aṅgamantra*s, but also because the earliest uses of *saṃhitā* (and related expressions) refer to a set of six mantras and not to a set of eleven. In other words, what is most probably intended by the expression *śivaikādaśikā* in the *Śivadharmottara* is a unit of eleven repetitions of the *śivamantra* of that text, namely *oṃ namaḥ śivāya*.

In conclusion to this discussion, we may summarise that the use of the expressions *śivaikādaśikā* and *ekādaśikā* in the eleventh chapter of the *Śivadharmottara* cannot after all be used as further evidence of an awareness of mantra-use typical of the Mantramārga. For we have seen that, at least in the *Śivadharmottara*, those expressions are not used as synonyms of *mantrasaṃhitā*, *saṃhitāmantrāḥ*, *śivasaṃhitā* and *saṃhitā*. Such expressions — all containing the word *saṃhitā* — may refer to a group of six mantras (following the ritual tradition of the *Dviśatikālottara*), or to at least two slightly differently constituted groups of eleven. After the *Śivadharmottara*, and perhaps partly under the influence of its prescription of expiation for missed *sandhyā*-rites, expressions such as *śivaikādaśikā* and *śivaikādaśinī* may however be used as an equivalent of *mantrasaṃhitā* in some works of the Mantramārga. This in turn may have misled many readers over the centuries mistakenly to suppose that the *Śivadharmottara* made use of a Mantramārga pantheon of central mantra-deities consisting of the *mūlamantra* (=*śivamantra*) accompanied by *brahmamantra*s and *aṅgamantra*s.[13]

In short, no radical new conclusions about the dating of the *Śivadharmottara* can be advanced. Instead, another small piece of evidence falls in place confirming the emerging consensus, namely that the *Śivadharmottara* belongs to a period (perhaps the seventh century) and milieu in which the ideas of the Mantramārga must have been circulating but were not dominant. This in turn raises a doubt about the recent attempt, using other sorts of evidence, by Barois (2020) to argue that the *Dharmaputrikā*, a predominantly yogic work of the Śivadharma corpus, predates the *Śivadharmottara*.

[13] There is also mention of 'six *aṅga*s' in *Śivadharmottara* 1, but there they are the six products of the cow (1.80 and 89-90). As De Simini observes in her article in this volume, the only common feature between the two main topics of the chapter, the six-syllable mantra and the six products, seems to be that in both cases a set of five has been extended by the addition of a sixth element.

Śaiva cosmography in the Śivadharmottara

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1. *Introduction*

The description of the universe (known as Brahmā's Egg, Brahmāṇḍa) is one of the old constituents of the traditional corpus of the Purāṇas, though not included in its so-called five topics, *purāṇapañcalakṣaṇa*. Kirfel published his extensive research on this aspect of Purāṇic literature in two important books: *Die Kosmographie der Inder* and *Das Purāṇa vom Weltgebäude* (*Bhuvanavinyāsa*), published in 1920 and 1954, respectively.

The cosmos described in the *Śivadharmottara* is based on the Purāṇic concept of Brahmāṇḍa, then adjusted to the monotheistic devotion to Śiva. This article examines how the redactors of this work transformed the Brahmāṇḍa into the universe of Śiva. The main source of the cosmography in this work is its chapter twelve, which contains a description of the Brahmāṇḍa in a manner adapted to a Śiva-centred universe, supplemented with chapter five, which deals with the divine destinations of Śiva devotees after death.[1]

[1] The text and the verse-numbering of these two chapters of the *Śivadharmottara* are based on my provisional collation of the four old Nepalese manuscripts ascribed to the ninth to the eleventh centuries, as well as Naraharinath's edition. The manuscripts used are N^{K}_{A12}, N^{K}_{82} and N^{K}_{28} from the National Archive of Kathmandu, and N^{Ko}_{77} from The Asiatic Society, Kolkata. All the digitised photos that I used for collation were kindly provided by Florinda De Simini. For the first presentation of the content of these chapters, see Hazra 1956.

2. *Three features of the cosmography in the Śivadharmottara*

Adding something new on top of the accepted system appears to be a standard strategy in the Śaiva milieu. A typical instance is found in the *tattva* system. When the Pāśupatas incorporated into their doctrine the Sāṃkhya *tattva* system, a cosmogonical analysis of the constituents of the universe, they placed their god Śiva above the twenty-five *tattva*s of the classical Sāṃkhya system.[2] Furthermore, in the *Pāśupatayogavidhi* section of the *Skandapurāṇa*, a higher principle called *para* (the highest) diverges from the twenty-sixth Īśvara although it is not yet seen as the twenty-seventh.[3] Meanwhile, in *Śivadharmottara* 10.45–46 this highest, which is Śiva, is named as the twenty-seventh.[4] It is well documented that the Śaiva Sai-

[2] Kauṇḍinya's commentary on *Pāśupatasūtra* 2.5 (p. 58): ... *ekottarotkarṣeṇa vyāpyavyāpakabhāvenāvasthitānāṃ tattvādīnāṃ nāparicchedadoṣaḥ | sūtratvāt vyāpakaṃ maheśvaratattvaṃ vyāpyaṃ puruṣādipañcaviṃśakam* |; 'There is no fault of the lack of distinction of [the entities] such as *tattva*s because they stand in the relationship of the pervaded and the pervading according to the superiority of one after another. The *tattva* of Maheśvara is pervading because it threads [the universe], and the twenty-five [*tattva*s] beginning with *puruṣa* is to be pervaded.' What this means is that the *tattva* of Maheśvara (i.e., Śiva) is superior to the twenty-five *tattva*s because the former pervades the latter. Here Maheśvara is not explicitly called the twenty-sixth, rather it is regarded as a higher principle than the usual twenty-five *tattva*s.

The *Skandapurāṇa* refers to the twenty-sixth *tattva* as Śiva several times, especially in the *Pāśupatayogavidhi* section (Bisschop 2007, 51, fn. 32); see also the next note below. Śiva is called the twenty-sixth in the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, too, e.g. 1.28.7 and 9.

[3] The *Skandapurāṇa,* ascribed to about 550–650 CE, is roughly contemporaneous to the *Śivadharmottara,* and both were composed under the influence of the Pāśupata movement, targeting mainly lay Śaiva devotees. For an overview of the Pāśupata movement discerned from the *Skandapurāṇa*, see Bakker 2014, 137–153. The *Pāśupatayogavidhi* section covers the last ten chapters of this text and the edition of the section with translation is being prepared by Peter Bisschop and the present author. The following text and translation is based on our provisional version.

Skandapurāṇa 174.13 and 17: *pratyayasya bahirlopo manasy ātmani saṃsthite | abhisaṃdhiḥ pare caiva īśvarasyātmanaś ca ha* || 13 ||; 'When the mind abides in the self, removal of cognitions regarding the outer world [takes place], as well as the integration of the Lord (Īśvara) and the self in the Highest (*para*).'

Skandapurāṇa 174.17 (17 is a sort of commentary of 13cd): *paro maheśvaro devaḥ so 'bhisaṃdhes tu yojakaḥ | abhisaṃdhis tadā yasmād īśvarasyātmanaś ca hi* || 17 ||; 'At that time, the integration of the Lord and the self takes place thanks to Him; it is He, the Highest (*para*), God Maheśvara, who contrives the integration.'

[4] *Śivadharmottara* 10.45cd–46: *rudraḥ ṣaḍviṃśakaḥ proktaḥ śivaś ca paratas tataḥ* || 45 || *saptaviṃśatimaḥ śāntaḥ susūkṣmaḥ parameśvaraḥ | svargāpavargayor dātā taṃ vijñāya vimucyate* || 46 ||.

ddhāntikas extend the number of *tattva*s gradually up to thirty-six (Goodall 2015, 44–46).

The same strategy is used in the cosmography of the *Śivadharmottara* as exemplified in chapter twelve, in which several new worlds are added on top of the usual Brahmāṇḍa within it and above it. A similar accretion is also observed in chapter five, though it is less clear because of the differing presentation of divine worlds. Compared to the *tattva*s, the addition of the new worlds in the *Śivadharmottara* is far more complicated, manifesting as it does in three features, the second and the third of which seem to be unique to this text.

The first feature is the addition of Viṣṇuloka and Śivapura, also called Śivaloka and Rudraloka, above the usual seven worlds (Bhūr, Bhuvar, Svar, Mahar, Jana, Tapas and Satya), of which the final Satyaloka is identified with Brahmaloka. Thus Śivapura/-loka is on top of the Brahmāṇḍa, under its shell. This feature is not a new invention in this text. Viṣṇuloka and Rudraloka have already been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, though their location is not explicit.[5] Viṣṇuloka is also mentioned in the *Viṣṇudharma,* again without specifying its location,[6] while Kauṇḍinya refers to Śivapur in his commentary on the *Pāśupatasūtra*.[7] The text shared between the *Vāyupurāṇa* (2.39) and the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (3.4.2), which has parallels in chapter 183 of the *Skandapurāṇa*, locates Śivapura on top of the Brahmāṇḍa and identifies it as the eighth world immediately above the traditional seven worlds.[8]

'Rudra is said to be the twenty-sixth. And Śiva beyond it is the twenty-seventh, the supreme lord who is tranquil, very subtle and a giver of heaven and liberation [from the cycle of rebirths]. Cognising Him, one is liberated.'

This chapter mainly deals with yoga. The text of chapter ten quoted in this chapter is based on a provisional edition made by Dominic Goodall. Hazra has already pointed out in his overview of the content of the *Śivadharmottara* that Rudra is the twenty-sixth *tattva* and Parameśvara the twenty-seventh in this text (Hazra 1956, 45).

[5] See *Mahābhārata* 3.81.155, 7.173.103, 13.110.94 for Rudraloka and for Viṣṇuloka, *Mahābhārata* 3.80.60, 93; 81.9, 87, 150; 82.95, 105, 107, 119.

[6] *Viṣṇudharma* 3.42, 7.26, 17.10, 70.89, 70.99, 84.28, 85.8, 86.3, 87.14.

[7] Kauṇḍinya's commentary on *Pāśupatasūtra* 3.26 (p. 91): ... *atra rūpavyapadeśena rūpiṇi namaskāro draṣṭavyaḥ | kasmāt | tadabhisandhiprayogāt | śivapuri upasthānavat* |; 'Here, in referring to forms (*rūpa*), obedience to the one who has forms (*rūpin*) should be understood. Why? Because of the application [of one word] to [another] with which it is inseparably connected. Like [the expression of] serving the city of Śiva (*śivapur*).' This is part of the explanation of the plural noun *rudrarūpebhyaḥ* in the *sūtra* (*namas te astu rudrarūpebhyaḥ*), and the illustration means that serving Śivapur means serving Śiva because of this inseparable connection (*abhisandhi*).

[8] Bisschop 2007 examines the description of Śivapura in *Skandapurāṇa* 183, comparing it with the *Vāyu-* and the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. For the reference to the eighth city/world, see Bisschop 2007, 57, as well as fn. 52 below in this article.

The *Skandapurāṇa* also contains a lengthy account of this city in chapter thirty-two.[9] In *Mūlasūtra* 5.7, the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, the earliest extant Saiddhāntika scripture, places Brahma- and Viṣṇupura above Satyaloka, with Śivapura on top.[10] Some early Saiddhāntika scriptures have the same order of the three worlds within the Brahmāṇḍa, and in some, Satyaloka is identified with Brahmaloka.[11] On the other hand, *Guhyasūtra* 7.69–80 of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* describe Śivapura as located just above Satyaloka.[12] Thus, the addition of Śivapura/-loka, sometimes together with Brahmaloka and Viṣṇuloka, on top of Brahmāṇḍa was already popular in the Pāśupata, or more generally the Śaiva fold around the period when the *Śivadharmottara* was redacted. The addition of Viṣṇuloka and Śivapura/-loka above Satyaloka, namely Brahmaloka, in the *Śivadharmottara* is more advanced than that of Śivapura alone above Satyaloka in the *Vāyu-Brahmāṇḍa,* the *Skandapurāṇa* and the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa*, and the same as or closer to that found in some early Saiddhāntika scriptures.

[9] *Skandapurāṇa* 32.68–94. See *Skandapurāṇa*, Volume IIB, pp. 45–47, especially fn. 114. In addition, the *Liṅgapurāṇa* also refers to Śivapura several times, especially in 1.76–77.

[10] *Mūlasūtra* 5.7: *tapolokaṃ tataḥ prāpya satyalokaṃ nayet punaḥ | brahmaviṣṇupuraṃ nītvā punaḥ śivapuraṃ nayet* ||; 'Then, having reached the world of Tapas, he (i.e., the preceptor) should further lead him (i.e., a disciple) to the world of Satya; having led him to the cities of Brahmā and Viṣṇu, he should further lead him to the city of Śiva (Śivapura).' The first five of the seven worlds (Bhūr, Bhuvar, Svar, Mahar and Jana) are mentioned in *Mūlasūtra* 5.6. Here the three worlds of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva seem to be added on top of the usual seven worlds without identifying Satyaloka with Brahmaloka/-pura. The *Niśvāsamukha*, the opening book and possibly the latest layer (Goodall 2015, 22 and Kafle 2020, 35–39) of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, follows this in 4.116. This idea, whilst not exactly the same, is close to that of the *Śivadharmottara*.

[11] *Parākhyatantra* 5.134cd–141ab regards Satyaloka as the world of Brahmā and places the worlds of Viṣṇu and Śiva above it in this order under the shell of Brahmāṇḍa (Goodall 2004, 90ff and 311). According to the information given by Goodall (*ibid.*, 311, fn. 612), the same idea of the abodes of three deities is found in the *Kiraṇa-*, the *Mṛgendra-* and the *Svacchanda-tantra*, but the abode of Brahmā is placed above Satyaloka separately in the *Kiraṇa* and the *Svacchanda*.

[12] *Guhyasūtra* 7.69: *pañcāśītyadhikair lakṣaiḥ koṭir ekā ca yojanaiḥ | satyalokāt tato jñeyaṃ ūrdhvaṃ śivapuraṃ param* ||; 'Śivapura, the highest [world], should be known to be situated 18,500,000 *yojana*s above that Satyaloka.'

For the *Guhyasūtra* (unpublished), I have used an e-text of the transcription of the Nepalese manuscript (No.1-227, NGMPP Reel A 41/14) made by Dominic Goodall. The *Guhyasūtra* is considered to be later than the *Mūlasūtra* (Goodall 2015, 19–22), but in the case of Śivapura it shows an older idea, namely that Śivapura is the eighth world of the Brahmāṇḍa.

The second feature, the addition of further upper five worlds or domains (of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Skanda, Umā and Śiva) or three (of Skanda, Umā and Śiva) above the Brahmāṇḍa, seems to be an entirely new invention in this work as I am yet to find this idea elsewhere,[13] except for the *Revākhaṇḍa* (*Narmadāmāhātmya*) which borrows many passages from *Śivadharmottara* chapter twelve.[14] This second feature is the main subject of this article and shall be examined later in detail. Here the terms that refer to various worlds should be noted. For the upper domains, the term *sthāna* is mostly used in contrast to *loka, pura*, or *bhavana*[15] which are used for the lower worlds; however, this is not consistent in the text and the reverse usage is also found. In this article I use the term *loka* and, in the case of Śivapura, *pura* for the lower worlds and *sthāna* for the upper domains merely to avoid confusion.

The third and last feature is the equation of Śivaloka with Goloka. The idea that Śivaloka is Goloka may have derived from the close relationship of the Pāśupata observances with *govrata/godharma*, an observance of behaving like cattle or bulls, proposed by Acharya.[16] Presumably related to this, a

[13] *Liṅgapurāṇa* 1.23.31–38 show a similar, but simpler idea. In this passage, Viṣṇuloka is located above the seventh Satyaloka, and the worlds of Skanda/Kumāra, Umā and Rudra/Maheśvara are placed above it. But whether the worlds above Satyaloka are situated within the Brahmāṇḍa or beyond it is unclear. The chronological relationship between the two texts is uncertain, but it is more likely that the *Śivadharmottara* is older than the *Liṅgapurāṇa* than the other way around. *Liṅgapurāṇa* 1.23.31–38: *bhūrloko 'tha bhuvarlokaḥ svarlokaś ca mahas tathā | janas tapaś ca satyaṃ ca viṣnulokas tataḥ param* || 31 || *aṣṭākṣarasthito lokaḥ sthāne sthāne tadakṣaram | bhūr bhuvaḥ svar mahaś caiva pādāś catvāra eva ca* || 32 || *bhūrlokaḥ prathamaḥ pādo bhuvarlokas tataḥ param | svarloko vai tṛtīyaś ca caturthas tu mahas tathā* || 33 || *pañcamas tu janas tatra ṣaṣṭhaś ca tapa ucyate | satyaṃ tu saptamo loko hy apunarbhavagāminām* || 34 || *viṣṇulokaḥ smṛtaṃ sthānaṃ punarāvṛttidurlabham | skāndam aumaṃ tathā sthānaṃ sarvasiddhisamanvitam* || 35 || *rudralokaḥ smṛtas tasmāt padaṃ tad yoginām śubham | nirmamā nirahaṃkārāḥ kāmakrodhavivarjitāḥ* || 36 || *drakṣyanti tad dvijāḥ yuktā dhyānatatparamānasāḥ | yasmāc catuṣpadā hy eṣā tvayā dṛṣṭā sarasvatī* || 37 || *pādāntaṃ viṣṇulokaṃ vai kaumāraṃ śāntam uttamam | aumaṃ māheśvaraṃ caiva tasmād dṛṣṭā catuṣpadā* || 38 ||.

[14] See fn 17.

[15] *Bhavana* in this meaning occurs four times in chapter five of the *Śivadharmottara*. Of them a manuscript has the variant *bhuvana* in two occurrences. In this context, *bhuvana*, which means 'world,' is better than *bhavana*, which usually means 'house,' but I have adopted the reading *bhavana* following the majority of the manuscripts.

[16] Acharya 2013. The world of draft-ox (*anaḍuh*) mentioned in *Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa* 2.113 in the passage of the observance of *govrata* attached to the *gosava* ritual (*ibid.*, 116–118) may be considered to be a precursor of Goloka in the *Śivadharmottara*. See also Bisschop 2018, which enhances and partly revises Acharya's hypothesis with new evidence.

gift of bulls together with cows to Śiva is considered to be the most meritorious act and there is a detailed description of how to tend cattle in chapter twelve. The role of the worship of bulls and cows in the Śivadharma, as well as in the Pāśupata tradition, is an intriguing topic and the relevant parts of the text remain to be studied in a separate article.

In the following, I will first present the contents of chapters five and twelve, and then bring the second feature into focus, examining the difference between the lower worlds within the Brahmāṇḍa and the upper ones beyond it.

3. *The description of cosmography in chapters five and twelve*

3.1 *The content of chapter twelve*[17]

Chapter twelve begins with Agasti's questions to Skanda; where is Goloka ('the world of cattle'), what is it like and how can it be reached, and so begins Skanda's teaching on the world of the mothers of cattle (*gomātṛloka*).[18] Such an opening could be construed as strange as it suggests that the main topic of chapter twelve is Goloka, when it is actually the Śaiva adaptation of the Purāṇic cosmography as mentioned above, centred on Śivapura/-loka and Śivasthāna. At the same time, Śivaloka is equated with Goloka and there are long passages on how to tend and donate bulls and cows. Furthermore, as a means to reach Śivaloka, that is Goloka and Śivasthāna, faith in Śiva and the practice of the yoga of Śiva (*śivayoga*; yoga focused on or taught by Śiva) are considered most important whilst, at the same time, the significance of a gift of bulls and cows is emphasised. Thus, the entire chapter appears to have in-

[17] This chapter largely corresponds to chapters 58–60 of the *Revākhaṇḍa* (*Narmadāmāhātmya*) except for 12.96–180 and 258–299. The parallel text belongs to the 116-*adhyāya* version of the *Revākhaṇḍa*, which is, according to Neuß (2012, 37–46), the genuine *Revākhaṇḍa* affiliated to the *Skandapurāṇa*, while the 232-*adhyāya* version of the *Revākhaṇḍa* published as the third part of the *Āvantyakhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa* by Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay (reprinted by Nag Publishers, Delhi), represents the text originally affiliated to the *Vāyupurāṇa*. I have used an e-text made by Neuß based on the edition by Oṃkārānanda Giri (Hośaṅgābāda 1994), since Giri's edition was unavailable to me.

There are three passages quoted from the *Śivadharmottara* twelve in the *Dānakhaṇḍa* of Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, though all three quotations are attributed to '*Skandapurāṇa*.' These are 12.92 and 102–104 (pp. 446f of the *Dānakhaṇḍa*), 166 (p. 482) and 167 (p. 481). One more quotation attributed to '*Skandapurāṇa*' corresponds to *Revākhaṇḍa* 60.3–25 (pp. 261–263), which has a parallel in 12.247–257.

[18] *Śivadharmottara* 12.2–3: *bhagavan śrotum icchāmi golokaḥ kīdṛśaḥ punaḥ | prāpyate karmaṇā kena kiyaty adhvani saṃsthitaḥ* || 2 || *skanda uvāca | śrūyatām abhidhāsyāmi namaskṛtvā maheśvaram | gomātṛlokaṃ paramaṃ sarvakāmasamanvitam* || 3 ||.

tertwined two main topics: the Śaiva cosmography centred on Śivapura/-loka and Śivasthāna and the sacrality of cattle. At present, it is impossible to say whether this mixture was intended or resulted from a redaction following an accretion of the passages related to cattle. Nevertheless, the accounts of both topics are contained in each of the four old Nepalese manuscripts I consulted, probably the oldest versions of the text, demonstrating that they had already been integrated when formulated as the last chapter of the *Śivadharmottara*. Whilst the focus of my chapter is Śaiva cosmography, a general understanding of how both topics are intertwined is also offered.

After this introductory dialogue (12.1–3), Skanda describes the universe, Brahmāṇḍa, from the bottom up, according to the customary Purāṇic cosmography (12.4–52). Since this description is very concise, it is impossible to compare it at the level of wording with the other Purāṇic accounts contained in Kirfel's *Bhuvanavinyāsa* (Kirfel 1954), but the comparison of the names and their order with those of several groups classified by Kirfel in his *Die Kosmographie* (Kirfel 1967) provides some information about the relationship of this text with the other Purāṇas.[19] The cosmography is the same as the usual Purāṇic one up to Satyaloka, also called Brahmaloka, which is usually the topmost world of Brahmāṇḍa.

Above it, but within Brahmāṇḍa, the text adds Viṣṇuloka and Śivapura/-loka. Viṣṇuloka is mentioned in just one verse (12.53), but the paradisiacal grandeur of Śivapura/-loka with Śiva's palace or temple at the centre is described in many stanzas (12.54–87). Then, Śivaloka is identified with Goloka (12.88) and five mother cows who reside there and are the mothers of all the world are named (12.89–91); they descend to earth to grant favour upon the people at Śiva's will. This allusion to the mother cows may have triggered the extensive account (12.92–180) on the value of cows and bulls with instructions to the effect that people should always take care of them and in reward reach Goloka (Śivaloka) after death. Here the text departs from the topic of cattle and states a variety of meritorious deeds for reaching Śivaloka with a stress on gifts to *śivayogin*s and Śiva devotees (12.181–216). Towards the end, the merit of tending cattle is emphasised again (12.212–214).

This account of Śivaloka is concluded at 12.216 and the text resumes the usual Purāṇic cosmography and refers to the eight coverings (*āvaraṇa*) surrounding Brahmāṇḍa, according to the Sāṃkhya *tattva* system (12.217).[20] The description of Brahmāṇḍa ends with the statement that there is an in-

[19] For this, see the relevant footnotes on the structure of the content below.

[20] In *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 2.7.28 (cf. Kirfel 1954, 53), it is said that Viṣṇu abides as *puṃs* (i.e., *puruṣa*) in the eighth covering, *pradhāna*, and therefore there is no addition of Viṣṇu's world, which entirely conforms to the *tattva* system of Classical Sāṃkhya: *dāruṇy agnir yathā tailaṃ tile tadvat pumān api | pradhāne 'vasthito vyāpī cetanātmātmavedanaḥ ||*.

finite number of Brahmāṇḍas because the primordial material (*pradhāna* = *prakṛti*) is all-pervasive (12.218).

Then begins the very unique account of the five additional upper domains which are called, in ascending order: Brahma-, Viṣṇu-, Kumāra-, Umā- and Śiva-sthāna (12.219–231). Each of the first four domains is mentioned in only one verse, but Śivasthāna ranges over several verses. Instructions on how to reach each domain are given (12.232–244) and here too Śivasthāna is brought into focus, and yoga is said to be the single means to attain it. Finally, another reference to the significance of cattle suggests that yoga is not the only means to reach Śivasthāna and that there is another way: a special gifting of bulls and cows to Śiva (12.245–259).

Chapter twelve is the concluding chapter of the *Śivadharmottara* and so contains a closing discussion of the entire work. After these concluding remarks (12.260–262), the text gives an instruction on the ritual recitation of the work and states the plentiful rewards (12.263–299).[21]

The structure of the content of chapter twelve

1–3	Agasti asks Skanda about the character and the location of Goloka. Skanda begins to teach:
4–218	The description of Brahmāṇḍa
4	The hells (*naraka*) at the bottom[22]
5–20	Seven underworlds (*pātāla*): (from the bottom) Mahātala, Rasātala, Talātala, Sutala, Nitala, Vitala and Tala[23]
21–36	Bhūr — Seven concentric continents: (from the centre) Jambū-, Plakṣa-, Śālmalī-, Kuśa-, Krauñca-, Śāka- and Puṣkara-dvīpa[24]

[21] This part has been studied by De Simini (2016a). For the parallel to the *Devīpurāṇa* in this part, see *ibid.*, 417–422.

[22] The hells are classified and depicted in detail in chapter seven of the *Śivadharmottara*. The classification therein conforms to Kirfel's third group consisting of the *Agnipurāṇa* and the *Śivapurāṇa Dharmasaṃhitā* (Kirfel 1967, 154–156). As mentioned in fn. 3, the *Skandapurāṇa* is contemporaneous to and has similar characters as the *Śivadharmottara*, but the classification of hells in the former (*Skandapurāṇa* 37–49) is entirely different from that of the latter and does not conform to any group of Kirfel's list.

[23] The names and the order of Pātālas conform to Kirfel's second group consisting of the *Brahma-, Liṅga-, Kūrma-*, and *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* (II) (Kirfel 1967, 144).

[24] The names and the order of continents are the same as those of Kirfel's first group consisting of most of his sources (Kirfel 1967, 56ff). On the other hand, the names and

— Seven concentric oceans surrounding each continent: the oceans of salt water, sugar-cane juice, wine (*surā*), clarified butter (*ghṛta*), yoghurt (*dadhi*), milk, and sweet water

— Nine mountains on the Jambūdvīpa, seven mountains on each of the continents from Plakṣa to Śāka, and Mānasottara on Puṣkaradvīpa.

— The ground called Ekaśilā outside the ocean of sweet water, and the mount Lokāloka on it, encircling the earth

37 Bhuvar: from the earth to the sphere of the sun

38–39 Svar: from the sphere of the sun to the polar star

40–45 Seven bands (*skandha*) of wind in Bhūr, Bhuvar and Svar:
(from the bottom) Āvaha (up to clouds), Pravaha (on the sphere of the sun), Udvaha (on the sphere of the moon), Saṃvaha (on the sphere of the lunar mansions), Vivaha (on the sphere of the planets), Parāvaha (on the sphere of Ursa Major) and Parivaha (on the sphere of the polar star)

46–49 Mahar: The deities who have performed their duty in Svar for the period of one Manvantara retire here in turn and stay for one day of Brahmā

50 Jana: the abode of the Sādhyas

51 Tapas: the abode of Prajāpati's mind-born sons

52 Satyaloka = Brahmaloka: the abode of Brahmā

53 Viṣṇuloka

54–91 Śivapura/-loka: the topmost world of the Brahmāṇḍa

— Description of the luxurious beauty of the city,[25] the Gaṇas and the divine women of similar appearance with them, and the floors of various colours of precious stones

— The devotees of Śiva stay happily in this city with charming ladies; a description of these women

— Śiva's palace/temple in the middle, and the bull (Dharma-vṛṣa) with the mothers of cattle (Gomāṭṛ-s) under it

— Goloka and Śivaloka are one and the same; five mothers of cattle (Nandā, Subhadrā, Surabhī, Suśīlā and Sumanas

their order found in the *Skandapurāṇa* correspond to Kirfel's second group (see *Skandapurāṇa*, Volume III, note 181 on p.85).

[25] This description has variations according to manuscripts.

with some variants of names) abide there and descend to the earth for the benefit of all beings[26]

92–180 The value of cows and bulls as a means of reaching Śivapura
— Praise of cows; merits to be acquired by tending cows and donating cows and milk-products (*gorasa*)
— Building a good cow stall (*gomātṛśālā*); the ritual of building it
— One who has built a good cow stall attains Śivaloka; when falling from it, one experiences each world in the reverse order and at the end becomes a king on earth
— Seasonal arrangements for a cowpen (*goṣṭha*) with special care in the summer; care of calves
— Offering bulls to Śiva and its merits
— The prohibition of riding on and driving a bull; particularly any king should prohibit it and punish offenders
— Care of cows in grazing

181–216 Śivapura continued
— Merits to be acquired to reach Śivapura with an emphasis on gifting to *śivayogin*s and *śivabhakta*s
— The *śivāśramin*s (Śivabrahmacārin, Śivagṛhastha, Śivavanastha, Pāśupata and Mahāvratadhara) are mentioned one by one as special targets to be pleased[27]
— There are only two means of reaching the highest state: the gnostic yoga (*jñānayoga*) and the protection of cows and bulls

217 Eight coverings (*āvaraṇa*) of Brahmāṇḍa:
Five elements, *ahaṃkāra, khyāti* (= *buddhi*) and *prakṛti*

218 An infinite number of Brahmāṇḍas

[26] The same set of five divine cows is mentioned in *Śivadharmottara* 1.77–79, where it is said that they were produced from the milk ocean when it was churned and that they descended from Śivapura to the earth for the benefit of the world.

[27] The concept of *śivāśrama*s, as well as *śivāśramin*s, the people belonging to the *śivāśrama*s, is the main topic of chapter eleven of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* (Bisschop, Kafle and Lubin, 2021). Attention should be drawn to the fact that the Śaiva ascetics are divided into two groups: the Pāśupatas and those who practise the *mahāvrata*. The two groups probably correspond to the followers of two varieties of Atimārga in the *Niśvāsamukha* (4.70cd–131), *atyāśrama-vrata* and *lokātīta-vrata*; the former is the observance of the Pañcārtha doctrine expounded in Kauṇḍinya's commentary on the *Pāśupatasūtra*, while the latter is the *kapāla-vrata,* the observance of wandering with a skull-bowl. For the early two divisions and various branches of the Pāśupata school, see Acharya 2011.

219–259 The upper five domains

219–231 Brahma-, Viṣṇu-, Kumāra-, Umā- and Śiva-sthāna

232–244 The means to reach Śivasthāna, as well as the other Sthānas

— The gnostic yoga of each deity, especially yoga of Śiva (*śivayoga*), even for just one day; the people who have reached there become sovereigns (*īśvara*) called Svabhogas

— After death at Śivasthāna, one experiences each world in the reverse order, becomes a *śivayogin* on earth and reaches Śivasthāna again

245–259 The single means other than yoga:
A special ritual offering of a thousand cows with ten bulls to Śiva on an equinox day

260–262 Concluding statement of the *Śivadharmottara*

263–299 The ritual recitation of the *Śivadharmottara* and its merits

3.2 *The content of chapter five*

This short chapter deals with the favourable destinations for people after death, namely, various paradisiacal worlds. The ten worlds, in ascending order are: the world of Piśācas, Rakṣases, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Indra, the moon, Prajāpati,[28] Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva (Śivapura/-loka, also called Rudraloka). Devotees of Śiva reach the highest world. On the other hand, Śiva grants one of the nine lower worlds to the people who do not completely devote themselves to him, but have worshipped him more than once, in accordance with their character and frequency of worship. Then, Śivapura (Rudraloka) is described as the highest, most splendid world that can be reached by people who dedicate themselves to the yoga of ritual and meritorious activities (*karma-yoga*). Additionally, someone who is devoted to Śiva even for just a day or who dies at a sacred place of Śiva (*rudrakṣetra*) can also reach this world.

After concluding the account about the ten worlds after death, the text further states the three, not five, upper domains in this chapter: Skanda-, Umā- and Śiva-sthāna.

Next, the set number and the properties of eight-fold supernatural, sovereign powers (*aṣṭaiśvarya*) to be obtained in each world are mentioned systematically, based on the Sāṃkhya *tattva* system. In the tenth world, Śivapura, as well

[28] For the order of the worlds of the moon and Prajāpati, see fn. 30 below.

as the two upper domains of Skanda and Umā, the power fulfilling all desires and superior to that in the world of Viṣṇu is granted. Finally, in the domain of Śiva, one can attain sovereignty equal to that of Śiva himself, which is infinite, presides over everything, is the cause of the world and liberates the bound souls from bondage.[29] The chapter ends by stating the efficacy of salutation to Śiva or recitation of his name performed for any motive, even just in passing.

The structure of content of chapter five

1–5	Description of the Śivadharma and a set of ten ways to practice it such as non-harm and other moral qualities
6–32	Good destinations after death
6–14	The devotees who observe the Śivadharma reach Śivapura — Some are liberated there with gnostic yoga (*jñānayoga*), but others who attach themselves to pleasures return to the cycle of rebirths
15–24	Various divine destinations of the people who are not devoted to Śiva From the lowest according to their personalities and the frequency of their worship of Śiva: the world of Piśācas, Rakṣases, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Indra, Prajāpati, Indu (the moon),[30] Brahmā, and Viṣṇu
25–30	The description of Śivapura/-loka, also called Rudraloka, above Viṣṇuloka
31–32	Concluding remarks on destinations after death

[29] *Śivadharmottara* 5.49–50: *anantaguṇam aiśvaryaṃ śivasyātmagataṃ mahat | ādimadhyāntarahitaṃ viśuddhaṃ tattvalakṣaṇam* || 49 || *sarvābhibhāvakaṃ sūkṣmam anaupamyaṃ parāt param | susaṃpūrṇaṃ jagaddhetuṃ paśupāśavimokṣaṇam* || 50 ||. We can discern the Pāśupata terminology such as *paśupāśa* in the passage.

[30] Two of the four manuscripts omit the verse that refers to the world of Indu, 'the moon' (5.22). Before that, the third manuscript adds a verse that refers to the world of Soma, 'the moon,' and the last inserts two pādas between 22ab and 22cd. Furthermore, in the later description of supernatural powers to be obtained in each world, the world of Soma (5.45ab) precedes that of Prajāpati (5.45cd), which seems more logical because Prajāpati is considered to be higher in status than Soma/the Moon in general. There is some confusion in the manuscript transmission concerning two verses that refer to the world of Prajāpati (5.21) and that of the moon (5.22). It may be that four pādas were lost between 21ab (the reference to six times of worship) and 21cd (the reference to the world of Prajāpati) at an earlier stage and that some scribes tried to fill in the lack of the references to the world of the moon and the seven times of worship.

33–40	The upper three domains: Skanda-, Umā- and Śiva-sthāna
41	An allusion to later expositions of yoga and the nature of the upper worlds[31]
42–51	Sovereignty (sets of eight-fold supernatural powers) to be obtained in each world: [32] One octet related to earth in Piśācaloka, two octets related to water and earth in Rakṣoloka, three octets related to fire, water and earth in Yakṣaloka, four octets related to wind, fire, water and earth in Gandharvaloka, five octets related to all the five elements in Indraloka, six octets related to *manas* and the five elements in Somaloka (the moon world), seven octets related to *ahaṃkāra, manas* and the five elements in Prajāpatiloka, eight octets related to *buddhi, ahaṃkāra, manas* and the five elements in Brahmaloka, nine octets related to *pradhāna* (= *prakṛti*), *buddhi, ahaṃkāra, manas* and the five elements in Viṣṇuloka, and sovereignty over all in Śivapura, as well as the domains of Skanda, Umā and Śiva
52–54	Efficacy of the worship of Śiva, even if done by chance
55	Concluding statement

4. *The addition of the uppermost five or three domains*

The insertion of the worlds of Viṣṇu and Śiva above the world of Brahmā (Satyaloka) within the Brahmāṇḍa is understandable as an easy way to show the supremacy of Śiva. However, the accretion of further three or five upper domains increases remarkably the layers, even if one set is inside the Brahmāṇḍa, the material universe and the other beyond it. Why were these worlds invented? Why were these sets of three or five chosen? And,

[31] The verse probably alludes to chapters ten and twelve of the *Śivadharmottara*; yoga is the main topic in chapter ten and the nature of the upper domains is explained in chapter twelve.

[32] *Śivadharmottara* 5.42–45ab, listing the supernatural powers obtained in the first eight worlds, are quoted in Śivāgrayogin's *Śaivaparibhāṣā* 4, §65 (p. 239ff). For similar statements in the *Mālinīvijayottara* and other Śaiva texts, see Vasudeva 2004, 92, 325–329. See also *ibid.*, table 28 on p. 365, which summarises the correspondence between the beings (Piśācas etc.) and the powers to be obtained in the *Mālinīvijayottara*; the correspondence is as recounted in the *Śivadharmottara*, except that the latter does not contain references to Bhuvaneśvaras in the table in Vasudeva 2004.

what role do such upper domains play in the whole belief system of the Śivadharma?

First, the set of five in the upper domains in chapter twelve represents the combination of the customary divine trio (Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva) plus a Śaiva mythological trio (Skanda, Umā and Śiva). As Śiva is present in both trios, the combination actually amounts to five. In chapter five, the first trio is omitted as it is already included in the lower universe. A similar idea of two trios of the divine is found in chapter ten of the *Śivadharmottara* in the interpretation of the sound *om*.[33] As also pointed out by De Simini in her article for this volume (see p. 25), in *Śivadharmottara* 10.89cd–91 the three sound-units of *om*, *a, u* and *m* (= *ma*), are interpreted firstly as Skanda (Kumāra as the son of Agni; *a* of Agni), Devī (Umā; *u* of Umā) and Maheśvara (i.e., Śiva, *ma* of Maheśvara), and secondly as the conventional trio, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara. Thus, it may well be that the same idea of two trios of deities does apply to the cosmography in chapter twelve.

It is worth noting here that, although three or five upper domains are mentioned, only the domain of Śiva is described in detail over several verses with just one or two verses allotted to the other domains. Only Śiva's domain seems to have substance, the others being incorporated to give the appearance of a systematic and inclusive new cosmography. This is also true for the worlds of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva inside the Brahmāṇḍa. Brahmaloka (Satyaloka in chapter twelve) and Viṣṇuloka are only mentioned in one verse while there is a long passage depicting the splendour of Śivaloka. Consequently, I will focus on the two worlds of Śiva, Śivapura/-loka and Śivasthāna and examine the

[33] After instructing that one should meditate Śiva as the sound *om* on the lotus-throne of the heart (10.86–89ab), the text explains *om* by dividing it into the three sound-units (*mātrā*) (89cd–90a) and equating them (*a, u, m/ma*) to the two trios of the divine (90c–92b). Then a half unit (*ardhamātrā*, resonance after *om*) is said to be the supreme Śiva (*parama-śiva*, 92c–93ab), distinguished from Śiva or Maheśvara corresponding to the *m*-sound. It recommends visualisation of the embodied Śiva (*sakala-, satanu-śiva*) (93cd) because the supreme Śiva is inconceivable (*acintya*). Then, the third alternative interpretation of three sound units, which is in line with the Sāṃkhya system and a half unit are introduced, namely the manifested (*vyakta*), the unmanifested (*avyakta*) and the soul (*puruṣa*) for *a, u* and *m*, and Śiva for a half unit (94).

Śivadharmottara 10.89cd–94: *vācyavācakabhāvena mātratrayavibhāgataḥ* || 89 || *mātrās tisraḥ samākhyātāḥ skandadevīmaheśvarāḥ* | *akārokāramakārās tāś ca mātrāḥ prakīrtitāḥ* || 90 || *akārād agnigarbhatvāt kumāraḥ parigṛhyate* | *ukārād apy umādevī makārāc ca maheśvaraḥ* || 91 || *athavānyaprakāreṇa brahmaviṣṇumaheśvarāḥ* | *kramān mātrāḥ samuddiṣṭās tatparaś cārdhamātrayā* || 92 || *bhāvanāmātragamyatvād acintyaḥ paramaḥ śivaḥ* | *sakalaṃ cintayet tasmāt siddhyarthaṃ satanuṃ śivam* || 93 || *athavā vyaktam avyaktaṃ puruṣaṃ cety anukramāt* | *mātrās tisraḥ samākhyātāḥ śivaś cāpy ardhamātrayā* || 94 ||.

differences between them to resolve the question of why the domains beyond the Brahmāṇḍa were invented.

4.1 *Differences between the two worlds of Śiva*

As mentioned above, the fundamental difference between the two worlds of Śiva is their location, one within the Brahmāṇḍa and the other beyond it; Śivapura/-loka is a physical, tangible world, Śivasthāna is something immaterial. The account of the former in chapter twelve references the size of the world, thirty-two crores in width and sixteen crores in height (12.54),[34] and contains detailed descriptions of its magnificence for about thirty verses (12.56–87). There are aerial palaces of many stories, flower gardens, bowers with swings, arbours adorned with flowers, ponds full of huge lotuses of five colours, and floors shining with the colours of precious stones. The city abounds with male and female retinues of strange appearances, and the men who reach it enjoy themselves with beautiful ladies. The charms of the ladies are described in the typical poetical manner. Thus, this city or world of Śiva is full of sensual pleasures. The upper Śivasthāna is, on the other hand, described in less than ten verses without any concrete elements (12.223–230).

The difference between the two worlds is also discernible in the means of arrival. In order to reach Śivapura/-loka, the devotion to Śiva, often accompanied by meritorious deeds, such as gifts, feeding and care of cattle, is said to be the most important, while yoga is said to be the singular method to reach Śivasthāna. This shall be examined in detail.

In chapter five it is said that the divine world one goes to after death is determined by the frequency of one's worship of Śiva over a lifetime. The people who worship Śiva are called *śivakarmin* 'the one who performs religious and meritorious activities dedicated to Śiva,' and intentions do not matter if the activities are aimed at Śiva. This point is made clear in the concluding passage of the chapter, 5.52–55:[35]

> Here twenty-eight crores of brightly shining aerial palaces (*vimāna*) in the form of stars are seen above [in the sky] by the virtuous. (5.52) The people

[34] *Śivadharmottara* 12.54: *viṣṇulokāc ca parataḥ śrīmac chivapuraṃ mahat | dvātriṃśakoṭivistīrṇaṃ tadardhena samucchritam ||*.

[35] *Śivadharmottara* 5.52–55: *tārārūpavimānānām imā dṛśyanti koṭayaḥ | aṣṭāviṃśatir evordhvaṃ sudīptāḥ sukṛtātmanām || 52 || ye kurvanti namaskāram īśvarāya kvacit kvacit | saṃparkāt kautukāl lobhāt tad vimānaṃ labhanti te || 53 || nāmasaṃkīrtanāṃ vāpi prasaṅgeṇa śivasya yaḥ | kuryād vāpi namaskāraṃ na tasya viphalaṃ bhavet || 54 || ity etā gatayaḥ proktā mahantyaḥ śivakarminām | atyalpālpatareṇāpi puṃsām īśānubhāvataḥ || 55 ||*.

> who have bowed down to Īśvara at one or another place [even merely] due to someone's company, curiosity, or greed, obtain the aerial palace. (5.53) If one recites a name of Śiva by chance, or bows down to him, his [act] will not be fruitless. (5.54) Thus, these are proclaimed to be great destinations of the people who have performed religious acts to Śiva (*śivakarmin*) even with a minute amount [of effort] thanks to the authority of Īśa (i.e., Śiva). (5.55)

In order to reach the world of Śiva, however, one should be devoted to those religious acts (*karmayogarata, karmaniṣṭha*), or one should have absolute devotion to Śiva (*bhakti*). Dying on lands sacred to Śiva (*rudrakṣetra*) is another means of reaching his world:[36]

> The great divine city of Śiva should be known to exist above the city of Viṣṇu. It is an unparalleled place of satisfaction for the people who are devoted to religious acts [to Śiva] (*karmayogaratātman*). (5.25);
>
> Thus, the supreme city of Śiva, great and glorious, for the embodied souls who devote themselves to religious acts [to Śiva] (*karmaniṣṭha*) has been stated here; it has been known that it causes them to be reborn [in the cycle of rebirths after dying at the city]. (5.32);
>
> If one worships Śaṃkara (i.e., Śiva) even one day with utter devotion (*bhaktyā*), he also goes to the abode of Śiva (*śivasthāna*),[37] let alone one who reveres him many times. (5.29);
>
> That city (*śivapura*) has been proclaimed for all the devotees of Śiva and all beings, mobile and immobile, who have died on Rudra's lands (5.28).

A similar statement of the significance of devotion and religious acts to Śiva is also found in chapter twelve:[38]

> The people who revere Śiva with utter devotion [even if] lacking proper ritual procedure, find great pleasures at the city of Śiva for a long time. (12.181) If those who are incapable of the gnostic yoga worship Śiva with

[36] *Śivadharmottara* 5.25, 32, 29 and 28: *jñeyaṃ viṣṇupurād ūrdhvaṃ divyaṃ śivapuraṃ mahat | tad bhogasthānam atulaṃ karmayogaratātmanām* || 25 ||; *ity etad aparaṃ proktaṃ śrīmac chivapuram mahat | dehināṃ karmaniṣṭhānāṃ punarāvartakaṃ smṛtam* || 32 ||; *apy ekadivasaṃ bhaktyā yaḥ pūjayati śaṃkaram | so 'pi yāti śivasthānaṃ kiṃ punar bahuśo 'rcayet* || 29 ||; *sarveṣāṃ śivabhaktānāṃ tat puraṃ parikīrtitam | rudrakṣetramṛtānāṃ ca jaṅgamasthāvarātmanām* || 28 ||.

[37] This Śivasthāna refers to the world or the city of Śiva in the Brahmāṇḍa, called Śivapura/-loka in this article.

[38] *Śivadharmottara* 12.181 and 211: *ye 'rcayanti śivaṃ bhaktyā sadvidhānavivarjitāḥ | te vindanti mahābhogān narāḥ śivapure ciram* || 181 ||; *jñānayogabahirdhā ye lokasāmānyakarmabhiḥ | pūjayanti śivaṃ bhaktyā śivalokaṃ vrajanti te* || 211 ||.

> [merit-making] conventional deeds (*lokasāmānyakarman*) with utter devotion, they go to the world of Śiva. (12.211)

The contents of chapter twelve suggest that the 'conventional deeds' of 12.211 include a variety of merit-making activities, such as donation, feeding and care of cattle,[39] on the condition that they are aimed at Śiva. For example, 12.184–185 praise gifts offered not to Śiva himself but to a supplicant in order to please Śiva:[40]

> Śiva does not desire anything because he is fully satisfied. But the fruit of gifting becomes imperishable merely by having been done under his name. (12.184) If something is given to supplicants, saying 'The lord Śiva may always be pleased with me by this gift,' it will produce the imperishable fruit. (12.185)

Above all, particular emphasis is placed on feeding and gifting the devotees and ascetics of Śiva (*śivabhakta, śivayogin*, etc.; 12.183, 186–90, 193–210). Concerning the merit of offering food, various types of *śivāśramin*s are mentioned one by one as the targets of feeding: *śivayogin* in 202, Śivaparivrajita in 203, Triśūlapāṇi ('Wielder of trident in hand,' possibly same with Śivaparivrajita) in 204, Śivabrahmacārin in 205, Śivagṛhastha in 206, Śivavanastha in 207, Pāśupata in 208, Mahāvratin in 209.[41] At the end, 12.210 refers to the merit of feeding a Śiva devotee of the lowest birth (*antyaja*):[42]

> Having fed a man as far as possible who, even if being born in the lowest social class and lacking in socially appropriate conduct, commits himself to devotion to Śiva, one is honoured in the world of Śiva. (12.210)

In the case of the upper domains beyond the Brahmāṇḍa, it is said in 5.34–38 that to reach each of the three domains one should visualise its presiding deity:[43]

> One can reach the domain of Guha (i.e., Skanda) by visualising with devout mind the gentle Skanda in the form of a boy with three locks of hair [on each head],

[39] In the account of the values of cattle in 12.92–180, many passages refer to the care and offering of cattle to Śiva as methods to reach the world of Śiva.

[40] *Śivadharmottara* 12.184–185: *na śivaḥ paripūrṇatvāt kiṃcid arthaṃ samīhate | kiṃ tu tannāmamātreṇa dattaṃ bhavati cākṣayam* || 184 ||; *dānenānena bhagavān prīyatām me sadā śivaḥ | ity uktvā deyam arthibhyas tat tasmād akṣayaṃ phalaṃ* || 185 ||

[41] See fn. 27.

[42] *Śivadharmottara* 12.210: *apy antyajam anācāraṃ śivabhaktirataṃ naram | bhojayitvā yathāśaktyā śivaloke mahīyate* ||.

[43] *Śivadharmottara* 5.34–38: *skandaṃ śaktidharaṃ śāntaṃ ṣaṇmukhaṃ śikhivāhanam | taptacāmīkaraprakhyaṃ triśikhaṃ bālarūpiṇam* || 34 || *prabhābhir bhāsitatanuṃ sarvalokānukampakam | dhyānamānaḥ prasannātmā guhasthānam avāpnuyāt* || 35 || *kanyārūpām umāṃ śāntāṃ sūryakoṭisamaprabhām | dhyāyamānaḥ sadā bhaktyā*

> who wields a lance, has six heads, rides on a peacock, shines like hot gold, has a body radiating splendour and is compassionate to all beings. (5.34–35) One can reach the domain of Devī (i.e., Umā) by always visualising with utter devotion the gentle Umā in the form of a maiden who shines like a crore of suns. (5.36) One can be united with him (i.e., Śiva) by always visualising the gentle Śiva, Hara, with three eyes and four arms, who shines like pure crystal, wears the crown of matted hair, holds a rosary of *rudrākṣa* beads, shows gestures of boon-giving and no-fear with [two] hands and wields a trident in a hand. (5.37–38)

In the concluding passage on the upper five domains in chapter twelve, 12.232–233 seem to mean a similar visualisation of a presiding deity, using the term *jñāna-yoga,* gnostic yoga, probably in contrast with *karma-yoga,* the yoga of ritual and merit-making activities, as a means to reach the lower divine worlds:[44]

> The people who always meditate on their own deity with the gnostic yoga taught by the deity are perfected [in yoga] and go to the city of that deity. (12.232) They who have reached that deity, become sovereigns (*īśvara*s; here possibly those who have supernatural power) called Svabhoga-s, auspicious and accomplished, furnished with its attributes and taking the shape of the deity. (12.233)

The succeeding verses, 12.234–236, refer to the significance of *śivajñāna* 'knowledge of Śiva,' *śivadhyāna* 'meditative/visualising practices of Śiva' and *yogadharma* 'the discipline of yoga,' all of which are more or less identical to the gnostic yoga aiming at Śiva:[45]

> If one learns the knowledge of Śiva (*śivajñāna*) for a while and discards it, being overpowered by the thirst for passion, even he as such has great fruit as follows. (12.234) If one who is devoted to the meditation of Śiva (*śivadhyāna*) just for one day has acquired [a little of] the supreme and subtle discipline of Śiva (*śivadharma*), there is no limit [to the fruit] of it. (12.235) Since it is very solid, the discipline of yoga (*yogadharma*) should be con-

devyāḥ sthānam avāpnuyāt || 36 || *śuddhasphaṭikasaṃkāśaṃ jaṭāmukuṭadhāriṇam* | *tryakṣaṃ caturbhujaṃ śāntam akṣamālādharaṃ haram* || 37 || *varadābhayahastaṃ ca triśūlāsaktapāṇikam* | *dhyāyamānaḥ śivaṃ nityaṃ tatsāyojyam avāpnuyāt* || 38 ||.

[44] *Śivadharmottara* 12.232–233: *svadevatāpraṇītena jñānayogena ye narāḥ* | *dhyāyanti devatāṃ nityaṃ te siddhā yānti tatpuram* || 232 || *tatprāptās tadguṇair yuktā devatārūpadhāriṇaḥ* | *bhavanti ca śivāḥ siddhāḥ svabhogā nāma īśvarāḥ* || 233 ||.

[45] *Śivadharmottara* 12.234–236: *abhyasya yaḥ śivajñānaṃ kiṃcit kālaṃ tyajet punaḥ* | *kāmatṛṣṇābhibhūtatvāt tasyāpīdaṃ mahat phalam* || 234 || *apy ekadivasopāttaḥ śivadhyānapareṇa yaḥ* | *śivadharmaḥ paraḥ sūkṣmas tasyānto naiva vidyate* || 235 || *yogadharmaḥ susāratvād abhedyaḥ pāpamudgaraiḥ* | *vajrataṇḍulavaj jñeyas tasmāt tasya phalaṃ mahat* || 236 ||.

> sidered to be unbreakable by the hammers of evil like grains of diamonds. Therefore, it has great fruit. (12.236)

Especially, the domain of Śiva (Śivasthāna) can be reached by *jñānadhyāna* 'knowledge and meditative practices,' the people who have reached there become omniscient and omnipresent (12.227–229):[46]

> The Brahmins who rejoice in the knowledge [of] and meditation [on Śiva], who have calmed themselves, who live on alms, control their senses and burn out their sins, reach his divine place (i.e., Śivasthāna). (12.227) After reaching his place, the accomplished, free from all sufferings, become omniscient, omnipresent, pure and fully satisfied. (12.228) They have possessed the highest sovereignty (i.e., supernatural power) with their body (*kāryakaraṇa*) entirely purified and, furthermore, become either embodied or free from body at their will. (12.229)

In chapter five, too, people who attain Śiva's upper domain are said to become omniscient and omnipresent, and they do not return to the cycle of rebirths (5.39–40), while the inhabitants of the lower world of Śiva return to it as mentioned in 5.32 quoted above:[47]

> The people who have devoted themselves to gnostic yoga (*jñānayoga*) and reached the domain of Śiva do not return to the horrible ocean of the cycle of rebirths (*saṃsāra*). (5.39) The accomplished who have reached the city of Śiva[48] are the great lords (*maheśvara*)[49] with power equal to Śiva, being omniscient, omnipresent, pure and fully satisfied. (5.40)

4.2 *The comparison with the two types of Śiva: Sakala and Niṣkala*

This distinction between the two levels of Śiva's abodes in the *Śivadharmottara* is comparable to the two types of Śiva: Sakala-Śiva 'the embodied

[46] *Śivadharmottara* 12.227–229: *jñānadhyānarataiḥ śāntair bhaikṣāhārair jitendriyaiḥ | prāpyate tatpadaṃ divyaṃ brāhmaṇair dagdhakilbiṣaiḥ* || 227 || *saṃprāpya tatpadaṃ siddhāḥ samastakleśavarjitāḥ | sarvajñāḥ sarvagāḥ śuddhāḥ paripūrṇāḥ bhavanti ca* || 228 || *viśuddhakāryakaraṇāḥ paramaiśvaryasaṃyutāḥ | sadehāś ca videhāś ca bhavanty ātmecchayā punaḥ* || 229 ||.

[47] *Śivadharmottara* 5.39–40: *ye saṃprāptāḥ śivasthānaṃ jñānayogaratā narāḥ | na teṣāṃ punarāvṛttir ghore saṃsārasāgare* || 39 || *sarvajñāḥ sarvagāḥ śuddhāḥ paripūrṇā maheśvarāḥ | śivatulyabalāḥ siddhāḥ paraṃ śivapuraṃ gatāḥ* || 40 || See fn. 36 for verse 5.32.

[48] The city of Śiva (*śivapura*) in this verse clearly refers to the upper domain of Śiva.

[49] It is uncertain whether the word *maheśvara* is used as a common noun, meaning in this case the people who have great supernatural power, or a proper noun denoting a form of Śiva. The idea that the inhabitants of the upper domains have the appearance of the presiding deities is found in 12.233 quoted in fn. 44.

Śiva' or 'the material Śiva' and Niṣkala-Śiva 'the bodiless Śiva' or 'the immaterial Śiva,' as mentioned in Kauṇḍinya's commentary on the *Pāśupatasūtra* and in the early layer of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*.[50] In the *Skandapurāṇa*, above all, the two types are connected to devotees' destinations after death. Chapter 182 of the *Skandapurāṇa* explains how the perfected Yogins devoted to Śiva (i.e., *śivayogin*) reach Niṣkala-Śiva[51] by means of *utkrānti*, yogic

[50] Because *sakala* and *niṣkala* are both common adjectives, meaning 'with [every] part' and 'without any part' respectively, the occurrence of the words, even if qualifying Śiva, does not prove the concept of two types of Śiva. Kauṇḍinya in his commentary on the *Pāśupatasūtra* defines the word *kalā* in the meaning of material entities, more exactly as *kāryakaraṇa* 'products made of five fundamental elements (*kārya*) and thirteen organs (*karaṇa*; five sense, five action and three internal organs)' (*kāryakaraṇākhyāḥ kalāḥ | tatra kāryākhyāḥ pṛthivy āpas tejo vāyur ākāśaḥ | ... tathā karaṇākhyāḥ śrotraṃ tvak cakṣuḥ jihvā ghrāṇaṃ pādaḥ pāyuḥ upasthaḥ hastaḥ vāk manaḥ ahaṃkāraḥ buddhir iti |* in the commentary on 2.24 (p. 74); a shorter version on p. 147 in the concluding part of the whole commentary). Then he uses *niṣkala* and *sakala* several times qualifying Śiva in contrast, explaining Niṣkala-Śiva as *kāryakaraṇarahita* 'the one without *kārya* and *karaṇa*' and Sakala-Śiva as *kāryakaraṇādhiṣṭhātṛ* 'the one who presides *kārya* and *karaṇa*' (commentary on 2.27, p. 76; see also comm. on 5.12–13, 27–28, 39). With this meaning Niṣkala-Śiva refers to the highest level of Śiva in the *Uttarasūtra* (1.5, 17, 19; 2.9; 4.22, 47; 5.32) and the *Nayasūtra* (1.31; 4.90–91, 98, 141) of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā.*

[51] Chapters 182 and 183 are the last two chapters of the teaching of *Pāśupatayogavidhi* consisting of ten chapters and the last of the *Skandapurāṇa* itself. This *Pāśupatayogavidhi* is founded upon the Pāśupata doctrine close to that exposed in Kauṇḍinya's commentary on the *Pāśupatasūtra*, which is very clear in the following passage of chapter 182 imbued with the Pāśupata terminology found in Kauṇḍinya's. The text quoted from these two chapters is based on Bhaṭṭarāī's edition and partly emended by the present author, consulting the two old Nepalese manuscripts (the *Pāśupatayogavidhi* chapters are not available for the other manuscripts of the *Skandapurāṇa*).
Skandapurāṇa 182.47cd–51 (Bhaṭṭarāī's edition): *padārthaṃ pañca vijñāya duḥkhāntaparinisṭhitaḥ* || 47 || *pañcabhir brahmabhiḥ pūto bhasmanā dīkṣito dvijaḥ |* (*bhasmanā*] em., *bhasmasā* Ed. & MSS) *śaṃkaraikamanā yogī jñānam etad avāpnute* || 48 || *māheśvaram imaṃ yogaṃ niṣkalaṃ muktikāraṇam | yatnād api na vindanti vratam aprāpya śaṃkaram* || 49 || *sa tvaṃ vyāsa mahābuddhe caran pāśpataṃ vratam | mahādevaparo bhūtvā jñānam etad avāpnuhi* || 50 || *naivaṃ etat paraṃ brahma anye vindanti yoginaḥ | mahādevaṃ prapannā ye tān muktvā śivayoginaḥ* || 51 ||; 'The Brahmin who, having understood the five categories (i.e., *paśu, pati, pāśa, yogavidhi, duḥkhānta*) has been initiated with ash, purified with five *brahma*-mantras (i.e., the mantras called Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa and Iśāna found at the end of each of the five chapters of the *Pāśupatasūtra*; see Bisschop 2018c, 2–5) and completely composed in the end of suffering acquires this knowledge concentrating his mind only on Śaṃkara and performing yoga. (47cd–48) Without observing Śaṃkara's ordinance (*vrata*), people do not find this yoga of Maheśvara, which is free from materiality (*niṣkala*) and

suicide, which means the final union with Śiva. In chapter 183,[52] on the other hand, the abode of Sakala-Śiva, also called Vigraheśa/Vigraheśvara 'the Lord with body' (Bhaṭṭarāī's edition of the *Skandapurāṇa* 183.7b and 19a), is described as a paradisiacal world named Śivapura (19c),[53] which is the highest destination of Śiva devotees, including Yogins who have not yet perfected their devotion. The difference between the two destinations are made clear in the verses at the end of chapter 182 that conclude the chapter and introduce chapter 183:[54]

> In this manner, the Pāśupata Brahmins enter Maheśvara (i.e., Śiva) free from materiality (*niṣkala*) by means of yoga and are liberated, released from [the cycle of] rebirths. (182.53) [Next] I will tell you the divine abode of Mahādeva (i.e., Śiva) with materiality (*sakala*) located above the world of Brahmā; his devotees depart for it. (182.54)

Thus, the two levels of Śiva's world in the *Śivadharmottara* more or less correspond to the two levels of Śiva (Sakala and Niṣkala) in the *Skandapurāṇa*

the cause of liberation, even if making an effort. (49) Therefore, O Vyāsa, the wise, you should acquire this knowledge, observing the Pāśupata ordinance and devoting yourself on Mahādeva. (50) Thus, [ordinary] Yogins, except for the *śivayogin*s who have submitted themselves to Mahādeva, do not find this supreme *brahman*.' (51)

[52] This chapter has parallels to the shared text of the *Vāyupurāṇa* (2.39) and the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (3.4.2). For the synoptic edition of these three texts in comparison and a detailed analysis, see Bisschop 2007. Concerning the relationship between the two versions, he says '[i]n conclusion, it can be reasonably assumed that, even in the absence of a critical edition of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, it is more likely that the *Skandapurāṇa* has borrowed from the *Vāyupurāṇa* in the present passage than *vice versa*. In a number of respects, the *Skandapurāṇa*'s doctrine is more advanced: e.g. in its references to such theological concepts as Vigraheśvara, the two Prajāpatis Viṣṇu and Brahmā, and Īśvara being the 26th principle' (*ibid.*, 53ff).

[53] Bhaṭṭarāī's edition of the *Skandapurāṇa* 183.18cd–19: *brahmalokapurastāc ca puraṃ tejomayaṃ mahat || yat sthānaṃ vigraheśasya īśvarasya paramātmanaḥ | nāmnā śivapuraṃ vyāsa gatir īśvarayoginām ||* ; 'There is a great city made of splendour above the world of Brahmā, which is the abode of the supreme Lord Vigraheśa and named Śivapura. It is the destination of the Yogins devoted to Īśvara, O Vyāsa.'

This city or world of Śiva is located immediately above Brahmaloka, namely, Satyaloka, and called the eighth world in 183.10a (parallel in the *Vāyu-* and *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa,* Bisschop 2007, 57). Thus, Viṣṇuloka located between Brahmaloka and Śivapura/-loka in the *Śivadharmottara* does not exist.

[54] Bhaṭṭarāī's edition of the *Skandapurāṇa* 182.53–54: *evaṃ pāśupatā viprā niṣkalaṃ taṃ maheśvaram | yogād āviśya mucyante punarjanmavivarjitāḥ ||* 53 *|| sakalasyāspadaṃ divyaṃ brahmalokāt pare sthitam | mahādevasya vakṣyāmi tadbhaktā yatra yānti te ||* 54 *||*.

as the destinations after death, the lower one for the general Śiva devotees and the upper one for *śivayogin*s. While the world of Sakala-Śiva is virtually equivalent to Śivapura/-loka within the Brahmāṇḍa, there is distinct disagreement between the idea of Niṣkala-Śiva and the upper domain of Śiva in the *Śivadharmottara*.

First, as far as the upper domain of Śiva is considered to be a sort of receptacle and located in a certain space, it cannot escape materiality entirely. It is suggested in the description of the upper five domains in chapter 12 (12.219–225):[55]

> Furthermore, the supreme domain of Brahmā, shining like ruby, should be known to be located in the middle of primordial material (*prakṛti*, the uppermost covering of the Brahmāṇḍa) above the Egg (i.e., Brahmāṇḍa). (12.219) Higher than the world of Brahmā should be known the eternal domain of Viṣṇu, appearing like sapphire and adorned with great pleasures. (12.220) Higher than the world of Viṣṇu is the domain of the great Kumāra (i.e., Skanda), shining like pure pearls and furnished with a choice of pleasures. (12.221) Higher than Skanda's domain is well known the domain of the Goddess Umā (Umā-devī), brilliant like hot gold and provided with all sorts of good qualities. (12.222) Higher than the domain of Umā is the primordial domain of Umā's husband (i.e., Śiva), shining like a crore of suns and fulfilling all sorts of desire; it has immeasurably good qualities and is pure, eternal, unparalleled and adorned with a variety of pleasures with all sorts of embellishments. (12.223–224) The domain is inhabited by an innumerable number of retinues (Gaṇa-s), shining like a myriad of suns, endowed with great majesty and absorbed in yoga. (12.225)

The passage refers to the colour of each domain and sometimes to pleasures (*bhoga*) to be experienced. Moreover, the Gaṇas, the retinues of Śiva, are said to dwell in the Śivasthāna (12.225). In 12.233, the inhabitants of each of the five domains are said to take the appearance of the presiding deity (*devatārūpadhārin*).

[55] *Śivadharmottara* 12.219–225: *aṇḍād ūrdhvaṃ punar jñeyaṃ prakṛter madhyataḥ sthitam | brahmaṇaḥ paramaṃ sthānaṃ padmarāgasamaprabham* || 219 || *brahmalokāt paraṃ jñeyaṃ viṣṇoḥ sthānaṃ sanātanam | indranīlapratīkāśaṃ mahābhogair alaṃkṛtam* || 220 || *viṣṇulokāt paraṃ sthānaṃ kumārasya mahātmanaḥ | svacchamauktisaṃkāśaṃ varabhogasamanvitam* || 221 || *skandasthānāt paraṃ sthānam umādevyāḥ prakīrtitam | taptacamīkaraprakhyam aśeṣaguṇasaṃyutam* || 222 || *umāsthānāc ca parataḥ sthānam ādyam umāpateḥ | dinakṛtkoṭisaṃkāśaṃ sarvakāmasamanvitam* || 223 || *aprameyaguṇaṃ śuddham anaupamyaṃ sanātanam | sarvopakārakair bhogair vividhaiḥ samalaṃkṛtam* || 224 || *mahāprabhāvasaṃyuktaiḥ sūryāyutasamaprabhaiḥ | gaṇair adhyuṣitaṃ sthānam asaṃkhyair yogatatparaiḥ* || 225 ||.

Second, reaching Niṣkala-Śiva means union with Śiva, that is, final liberation, but reaching the upper domain of Śiva is not exactly equivalent to liberation. There are cases in which one who has reached the domain then falls into the lower worlds. *Śivadharmottara* 12.237–242 lays out the course after falling from Śivasthāna.[56] After dying in Śiva's domain one reaches Umā's domain, then, after residing there happily for a long time, one reaches Kumāra's domain, then Viṣṇu's domain and so on. Thus, in the reverse course from the higher to the lower, from the upper five domains to Śivapura, Viṣṇu's world and the seven worlds, one is finally born as *śivayogin* in the human world on earth. There again, he who meditates on Śiva, accomplishes yoga and upon death goes to Śivasthāna.

This description is somewhat similar to the course after falling from Śiva-pura/-loka as stated in *Śivadharmottara* 12.122–124,[57] in which one who has fallen from Śiva's world enjoys the worlds of Viṣṇu and six of the seven worlds one after another and is born on earth, first in the country of North Kuru and then in the Bhārata country where he becomes a righteous

[56] *Śivadharmottara* 12.237–242: *dehānte tena dharmeṇa sthānam aumam avāpnuyāt | tatrāste vipulair bhogaiḥ krīḍan kalpāyutaṃ naraḥ* || 237 || *tataḥ kalpāyutasyānte sthānaṃ kaumāram āpnuyāt | tatrārdhasaṃmitaṃ kālaṃ krīḍamānaḥ sukhaṃ vaset* || 238 || *tadante viṣṇulokaṃ ca saṃprāpya ramate punaḥ | brahmalokaṃ tataś cānte prāpya bhogai ramed budhaḥ* || 239 || *brahmalokāt paribhraṣṭas tiṣṭhec chivapure sukhī | tatas tān viṣṇubrahmādyān lokān āpnoty anukramāt* || 240 || *ity evaṃ sarvalokeṣu bhuktvā bhogān aśeṣataḥ | manuṣyalokam āsādya śivayogī bhavet punaḥ* || 241 || *tataḥ sa yogavidhinā punar dhyāyati śaṃkaram | prāptayogas tanuṃ tyaktvā śivasthānaṃ paraṃ vrajet* || 242 ||

[57] *Śivadharmottara* 12.122–124: *tataḥ kālāt paribhraṣṭaḥ kramād bhogam avāpnuyāt | haribrahmādilokeṣu tadante merumūrdhani* || 122 || *tasmād api cyutaḥ kālāt prāpnuyād uttarān kurūn | tato bhāratavarṣe 'smin rājā bhavati dhārmikaḥ* || 123 || *surūpaḥ subhagaḥ śūraḥ sarvakāmasamanvitaḥ | tataḥ prāgvāsanāyogāt puṇyam ācarate punaḥ* || 124 ||.

Concerning the one who has reached Śivaloka by giving a hide of black antelope to *śivayogin*s (*śivadhyānābhyukta*), *Śivadharmottara* 12.189 says that he enjoys himself in all the worlds one after another after Śivaloka, and finally becomes a king on earth: *tadante sarvalokeṣu bhuktvā bhogān anukramāt | tataḥ kṣitiṃ samāsādya siṃhāsanapatir bhavet* ||. Not all the inhabitants of Śivaloka return to the lower worlds. According to *Śivadharmottara* 12.162, one is liberated there by accomplishing the gnostic yoga (*jñānayoga*) if he does not want to return the impermanent human world: *na ca mānuṣyakaṃ lokam āgacchet punar adhruvam | jñānayogaṃ samāsādya tatraiva sa vimucyate* ||.

A statement to the same effect is found in *Śivadharmottara* 5.13 in the description of Śivapura: *kecit tatraiva mucyante jñānayogaratā narāḥ | āvartante punaś cānye saṃsāre bhogatatparāḥ* || 'Some people who have rejoice in gnostic yoga are liberated at the very place (i.e., Śivapura), while others who have been absorbed in pleasures return to the cycle of rebirths.'

king and performs meritorious deeds. Thus, the upper domain of Śiva is regarded as a sort of paradise comparable to the lower world of Śiva, though the difference of character of the two worlds is manifest in the final fate on earth of the fallen from each of them: one becomes a *śivayogin* and the other a king. Mirnig argues in her study of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* (2019) that the idea of 'falling' (*paribhraṣṭa*) or in her expression 'descending' does not have a negative connotation and is used to elevate the status of the Śiva devotees by granting them the divine identity of Rudras who have descended from the world of Śiva onto the earth.[58] The same probably holds for the case of falling/descending from the upper domain of Śiva; it may not intend to show the limitation of the domain, but to elevate the status of *śivayogin*s by indicating that they were once the inhabitants of the highest domain.[59]

The third and last point may be the most significant because it seems to reveal the targets of the work the redactors had in mind. As argued earlier, yoga, the gnostic knowledge (*jñāna*) and meditative/visualising practice (*dhyāna*) are mentioned as means to reach the upper domains, especially Śivasthāna. In this respect, *Śivadharmottara* 12.243–244 say that yoga is the only method to reach it:[60]

> Without [practicing] the yoga of Śiva (*śivayoga*), the people do not reach this supreme domain (i.e., Śivasthāna) by means of severe austerities (*tapas*) and all sorts of great sacrifices. (12.243) Therefore, the learned should practice repeatedly the yoga of Śiva in order to destroy all the sufferings, stopping entirely thinking of the internal and the external [objects] (i.e., objects in mind and in the outside world). (12.244)

Immediately after this, however, it is said that there is one exceptional means of reaching Śivasthāna without practicing yoga (12.245),[61] i.e., a specific, magnificent gift of cows and bulls to Śiva, described in detail in 12.246–253.[62]

[58] Mirnig 2019; especially, see fn. 38 and 39 for the term *paribhraṣṭa* 'fallen/descended.'

[59] The concept that a Śaiva ascetic is a moving *liṅga*, which is indicated in the prescription of *liṅga* worship in the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, also demonstrates the divine character of *śivayogin*s (Mirnig 2019, 493–496).

[60] *Śivadharmottara* 12.243–244: *naitat tapobhir atyugrair na ca sarvair mahāmakhaiḥ | prāpyate paramaṃ sthānaṃ śivayogād ṛte naraiḥ || tasmād antarbahiścintāṃ parityajya vicakṣaṇaḥ | sarvaduḥkhaprahānārthaṃ śivayogaṃ samabhyaset ||*

[61] *Śivadharmottara* 12.245: *atha yogena vināpy etat sthānam ekena labhyate | śivapriyeṇa vidhinā nānyair vidhiśatair api ||* 245a is hypermetrical; *atha* should be counted as one *guru* (a heavy syllable of two morae).

[62] *Śivadharmottara* 12.246–253: *śivaṃ saṃpūjya viṣuve ghṛtasnānādivistaraiḥ | sahasraṃ śivabhaktānāṃ bhojayīta daśottaram ||* 246 *|| tataḥ sahasraṃ dogdhrīṇāṃ gavāṃ śvetaṃ suśobhanam | garbhiṇyardhena saṃmiśraṃ vṛṣabhair daśasaṃyutam ||*

The procedure is summarised as follows: (1) worship Śiva (probably an image of Śiva or a *liṅga*) on an equinox day by pouring clarified butter on him and other services; (2) feed one thousand and ten devotees of Śiva; (3) worship and decorate a thousand white milk cows, half of which are pregnant,[63] and ten bulls with fragrant powders, flowers, clothes around the neck, etc.; (4) circumambulate them clockwise, reciting a mantra (12.249: 'Cows have always stayed before me, cows behind us, and cows in [my/our] heart eternally. I dwell in the midst of cows.');[64] (5) after reciting it loudly, recite it repeatedly in a low voice in front of them; (6) take hold of a water-jar filled with fragrant water mixed with grains and sprinkle its water upon the cows, mainly on their horns and tails; (7) receive the water in a silver vessel and carry it off; (8) and, accompanied with the same excellent Brahmins,[65] wives, children, servants and relatives, give them to Śarva (i.e., Śiva) with great tumult, reciting another mantra (12.253: 'The mothers of cows have always stayed in the world of Śiva as his favourites. I have given these cows to Śiva for the sake of Śiva/bliss').

This is followed by the statement of the reward of the gift, namely that someone who makes this offering to Śiva attains Śiva's domain and brings thirty generations of his family, as well as his dependents and friends, to the world of Rudra (i.e., the lower world of Śiva) and that he becomes omniscient, omnipresent, equal to Śiva and liberated from the cycle of rebirths (12.254–

247 || *pūjitaṃ gandhapuṣpādyaiś cailakaṇṭham alaṃkṛtam | pradakṣiṇam upāvṛtya mantreṇānena bhaktitaḥ* || 248 || *gāvo mamāgrato nityaṃ gāvo naḥ pṛṣṭhataḥ sthitāḥ | hṛdaye tu sadā gāvo gavāṃ madhye vasāmy aham* || 249 || *gavāṃ mantraṃ samuccārya japet tāsāṃ puraḥ sthitaḥ | gandhatoyākṣatonmiśrāṃ gṛhītvā tāmrakarkarīm* || 250 || *śṛṅgapucchapradhānāya goś ca snāpya tadambhasā | rūpyapātre tu tat toyaṃ pratigṛhya nayet tataḥ* || 251 || *tair eva sārdhaṃ viprendrair mahatā tumulena ca | bhṛtyaputrakalatrādyair yuktaḥ svajanabandhubhiḥ | nivedayīta śarvāya mantreṇānena bhaktitaḥ* || 252 || *gomātaraḥ sthitā nityaṃ śivaloke śivapriyāḥ | śivāyaitā mayā gāvaḥ śivārthaṃ viniveditāḥ* || 253 ||.

[63] It is unclear whether 247abc means either one thousand milk cows and five hundred pregnant cows, or five hundred milk cows and the same number of pregnant cows. I have understood it in the latter meaning because what is given is said to be 'one thousand cows' (*gosahasra*) in 254b and 257d. The gift of a thousand cows is one of the great gifts (Kane 1941, 874). In this case, ten bulls are added to the cows.

[64] This mantra is similar to that in 4.5.14 in the section of a gift of a thousand cows, in the *Dānakāṇḍa* of Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtyakalpataru*, quoted from chapter 278 of the *Matsyapurāṇa* (Brick 2015, 107 & 322). An almost identical mantra (*me* for *tu* in 249c) is used in the ritual of gifting a thousand cows in *Liṅgapurāṇa* 2.38.7cd–8ab.

[65] *tair eva* in 252a, which is translated into 'the same,' probably means that they are the same people as the devotees of Śiva mentioned in step (2) in the procedure (246cd).

256).[66] Then, it is concluded that even a householder who has not practiced yoga can reach Śivasthāna thanks to this gift of cows (12.257–258):[67]

> Thus, this supreme domain is attained even by householders, without [practicing] the gnostic yoga (*jñānayoga*), thanks to the gift of one thousand cows. (12.257) Cows are the unequalled purifier and cows are the means of accomplishing all aims; a devotee of Śiva is therefore released [from all sins/bondages] thanks to the gift of cows. (12.258)

As mentioned earlier, chapter twelve contains two topics— Śaiva cosmography and the sacrality of cattle—and they are combined by identifying Śivaloka with Goloka. It is evident that this exceptional means belongs to the second topic of the sacrality of cattle, so that we cannot dismiss the possibility that the passage is a secondary insertion during the process of redaction. Even so, it is an integral part of the extant text we have as chapter twelve and therefore it should represent the redactors' purpose for this chapter. The prescription of the gift summarised above shows that it is an extremely costly ritual, which only a very rich merchant or a powerful king can perform. Thus, the passage demonstrates that a lay devotee who is very rich and powerful is a specific target of this addition of an exceptional means.

5. *Conclusion*

The Śaiva cosmography found in the *Śivadharmottara* is unique in several points and amply demonstrates the creative character of the work. The addition of the upper three or five domains has been investigated in this article. Chapter twelve intertwines a combination of the conventional divine trio, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, and a special, mythological Śaiva trio, Skanda, Umā and Śiva. Chapter five omits the first trio. The assignment of an individual domain to each deity hints at the different character of the upper domains from the lower divine worlds. While Skanda and Umā must abide with Śiva as Śiva's family members in the city or world of Śiva, the upper domains are individual since they are the destinations Yogins can reach by

[66] *Śivadharmottara* 12.254–256: *evaṃ nivedya śarvāya gosahasram alaṃkṛtam | prāpnoti paramaṃ sthānaṃ yad gatvā na nivartate* || 254 || *kulāni triṃśad uttārya bhṛtyamitrāṇy aśeṣataḥ | saṃsthāpya rudraloke ca śivasthānam avāpnuyāt* || 255 || *sarvajñaḥ paripūrṇaś ca śuddhaḥ sarvagataḥ prabhuḥ | saṃsārasāgarān muktaḥ śivatulyaḥ prajāyate* | 256 |.

[67] *Śivadharmottara* 12.257–258: *evam etat paraṃ sthānaṃ gṛhasthair apy avāpyate | vināpi jñānayogena gosahasrapradānataḥ* || 257 || *gāvaḥ pavitram atulam gāvaḥ sarvārthasādhikāḥ | tasmād dhi gopradānena śivabhaktaḥ pramucyate* || 258 ||.

meditating on and visualising the presiding deity of each domain. Thus, the upper domains resemble a Yogins' highest state, and in the case of Śiva's domain (Śivasthāna), it is comparable to the state of Niṣkala-Śiva, the highest form, or literally non-form, of Śiva, described in the *Skandapurāṇa*.

Although there is much resemblance, there is also clear disagreement, which is useful in clarifying the intention of the *Śivadharmottara*. Niṣkala-Śiva (in the *Skandapurāṇa*) is said to be something inconceivable that only an accomplished Yogin can sense and enter. On the other hand, when it is described as Śivasthāna (in the *Śivadharmottara)*, a sort of divine world, it becomes conceivable or imaginable to lay devotees even if they cannot access it. Furthermore, the *Śivadharmottara* twelve makes an exception concerning access to it: a lay householder can enter it without practicing yoga but instead by performing a grand gift of bulls and cows to Śiva. This would be impossible in the Pāśupata doctrine, but it seems that the redactors of the text did not mind the doctrinal discrepancy.

The two chapters studied in this article indicate that the teaching is directed fairly exclusively at lay devotees. Whether this conclusion can be applied to the entire work of the *Śivadharmottara* is yet to be determined at the current stage of research.[68] For now, the Śaiva cosmography of the *Śivadharmottara* is evidence that the work is targeting lay Śiva devotees, especially rich and generous ones, such as a powerful king, who can perform a magnificent gift to Śiva. *Śivayogin*s are instruments through which lay devotees may accumulate merits by feeding and honouring them.

[68] Chapter ten which deals with yoga is appropriate for advanced devotees, possibly including initiated Pāśupatas. In the two chapters discussed in this article it also seems that devotees are encouraged to practice yoga alongside a variety of merit-making activities. Yoga can be practiced by both lay devotees and ascetics to different degrees within the social norm, which may explain why yoga is an important topic in the works mainly for lay devotees, such as some Purāṇas and the *Śivadharmottara*.

Translating the Dharma of Śiva in sixteenth-century Chidambaram: Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar's Civatarumōttaram With a preliminary list of the surviving manuscripts

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This article explores a foundational moment in the making of Caiva Cittāntam (= Śaivasiddhānta) in Tamil-speaking South India, coinciding with the literary activity of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar in sixteenth-century Chidambaram.[1] According to traditional narratives, the southern version of Śaivasiddhānta acquired its definitive form in the fourteen *Meykaṇṭacāttiraṅkaḷ*, a corpus of Tamil scriptures dated to the twelfth to the fourteenth century.[2] These texts claimed continuity with the pan-Indian Sanskrit theology,

[1] I use the Tamil term Caiva Cittāntam instead of the more common Sanskrit Śaivasiddhānta following Eric Steinschneider (2017, 265 fn. 2), who in turn follows Ambalavanar (2006, ix). I do so to stress the local nature of the early modern religious tradition I discuss in this article, and to differentiate it from the earlier, pan-Indian and Sanskritic school of Śaivasiddhānta. For an overview of the relationship between the Śaivasiddhānta and the Tamil school of the same name, which clarifies many longstanding historiographical errors, see the preface in Goodall 2004. Research for this article was carried out as part of the ERC Project SHIVADHARMA (803624).

[2] The *Meykaṇṭacāttiraṅkaḷ*, literally 'Meykaṇṭar's treatises,' comprise fourteen works by different authors, including Meykaṇṭar Tēvar (thirteenth century) from whom they get their name. However, the author most represented is Umāpati Civāccāriyār (fourteenth century), who wrote eight out of the fourteen works of the corpus. An overview of all the fourteen texts of the corpus is in Dhavamony 1971, 175–334.

while at the same time refashioning it in many ways, such as the incorporation of Tamil devotional hymns in honour of Śiva collectively known as the *Tēvāram*.[3] The religious tradition that these texts helped crystallise purportedly continued unchanged until the nineteenth century, when figures like Āṟumuka Nāvalar (1822–1879) inaugurated an age of reforms ushering Caiva Cittāntam into modernity. Problematising this linear origin story, the following pages show how in the sixteenth century Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar, a teacher also known under the names Vedajñāna or Nigamajñāna, systematised a body of ritual, social and theological knowledge integral to contemporary and later visions of Caiva Cittāntam. His work of synthesis and reorganisation is particularly evident in his masterpiece, the *Civatarumōttaram*, a poetic translation of the early scripture for lay Śaiva devotees *Śivadharmottara*. The existence of this translation was known, but had not received much attention besides the pioneering work of Mu. Aruṇācalam and, more recently, T. Ganesan.[4] Yet the 1208 elaborate *viruttam* stanzas of the *Civatarumōttaram* cover an array of crucial topics for Tamil Śaiva devotees. What was the idea behind this ambitious translation project? What were the purpose and the audience of this new version of the text?

Despite the relative oblivion into which the *Civatarumōttaram* has fallen in recent years, its importance in the context of early modern and modern Tamil Śaivism is evident from its wide circulation. Soon after Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar composed the text, his student and nephew Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar, alternatively known as Vedajñāna or Nigamajñāna II, wrote a commentary on it. Palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Civatarumōttaram*, often accompanied by this early commentary, are ubiquitous in archives in Tamil Nadu and Europe.[5] The poem was also cited within other devotional and theological works in

[3] A recent edition and translation of the *Tēvaram* corpus is Chevillard and Sarma 2007, based on the classical edition by Gopal Iyer 1984–85. The blending of Caiva Cittāntam and the Tamil *bhakti* tradition is the topic of Dhavamony's classical study (1971). The same topic, with special reference to the work of Umāpati, is discussed by Pechilis Prentiss 1999, especially chapter eight.

[4] Ganesan 2009 is the most extensive study of the *Civatarumōttaram* and its author in English; Sanderson 2014, 4, mentions the translation in relation to a large survey of Śaiva literature in Sanskrit. In Tamil, both Mu. Aruṇācalam (1976/2005, 158–184) and Cōmacuntara Tēcikar (1976, 54–66) dedicated long sections of their work to the author of the *Civatarumōttaram*, and also commented upon the text. Finally, Raghavan (1960, 231) mentions the text among the Tamil versions of the Purāṇas, a classification to which I will return while discussing the genre of this text. Among these contributions, the most detailed and useful is certainly that by Mu. Aruṇācalam (1909–1992), a literary scholar who also belonged to the Caiva Cittāntam tradition.

[5] For a preliminary list, see the Appendix to this article.

Tamil, both within Caiva Cittāntam and other religious schools.[6] Maraiñāna was in fact the first to reuse the *Civatarumōttaram* in the composition of his other Tamil works, like the *Aruṇakirippurāṇam*. Later on, Kacciyappa Muṉivar—an eighteenth-century poet and intellectual associated with the Tiruvāvaṭuturai *ātīṉam*[7]—used the *Civatarumōttaram* as a theological reference point throughout his literary oeuvre, and summarised it in the ninth chapter of his *Taṇikaippurāṇam*. The nineteenth-century Vīraśaiva intellectual Pōrūr Citampara Cuvāmikaḷ often quoted the *Civatarumōttaram* as an authority in his commentary to his teacher Cāntaliṅka Aṭikaḷār's refutation of violence, the *Kolaimaṟuttal*.[8] More recently, the poem was printed twice in the nineteenth century, in 1867 and 1888, then again in 1938, and once in the late twentieth century in Kuala Lumpur. The latter edition is accompanied by a modern commentary, testifying to the centrality of the text even for the contemporary Tamil diaspora.[9] In sum, from the moment Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar translated the *Śivadharmottara* into the *Civatarumōttaram*, we see his translation copied, circulated, cited, abridged across media, regions, periods, institutional and sectarian affiliations.

And yet, little has been written about Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar and his *Civatarumōttaram*. Hence, the first section of this article is dedicated to collecting and organising the information currently available on this author,

[6] The non-comprehensive list of examples that follows only refers to citations that I verified to be from the Tamil *Civatarumōttaram*. Certainly, other cases will emerge as members of the Śivadharma project continue to explore the circulation of both the Sanskrit and the Tamil version of the text.

[7] The Tiruvāvaṭuturai *ātīṉam* and the other monastic institutions of the Kaveri delta, such as the Tarumapuram *atīṉam* and the Kāci *maṭam* in Tiruppāṉantāḷ, were crucial to the development of Caiva Cittāntam from the seventeenth century onwards. The way these institutions appropriated and transformed a tradition that had centred until then chiefly in Chidambaram, and their relationship with this sacred place, is an interesting question that still awaits to be answered. To date, the most comprehensive study of these institutions remains the PhD dissertation of Kathleen Koppedrayer (1990). The role of these institutions in the world of Tamil literature in the nineteenth century has been studied by Sascha Ebeling (2010).

[8] On the *Kolaimaṟuttal* see Steinschneider 2016a, esp. 25–26. The text has been edited several times, including one edition by Āṟumuka Nāvalar.

[9] My translations and analysis in this article rely on the first printed edition of 1867, but I have also consulted the 1888 edition for help with regard to metrical splits and identification of the type of verses. In both these editions, the text is accompanied by the old commentary attributed to Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar. A list of editions and manuscripts of the *Civatarumōttaram*—with and without its commentary—that are currently known to us is included in the Appendix to this article. Critical editions of several chapters are under preparation by members of the Śivadharma project.

his work and his social context. In the second section, I turn to the analysis of some translation strategies at play in the *Civatarumōttaram*, both in relationship to the Sanskrit original and to the surrounding world of Tamil religion and literature. The third and last section of the article puts forward some hypotheses as to what might have been the audience of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar's translation in the sixteenth century, on the basis of clues scattered within the text. The goal of such an initial foray is to suggest two useful angles from which to approach the poem.[10] First, Maṟaiñāna Campantar's translation was an operation that implied a simultaneous synthesis and reorganising of the Caiva Cittāntam tradition. The logic of the *Civatarumōttaram* is similar to that of a compendium, and the novelty represented by this text lies in its ability to reorganise contents that originally belonged to the tradition of lay Śaivism organically with Caiva Cittāntam theology. At the same time, Maṟaiñāṉa's presentation of such content in a poetic form deeply transformed the śāstric logic of his Sanskrit source: while still pedagogical and doctrinal in purpose, his work became a site of Tamil connoisseurship and literary enjoyment.[11] Secondly, the *Civatarumōttaram* offers important clues for us to imagine the readers such a text might have had in the sixteenth century. These were likely students initiated in the tradition of the Caiva Cittāntam, who studied in the *maṭam*s attached to Tamil temples, and whose efforts were split between the learning of religious and literary texts. Indeed, the two categories often overlapped, and the *Civatarumōttaram* presents us with the occasion to reflect upon the entanglement of the religious and literary curriculum in the Tamil country before the colonial intervention.[12]

[10] The observations in this article reflect an early stage of our understanding of the *Civatarumōttaram*, a text requiring a depth and breadth of analysis better achievable, in my experience, through collaborative work. My own understanding largely derives from the weekly reading sessions organized within the framework of the Śivadharma project, and I thank the group of scholars who take part in those sessions—Florinda De Simini, Dominic Goodall, K. Nachimuthu, T. Rajarethinam, S. Saravanan, Indra Manuel, S.A.S. Sharma, and R. Sathyanarayanan—for sharing their knowledge and expertise so generously during our discussions.

[11] See the discussion later in this article on the role of poetry in the *Civatarumōttaram*.

[12] To understand the Tamil literary curriculum before and after the changes introduced by colonialism, the work of Sascha Ebeling (2010) is key. The question of the Śaiva canon in the early modern period and its later transformations in the nineteenth century is at the centre of Eric Steinschneider's recent work (2016a, 2016b, 2017). I propose some reflections on the connection and overlap between the two in the third section of this article.

Related to these points, before plunging into Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar's life and literary œuvre, I wish to highlight two broad aspects of the religious and cultural world of early modern South India. First, the Kaveri region saw at this time a competition for influence and patronage among Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva groups, as well as among the many schools of Śaivism in the region, such as Caiva Cittāntam, Śivādvaita, and Vīraśaiva.[13] While the Caiva Cittāntam had already solidified around the works of the early canonical authors, the *Meykaṇṭacāttiraṅkaḷ*, teachers of this school were still actively creating a local identity by incorporating, adapting and reinventing a millennium-long Sanskrit tradition.[14] They needed to do so primarily vis-à-vis other Śaiva groups, since debates among them were common, as demonstrated by books of controversy from this time.[15]

Furthermore, the making of regional religious and literary identities in this period involved the relationship between different linguistic and cultural traditions—Tamil, Persian, Arabic, Kannada, Telugu, and of course Sanskrit. In sixteenth-century Tenkasi, for instance, Ativīrarāma Pāṇṭiyaṉ translated into Tamil both Sanskrit religious texts such as the *Kūrmapurāṇa* and *Liṅgapurāṇa*, and a Sanskrit literary masterpiece like Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadhacarita*.[16] Roughly two centuries later, the Vīraśaiva teacher and

[13] Elaine Fisher has analysed Smārta Śaivism in early modern South India as a sect within the umbrella of orthodox Hinduism; her book (2017, especially 31–56) offers a good introduction to the religious world of this period. A pointed history of patronage and competition between the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu at Chidambaram in this period is sketched in Balasubramanyan 1931. The dissertation by Eric Steinschneider (2016a) focuses on sectarian differences within Tamil Śaivism, and the historical trajectory from many dissenting Śaiva sects to a monolithic Tamil Śaivism in the colonial period.

[14] Besides the *Śivadharmottara*—that was not originally connected to the Śaivasiddhānta, but became a Caiva Cittāntam text in translation—at least two important Tamil translations of Sanskrit Śaivasiddhānta works were composed in the sixteenth century. One is the *Civaneṟippirakācam* by Śivāgrayogin, a poem that is a self-proclaimed abridgment of a Śaiva Āgama, most likely the *Sarvajñānottara,* since Śivāgrayogin belonged to a tradition connected to that text (see Aruṇācalam 1976/2005, 189 and 194–200). We have other Tamil translations of the *Sarvajñānottara* too, even though the author and time of translation are unknown (references to the edition are in the bibliography). The second translation is the *Pirāyaccittacamuccayam*, the Tamil version of the Sanskrit *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*, most likely by a disciple of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar (see fn. 27).

[15] One example of controversy between members of the same religious group is the history of the reception of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar's own text *Muttinilayam* (addressed below). For disagreements and debates within Caiva Cittāntam adherents, see also Steinschneider 2017.

[16] On the 'Tenkasi moment,' see Shulman 2016, 249–255.

Tamil poet Tuṟaimaṅkalam Civappirakācar translated from Kannada into Tamil the life of Vīraśaiva saint Allama Prabhu. Civappirakācar's translation, the *Pirapuliṅkalīlai*, is at the same time a religious text and a literary tour de force, as are many of the Tamil Purāṇas written in honour of local sacred sites on the basis of Sanskrit originals. So, the period between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century was an age of translation, both within the Śaiva milieu and in the larger realm of Tamil literature, that brought about religious as well as poetical innovations.[17] Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar translated an ancient text of lay Śaivism into Tamil verse in this context, and in doing so, he firmly placed the *Civatarumōttaram* within the intersecting worlds of Tamil Śaivism and Tamil literature.

1. *A sixteenth-century Caiva Cittāntam teacher*

The information available on Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar is oftentimes confusing, beginning with his name. In the first place, he should not be mistaken with an earlier Maṟaiñāṉa, who lived between the thirteenth and fourteenth century and was supposedly the teacher of Umāpati.[18] He should also be distinguished from his most famous student and nephew, known as Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar in Tamil, but more often identified by his Sanskrit name of Vedajñāna II. According to the Tamil sources collected by Aruṇācalam, our Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar lived in the mid-sixteenth century, was affiliated to the Kukai ('cave') *maṭam* in Chidambaram, and was a prolific author in Tamil.[19] He composed, besides the *Civatarumōttaram*, a compendium of Śaiva doctrine in *kuṟaḷ veṇpā* metre titled *Caivacamayaneṟi,* and two *talappurāṇam* on the sacred places of Aruṇakiri (Tiruvaṇṇāmalai) and Kamalāyalam (Tiruvārūr). He also wrote a number of smaller ritual and theological treatises, many of which remain unpublished.[20] The sev-

[17] For instance, the genre of the Tamil *purāṇam* was born in relationship with Sanskrit and was predicated, in all its variety, on practices of translation. The classic work on the subject is Shulman 1980; Raghavan 1960 offers a list of Tamil *purāṇam*s that are translations, and the recent dissertation by Jay Ramesh (2020, especially 111–157) explores this topic in some depth. Yet translation practices were by no means limited to a literary genre or a religious group, as appears clearly in Shulman's insightful overview of the early modern period in Tamil literature (2016, 249–283).

[18] Zvelebil 1995, 418–19.

[19] The information about his life has been collected in Aruṇācalam 1976/2005, 158-164.

[20] Many of his shorter works have appeared once, in the volume *Citamparam Kaṇkaṭṭimaṭam Śrī Maṟaiñāṉacampantanāyaṉār aruḷicceyta Caivacciṟunūlkaḷ* edited by Mīṇāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai and published by the Tiruvāvaṭuturai *ātīṇam* in 1954. I have not yet been able to access this rare publication.

eral epithets that accompany his name in these accounts—*campantar*, *paṇṭāram*, *kaṇkaṭṭi*, and so on—are often traced back to anecdotes that refer to episodes of his life. For instance, according to one such anecdote, he was called *kaṇkaṭṭi* ('eye patch') allegedly because he covered his eyes with a piece of cloth to avoid distractions caused by external senses. Hagiographical undertones aside, such narratives are mostly supported by the information available in the paratexts accompanying Maṟaiñāṉa's works, and those of his disciples.

For instance, the laudatory introduction (*ciṟappuppāyiram)* of *Pati pacu pācap paṉuval* ('Treatise on God, the Soul, and the Bond'), a work written most likely by a student or a colleague of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar, ably summarises all the standard tropes connected with the author's life and intellectual activities:[21]

> He stayed in the rare Kukai *maṭam* in that sacred place, i.e., Chidambaram, while people of all other places praised [him]; he was like the sun in this very world; he was like a second coming on earth of Meykaṇṭa Tēvaṉ in Tiruveṇṇeynallūr; because of his understanding of rare Tamil, like sage Agastya, he composed a perfect authoritative poem which is Śiva in essence; he was [another] king Bhoja with regard to perfect books in Sanskrit; he was like [Vyāsa's disciple] Sūta due to his skill in composing *purāṇam*s, beginning with the *Āti Kamalālaya* (*Kamalālayacciṟappu*); he understood with great longing the whole corpus of songs of the ancient ones, beginning with the triad [of Appar, Sundarar and Sambandar]; using Tamil, he wrote the *Civatarumōttaram* along with many types of very good books; he was a teacher learned in the scriptures, and he understood without any confusion all the treatises (*cāttiram* = *śāstra*s) which are praised by the rare ascetics; he [was] Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar, endowed with asceticism [...].
>
> *appati taṉṉil aruṅ kukai maṭattil*
> *eppatiyōrum ēttavum iruntōṉ,*
> *ikam atu taṉṉiṟ kakaṉaiy oppāṉōṉ,*
> *veṇṇeyam patiyil meykaṇṭa tēvaṉ*
> *maṇṇiṭai mīṇṭum varutal oppāṉōṉ,*
> *arun tamiḻ uṇarvāl akattiya muṉiy eṉat*
> *tiruntu tol kāppiyañ civamayañ ceytōṉ,*
> *āc' il vaṭa nūṟ pōcarācaṉ,*
> *āti kamalālaya mutaṟ purāṇam*
> *ōtu matiyāṟ cūtaṉaiy oppōṉ,*
> *mūvar mutalā mutiyavar pāṭal*
> *āvaluṭaṉēy aṭaṅkalum uṇarntōṉ,*

[21] I take this passage from Aruṇācalam 1976/2005, 161–162.

nalamiku nūlkaḷ nāṉāvitattuṭaṉ
civatarumōttaram tamiḻāṟ ceytōṉ,
ākama paṇṭitaṉ, aruntavar pukalum
mōkam il cāttiramuḻutum uṇarntōṉ,
naṇṇiya tava maṟaiñāṉa campantaṉ [...]

This passage confirms that Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar lived in the Kukai *maṭam* in Chidambaram, and stresses his familiarity with both Sanskrit and Tamil learning. On the Sanskrit side, Maṟaiñāṉa is compared to the 'king' of poets and grammarians, Bhoja, and to Sūta, the narrator of several important Sanskrit Purāṇas. On the Tamil side, his counterparts are the initiator of the Caiva Cittāntam tradition Meykaṇṭa Tēvaṉ, and Agastya, the mythological sage traditionally held as the first grammarian of the Tamil language. Besides, the text claims that Maṟaiñāṉa knew well the 'songs of the ancient ones,' namely the canonical corpus of Tamil devotional hymns known as the *Tēvāram*. These characters and texts are proverbial, and, taken all together, they convey the message that Maṟaiñāṉa was at ease in the two traditions, and exceptionally qualified to create a synthesis between the two. This was the ultimate goal of his literary works, which were all nevertheless written using Tamil as a medium, as stressed in this introduction. The combination of the verb *cey* 'to do' and the instrumental case in the expression *tamiḻāl ceytōṉ,* literally 'he composed [books] by means of the Tamil language,' indicates that Maṟaiñāṉa took some content already available in Sanskrit and made it available in Tamil. This clearly points to his activity as a translator.[22]

Another complex expression in this passage is *tiruntu tol kāppiyañ civamayañ ceytōṉ*, which I translate as 'one who composed a perfect (*tiruntu*) authoritative (*tol*) poem (*kāppiyam*) which is Śiva in essence (*civamayam*).' Mu. Aruṇācalam shows how this line could be interpreted in different ways, as referring to just one of Maṟaiñāṉa's works (the *Caivacamayaneṟi*), to two works (the *Civatarumōttaram* as the authoritative poem, the *Caivacamayaneṟi* as Śiva's essence), or perhaps to all his works, collectively.[23] I lean towards the first option, namely the identification with the *Caivacamayaneṟi*, because the *Civatarumōttaram* is explicitly cited later in the passage, and because, barring the *Caivacamayaneṟi* and the *Civatarumōt-*

[22] Reading a reference to translation in this passage is supported by the commentarial gloss *tamiḻ moḻiyāṟ ceytal* explaining the verb *moḻipeyarrtal,* 'to translate,' in *Iḷampūraṇam* ad *Tolkāppiyam*, *Poruḷātikaram*, *marapiyal* 99. Here, as everywhere else in this article, I cite primary sources by title and verse number, with the exception of passages extracted from secondary literature, such as the one discussed above.

[23] Aruṇācalam 1976/2005, 161–162.

taram, none of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar's other works could be classified as a poem (*kāppiyam = kāvya*). The *Caivacamayaneṟi*, on the other hand, is a compendium of the Śaiva religion in the classical Tamil metre of the ancient ethical work *Tirukkuṟaḷ*.[24] Besides, the assonance between the first part of the compound *Caiva-camaya-neṟi,* 'the path of Śiva's religion,' and *civa mayam*, 'Śiva in essence,' is likely intended. More generally, the aim of this turn of phrase seems to emphasize how Maṟaiñāṉa's works were at the same time poetical—*tol kāppiyam*—and theological—*civamayam*. The expression *tolkāppiyam,* which has come to identify almost exclusively the oldest existing grammar of the Tamil language, and the comparison with Agastya, the first legendary grammarian of Tamil and a popular figure in Southern Śaivism, both strongly indicate that the interpretation hinges on the connection between the Tamil language and the Śaiva religion.[25]

Similar themes appear in another verse in praise of Maṟaiñāṉa included in the *pāyiram* ('preamble') to the *Pirāyaccittacamuccayam* ('Compendium on Expiatory Rites'), the translation into Tamil of Trilocanaśiva's *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*, and clearly the work of one of Maṟaiñāṉa's students:[26]

> The masters who composed the *Tiruvicaippā,* spreading gold in the world, and the sixty-tree [*nāyaṉmar*s] to which [they] are connected insofar as

[24] The *Caivacamayaneṟi* is another text by Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar whose manuscripts are widespread in archives in Tamil Nadu; it has also been printed a first time in 1868 and reprinted several times afterwards, along with the commentary by Āṟumuka Nāvalar (the title-page of the sixt edition of 1914, which is the one I consulted, is in the bibliography). Ganesan (2009, xiv fn.13) mentions the existence of another, unpublished commentary of the *Caivacamayaneṟi* by Vedajñāna II, showing the parallels between verses and the Āgamas and other scriptures. An English translation of the initial ninety-one verses of this poem has appeared serialized in two issues of the magazine *Siddhanta Deepika* (see Nallasami 1902a and 1902b), which testifies to its ongoing popularity in the early twentieth century.

[25] See Chevillard 2009.

[26] *Pirāyaccittacamuccayam*, v. 7. This Tamil version of the *Pirāyaccittacamuccayam* has been printed in Śri Lanka in the 1960s, but I am unsure about the exact publication date since the year should be *vikāri*, thus 1960, but the metadata in the *Nūlakam* website has 1964 (see: https://noolaham.org/wiki/index.php/பிராயச்சித்தசமுச்சயம்). This edition contains the same text cited in Aruṇācalam 1976/2005, 159. The edition also seems to transmit a text similar to that in IFP MS RE 109000, fols. 84–108. This manuscript is missing the first folio, and the very first line we have contains what seems a variant reading of part of the third and fourth lines of stanza 7 of the poem (substituting for instance *iṭu* with *pōṭṭu*): *māṭattillaikkukaiyiṭṭiraipōṭṭuppaṅkamaṟavāḷ* [sic] *maṟaiñāṉacam* [. . . . (unreadable *akṣara*s)]. Note that the long *ō* in *pōṭṭu* is clearly marked in the manuscript, which must have been copied pretty late in the nineteenth century, when

> they are part [of them], and Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar, who translated the Śaiva scriptures into Tamil and lived without fault, with [his eyes] veiled, in a hermit's cell (*kukai*) in Tillai, where beautiful palaces touch the moon—these are our teachers.
>
> *taṅkam ulakam paravi tiruvicaippāv uraitta talaivarum, aṉ*
> *paṅkam eṉav uṟṟiṭum aṟupatt' oru mūvarum, ākaman tamiḻ cey*
> *tiṅkaḷ uriñcu maṇi māṭat tillaik kukaiyiṟ ṟiraiyiṭṭup*
> *paṅkam aṟa vāḻ maṟaiñāṉa campantaṉu nam patiy āvar*

The author of this stanza recognises as his teachers the writers of the *Tiruvicaippā,* a section of the ninth *Tirumuṟai* including songs by nine poets starting from Tirumāḷikaittēvar, along with the other poet-saints (*nāyaṉmār*) who sung hymns to Śiva; and Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar. The verse indirectly refers to Maṟaiñāṉa's connection to the Kukai *maṭam* in Tillai, that is Chidambaram, by playing on the word of *kukai* as meaning a cave, and by association a secluded space for meditation, as well as being the name of his home institution. The verb *tiraiyiṭṭu,* literally meaning that he covered himself, also seems a variation of Maṟaiñāṉa's standard attribute as *kaṇkaṭṭi,* wearing an eye-cover. Besides such oblique references, the stanza mentions that Maṟaiñāṉa translated the Śaiva scriptures into Tamil (*ākaman tamiḻ cey*). The word *ākamam* (Sanskrit *āgama*) explicitly refers to the scriptures of the Śaivasiddhānta, to whose canon the *Śivadharmottara* belonged as a subsection (*upabheda*) according to some classifications known in the South.[27] We find once again the verb *cey* ('to do') in com-

such distinction had become more common. The manuscript ends with the penultimate verse contained in the printed edition (301) and then declares the *Pirāyaccittacamuccayam* over, without any further information. The IFP catalogue attributes the text to Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar, probably because his name appears in this first available line—but we saw that this is not a colophon, rather a verse in praise of him written by a student, as also suggested by Aruṇācalam. The existence of a Tamil version of the *Pirāyaccittacamuccayam* had already been noted in Satyanarayanan and Goodall (2015, 62–63) with reference to another manuscript (IFP MS RE 41567) that I could not consult, where the Tamil text should be accompanied by a commentary.

[27] The classification of the *Civatarumōttaram* as the eighth among the eleven *upabheda*s (*upapētam* in Tamil) of the *Cantāṉa Ākamam* (the Sanskrit *Santānāgama*), which in turn is listed as the twenty-fourth among the twenty-eight Āgamas in some Tamil lists (but appears as number seventeen in the list proposed by Goodall 2004, xxiii–xxiv, as according to the *Kiraṇa*) appears in the title-page of the 1888 edition of the Tamil version: *caivākamam irupatteṭṭiṉuḷ 24-vatu Cantāna carvōttamattiṉ upapētam patiṉoṉṟiṉuḷ 8-vatu Civatarumōttaram*. Note that the *Śivadharmottara* was indeed known as a subsidiary scripture (*upāgama*) according to various lists of the Śaivasiddhānta canon transmitted in the Sanskrit Tantras that are attested in the South (see the

bination with the noun *tamiḻ,* which in this case, unlike in the previous verse we analysed, bears no case marker. One can imagine that an instrumental is intended, and that the literal expression 'to re-make [a Sanskrit book] using Tamil' is a way of talking about translation. In this instance, though, the lack of case marker, combined with the fact that the verb *cey* can also work as a verbaliser, is suggestive of another possibility, namely the coinage of a new verb *tamiḻcey* meaning 'to make Tamil, to tamilise.' The meaning of the new verb would refer to a process of taking roots. For Maṟaiñāna, tamilising the Śaiva scripture implied translating them into the Tamil language, as well as reorganising their content within a universe of new intertextual, cultural, geographical, and material references tied with the Tamil land.[28]

Lingering on geography, Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar's own poems do not mention the Kukai *maṭam*, but they do reveal a connection to the temple-city of Chidambaram. This is clear from the two stanzas in honour of Śiva in the *pāyiram* of the *Civatarumōttaram*:

> Bowing to his feet, we cherish in our heart the one who delights in dancing in the gem-studded hall in Tillai, where gardens filled with fragrance shine, while Viṣṇu, Brahmā, the gods and also the great sages surround and praise [him]; the great one, who has himself taken a form, and who created the forms of the creatures; who protects, destroys, and liberates [them]; the immaculate one, Śiva. (1) / Those who worship the feet of Śiva, whose form is knowledge, who consists of the widespread teachings that end the power of *malam* for knowledgeable people, who is without blemish, matchless, who bestows his grace while the tiger and the snake [i.e., Vyāghrapada and Patañjali], those similar to the gods [i.e., the *dīkṣitars* of Chidambaram], and the golden king [i.e., Hiraṇyavarmaṉ] praise [him], whose nature has no difference and who is joined to all creatures—they obtain the boons they desire according to their wishes. (2)

table attached to J. Filliozat's introduction in Bhatt 1961). Moreover, our reading group noticed, during our first reading of chapter one of the *Civatarumōttaram* in Spring 2019, that the Tamil commentator refers to the *Civatarumōttaram* using exactly the expression *upāgama,* in the commentary to *Civatarumōttaram* 1.15 (on this point, see Goodall's article in this volume, p. 62).

[28] As for other instances of a possible verb *tamiḻcey*, K. Nachimuthu brought to my attention the sobriquet name of Nammāḻvār as *Vētam tamiḻ ceyta māṟaṉ,* literally 'The Saint who made the Vedas Tamil.' In this case, *tamiḻ ceyta* does not refer to a translation, since Nammāḻvār never actually translated the text of the Vedas into Tamil. The verb rather means 'to tamilise,' as I suggested, and refers to the fact that Nammāḻvār composed beautiful devotional poems in Tamil, which are the expression of the essence of the Sanskrit scriptures in a Tamil poetical and cultural form (see Narayan 1994).

tirumālum pōtiṉaṉun tēvaru māmuṉivarumē ceṟintu pōṟṟa
maruv' ārum poḻi ṉilavun tillaimaṇi maṉṟ' āṭaṉ makiḻvāṉ ṟaṉṉai
uruv' ākit tāṉ uyirkaṭk' uruv ākkiy aḷitt' aṭakkiy uyyac ceyyum
perumāṉai nirumalaṉaic civaṉaiy aṭi paṇint' uḷattiṟ pēṇuvāme (0.1)

ciṉmayaṉaic civaṉai, malavali tolaiya viññāṉakalarkkuñ ceppuñ
coṉmayaṉait, tukaḷ iliyait, tulaiy iliyaip, puliyaravuñ curarkk' oppārum
poṉmayaṉum pukaḻav aruḷ purivāṉaiy, aṉaitt' uyirum poruntip pētam
iṉmayaṉaip patam paṇivār eṇiyavaram eṇiyapaṭiy eytuvārē (0.2)

These stanzas give us a first taste of the poem, and we will soon discuss some of its formal aspects. For now, besides the obvious reference to the form of Śiva as the lord of dance in the golden hall of Chidambaram, they contain several references to the temple's myths. Among the characters praising Śiva as he bestows his grace are the tiger and the snake, that is sages Vyāghrapāda and Patañjali; those similar to the gods, namely the three thousand Brahmins of lore who are the ancestors of the Chidambaram *dīkṣitar*s, and the golden king Hiraṇyavarman. These are the main characters of the origin myths identified by Kulke in the *Cidambaramāhātmya*—indeed, the traditional name of Chidambaram in Sanskrit is Vyāghrapura—and they still play a central role in the way the priests and the devotees think of themselves and the temple today.[29]

In addition to showing a connection to Chidambaram, albeit more ideologically than historically grounded, Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar's texts are also crucial in determining the time of his literary activity. In the introduction to the *Kamalālayacciṟappu,* the author declares that he composed that work in the year 4647 of the *kali* era, which was a *parapāva* year within the 60-year cycle, corresponding to the year 1546 of the Gregorian calendar.[30] The introduction to Maṟaiñāṉa's *Aruṇakirippurāṇam* includes a similar verse referring to the time of composition of this second poem (*nūl ceyta kālam*): [31]

> [I am writing] as the current four thousand six hundred fifty-fourth year among the four hundred thirty-two thousand years of the *kaliyuga* turns to

[29] The reference work for Chidambaram mythology is Kulke 1970, which identifies three main episodes centering around Vyāghrapāda, Patañjali and Hiraṇyavarman (the latter episode also including the history of the three thousand Brahmins). For a reevaluation of Kulke and further discussion on the role of Chidambaram under the Cholas, see Cox 2016a, 188–197; for a discussion of Chidambaram mythology as it emerges from Tamil sources, and an anthropological reflection on its role for present-day *dīkṣitar*s, see Loud 1990 (especially 110ff)

[30] The text of the *Kamalālayacciṟappu* was recently reprinted by the Dr. U. Vē. Cāmināthaiyyar Nūlnilayam in Chennai, but unfortunately I could not access a copy of this edition. I take this stanza from Aruṇācalam 1976/2005, 165–166.

[31] *Aruṇakirippurāṇam*, 23.

> an end, now, on the eleventh lunar day of the bright half of the *makaram* (=*tai*) [month] of the *piramātīca* year, which is on Sunday, at the time when the *māṉ mākēntiram* star shines, during the *vaṇikam* division of time.[32]
>
> *āṇṭu kaliyukattiṇukku nāṇūṟṟu muppatt' īrāyirattuḷ*
> *īṇṭ' uṟu nālāyiramum aṟunūṟum aimpattu nāṉku nīṅkav*
> *īṇṭu piramātīcav āṇṭiṉ makaratt' eḻuvāy ēkā tēci*
> *tīṇṭ' iravi vārattiṉ māṉ mākēntiram vaṇikan tikaḻum pōtil*. (0.23)

The stanza, entirely occupied by an elaborate date indicating when the poet began to write his *purāṇam*, makes explicit reference to the year 4654 of the *kaliyuga,* corresponding to the Gregorian year 1553. According to these accounts, Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar wrote his two Purāṇas in 1546 and 1553, and therefore was likely at the peak of his literary and intellectual activity in the central decade of the sixteenth century. The two dates are coherent with the date of his death, which we know from the Sanskrit sources cited below to be roughly ten years after the composition of the *Aruṇakirippurāṇam*, in 1563 or 1564.

Indeed, the introductions and colophons of the Sanskrit works of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar's homonymous student and nephew, Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar, offer grounded and precise information on Maṟaiñāṉa's life. Bruno Dagens, in the introduction to his edition of the *Śaivāgamaparibhāṣāmañjarī,* collected most of the passages available in the Sanskrit works of Vedajñāna II (Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar), as Dagens calls him, on his teacher Vedajñāna I (Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar).[33] First of all, the beginning of the *Śaivāgamaparibhāṣāmañjarī* gives the date of death of Vedajñāna I, and confirms many of the details available in the Tamil texts. It mentions a *maṭha* in Chidambaram where Vedajñāna I lived, and he is also described as a teacher and master of the Āgamas:[34]

> In the year of the Śaka kings that is reckoned in numbers as 1486 that wise man called Vedajñāna, who had crossed the ocean of the Śaiva *śāstras,* went

[32] I would not have understood this complex date without the help of K. Nachimuthu (all imprecisions remaining are my own). He especially helped me to understand that *eḻuvāy* is equivalent with *vaḷarpiṟai* and refers to the bright half of the lunar month; that *iravi vāram* refers to the day of the week, *ñāyiṟṟukkiḻamai*, usually translated as Sunday in English; and that the word *vaṇikam* refers to an alternative division of the month in eleven *karaṇam* (instead of the thirty lunar days, *titi*, of which *ēkātēci* is one).

[33] Dagens 1979, 6–15.

[34] *Śaivāgamaparibhāṣāmañjarī* 0.6–7: *lakṣite śakabhūpābde tadābhagyeti saṃkhyayā | ṣaṣṭyantime hāyane ca tārtīyīka ṛtau sudhīḥ* || 6 || *vedajñānābhidhāno 'sau śaivaśāstrābdhipāragaḥ | kālahastīśvareṇātra pratiṣṭhāṃ prāpitaḥ parām* || 7 ||. Text (with a French translation) in Dagens 1979, 52–53.

> to the ultimate state [of liberation] through the grace of Kalahastīśvara when he was in the third season of his sixty-first year.

From this passage Dagens deduces that Vedajñāna I must have died in the year 1486 of the Śaka era, corresponding to the Gregorian year 1563 or 1564, and that he was sixty at that time. He was therefore born around 1503–1504, his life spanning the entire first half of the sixteenth century. Another relevant detail is the mention of the lord of Kalahasti, since that seems to have been Maṟaiñāṉa's divinity of choice, and Kāḷatti Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar was one of his names. Perhaps the richest source on Vedajñāna I, his family and institutional ties, is found in a passage at the end of the *Dīkṣādarśa* again by Vedajñāna II: [35]

> In the sacred hill of Rudrakoṭi (Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam) in the Toṇṭīramaṇḍala (Toṇṭaināṭu),[36] lived Vāmadeva, a great man, resident of glorious Vyāghrapura (Chidambaram), and belonging to [one of] the five spiritual lineages and well-known as an *ādiśaiva*. His younger brother was the great *yogin* Vedajñāna [I], the best among sages. Aiming for the Lord of the Great Hall, after reaching the holy Tillavana (i.e., Chidambaram)[37] along with many dis-

[35] The following is a provisional reconstruction of the text of the final verses of the *Dīkṣādarśa*, based on the text given in Dagens 1979, 11 (= ed.), but also integrating some of the readings found in IFP T. 372, 1669–1670 (= cod.) and some emendations, including that proposed in Ganesan 2009, x–xi. Even though Dagens declared his source to be IFP T. 153B, 606–607, the text of this manuscript seems corrupted, and differs in places from the one reconstructed by Dagens.

[...] *toṇṭīnamaṇḍale tasmin rudrakoṭimahāsthale | ādiśaiva iti khyātaḥ pañcagocaravartitaḥ* (em. Ganesan 2009, xi fn. 9; *pañcāṅgācāravartitaḥ* ed.) || *śrīvyāghrapuranivāsī vāmadevo mahattaraḥ* (em.; *mahattataḥ* ed.) | *tasyānujo mahāyogī vedajñānamunīśvaraḥ* || *bṛhatsabheśam uddiśya anekaśiṣyakais saha | śrīmattillavanam prāpya ciraṃ kālam avardhata* (cod.; *avardhanat* ed.) || *sadāśivamahārāje pṛthivīpālanakṣame | ālayānām anekeṣāṃ gopurādīny akalpayat* || *vedajñānamuniḥ śrimān drāviḍādīny anekaśaḥ | śivadharmottarādīni śāstrāṇi paryakalpayat* || *śrīmattillavane caiva hy aruṇādrau mahatsthale | śrīvṛddhācalasamjñe ca madhyārjunamahatpure* || *śvetena pūjitaṃ yatra śvetāraṇye ghaṭe pure | anyeṣv anekasthāneṣu sthāpayāmāsa cāgamān* || *tasya jyeṣṭhasutaḥ kaścit tannāmāṅkitapaṇḍitaḥ | dīkṣādarśaṃ mahadgranthaṃ paddhatiṃ ca mahattarām | dakṣiṇāmūrtikṛpayā hy akarot sāmpradāyikām* ||.

Previous to the passage cited here, the text talks about a Saundārācarya, since Vāmadeva likely came in his lineage (see Ganesan 2009, x, fn. 7 and 8).

[36] The toponym Toṇṭīnamaṇḍale (Toṇṭaināṭu) refers to a region roughly occupying the north-eastern part of today's Tamil Nadu. For the classical discussion of Tamil Nadu's historical geography, especially the *nāṭu* division, see Stein 1977.

[37] Here the Sanskrit Tillavana is a borrowing from the Tamil toponym Tillaivaṉam (which already used the Sanskrit word vana/vaṉam), literally meaning 'the mangrove

> ciples, [Vedajñāna I] spent a long time there. During the reign of the great king Sadāśiva, who was skillful in protecting the world, he (i.e., Vedajñāna I) built *gopura*s and other [structures] of countless temples. The venerable sage Vedajñāna [I] rewrote innumerable [Sanskrit] treatises (*śāstra*s), such as the *Śivadharmottara,* into Tamil and so on.[38] He also established (*sthāpayamāsa*) the Āgamas in Tillavana as well as in the sacred hill of Aruṇādri (i.e., Tiruvaṇṇāmalai), on [the hill] called Vṛddhācala (i.e., Viruttāccalam), in the great city of Madhyārjuna (i.e., Tiruviṭaimarutūr), in Śvetāraṇya (i.e., Tiruveṇkāṭu) where the white [elephant] performed worship, as well as in Ghaṭapura (i.e., Kumpakōṇam), and in many other places.[39] His (i.e., Vāmadeva's) best son was a learned man carrying the same name as him (i.e., Vedajñāna); by the grace of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, he composed the *Dīkṣādarśa* and a great book of ritual instruction, both of them excellent and following the tradition.

This passage places Vedajñāna I's older brother Vāmadeva in Rudrakoṭi, that is the sacred site of Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam in Chengalpattu district. This contrasts with the information by Aruṇācalam on the early life of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar, who allegedly was born in Kaḷantai/Kaḷattūr, south-west from Paṭṭukkōṭṭai, and studied at Kalahasti.[40] Certainly, though, both brothers were connected to Chidambaram. There, Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar spent the last decades of his life, coinciding with the rule of Tuluvu king Sadāśiva.[41]

forest.' This is one of the names of Chidambaram, as the temple-city is located in an area that was formerly a *tillai* grove, and a mangrove forest still surrounds it.

[38] Notice the *ādi* in *drāviḍādini*, an interesting expression since we are not aware of Maṟaiñāṉa writing in any language other than Tamil.

[39] I added the Tamil equivalent to each Sanskrit toponym in this sentence with the help of Ganesan (2009, x–xi). Notice how the toponyms in the two languages often refer to the same myth and, in some cases, the Sanskrit toponym seems to be a translation of a well-established name. This is the case of Gaṭhapura, 'The city of the pot,' that might well be Vedajñāna's re-translation of Kumpakōṇam, 'The pot's corner,' originally a Sanskrit compound, but also a current toponym in Tamil. In other cases, the two names likely refer to the parallel development of South India toponomastics in Sanskrit and Tamil, in connection with the same mythological corpus; this seems the case, for instance, of the Sanskrit Śvetāraṇya and its Tamil equivalent Tiruveṇkāṭu. The classical study of Tamil toponomastics is Cetupiḷḷai's 1946 book *Tamiḻakam, Ūrum Pērum*. Many other works have appeared since then, but I don't know of a study considering both the Sanskrit and Tamil tradition with equal attention.

[40] Aruṇācalam 1976/2005, 158–159.

[41] Sadāśiva Rāya was the last king of the Tuluva dynasty and reigned from ca. 1542 until 1570, albeit under the strong influence of his chief minister Rāma Rāya who later founded the Aravidu dynasty (see Heras 1927, esp. 13–53). For an overview of the patronage of Vijayanagara kings in Chidambaram, see Balasubramanyan 1931.

During that time, Maṟaiñāṉa became an authoritative figure who initiated the construction of several religious buildings, and rendered the Sanskrit *śāstra*s into Tamil.[42] He also promoted the Āgamas in some specific temples listed in the passage; following Ganesan, I suspect that the causative verb *sthāpayati* might refer to Maṟaiñāṉa introducing āgamic worship in these temples. The passage ends by establishing the *guru-śiṣya* relationship between him and the author of the *Dīkṣādarśa*, his nephew Vedajñāna II.[43]

In sum, notwithstanding the many uncertainties that remain on his life and activities, the ample information collected thus far points to the fact that Maṟaiñāṉa brought forth new modes of scholarship connected to ideas and practices of translation, and promoted new institutions and ways of worship. Coherently, we know that Maṟaiñāṉa had students—but we have no clues regarding his teachers. In his texts, he pays homage to Meykaṇṭār, the thirteenth-century initiator of the Caiva Cittāntam tradition, but mentions no other *guru*. This incongruence was noted by Aruṇācalam too, who set off to gather information on this matter from Maṟaiñāṉa's intellectual opponents.[44] Among Maṟaiñāṉa's smaller works is the *Muttinilai* ('The Condition of Emancipation'), a treatise in favour of the idea that bliss is inherent to the soul (*āṉmāṉanta vātam*). This booklet and the doctrine it supported were opposed by Maṟaiñāṉa's contemporary, Tarumapuram Kuruñāṉa Campantar, a fellow Caiva Cittāntam teacher and founder of the Tarumapuram *atīṉam* lineage, in a poetical rebuttal titled *Muttiniccayam* ('The Ascertainment of Emancipation'; see Sanskrit *muktiniścaya*). In the eighteenth century, Kuruñāṉa's successor Veḷḷiyampalavāṇa Tampiraṉ wrote two commentaries on the *Muttiniccayam*, a short commentary (*ciṟṟurai*) and a longer one (*pērurai*). In this second one, printed by the Tarumapuram *atīṉam* in 1948 but currently unavailable to me, Aruṇācalam located the names of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar's two teachers.[45] One was Kaḷantai Ñāṉap-

[42] These two activities of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar are indicated by the parallel verbs *akalpayat* and *parikalpayat,* both referring to the building—of sacred sites, and a literary corpus.

[43] This information is confirmed by the colophon of the *Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati,* as transcribed in Hultzsch 1896, 105–106 (on MS no. 1096 within Hultzsch's list).

[44] Most of the information in the next two paragraphs is originally found in Aruṇācalam 1976/2005, 137 and 159–60.

[45] Aruṇācalam refers to an edition by the Tarumapuram *atīṉam* of the *Muttiniccayam* along with the *pērurai* printed in 1948. I was only able to consult an earlier edition by the Purōkirasiv [bureaucracy] accukkūṭam in Chennai that includes the *ciṟṟurai*. It should be noted that Ganesan does not mention the *Muttinilai* in his list of works by Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar (2009, xiii–xvi), even though he includes in the bibliography this early edition of the *Muttiniccayam.* However, besides Aruṇācalam's opinion, the

pirakācar, allegedly from the same town as Maṟaiñāṉa, who also authored important Śaiva poems.[46]

Besides a direct reference in the *Muttiniccayam Pērurai,* other hints pointing to the connection between Ñāṉappirakācar and Maṟaiñāṉā are the contiguity of some of their texts in the manuscript tradition, and the fact that Ñāṉappirakācar wrote in *kuṟaḷ veṇpāmetre*.[47] Another teacher was Kaṇṇappa Pāṇṭāram, whom Maṟaiñāṉa met after going to Kalahasti as a young boy, and who initiated him into Caiva Cittāntam. While living in Kalahasti, Maṟaiñāṉā proved to be a talented student, but with time he became arrogant—or so the story goes. He rejected the *liṅga* of his teacher and entered the Kukai *maṭam* without ever taking another teacher.[48] Unsurprisingly, this account is not very flattering. Without reading too much in these negative but still hagiographical stories that were collected a couple of centuries after Maṟaiñāṉa's time, his characterisation as a self-reliant thinker fits well with the bold intellectual operations we find in his masterly work of translation, the *Civatarumōttaram*, to which we now turn.

2. *Old and new textual architectures*

The *Civatarumōttaram* includes scant references to the context of its composition other than pointing to the centrality of Chidambaram, as we saw. However, it does offer clues as to its own nature as a translation, and to its positioning vis-à-vis the original Sanskrit text as well as to the larger world of Tamil literature. It also envisions a world of readers, and it is on these two types of context—the field of translation and readership—that we will focus our attention in the next two sections of this article. When reading the *Civatarumōttaram* side by side with its Sanskrit source, it is immediately obvious that the two texts are similarly organised in twelve chapters that cover roughly the same topics, from the tenets of the Śaiva religion to yoga and descriptions of hells.[49] The division into twelve chapters appears in all the printed editions

introduction to the edition of the *Muttiniccayam* I consulted (1934, ii) does mention Maṟaiñāṉa Paṇṭāram, that is Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar, as the author of the *mūlam* that prompted the writing of the *Muttiniccayam* and its commentary.

[46] *Uṉatu* (i.e., Maṟaiñāṉa's) *kuruvrāṉa Kaḷantai Ñāṉappirakāca Paṇṭāram ceyta akaval*. I take this passage of the *Muttiniccayam Pērurai* from Aruṇācalam 1969/2005, 137.

[47] On Kaḷantai Ñāṉappirakācar, his literary works, and his relationship with our Maṟaiñāṉa (including details on the manuscripts of their works), see Aruṇācalam 1969/2005, 136–144.

[48] *Ibidem*.

[49] The titles of the Tamil chapters are: 'Chapter on the supreme *dharma*' (*paramatarumātiyiyal*); 'Chapter on the gift of the knowledge of Śiva' (*sivañāṉatānaviyal*); 'Chapter on the

and the manuscripts I consulted, and is also confirmed by an index-stanza at the end of the twelfth chapter of the *Civatarumōttaram*.[50] In parallel to the Sanskrit, a crucial topic in the *Civatarumōttaram* seems to be that of the gift of knowledge (*ñāṉatāṉam*), namely the copying and transmission of Śaiva scriptures described in the second chapter.[51] The topic is mentioned in the *pāyiram,* where it is the subject of an entire stanza:

> Tell me in due order also the act of giving that bestows knowledge, which is [particularly] difficult to attain [among acts of giving], and [which is] the variety [of giving] that possesses greatness. Tell me all the rules, beginning with the manner of giving that is suitable, along with the fruits [that accrue] to those who give and to those who receive.
>
> *nāṭ' ariya ñāṉatara tāṉamu naviṟṟāy*
> *pīṭu peṟu pētamum eṉakku muṟai pēcāy*
> *īṭu peṟav īyu muṟaiy īpavar irappār*
> *kūṭu payaṉātiyav aṉaittu muṟai kūṟāy.* (0.14)

This is just one among many elements ensuring that the translation is recognisable as closely related to its source, at least on the surface, and that anyone with a knowledge of the *Śivadharmottara* would see its general structure being reproduced in the *Civatarumōttaram*.[52] But how does the Tamil version talk about, and position itself vis-à-vis a source so close in content and yet so far in time and cultural references?

In the introduction to his translation, Maṟaiñāṉa, following the account given in the first chapter of the *Śivadharmottara*, acknowledges that his poem originated in two different yet equally mythical moments.[53] Its content was

five types of sacrifice' (*aivakaiyākaviyal*); 'Chapter on the many excellent instruments' (*palaviciṭṭakāraṇaviyal*); 'Chapter on the *dharma* of Śiva' (*civatarumaviyal)*; 'Chapter on sins' (*pāvaviyal*); 'Chapter on the heavens and hells' (*cuvarkkanarakaviyal*); 'Chapter on death and rebirth' (*ceṉaṉamaraṇaviyal*); 'Chapters on the remainders of the heavens and hells' (*cuvarkkanarakanēṭaviyal*); 'Chapter on the yoga of knowledge of Śiva' (*civañāṉayōkaviyal*); 'Chapter on expiation' (*parikāraviyal*); 'Chapter on the world of the cows' (*kōpuraviyal*).

[50] Cf. *Civatarumōttaram* 12.221.

[51] The second chapter also caught François Gros's attention (see Gopal Iyer 1984–85, vii).

[52] The importance of chapter two of the *Śivadharmottara*, and of the ritual copying of the manuscript described there is the focus of Florinda De Simini's recent monograph (2016a). Such ritual seems to have been important for Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar too, and as I will discuss later in this article, this is a chapter where he strives to remain faithful to the Sanskrit original.

[53] Indeed, the *Śivadharmottara* opens with a series of questions posed by Agastya to Skanda (*Śivadharmottara* 1.2–14). As a result, the god then imparts to the sage a teaching that had previously been revealed by Śiva (*śāstram īśvarabhāṣitam*, *Śivadharmottara* 1.16)

first revealed by Śiva to Umā and, only later, Skanda—who had attended their dialogue—retold it to Agastya. This second conversation was purportedly written down in the *Śivadharmottara*. Maṟaiñāṉa strives to make explicit the illustrious origins of his poem, all the while scattering in the verses of the *pāyiram* grammatical key-words that point to his understanding of the complex operation of bringing those conversations into the Tamil literary universe. Take for example the following verse:

> Praising and worshipping the fragrant lotus-feet of Kukaṉ (Murugan) who fully knows the true [scriptures] beginning with the Vedas spoken by the Pure one without beginning, middle, or end, so as to destroy the impurities of living beings, Agastya asked [him]: 'O teacher, tell [me] a way that might generate wisdom for all living beings!' Skanda graciously taught [him] the *Śivadharmottara*. Analysing closely (*ōrntē*) that book, and making a summary of it (*tokai ceytum*), I will now expound [it].
>
> *āti naṭuv antam ilāṉ amalaṉ uyirkk' aḻukk' aṟukkav aṟainta vāymai vētamutal uṇarnta kukaṉ viraimalarttāḷ akattiyaṉ ṟāṉ viyantu pōṟṟip pōtakaṇēy aṇaittuyirkkum pulam ākku neṟi pukalāy eṉṉak kantaṉ ōtiy aruḷ civatarumōttara nūlait tokaiceytum uraippām ōrntē* (0.7)

Tightly packed in the last line of this stanza we find two distinct references to what I would call Tamil theories of textual derivation, that is of the relationship between an 'original text' (*mutal nūl*) and a 'secondary text' (*vaḻi nūl*). The close relationship and possible dependence of one book on another was first articulated in the ancient grammar *Tolkāppiyam*, where we find the definition of *mutal nūl* as the result of direct knowledge or 'vision' (*kaṇṭatu*).[54] This definition applies particularly well to the revealed nature of most scriptures, including the *Śivadharmottara*. As for secondary texts (*vaḻi nūl*), they can have according to *Tolkāppiyam* four types of relationships with the source from which they derive, the *mutal nūl*. These four modes of operation of *vaḻi nūl* are 1. *tokuttal*, a compendium or synopsis of the *mutal nūl*; 2. *virittal*, amplification, addition of details; 3. *tokaiviri*, namely a mix of abridgment and amplification; and finally, 4. *moḻipeyarppu,* translation.[55] In the stanza we just read, Maṟaiñāṉa claims to have condensed the content of the original *Śivadharmottara* by using the verb *tokai ceytu*, an exact synonym of *tokuttal.* In doing so, he is positioning his work

[54] *Tolkāppiyam*, *poruḷātikaram*, *marapiyal* 96: *viṇaiyiṉ nīṅki viḻaṅkiya aṟiviṉ - muṉaivaṉ kaṇṭatu mutaṉū lākum*.

[55] After defining *vaḻi nūl* (*sūtra* 97) and mentioning that it has four subdivisions (*sūtra* 98), the text lists them as follows (*Tolkāppiyam*, *poruḷātikaram*, *marapiyal* 99): *tokuttal virittal tokaiviri moḻipeyart - tatarppaṭa yāttalō ṭaṉaimara piṉave*.

within the category of *vaḻi nūl*, and implying that he is selecting the material in the original, while at the same time keeping close to it. Yet he never says explicitly that his work is a translation from Sanskrit into Tamil—the word *vaṭamoḻi* does not appear anywhere in the verses of the introduction—even though this must have been obvious to his readers. This is probably connected with the desire to stress the didactic purpose of his work, if following the commentator Pērāciriyar we understand a compendium (*tokuttu kūṟal*) as being useful for 'people with little knowledge and a short lifetime to know what is explained at length in the original book.'[56] Maṟaiñāṉa must have thought that this didactic aim was better achieved by stressing his work's nature as a compendium rather than a translation.[57]

Secondly, the intended faithfulness of the Tamil version is emphasised in the stanza by the adverbial participle *ōrntu,* which is connected with the numeral for 'one' (*ōr*) and implies looking closely at the original, i.e., 'being one/in agreement' with it. In this context, *ōrntu* echoes the verbal participle *oruṅku*—which also comes from a similar root—used in the thirteenth-century grammar *Naṉṉūl,* exactly in the context of the discussion on the relationship between *mutal nūl* and *vaḻi nūl*. In *sūtra* 7 of this grammar, *vaḻi nūl* is defined as 'adhering to (*oruṅku*) the conclusions of the text of the original author, but introducing options (*vikaṟpam*) that appear necessary to the new author, the secondary text follows the way of unvarying tradition (*marapu*).'[58] Echoing this *sūtra*, the use of *ōrntu* in the *Civatarumōttaram* points to the close relationship with the original Sanskrit text while also implying the possibility of introducing variations that the author of the secondary text deemed necessary to appeal to its different audience. And indeed, the stanza we just read already presupposes two ways in which Maṟaiñāṉa strayed from the original text. First, he summarised the content of the original book. Second, his text retells in Tamil the content of a conversation between Skanda and Agastya that was originally expressed and

[56] *Pērāciriyam* ad *Tolkāppiyam*, *poruḷātikaram*, *marapiyal* 99: *tokuttal eṉpatu mutaṉūluḷ virintataṉaic cilvāḻnāṭ ciṟṟaṟiviṉ mākkaṭku aṟiyat tokuttukkūṟal*.

[57] This attitude might have also been inspired by the desire to remain faithful to the spirit of the original text, which presents itself as a compendium of the knowledge necessary to salvation, since life is too short for most people to master the whole body of religious knowledge. For instance, the *Śivadharmottara* (1.69) admonishes the readers as follows: 'You should know this, you should know this! One who wishes to know everything won't get to the end of all the treatises, not even in a thousand years.' (*idaṃ jñeyam idaṃ jñeyaṃ yaḥ sarvaṃ jñātum icchati | api varṣasahasrāyuḥ śāstrāntaṃ nādhigacchati* ||). I thank Florinda De Simini for sharing her draft edition of this chapter with me.

[58] *Muṉṉōr nūliṉ muṭiporuṅ kottu - piṉṉōṉ vēṇṭum vikaṟpaṅ kūṟi*. *Naṉṉūl, sūtra* 7.

recorded in Sanskrit. Both types of deviation are already accounted for in the *Tolkāppiyam*, even though Maṟaiñāṉa does not refer to the second one explicitly. Considering the amount of unpacking this stanza required, his rhetoric attitude towards the complex textual operations at play in the *Civatarumōttaram* could be described as laconic, even (deceptively) humble. Perhaps the author was trying to keep the reader's focus on the elaborate narrative framework and the eulogistic stanzas but, more likely, he dropped subtle references to his textual strategies for the trained ear to catch.

Certainly, the commentator Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar was well aware of such references. In his explanation of this stanza, he made explicit the reference to the theory of *vaḻi nūl*, while also introducing further layers of complexity.[59] First of all, Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar read the use of *-um* in *tokai ceytum* as *eccavummai*, that is, as pointing to something else beside what is mentioned in the text. In our case, this is the full list of strategies of *vaḻi nūl* derivation besides the compendium (*tokuttal*)—including, I would stress, explanation or amplification (*virittal*). As we keep reading from the *Civatarumōttaram*, the reason why the commentator wanted to read this *-um* as a reference to the whole list will become clearer. Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar's *Civatarumōttaram* not only summarises its Sanskrit original, it also expands on it in different ways, including the incorporation of translations from other sources. Moreover, the commentator makes a direct reference to the crossing from one language into another (*moḻipeyarttal*), in this case from Sanskrit into Tamil, at work in the

[59] Commentary ad *Civatarumōttaram* 0.7: *e-tu. yām, mutaṇaṭu vīṟillāta niṉmalaṉ ākiya civaṉ uyirkaḷukku āṇava mutaliya pācaṅkaḷaiy aṟukkum poruṭṭu aruḷicceyta vētākama mutaliyav uṇmaiñāṉattaiy uṇarnta piḷḷaiyār maṇam poruntiya centāmarai pōṉṟa cīpātaṅkaḷai vaṇaṅki ñāṉācāriyaṉē — caruvāṉ mākkaḷukku maṟivuṇṭā mārkkattait aruḷicceyya vēṇṭum eṉṟu — akattiyaṉ viṇṇappañ ceyyap piḷḷaiyār aruḷicceyta civatarumōttaram eṉṉuñ civākamattaiy uṟṟuṇōkkit tokuttut tamiḻār collā niṉṟōm. e-ṟu. tokaiceytum eṉṟav ummaiyāl, vakuttum eṇa varuvitt' uraikkappaṭṭatu. akamākiya cintiya paruppatattaik kīḻp paṭuttukaiyāl akattiyaṉ eṉap peyar āyiṟṟu. cū. 'viṇaiyiṉīṅki viḷaṅkiyavaṟiviṉ, muṉaivaṉ kaṇṭatu mutaṇūlākum' eṇa muṉṉūlaip pārttu moḻipeyartt' uraikkaiyāl itu valiṉūl eṉap peyar peṟum. cū. 'vaḻiyeṇappaṭuva tataṇ vaḻittāku, matuvē tāṉumīriruvakaittē, tokuttal virittal tokaivirimoḻi peyarppeṉat takunūl yāppī riraṇṭeṇpa' eṇpataṇuḻ iḍtu tokai vakaiy eṉṟ' aṟika. ākkiyōṉ peyarai mutaṟkaṭ kūṟātu nūṟ peyaraik kūṟiyat' eṉ ṉutaliṟṟōv eṇiṉ; ellārum piramāṇamākav aṅkīkarikka vēṇṭukaiyāṉ eṉka. ākkiyōṉ peyar mutaliyaṉa varumāṟu; ākkiyōṉ peyar, maṟaiñāṉa campantanāyaṉār. vaḻi, civākamattiṉ vaḻi. ellai, tamiḻ vaḻaṅkum nilam. nūṟpeyar, mutaṇūlāṟ peṟṟāpeyar, yāppu, tokaivakai. nutaliya poruḷ, civatarumam civañaṇatāṉa mutalāyiṉa. keṭpōr, avarmāṇakkar. payaṉ, vīṭupeṟu eṉṟaṟika.*

Inverted commas are added by me to help identify the *Tolkāppiyam* verses we already discussed above.

Civatarumōttaram. Indeed, he seems to think that this is the main reason why the text is to be considered a *vaḻi nūl*—at once close to and yet different from its source, due to the different language. Only after referring to *moḻipeyarttal,* Vedajñāṉa II mentions the text should be understood as falling within the category of *tokai*/*tokuttal*, namely compendium or abridgement, the category Maṟaiñāṉa decided to cite explicitly in his stanza.

Thinking of translation as one way among many to compose a *vaḻi nūl* allowed the commentator, as it allows us, to embrace the dialectic between closeness and innovation with respect to its authoritative source that characterises the *Civatarumōttaram*. Observing its twelve chapters from a closer resolution, the many ways in which the translation departs from the Sanskrit text become evident, starting with the structure of the chapters themselves. First of all, unlike in the *Śivadharmottara*, each chapter begins in Tamil with some stanzas that bring the reader back to the narrative framework of the conversation between Skanda and Agastya. This is likely an attempt to make the Tamil version, whose contents are those of a theological and ritual manual for students of Caiva Cittāntam, closer to a Purāṇic narrative and its modes of appealing to and instructing the audience. We will return to the question of the genre of the text later. Firstly, we notice that the figures of Skanda/Murugan and especially Agastya are central to Tamil identity and imagination, and they tie together linguistic, cultural and religious belonging. A good example of the role of Agastya in all these aspects of Tamil imagination is the last stanza of chapter two:

> He [Śiva] is difficult to know even for Viṣṇu and Brahmā; he is the ocean of compassion who drank the dark poison first, so as to give ambrosia to the gods; he is the supreme one; he has a waist [decorated] with snakes and bones; he is the one who loves us as [we, his devotees] join [him]—we praise the words/language of the sage of the Potikai mountain [i.e., Agastya] in order to merge with [his] clinking anklets.
>
> *ariy ayaṉ aṟitaṟk' ariyaṉaiy amararkk' amirt' īyak*
> *karukiya kaṭu muṟ parukiya karuṇaik kaṭalāṉaip*
> *paramaṉaiy arav' akk' araiyaṉai viravap parivāṉaip*
> *poru kaḻal puṇarap potimalai muṉi coṟ pukalvāmē* (2.83)

Here Maṟaiñāṉa praises the language (*col*) of Agastya, that is Tamil, since the sage is traditionally known as the first grammarian of this language, which he learnt from Śiva himself. Maṟaiñāṉa does so in order to 'join the feet of Śiva,' i.e., to attain liberation. In doing so, he ties inextricably this god to the Tamil language, a connection whose cultural, social and political implications were already strong in the sixteenth century but played out at their fullest in

the Tamil identity politics of the nineteenth century.[60] This stanza introduces us to another element of innovation in the *Civatarumōttaram*, namely the presence of verses of praise (*tuti*, Skr. *stuti*) in honour of Śiva at the end of each chapter. These are usually more complex, metrically longer stanzas that include more recherché rhythm and figuration compared to the stanzas in the main body of the chapters. Both innovations—the emphasis on the Purāṇic narrative and the use of *stuti*—point to an attempt by Maṟaiñāṉa to attract and persuade his listeners by using literary forms that were popular at this time. They appealed to the sphere of devotion and imagination, and were especially suited to the instruction of the devotees, in a way strongly reminiscent of the didactic role of Appayya Dīkṣita's *stotra*s discussed by Yigal Bronner.[61]

Besides these two structural innovations, each chapter makes wildly different choices with regard to how to adapt the original Sanskrit content, what to include, what to exclude, and especially what to add. Chapter two, for instance, remains close to the original. Most changes are omissions, in line with the logic of *tokuttal*, but overall the Tamil version strives to convey almost the same content as the Sanskrit text. Chapter three, on the other hand, is much shorter than the original, probably because most of the elements that made it important in the seventh century—such as the reuse of the *Bhagavadgītā* in a Śaiva context and the interaction with Buddhist ideas—were not as important to our sixteenth-century author.[62] Other chapters are considerably longer and more elaborated, often because Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar incorporated content he drew from different texts of the Tamil and Sanskrit tradition. For instance, the first 74 verses of chapter ten depart drastically from the Sanskrit, and the commentator points out how Maṟaiñāṉa added new material from the seminal text of Caiva Cittāntam, Meykaṇṭa Tēvar's *Civañāṉapōtam*.[63] Similarly, chapter eleven translates and incorporates into the text large sections of the twelfth-century *Prāyaścittasamuccaya,* Trilocanaśiva's treatise on expiation rites.[64] This text and the

[60] The importance of Neo-Śaivism in the articulation of non-Brahmin Tamil nationalism has been put forward in the most comprehensive way in Vaithees 2015.

[61] Bronner 2007 shows the public and didactic dimension of Appayya's *stotra*s, which 'attempt to reach out to some community of listeners and instruct them on a variety of topics: from purāṇas to speech ornaments to piety and surrender' (2007, 127).

[62]On chapter three of the *Śivadharmottara*, see De Simini forth.b

[63] This is clearly stated in the comment ad 10.74: *innūlil vārāta poruḷkaḷ ellām virittuk kūṟiyatu maṟṟum virinta tamiḻ nūlkaḷilum ākamaṅkaḷiluṅ kaṇṭu virittuk kūṟiyat eṉak koḷka*. K. Nachimuthu was the first to notice this passage.

[64] Such extensive borrowings from Trilocanaśiva's *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* became evident during our group readings of chapter eleven of the *Civatarumōttaram*. Since

topics it covers must have been important to Maṟaiñāṉa, considering that one of his students embarked on a translation of the whole *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* into Tamil.[65] So, in chapter ten and eleven of the *Civatarumōttaram*, the main operation at play is *virittu*—the process of enlarging, explaining, expanding—rather than abridgment or *tokuttal*. These differences are likely the reason why the commentator found it important to read the *-um* in stanza seven of the *pāyiram* as implying all possible types of *vaḻi nūl* formation. Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar abridged as well as expanded upon the Sanskrit, often turning to other works whose contents were important in sixteenth-century South India, so to offer to his readers an up-to-date compendium of the theological and ritual knowledge required of a Caiva Cittāntam follower.

Following such compendium logic, the text contains allusions to other Tamil texts besides the borrowings from Caiva Cittāntam scriptures such as the *Civañāṉapōtam*. Unsurprisingly, we find among these the poems of the *Tēvāram.* These hymns, beautiful songs set to music and still performed by professional *ōtuvar*s in Tamil temples today, do not expound any systematic theology but rather express multi-layered devotion to Śiva, tying it to specific sites in the Tamil land. They had been integrated into the world of Caiva Cittāntam by the early teachers of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, chiefly Umāpati, but they also remain a powerful expression of devotion aimed at direct communication with god.[66] Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar worshipped the poet-saints who composed the hymns. He loved especially Karaikkāl Ammayār, perhaps because she is believed to have witnessed Śiva's dance, and the form of Śiva most venerated in Chidambaram is the Naṭarāja.[67] The influence of the *Tēvāram* is particularly strong in the stanzas where

R. Sathyanarayanan edited the *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* in 2015 along with Dominic Goodall, the two of them were particularly equipped to catch such references.

[65] On the *Pirāyaccittacamuccayam*, the independent Tamil translation of the *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*, see fn. 27 above.

[66] In the words of Pechilis Prentiss (1999, 118), especially Umāpati, 'in his effort to create an authentic Tamil lineage for Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy, undertook several organizational and interpretive works with respect to the *nāyaṉmār* [i.e., the saint-poets who composed the hymns of the *Tēvāram*].' Chiefly, he 'compiled the first anthology of the *mūvar*'s hymns, which he keyed to foundational philosophical categories explored in one of his own canonical works.'

[67] Karaikkāl Ammayār is the first in the list of the *nāyaṉmār*s cited in the *pāyiram* of the *Civatarumōttaram* (0.4): *ālavaṇatt' amala ṉaṭaṅ kaṇṭ' uvanta kāraikkāl ammai taṉṉaip - pāl arunti�yumai mulaiyiṟ patikavitam pala pakarnta pālaṉ ṟaṉṉaic - cūlaiyiṉaic civaṉ aruḷāṟ ṟuṭaittāṉait taṭutt' āṇṭāṉ ṟoḷaṉ ṟaṉṉai - mālaimaṇivācakaṉai maṟṟaiy aṭiyaraiyum aṭi vaṇaṅkuvāme*. She also appears in the other works by Maṟaiñāṉa, such as *Caivacamayaneṟi* 0.9: *nammaṭika ṇāṭakattai ñāṉaviḻi yāṟṟiḻaikku - mammaitirup pātaniṉaip pām*.

Maṟaiñāṉa lingers on Śiva's attributes, and some of his peculiar expressions can only be understood by referring to these hymns. This is the case of *Civatarumōttaram* 1.29, for instance, where Śiva is described as wearing on his broad and beautiful chest a turtle along with the bones of dead men (*iṟantavar eṉpōṭ' āmaiy īṇṭ' eḻiṉ mārpiṟ pūṇṭu*). The turtle is an uncommon ornament for Śiva. While the commentator explained the mythology behind this choice, the image would have been immediately familiar to anyone who had previously heard the second song of *Tirumuṟai* 2.85 where bones, hog's tusks and a turtle are said to shine on Śiva's chest (*eṉpoṭu kompoṭ' āmaiy ivai mārp' ilaṅka*).[68] In layering this reference within the verse, Maṟaiñāṉa was tying his theological and ritual teachings to a world of Śaiva devotion in which his listeners likely participated.

Another important piece that composes the fabric of Maṟaiñāṉa's poem is the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*. This ethical poem was very popular, and had already been commented upon several times by the sixteenth century. Maṟaiñāṉa must have admired the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, and perhaps thought it useful in the articulation of Śaiva ethical life in the Tamil country, since he wrote his entire *Caivacamayaneṟi* in the type of *veṇpā* metre that has come to be identified as *kuṟaḷ veṇpā*. Quotations of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* are also scattered throughout the *Civatarumōttaram*, often in stanzas with a strong rhetorical flavour, written to address and appeal directly to the audience. This is the case of the following stanza, with no direct parallel in Sanskrit:

> Those who are in harmony with the highest one, difficult to attain, will not consent to [performing] action (*karumam*). If they do, they will not be close to the essence greater than action. Who would choose to get unripe fruits and reject the rich fruits that have fallen in their hands? Who would be happy with faulty stones and bypass the shining gems of the world?
>
> *eytaṛk' ariya paramparaṇaiy icaintār karumatt' icaiyārkaḷ,*
> *ceyyiṟ karumañ ciṟantaporuḷ ceṟintār allar, ceḻuṅkaṇi taṅ*
> *kaiyiṟ pukaluṅ kaḷaintav alakkāyaik kavarak karutiṇar ār?*
> *vaiyatt' oḷikoṇ maṇiy akaṟṟi vaḻuvāñ cilai yār makiḻvārē?* (3.15)

The rhetorical appeal of this verse is emphasised both by the use of direct questions, which are quite common in Tamil, and by the clear reference to verse 100 of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*. The latter reads 'saying harsh words, when sweet ones are available, is like picking a raw fruit, while a ripe one is at hand' (*iṉiya uḷavāka iṉṉāta kūṟal kaṇi - iruppak kāykavarn taṟṟu*). Once again,

[68] T. Rajarethinam noticed this important reference during one of our Śivadharma Project readings.

the image in this stanza would have been immediately familiar to anyone who had heard, and likely memorised, this *kuṟaḷ* before.

Summing up, Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar's translation oscillates between condensing and expanding upon the original Sanskrit text in multiple directions, and in so doing the *Civatarumōttaram* draws the contours of the theological, poetical and ethical road map of a Caiva Cittāntam follower of his time and place. What keeps together such a complex textual architecture are the language and metre of the poem. The twelve chapters of the *Civatarumōttaram*, although covering a great variety of topics, consistently adopt a register of Tamil characterized by an articulated yet relatively explicit syntax and morphology, and often cryptic choices of imagery and vocabulary. We will begin the next section on readership by exploring the implications of this choice of register. Here I wish to focus on poetic features, especially metre, as the unifying thread running through the text. The *Civatarumōttaram* is entirely in verse, and it consistently employs the subtype of verse (*pāviṉam*) called *viruttam*. This form consists of lines of different length organised in stanzas of four lines. It became popular in the medieval and early modern period, especially in connection with translation from Sanskrit. The Tamil versions of Sanskrit Kāvya and Purāṇa—*kāppiyam* or *ceyyuḷ* and *purāṇam*—mostly employ this stanzaic metre, probably because it can render the narrative flavour of Pūraṇic *śloka* as well as the complex metres used in Kāvya, even though *viruttam* itself is more elaborate than *śloka* and requires a higher level of poetic mastery on the part of the author. The poet most often associated with this verse form is Kampaṉ (twelfth to thirteenth century), whose *Kamparāmayaṇam* exploits the poetic potential of *viruttam* to the fullest. In his metrical analysis of this text, K.V. Dakshayani highlights Kambaṉ's exceptional ability to move from one type of *viruttam* to the other following the plot and the mood of the story.[69]

Maṟaiñāṉa's translation is far from the refinement and complexity of *Kamparāmayaṇam*, but the author nicely employs different types of *viruttam,* along with a few other stanzaic metres, to match the content he aims to convey. The mythological framework is mostly narrated through shorter, simpler stanzas such as *kali viruttam*, which are also used to express commonplace Caiva Cittāntam concepts scattered throughout the chapters.[70]

[69] The different types of *viruttam* in *Kamparāmayaṇam* and the context in which they are used are specifically listed in Dakshayani 1979, 117–150.

[70] *Civatarumōttaram* 2.7, which is part of the narrative framework, and *Civatarumōttaram* 2.12, illustrating the Caiva Cittāntam *topos* of Śiva standing inside the teacher to cut the bondages of the souls, are good examples of the usages of simpler varieties of *viruttam*.

By contrast, the verses of praise at the end of each chapter (verses that have no equivalent in the Sanskrit) are written in the most complex types of *viruttam*, often made of seven- or eight-metreme (*cīr*) lines, such as the two following verses:

> You are (*āyavaṉ*) like the root of precious life! Your mouth (*vāyavaṉ*) recites the Vedas! You are the true meaning (*caṟporuḷ*) sought after by ascetics! You are the true essence (*caṟporuḷ*) beyond which there is nothing! You are perfect and have no comparison (*poru iliyē*)! Your bow (*viliyē*) fought when the [three] cities were destroyed! You inhabit a place (*iṭattiṉaṉēy*) that no one can fathom! You have eaten the poison (*viṭattiṉaṉē*)! (80) You have concealed (*karattaṉ*) in your matted locks the Gaṅgā herself! You are the five-syllable [mantra] (*añcu-akkarattaṉ*) that makes sin go away! Your sharp arrow (*vāḷi*) made the three cities perish! At that time, you took (*āḷi*) the three persons who cherished [you] [i.e., Nandi, Mahākāla and Bāṇāsura] as your relatives![71] O hero (*tīraṉ*) who slaughtered a lion![72] O shore (*tīraṉ*) on which to climb [to be liberated] from the ocean of rebirth! May you indeed cut off (*aṟukka*) the stain (*mācai*) of Impurity, in order to cut off (*aṟukka*) the attachments (*ācai*) that are in the body. (81)

[71] During a Śivadharma group reading some of us pointed out that the three figures who revered Śiva and became part of his family could be Nandi, Mahākāla and Caṇḍeśvara, since those three became incorporated into the entourage of *gaṇa*s in Saiddhāntika worship, along with other members of Śiva's Purāṇic family (Umā, Skanda, Gaṇeśa, Vṛṣabha). The commentator, on the other hand, lists Vāṇāsuraṉ as the third, somewhat unrelated figure along with Nandi and Mākāḷar. I think we should take this second half of the second line as going closely with the preceding half and read *aṅke* to mean at the time of the destruction of Tripura; *matitta mūvaraiy aṅk' uṟav āḷiyē* then refers to the three *asura*s who did not succumb to the wily teachings of Māl (Viṣṇu) and were graced by Śiva on that occasion. Two among them, Nandi and Mākāḷar, were appointed as guards of Kayilai, while the name of the third one is unknown to me. The *Tēvāram* corpus contains many references to this myth, and makes explicit references to the fact that the *asura*s were three, even though Śiva only took two as his gatekeepers: *mūvār purāṅkaḷ eritta aṉṟu mūvarkku aruḷ ceytār* (Campantar, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, *patikam* 1:69, 1)]; *mū veyil ceṟṟa ñāṉṟu uynta mūvaril iruvar niṇtirukkōyiṉil vāyilkāvalāḷar eṉṟu ēviyapiṉṉai* (Cuntarar, Tiruppuṉkūr, *patikam* 7: 55, 8)]; *aṭinilai mēl, nanti mākāḷar kaṭai kaḷinta pōḷttattu* (*Tirukkayilāya ñāṉa ulā*, 21–22); *uyyavallār oru mūvaraik kāvalkoṇṭu eyyavallāṉukkē untīpaṟa* (*Tiruvacakam*, *Tiruvuntiyār*, 4).

[72] The reference to the lion is uncommon, but K. Nachimuthu suggested that that it may belong to a version of the Devadāruvana myth in which the sages of the Devadāruvana perform some *abhicāruka* rite that brings forth a lion to frighten Śiva. The commentary too alludes to this, when describing the lion as having appeared through the black magic of the sages (*iruṭikaḷāpicārattiṟ ṟōṉṟiya ciṅkattai*).

ār uyir vēr eṉav āyavaṉēy āraṇam ōtiya vāyavaṉē
cāraṇar nāṭiya caṟporuḷē taṉaiy oḻint' iṉmaiya caṟporuḷē
pūraṇaṉ ākip poruviliyē puram avai māḷap poruviliyē
yārum eṇṇātav iṭattiṉaṉēy aruntiyav āla viṭattiṉaṉē. (2.80)

kaṅkai taṉṉaic caṭaiyiṟ karattaṉē karicu pōkkiṭum añc'akkarattaṉē
maṅka muppurañ ceyta vaivāḷiyē matitta mūvaraiy aṅk' uṟav āḷiyē
ciṅkan taṉṉaiy urittiṭun tīraṉē ceṉaṉa cākaratt' ēṟṟiṭun tīraṉēy
aṅkan taṉṉiṉum ācaiy aṟukkavēy ammav āṇava mācaiy aṟukkavē. (2.81)

This first verse is a six-metreme *viruttam* (*aṟucīrkkaḻineṭilāciriya viruttam*), immediately followed by another complex verse, *kattalaikaḻippā,* both containing a list of invocations to Śiva. The emphatic *ē* marking the locatives also gives a very catchy rhythm to both stanzas, layering the metre with another musical pattern (*cantam*). Each line contains two attributes built upon a *maṭakku* or *yamaka*, a figure of speech implying two homophonous segments of texts that have nevertheless different meanings. This is sometimes achieved through the polysemy of the words chosen, and sometimes by alternative strategies of segmentation made possible by *sandhi*. In my translation, I have shown this by including the different words resulting from the *sandhi* split in italics between parentheses. The play on words is particularly intense in the last line of the second stanza, where we have to split the text so that the two identical metremes *mācai* and *mācai* give the two words *mācai* and *ācai*. We also need to understand the two identical metremes, and morphologically indistinguishable forms *aṟukka* and *aṟukka* as being two different verbal tenses, infinitive and optative. On top of these formal niceties, stanza 81 also contains the reference to the story of the three *asura*s escaping from the destruction of Tripura, well-known through the songs of the *Tēvāram*. Verses such as this one, display in a condensed, intensified mode the complex layering of Caiva Cittāntam theology, Tamil belles-lettres, Śaiva mythology and Tamil devotion typical of the poem, are placed at the end of chapters to appeal to listeners at multiple levels, from the intellectual to the emotional to the imaginative.

In conclusion, a careful use of the language of poetry characterises the entire *Civatarumōttaram*, whose complexity increases and decreases in accordance with the content its different parts are meant to convey. What does Maṟaiñāṉa's poetic awareness reveal about the genre to which the *Civatarumōttaram* belong? The literary qualities of the poem are pronounced, as also noticed by the anonymous scribe of a manuscript, hosted nowadays in Paris, who labelled the text in a colophon 'the poem *Civatarumōttaram*,' *civatarumōttiramākāvyam.* And yet, besides the metre our text does not fulfil the requirements of a Tamil 'great/epic poem' (*peruṅkāppiyam*) with

respect to content organisation and narrative development. The lack of a narrative plot poses that main difficulty for classifying the *Civatarumōttaram,* and perhaps the reason beyond Maṟaiñāṉa's choice to emphasise the narrative framework. In this way, his poem resembles a *purāṇam*, even though Purāṇas in Tamil usually tell the story of either a place or a caste. Indeed, this is how Raghavan thought of the *Civatarumōttaram* in the twentieth century, when he included the poem in a list of Purāṇas translated from Sanskrit into Tamil. The difficulty in classifying the *Civatarumōttaram,* though, points to an important development precisely at this time. Under the influence of Sanskrit ideas of Kāvya and the common practice of translating Sanskrit Kāvyas and Purāṇas into Tamil, the narrative genres of *kāppiyam* and *purāṇam*—both characterised by the prevalent use of *viruttam*—developed in Tamil to acquire strong poetic *and* didactic connotations.[73] Maṟaiñāṉa attempted to mould the *Śivadharmottara*, a śāstric text

[73] This statement reflects my current understanding of a complex issue. In a pioneering essay, Anne Monius has discussed the relationship between narrative poetry and ethics in the Sanskrit tradition, claiming that 'far from merely entertaining, in other words, poetic narrative is quite ubiquitously assumed to "instruct" in what are known as the "four aims of human life" (*puruṣārtha*): ethics, material well-being, love, and eventual liberation from bodily rebirth and redeath' (Monius 2015, here 152). In a recent paper (2020) E. Annamalai explored how the Sanskrit-derived idea of the *puruṣārtha*s as the subject matter of literature (instead of traditional *akam* and *puṟam*) played a crucial role in creating a relationship between the esthetic and the didactic aim in Tamil literature. I would argue that the twelfth-century translation of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyadarśa,* the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram,* which popularised the theory of the subject-matter of *kāppiyam* as coinciding with the four *puruṣārtha*s, represents an important step in strengthening this link and tightening it to specific genres. I discuss this in my dissertation, in relationship with the Christian use of *kāppiyam* and minor narrative genres such as *ammāṉai* for literary as well as didactic purpose (Trento 2020, 189–193). As for *purāṇam*—a genre closely connected with *kāppiyam* in Tamil—Jay Ramesh has argued in his dissertation (2020) for the unique blending of the poetic and didactic dimensions in Tamil *tālappurāṇam* (=*sthalapurāṇa*). Indeed, only by keeping both these two aspects in mind one can appreciate the beautifully crafted verse of the *Taṇikaippurāṇam* where Vaḷḷi, portrayed by poet Kacciyappa Muṉivar as the heroine of an *akam* sequence, compares her love for Murukaṉ to union with Śiva adopting Caiva Cittāntam terminology (Shulman 1980, 281–82). As for the modes of fruition of such texts in a Śaiva context, Fisher's use of the concept of the 'public sphere' to explain the role of the *Tiruvilaiyāṭarpurāṇam* in sixteenth-century Madurai seems an attempt at answering this question (Fisher 2017, especially 137–182). Yet much remains to be done in this area, and understanding the type of education and social life connected with *maṭam*s seems to me a key direction for understanding how the entanglement of literature and religious instruction played out in the social life of this time.

with little to no poetic relevance which had acquired quasi-scriptural status within the Śaivasiddhānta, into one such didactic poem that would instruct people on Caiva Cittāntam ethics and rituals.[74] His translation seems to be a conscious, bold experimentation in bridging and tying together *śāstra* and poetry, didacticism and devotion.

3. *Readers of the Civatarumōttaram*

In the previous pages, we have encountered Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar and lingered on the ideas and strategies of translation emerging from his poem, the *Civatarumōttaram*. It is now time to ask: for whom did he write? And who read his poem in the sixteenth century? The short answer is that the poem had a didactic purpose, and likely was read as a sort of theological and ritual textbook in the context of Caiva Cittāntam monastic culture in the Kaveri region from the sixteenth century onwards. Moreover, it was written in a style that Tamil students could enjoy, and the poetic and devotional layers within the *Civatarumōttaram* are integral to Maṟaiñāṉa's project. This picture already emerges from the schematic analysis at the very end of Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar's comment ad *Civatarumōttaram* 0.7 discussed above. There, the commentator claims that the *Civatarumōttaram* is meant to circulate in the land where Tamil is in use (*ellai, tamiḻ vaḻaṅkum nilam*), that its audience are Maṟaiñāṉa's students (*keṭpōr, avar māṇakkar*), and its purpose is the attainment of liberation (*ṗayaṉ, vīṭupeṟu*).[75]

For the long answer, let us return to the issue of language and register upon which we touched in the previous section. As we established, a good knowledge of literary Tamil, Caiva Cittāntam theology, Śaiva mythology, and Sanskrit were all prerequisites to understanding the *Civatarumōttaram*. The original *Śivadharmottara* was written in 'undemanding Sanskrit that could be expected to be readily understood by a larger public.'[76] On the contrary, the Tamil translation employs the language of poetry, even though the text is admittedly not as extreme as Tamil poems of the same period can be.[77] Readers did not need to be full-fledged *pulavar*s, but at least average students

[74] Indeed, the *Śivadharmottara* contains references to itself as a *śāstra* and an *āgama*, but never a Purāṇa (let alone a Kāvya). See De Simini 2016a, 47–49. However, later tradition had considered the *Śivadharma* to be an Upapurāṇa (De Simini 2016a, 61), just as we find references to the *Śivadharmottara* as an *upabheda* in later Śaivasiddhānta scriptures.

[75] See fn. 59 for the full text of the commentary.

[76] Sanderson 2012-13, 4.

[77] Examples of the extremely complex poetry from this period are analysed in Shulman 2016, 195–248 and Ebeling 2010, 56–62.

of Tamil literature familiar with the literary register, and able to catch the occasional *Tirukkuṟaḷ* or *Tēvāram* reference. This likely excluded many Tamil speakers of that time, and shows how the *Civatarumōttaram* was not meant to directly reach the common devotees. It had to be mediated and explained to them by teachers, very much like its Sanskrit counterpart. The change of language is then perhaps indicative of a new group claiming the role of mediators for themselves, namely Caiva Cittāntam teachers aiming to replace Smārta Śaiva Brahmins who could better lay claim to the Sanskrit text. Yet the question of caste is thorny, and acquired many layers over the centuries.[78] From the nineteenth century onwards, Caiva Cittāntam and Tamil Śaivism more in general were strongly associated with Tamil castes such as *veḷāḷa*s, and acquired an anti-Brahmanical flavour, yet there is no clear evidence to suggest that Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar and his students were not Brahmins.[79]

[78] The only study in English of the development, from the sixteenth century onwards, of several Caiva monastic establishments, especially in the Kaveri delta region, staffed by elite non-Brahmanical castes (*vēḷālār*s), remains Koppedrayer 1990. On the use of the category of *vēḷālār* in the work of Maṟaimalai Aṭikaḷ, see Raman 2009.

[79] Auṇācalam (1976/2005, 280) identifies Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar as a *vēḷāḷa*. Indeed, both the intellectual milieu to which he belonged (see Aruṇācalam 1976/2005, 187–189) and the titles given to him seem to point in that direction, but his own *paramparā* remains mostly obscure. Among his titles, *paṇṭāram* is particularly relevant. With time, this title has come to indicate the member of an *atīṉam* (a non-Brahmanical monastic institution, as mentioned in the footnote above), and in that context we even see the development of a literature by such members called *paṇṭāra cāttiraṅkaḷ* (see Klöber 2017, 217 fn. 10). Probably connected to this use is the adoption of the title *paṇṭāram* by Jesuit missionaries who, at least from 1646 onward, fashioned themselves as *paṇṭāra cāmikaḷ* in an attempt to go beyond the Brahmanical model of mission inaugurated in 1606 by Roberto de Nobili (Chakravarti 2018, especially 256–257). Yet, Maṟaiñāṉa was not part of a non-Brahmanical *atīṉam*, but of a generic *maṭam*, and his life spanned a period immediately preceding such developments. Looking at the earlier history of the term, then, G. Vijayvenugopal writes the following: 'This inscription of Pāṇṭya Jaṭāvallabha issued in his third regnal year (PI 484; corresponding to 1311 A.D.) states that the Nāṭuṭai Nāyakappēriḷamaiyār (the cultivators of this temple's lands) have made an agreement with the *Camayapaṇṭārattār* (Treasury Officials/ Officials of the religious sect?) stating that they will also take out the image of Campanta-p-perumāḷ Nāyaṉār (Tiruñāṉacampantar, one of the *Tēvāram* trio) [...] When such a procession is carried out, the inscription says, eight persons will carry the presiding deity and two persons will sing hymns, which means altogether ten, and one person will carry the holy lamp. What is interesting here is that a new group of people, viz. *Camayapaṇṭārattār*, are mentioned as being in charge of the temple. They probably belong to a Śaiva sect which is non-brahminical. Does this mean that the hold of the brahmins of Tirunaḷḷāṟu over this temple is slowly transferred to a non-brāhmin sect?' (Vijayavenugopal 2010, cxxxi; the emphasis is mine, and I thank Emmanuel Francis for this reference). Taken together, all these uses of *paṇṭāram* seem to indicate a non-Brahmanical

Still, the *Civatarumōttaram* added a certain familiarity to Tamil poetry as a new requirement for those who wanted to access Śaiva knowledge, and this was not among the fields of expertise to which Brahmins in South India laid exclusive claim. Perhaps more crucially, rather than removing an obstacle to the fruition of the content of the text—that is Sanskrit—Maṟaiñāṉa's translation into literary Tamil refocused the expertise required of its readers. He transformed the interpretative barriers of the text without lowering them, so that in the sixteenth century the cultivation of a learned yet vernacular literate pleasure became part of the experience of reading the *Civatarumōttaram*, in a way that is coherent with its classification as *kāppiyam* that we encountered above.[80]

Indeed, the text explicitly argues for literary or poetical Tamil, that is *cen tamiḻ,* as a proper language of Śaiva religious instruction:[81]

> He, [the author of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*], did not compose in Tamil poetry anything beyond [the three chapters] ending with the one on love. They, [the Śaiva poet-saints *nāyaṉmar*s], investigated the words of the one without end and without beginning, and they made verse in fine Tamil with deep meaning, to cut off this age of fatal Kali, so that good [people] may obtain salvation.
>
> *centamiḻiṉ iṉpam iṟuvāy alatu ceppār*
> *antam iliy ātiyum ilāṉ uraiyaiy āyntār*
> *centamiḻiṉuṅ kevuṭamākav urai ceytār*
> *inta yuka kālakaliy īṭ' aṟa nal vīṭum.* (10.123)

We find in this stanza the mainstays of Maṟaiñāṉa's Tamil literary universe, the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and the devotional corpus of the *Tēvāram*. The three books of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* told of *dharma* (*aṟam*), *artha* (*poruḷ*) and *kāma* (*iṉpam*), while the saint-poets who composed the songs of the *Tēvāram* and the authors of the *Meykaṇṭacāttiraṅkaḷ* expressed the words of god in Tamil. Considering how both the aims of men, the *puruṣārtha*s, and the scriptures, the Vedas and the Śaiva Āgamas, are integral parts of the Sanskrit cultural world, this stanza is almost a manifesto of the so-called 'vernacular millen-

sphere, but still, the best way to solve the puzzle concerning Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar's caste is probably to study more in detail the lineage emerging from the works of his nephew Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar/Vedajñāna II.

[80] This is coherent with the development of Tamil at this time into a 'cosmopolitan vernacular,' according to Pollock's in-depth analysis in the second part of his work (2006), in which he theorises the notion of a 'vernacular millennium.'

[81] I thank K. Nachimuthu for bringing this verse (*Civatarumōttaram* 10.123) to my attention.

nium.' From the perspective of sixteenth-century Chidambaram, all aspects of life could be discussed in Sanskrit as well as in Tamil. But what type of Tamil? For our purposes, what is most remarkable in the verse is the combination of *centamiḻ* and *vīṭu*, Tamil poetry and salvation.

Besides a passable knowledge of literary Tamil, reading the *Civatarumōttaram* also demanded familiarity with the theological, ritual, iconographical and cultural world of sixteenth-century Caiva Cittāntam. This was a composite universe where *Tēvāram* songs, Tamil *cāttiraṅkaḷ* and Sanskrit Āgamas, along with elaborate stories often connected to religious sites in the Tamil country and retold in local *purāṇam*s and *māhātmya*s, coexisted.[82] Maṟaiñāṉa's text is brimming with references to this universe that could make the text rather obscure to someone not initiated in that tradition. And indeed, the text was not aimed at the general public, but rather to students who had been initiated into the Caiva Cittāntam and had reached the right stage of intellectual and spiritual development to be able to grasp its message. Granted, this was an easily accessible and fast-growing community in the sixteenth century, but its boundaries were nevertheless clearly drawn.

Even when the text did travel outside this community, we find it cited by Vīraśaiva authors, a Śaiva group that closely coexisted with Caiva Cittāntam, sharing many of its spaces and premises. The initiatory logic of the poem emerges especially from the recurrent use of terms such as *paruvam,* 'stage, season, ripeness' and *pakkuvar*, 'people whose [condition or *mala*] has ripened.' In the second chapter of the *Civatarumōttaram,* Maṟaiñāṉa openly states that teachers should only transmit their knowledge to students who have reached the right stage, and can therefore receive it:

> After having ascertained that [their (i.e., the students')] condition (*pāvakam* > *bhāva*) has ripened to the right stage (*paruva muṟṟiya*), [he] should compassionately teach [them] the truth which is difficult to be taught. [He] should speak either in the language that comes and mingles in [their] mouth (*vāy*) or also in Sanskrit, which is difficult [and is] for capable men. (4) [...] The teacher of those who have reached the right stage (*paruvamuṟṟavar*) will gain the eight qualities that belong to the Higher one. The teacher of those who have not reached the right stage will settle into hell for a long time indeed. (6)
>
> *paruva muṟṟiya pāvakam ōrntupiṉ,*
> *urukiy ōtukav ōtarum uṇmaiyai*

[82] Precisely in the *pāyiram* of his *purāṇam* on Tiruvārūr, the *Kamalālayacciṟappu*, Maṟaiñāṉa extols scholars of Tamil and of Sanskrit at the same time (see the verse in Aruṇācalam 1975/2005, 206).

maruvi vāy varu pāṭaiyiṉ vallavarkk'
ariyav āriyattāṉum aṟaikavē. (2.4)

[...]

paruvam uṟṟavar pāl upatēcikaṉ
paramaṇukk'uḷav eṇ kuṇam paṟṟuvaṉ,
paruvam aṟṟavar pāl upatēcikaṉ
narakiṭaip paṭivā ṉeṭu nāḷ arō. (2.6)

These stanzas follow the Sanskrit original in giving a definition of the good teacher, and in ascribing to him the eight *guṇas* that are usually the fruits of yogic practice but appear in the Sanskrit as well as in the Tamil to be properties of Śiva.[83] Note that stanza five includes both Tamil and Sanskrit as mediums of instruction, closely reflecting the bilingual reality of Caiva Cittāntam. Sanskrit is characterised as difficult and meant for capable men (*vallavarkku*), or perhaps more simply for those who knew it, thus implicitly allowing the option for students of Caiva Cittāntam to only know Tamil. The commentator at this point further explains the necessity for the teacher to ascertain the appropriate stage of the student by defining the Śaiva teachings as 'the scriptures [containing] the knowledge [about Śiva] that should not be told to those [whose *mala*] has not ripened' (*apakkuvarkkuc collappaṭāta ñāṉacāttirattai*). In doing so he mobilises the term *a-pakkuvar,* the antonym of *pakkuvar*, which also explicitly appears in the poem elsewhere (see 2.3). This term, coming from the Sanskrit *pakva* and indicating ripening and full development, is connected with the idea of *malaparipāka* in Śaivasiddhānta. The latter indicates the ripening of a soul's innate impurity (*mala*), a condition which according to some Śaivasiddhāntins was necessary for the descent of Śiva's salvific power.[84] Both *paruvam* and *pakkuvar* are therefore keywords implying that the right student as envisioned in the *Civatarumōttaram* had embarked upon the journey of liberation that begins with Caiva Cittāntam initiation.

The setting for the transmission of knowledge from the teacher to such initiated students is that of a classroom. This emerges from another passage in chapter two on the duty of the teacher, where the Tamil version differs quite drastically from the Sanskrit one. This chapter is usually very close to its source, but this particular adaptation must have felt necessary to update the discussion to match the historical context in which Maṟaiñāṉa Cam-

[83] Cf. *Śivadharmottara* 2.5–6. These eight qualities are ascribed to Śiva also in several *Tēvāram* hymns, quoted at length by the commentator.

[84] For a discussion of *malaparipāka* in Śaivasiddhānta, see Goodall 1998, xxxiii–xxxv, especially fn. 80.

pantar was teaching and writing. In order to understand this choice, and get a better sense of the translation strategies we discussed above, it is worth reading both the Sanskrit and the Tamil version of this passage. Let us begin with the description of the teacher in the *Śivadharmottara*:[85]

> The teacher who completely restores, as before, the correctness (*saṃskāra*, see 2.11) of the Śaiva knowledge, which has been damaged due to carelessness over the course of time and which has been wrongly written, with too little or too many syllables, by people who were confused; Whose readings have been erroneously learned; which has been spoiled by stupid people, and has been corrected by masters who are blinded by being proud in their knowledge; Which, with respect to the sense, is endowed with meaningless statements and contains repetitions, which contains internal contradictions [or is] in contradiction with its own theses; Which has been severely damaged with respect to the metrics, and which lacks words and meanings; [the teacher who properly restores the former correctness of this knowledge of Śiva], endowed here and there with these and other defects, is the knower of the meaning of the Śaiva scriptures, a sage, the supreme lord of knowledge.
>
> *śivajñānasya kālena vinaṣṭasya pramādataḥ | ūnātiriktavarṇasya mūḍhair durlikhitasya ca* || 7 || *pramādādhītapāṭhasya nāśitasyālpabuddhibhiḥ | jñānāvalepamānāndhair ācāryaiḥ śodhitasya ca* || 8 || *vyarthaiḥ padair upetasya punaruktasya cārthataḥ | pūrvottaraviruddhasya svasiddhāntavirodhinaḥ* || 9 || *chandasātīvanaṣṭasya śabdārtharahitasya ca | ityevamādibhir doṣair upetasya kva cit kva cit* || 10 || *yaḥ karoti punaḥ samyak saṃskāraṃ pūrvavad guruḥ | śivatantrārthavid dhīmān sa vidyāparameśvaraḥ* || 11 ||

This passage, focusing on issues of manuscript transmission and scribal errors, is transformed by Maṟaiñāṉa into the lively description of a classroom setting, where students unfit to receive the teaching—the unripe ones (*apakkuvar*)—are to be rejected by the teacher, in lieu of the errors of textual transmission mentioned in the Sanskrit.[86] These are the corresponding stanzas of the *Civatarumōttaram*:

> Those who speak to hinder [other] students, those who argue for the sake of argument, those who forget the wordings [of the scriptures], those who abandon the learning of the Vedas and so on, and those who are considered to be lowly by caste; (7) those who were born in a better caste compared to him (i.e., the teacher in v. 6), those who are not known to have such and

[85] I take both the Sanskrit text and the translation from De Simini 2016a, 393 and 374–375 respectively.

[86] For a discussion of this passage in the *Śivadharmottara* and several parallel texts, see De Simini 2016a, 128–140.

> such nature (i.e., whose caste is unknown), those who do not grasp correctly the meaning of the books taught [to them by the teacher], and those who repeat in the wrong way [with respect to pronunciation] whatever is told [to them by the teacher]; (8) all those who declaim in these and those [wrong] ways because they do not recognise when the metre is broken, and those who puff themselves up [with pride]—[all these] are to be treated with contempt as well as kept away, considering them to be fools. (9) One who teaches [such people] the scriptures of the matchless one, considering worldly riches as something valuable, will fall into hell and suffer torments—alas, who will be close kin to such a fool there? (10)

ōtuvārkk' iṭaiyūṟ' uraippār avar,
vātapāṭaṇar, vākkai maṟappavar,
vētam ātiyav ōti viṭuppavar,
cātiyāṟ ṟaṇiyār eṉac cāṟṟuvār (2.7)

taṉṉiṉ mikka naṟ cātiyiṟ ṟōṉṟiṉar,
iṉṉa taṉmaiyar eṉṟ' aṟiyap paṭār,
paṉṉu nūliṉ payaṉ muṟai paṟṟilār,
coṉṉa coṟ piṉuñ cōrvuṟac colluvār, (2.8)

cantapētamuntāṉ aṟiyār eṉav
intavāṟ' icaittār, eḻuvāyiṉar,
nintai ceytuṭa ṉīkkap paṭum avar
mantarām avar tammai matittumē (2.9)

ōtuvippavaṉ oppili kaṟp' urai
pūtalap poruḷaip poruḷ eṉṟ' eṇi
yātaṉaip paṭuvaṉ ṉarakatt' iḻint'
ātaṉukk' avaṇ mikk' uṟav' ār aṉṉō. (2.10)

Maṟaiñāṉa was certainly reading the Sanskrit version closely, and the above stanzas echo many of the original expressions referring to manuscript transmission while adapting them to the new context. Just to mention one example, the *Śivadharmottara* talks about texts that are severely damaged with respect to their metrical arrangement (*chandasātīvanaṣṭasya*). The *Civatarumōttaram* transforms this into students who do not understand (*aṟiyār*) when the metre is broken (*cantapētamum*), using the same Sanskrit word *cantam*.[87] Notwithstanding the analogies, the Tamil text repositions

[87] I translate *cantapētamuntāṉ aṟiyār* as 'those who do not recognise when the metre is broken,' taking *pētam* to mean incongruity, disagreement of the text with metrical rules. This is closer to the Sanskrit expression *chandasātīva naṣṭasya,* and makes more sense to me, even though the commentary reads *pētam* as 'variety' and sees this as a reference to the variety of Sanskrit and Tamil metres. The current translation leaves open the possibility of *cantam* to refer to both Sanskrit and Tamil metrical rules—in fact, I

the passage to describe a classroom, a context familiar to Maṟaiñāṉa as the most important setting of the transmission of Śaiva *and* Tamil knowledge at his time. The good teacher is no longer one who can restore a text whose transmission has been damaged, but one who can recognise and turn away bad students who do not comply with their duty and debase the teaching imparted to them in different ways.[88] The stanzas thus stress the importance of attention, correct repetition, and staying humble.

Maṟaiñāṉa also introduces here one new aspect crucial to the sixteenth-century social word envisioned by the *Civatarumōttaram*. This is the issue of caste, which was completely absent in the *Śivadharmottara* passage.[89] In a largely cryptic way, stanzas 7 and 8 disallow students whose caste is unknown, and students whose caste does not match the caste of their teacher. The latter issue is also taken up in a later stanza, which explains how a student should learn the scriptures from a teacher of his own caste. If such a teacher is not available, the student should go to a teacher of the caste immediately inferior to his.[90] Details aside, the Tamil text is clearly steeped in a world of caste divisions and privileges, which it does not aim to subvert, as it appears clearly in chapter eleven when the text discusses rules of pollution and expiation. In this respect, the *Civatarumōttaram* is far more conservative than the original *Śivadharmottara*, whose aim was precisely the instruction of lay devotees irrespective of their caste, gender, and social

agree with the commentator that this is the subtext of the verse—but doesn't make it as explicit. Still, both readings are possible.

[88] This discussion is not a direct quotation, but evokes the list of bad students in *Naṉṉūl* 39; the new sectarian and didactic context of Maṟaiñāṉa's work emerge strongly when comparing the two.

[89] It is possible that this reference to caste in the *Civatarumōttaram*, besides being coherent with Maṟaiñāṉa's historical context, was prompted by a play—or perhaps even a misunderstanding—hanging on the polysemic word *varṇa*, meaning both 'letter' and 'caste,' in the expression *ūnātiriktavarṇasya mūḍhair durlikhitasya ca* (*Śivadharmottara* 2.7c-d). The Sanskrit is referring here to a manuscript that has been badly written, and therefore has too few or too many letters. Parallel to this, v. 7 line 6 and v. 8 lines 1-2 describe the different ways in which a student might be 'wrongly inscribed in the caste system' either because of a deficiency—his caste being too low—or because of his belonging to a caste superior to that of his teacher. On the difference in attitude towards caste in the *Śivadharmottara* vis-à-vis the *Civatarumōttaram*, see also De Simini's contribution in this volume.

[90] These additional details regarding caste are found in *Civatarumōttaram* 2.12. The comment to this stanza adds the interesting detail that a *śūdra*, in case he cannot avail himself of a teacher from within his own caste, may listen to a teacher of a caste above his (*cūttirantaṟcātiyiṉun taṉakkuyarntacātiyiṉuṅ keṭkalām*). This is of some interest considering the most élite Tamil castes, including *vēḷāḷar*s, are reckoned to be *śudra*s.

status. A second element pointing to Maṟaiñāṉa's context—indeed, an early modern trope—is the mention of wealth as something that might tempt a teacher.[91] The *Śivadharmottara* (2.6) cursed a teacher who would transmit corrupted knowledge. In the Tamil version, Maṟaiñāṉa warns his readers against greedy teachers who might feel tempted to share their knowledge with unworthy students in exchange for cash.

The old commentary offers the best available example of how the *Civatarumōttaram* must have been read and understood in a sixteenth-century classroom of this type. The author of the commentary, Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar, was after all a student of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar in the Kukai *maṭam*, and the very existence of the commentary is proof that the *Civatarumōttaram* was read, taught and discussed in that context.[92] As already mentioned, very often the text is transmitted along with the commentary, which must have been an important tool for teachers seeking to explain the texts to the students through the centuries.[93] Indeed, the fact that the commentary was used by teachers to explain the poem to their students over time, and was therefore read and discussed in a classroom environment, might partially account for the large number of variations that characterise its textual transmission. This commentary first of all testifies that Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar, and perhaps Caiva Cittāntam teachers after him, read the *Civatarumōttaram* side by side with its Sanskrit source, since the commentary often explains the Tamil stanzas with specific reference to the Sanskrit.[94] The fact that the

[91] The classic treatment of the role and representation of money in the early modern period is Narayana Rao, Shulman and Subrahmanyam 1992. Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita *Kaliviḍambana*, for instance, includes among the figures it mocks *dhārmika*s who pretend to care about religion, but are really after money (see Filliozat 1967, 21).

[92] On the identity of Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar, see K. Nachimuthu's contribution in this volume.

[93] Consider that already the two editions of the text, one from 1869 and the other one from 1888, include two versions of Vedajñāna's commentary which are at times rather different from each other.

[94] For instance, *Civatarumōttaram* 3.2 describes penance (*tapas*) as consisting of performing austerities to weaken the body, and so on (*naiyav uṭalam viratattai naviṟṟal āti tavañ*). The comment on this stanza, though, mentions explicitly among such austerities the *cāndrāyaṇa,* a type of fasting regulated by the phases of the moon (*tavayākamāvatu uṭal vāṭaccāntirāyaṇa mutaliya viratañkaḷai yaṉuṭṭittal*). This is also cited as an example of *tapas* in the Sanskrit: *atha pūjāgnikāryādyair bhedair bahuvidhaiḥ sthitaḥ | karmayajñaḥ samākhyātas tapaś cāndrāyaṇādikam* (*Śivadharmottara* 3.12). The verse is taken from De Simini's work-in-progress edition of the third chapter of the *Śivadharmottara;* I thank her for sharing it with me, and for a fruitful discussion on this specific verse.

two texts were read together is also proven by the existence of a single multiple-text manuscript that transmits both the Sanskrit text in Grantha script, and its Tamil translation.[95] The commentary further explicates many facets of the intellectual and cultural references the *Civatarumōttaram* triggered in its readers. As it is to be expected, it often points to echoes of *Tēvāram* songs in the stanzas, and to other texts of Śaiva theology in Tamil.[96] Yet it also mobilises other, perhaps less obvious forms of knowledge that it deems relevant to understand the text. So, Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar discusses complex grammatical concepts that he sees at play in the poem of his teacher, such as the concept of *vaḻi nūl* or the type of Tamil and Sanskrit metres listed in the early grammar *Vīracoḻiyam*.[97] He also makes occasional references to specific bodies of ritual and practical knowledge. For instance, he has much to say about the right measurements for a book-repository (ad 2.60), or the different types of support to copy manuscripts that were available at his time (ad 2.58). When the *Civatarumōttaram* mentions night dances and theatre performances, the commentator specifies that they are dramas both in Prakrit and in Tamil, and he even composes an original verse citing four types of dance that were common at his time.[98] In short, the commentator Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar sketches for us the contours of a world where theology and poetry, ritual practicalities and the arts were all integral parts of a Caiva Cittāntam student's life and education.

Heading towards my conclusions, we saw how the *Civatarumōttaram* along with its commentary offers insights into the intellectual and cultural

[95] This is the IFP MS RE25374, nicely titled 'Shivadharmottara and Tamil urai.'

[96] For instance, the comment ad *Civatarumōttaram* 2.6 explains the reference to eight qualities belonging to Śiva by three different quotations from the *Tēvāram*, including *Tirumuṟai* 6.98.10, and *Tirumuṟai* 7.40.3.

[97] This is the comment ad *Civatarumōttaram* 2.9 that we also mentioned above, and the grammatical excursus is justified as explaining *cantapētam* as a variety of Tamil and Sanskrit metres.

[98] *Civatarumōttaram* 2.34 mentions that at the end of the ritual copying of a manuscript (the *ñāṉatāṉam* ritual) one should stay awake at night, thanks to the hum of chanting of the Vedas and so forth, other types of songs, as well as through the charm of dramas (*vētātiy aravattāṉ maṟṟum uḷa pāṭaliṉā ṉāṭakattiṉ vaciyāluṅ*). The comment adds relevant details, and is worth quoting in *full: aṟṟaiy iravil appūṅkōyiliṉ muṉṉē vētākamapurāṇav olikaḷiṉālum, pirākirutam tirāviṭa mutaliya pāṭalkaḷiṉālu māṉmākkaḷai vacīkarikkuṅ kūttukaḷālum uṟakkattiṉaip pōkki viḻittirukkakkāvaṉ! maṟṟai nāṭ kālamē ciṟpanūl vitiyaiy ārāyntu paṇṇappaṭṭa tēriṉaiy alaṅkarikka*! Vedajñāna concludes the comment with a verse of his own on the four types of dance: *caṅkaraṉ āṭiya tāṇṭavamum āṅk' umaiyāḷ - iṅkitattāl āṭum ilācciyamum - poṅku tirai - yāḻip puviyil akamum, puṟavariyuñ - cūḻu naṭa nāl eṉṟu col*.

life of a *maṭam* in sixteenth-century Chidambaram. The role of these monastic institutions in the early modern period is yet to be fully explored, even though recent works have begun to underline their social and political importance in specific regions of South India.[99] As for the *maṭam*s of Chidambaram and the Kaveri basin, where the *Civatarumōttaram* was composed and circulated, we know little about their role in the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. These places are much more comprehensively studied for the nineteenth century, especially the Tiruvāvaṭutuṟai *atīṉam*, where celebrated *pulavar* Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai (1815–1876) and his student U. Ve. Cāmināṭaiyar (1855–1942) studied and worked. Retracing the life and education of Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai, Ebeling shows how he began learning Tamil in a village school (*tiṇṇaippaḷḷi*) 'by memorising literary works (mostly of devotional nature), grammars (such as *Nāṉṉūl*), and *nikaṇṭu*s ('dictionaries' of synonyms in verse form).'[100] He went on to learn with several important Tamil teachers, including Marutanāyakam Piḷḷai, a Caiva Cittāntam scholar and the first editor of the *Meykaṇṭacāttiraṅkaḷ*. In his early twenties, he visited the Tiruvāvaṭutuṟai *atīṉam* for the first time, and filled with wonder, he thought that 'there was no other place in the world where the spirit of both Lord Śiva and Tamil learning could be imbibed so thoroughly.'[101] In one form or another, Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai remained attached to Tiruvāvaṭutuṟai for the rest of his life, as he went on to become a celebrated poet especially famous for his skills at composing Tamil Purāṇas, often by translating and rearranging contents previously narrated in Sanskrit Māhātmyas.[102] In brief, the most famous Tamil poet of the nineteenth century spent his whole life learning devotional texts, studying and living in a *maṭam*, and writing *talappurāṇam*s on Tamil Nadu's most sacred sites.

[99] Valerie Stoker (2014, 2016) has focused on Mādhva intellectual Vyāsatīrtha (1460–1539)—a quasi-contemporary of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar—to explore the relationship between the Vijayanagara court and monastic institutions. In a recent article, Fisher explored the lineage of the Hooli Bṛhanmaṭha and the role of this institution in the systematisation of the Pañcācārya Vīraśaiva community (Fisher 2018). She notices the interplay of Sanskrit and Kannada in this process, which is also relevant to our discussion of Sanskrit and Tamil in the context of Maṟaiñāṉa's Kukai *maṭam*.

[100] Ebeling 2010, 38.

[101] Ebeling 2010, 61.

[102] This is a very condensed account of Ebeling 2010, 57–62. Famously, Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai did not know Sanskrit particularly well, so he had other people read Sanskrit *māhātmya*s and report their contents to him in Tamil. An earlier contribution to the history of Caiva Cittāntam *maṭam*s in the nineteenth century is Oddie 1984.

And yet Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai is hardly remembered or studied as a religious figure, even though his *purāṇam*s are exquisite literary pieces as much as they are didactic poems aiming to instruct Śaiva devotees on the history of their holy places. His long-standing interest in religious matters also underlies the humorous story, recalled by Cāmināṭayar in his biography, of how the *pulavar* wished for and finally entered into possession of a jealously guarded manuscript of the *Civatarumōttaram* thanks to the stratagem of a student of his.[103] One wonders whether this copy is still among the manuscripts in the library of the Tiruvāvaṭuturai *atīṉam*, which holds Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai's own collection. Granted, most students of the *Civatarumōttaram* would never achieve the same level of literary learning as Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai. They probably joined a *maṭam* to improve their general education, perhaps in view of becoming *pujari*s in a more peripheral shrine. And indeed, they did not need to be *pulavar*s to study the *Civatarumōttaram*, which was meant to be understood and enjoyed by 'middle-class' Śaiva devotee, well-educated in Tamil literature and Caiva Cittāntam theology without particularly excelling in either of the two. Still, considering the achievements of Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai and his peers in the nineteenth-century from the point of view of the *Civatarumōttaram* is helpful in recognising the long-standing entanglement of religion and literature, of Sanskrit and Tamil learning in the life of these intellectuals and their institutions. In turn, keeping such later developments in mind helps to recognise the different threads woven into the *Civatarumōttaram.* This poem shows how the interplay of religion and literature, Sanskrit and Tamil, *śāstra* and devotion was an integral part of the life of a *maṭam* in sixteenth-century Chidambaram. Such interplay exceeded the rarefied world of *pulavar*s and Caiva Cittāntam teachers, and enthralled the lives of their more average students—we can imagine them as a sixteenth-century small-town, middle-class intelligentsia, but still educated men, initiated into Caiva Cittāntam, and inhabiting a deeply multilingual world. The goal of this overview has been to offer a perspective for reading this text as a bridge between various domains, and the product of a regime of translation between languages not so far removed from each other. The image of a bridge nicely fits Maṟaiñāṉa's operation of making the ancient content of the Sanskrit *Śivadharmottara* cross into the worlds of sixteenth-century Tamil Śaivism and Tamil poetry, firmly rooting his *Civatarumōttaram* in both.

[103] Cāmināṭayar 2001, 108–116.

4. *Appendix: Printed editions and manuscripts of the Civatarumōttaram*

The list that follows was compiled on the basis of visits to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris), the Institut Français de Pondichéry, the Government Oriental Manuscript Library (Chennai) and the Tiruvāvaṭuturai mutt. This first-hand research has been combined with the manuscripts identified in the following catalogues:

> *A Descriptive catalogue of palm-leaf manuscripts in Tamil*, vol. 3 part 1, edited by A. Thasarathan et alii. General editors G. John Samuel and Shu Hikosaka. Madras: Institute of Asian Studies, 1993.
> *Computerised International Catalogue of Tamil Palmleaf Manuscripts*, 3 vols., edited by K. C. Chellamuthu et alii. Thanjavur: Tamil University, 1989-1991

The list is intended as an aid to researchers, and also as proof of the wide diffusion of this text; however, many of the references to manuscripts presented here still need to be checked and confirmed.

4.1 *Printed editions*

1867. *Maṟaiñāṉacampantanāyaṉār aruḷicceyta Civatarumōttaram mūlamum uraiyum*. Ivai Tirunelvēli Cālivāṭīcuvara Ōtuvāmūrttikaḷāl palaputtakaṅkaḷaik koṇṭu paricōtittu Tirunelvēli Ampalavāṇaṉ kavirājaravarkaḷ Ku. Civarāmamutaliyāravarkaḷ Putūr Vaḷḷināyakampiḷḷaiyavarkaḷ ivarkaḷatu Muttamiḻākara accukkūṭattiṟ patippikkapaṭṭaṉa. Pirapava v[aruṣam] mārkaḻi m[ācam= 1867 v[aruṣam] ṭicampar m[ācam]. Rigiṣṭreṭ kāppiraiṭṭu

1888. *Caivākamam irupatteṭṭiṉuḷ 24-vatu Cantāna carvōttamattiṉ upapētam patiṉoṉṟiṉuḷ 8-vatu Civatarumōttaram*. Vaṭamoḻiyiṉi ṉiṉṟum Maṟaiñāṉacampantanāyaṉār moḻipeyarttatu. Itaṟkuraiyuṭaṉ tiricirapuram puttaka viyāpāram m[āha]-r[āja]-r[āja]-śrī Cu. Cupparāyapiḷḷaiyavarkaḷ Tirumaiyilai vitvāṉ caṇmukampiḷḷai avarkaḷaik koṇṭu pārvaiyiṭṭu, Pu. Appācāmimutaliyāratu Ceṉṉai Mīṇāṭciyammaikalāniti accukkūṭattiṟpatippittaṉar. 1888

1938. *Maṟaiñāṉacampantanāyaṉār vaṭamoḻiyi ṉiṉṟum moḻipeyarttaruḷiya Civatarumōttaram mūlamum uraiyum*: iccastiram Caivākamam irupatteṭṭiṉuḷ irupattu naṅkāvatākiya Cāntana Carvōttamattiṉ upapētam patinoṉṟiṉuḷ eṭṭāvatāy uḷḷatu. Mataras: Mataras Rippaṉ Piras

1998. *Civatarumōttaram (mūlamum uraiyim).* Āciriyar: Tavattiru Maṟaiñāṉa campantar. Parippāciriyarkaḷ: Paṇṭitar Mu. Kantaiyā Pi. E., Makāvittuvāṉ Vē. Civacuppiramaṇiyaṉ. Urai āciriyar: Tiru. A. Irāmanātaṉ. Caiva cittānta nilayam: Kuvālālumpūr, Malēciyā

4.2 *Manuscripts*

1. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

BnF Indien 12. Civatarumōttira kāviyam (12 chapters, text and commentary). Palm-leaf, ca. 1770
BnF Indien 13. Civatarumōttaram (12 chapters, text and commentary). Palm-leaf, ca. 1750
BnF Indien 14. Civatarumōttaram (12 chapters, text and commentary). Palm-leaf, ca. 1720

2. Institut Français de Pondichéry

RE 25374. Civatarumōttara urai (text with commentary). Palm-leaf, undated

3. Thanjavur Saraswathi Mahal Library, Thanjavur

Tamil ms. 1939c. Civatarumōttiram (12 chapters, only mūlam). Palm-leaf, copied in "868 v[aruṣam] cukkali m[ātam]" (fol. 113r) likely 1868, a śukla year.
Tamil ms. 234b. Civatarumōttaram (12 chapters, only mūlam)
Tamil ms. 327b. Civatarumōttaram (12 chapters, only mūlam)
Tamil ms. 363. Civatarumōttaram (only mūlam, likely incomplete)
Tamil ms. 364. Civatarumōttaram mūlamum uraiyum (text and commentary, likely incomplete)

4. Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Chennai

D. 1287 (missing)
D. 1288. TD 50. Civatarumōttaram (text without the commentary); Palm-leaf
R. 8851. TR 3163. Civatarumōttaram (text with commentary, seemingly a full copy). Palmleaf
R. 1258 (missing)
R. 1422. Fragment, palm-leaf
R. 1795. TR 1034. Civatarumōttaram (12 chapters, only mūlam). Palm-leaf
R. 1919. TR 450. Civatarumōttaram (text without commentary, only 101 verses). Paper, copied on 11/8/1949
R. 9248. TR 3411. Civatarumōttaram (text of chapter 8 only, without commentary). Palmleaf

5. Tiruvāvaṭuturai mutt

Tamil ms. 279. mūlam, complete
Tamil ms. 280. mūlam, complete

Tamil ms. 278. mūlam, complete
Tamil ms. 273. mūlam, incomplete
Tamil ms. 290. mūlam with an unspecified commentary, incomplete
Tamil ms. 182-zh. mūlam, incomplete
Tamil ms. 236-zz. mūlam, incomplete
Tamil ms. 248. mūlam, incomplete
Tamil ms. 277. mūlam with an unpublished (?) commentary, incomplete

6. U. Vē. Cāmināṭaiyair Library, Chennai

Ms. 1263. Civatarumōttaram (only mūlam). Palm-leaf
Ms. 1264. Civatarumōttaram (fragment, only mūlam). Palm-leaf

7. National Library, Kolkata

Ms. 3040. Civatarumōttaram. Palm-leaf, 1815

8. Tamil University, Thanjavur

ms. 117. Civatarumōttaram
ms. 245. Civatarumōttaram
ms. 249. Civatarumōttaram

9. Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum

ms. 7302. Civatarumōttaram

An enquiry into the authorship of the Tamil Civatarumōttaram and its commentary

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1. *Identifying Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar and Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar*[1]

Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar and Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar are important authors in the history of Śaiva religious literature in Tamil during the sixteenth century, having produced many small and long treatises, original works and commentaries in Sanskrit and Tamil on different aspects of Caiva Cittāntam philosophy, religion and practice. Among the most important are the *Civatarumōttaram*, the Tamil translation of the Sanskrit *Śivadharmottara* by Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar, and the commentary upon it by Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar. Apart from the confusion of editors and historians in correctly attributing authorship of many works between these two, there is also some modest doubt on the authorship of the commentary itself. In spite of the significance and popularity these two authors hold, many of their works have not received careful and critical publication, and some are yet to be traced and published. Their literary career retains many grey areas lacking definitive ev-

[1] I acknowledge the insights I received when attending the reading and translation sessions of the *Civatarumōttaram* and the *Taṇikaippurāṇam* with the Śivadharma Project group, consisting of many scholars including Florinda De Simini, Dominic Goodall, Indra Manuel, Dorotea Operato, Ofer Peres, T. Rajarethinam, S. Saravanan, Judit Törzsök, Margherita Trento, and V. Vijayavenugopal. Research for this article was carried out as part of the ERC Project SHIVADHARMA (803624).

idence to affix authorship and other details. An effort is made in the following pages to update the information available in the printed literature and from palm-leaf manuscripts, particularly with regard to their authorship of different works. Also, fresh evidence is offered to settle the authorship of the commentary on the *Civatarumōttaram* on Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar.

In the period around the sixteenth century CE, Śaiva teachers like Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar, Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar, Kamalai Ñāṉappirakācar (1525–1550) and others composed many works by way of translation and abridgement in pursuance of elaborating the part of the ethical component (*cariyai*, *kiriyai*, *ñāṉam*, *yōgam*) of the Caiva Cittāntam explained in the *Civañāṉapōtam* (Sutra 7-7) and the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār* (249–303), drawing authorities from the Sanskrit Śaivāgamas. In the post Civañāṉa Cittiyār era, i.e., after the fifteenth century CE, we see many works, beginning with *Civatarumōttaram,* that were composed on religious ethics, which represents a significant aspect of Tamil Śaiva literature of this period (Aruṇācalam 1975/2005, 156). Later works like *Nittiyakaṉmaneṟi* of Citamparanāta Muṉivar (eighteenth century) also belong to this group.

The Tamil *Civatarumottaram* is a treatise expounding the *Cariyai* part, or 'the first of the four-fold means of attaining salvation, which consists in worshipping God-in-form in a temple' according to the tenets of Caiva Cittāntam philosophy (Aruṇācalam 1975/2005, 167); it was composed by Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar (1504–1564)[2] by way of translation, amplification and adapta-

[2] At least five authors are found with the name Ñāṉacampantar fully or partially in Tamil religious literature, inspired by the name of the first Ñāṉacampantar (seventh century), who was the leader of the Śaiva *bhakti* movement and author of hymns in the first three *Tirumuṟai*s of the *Tēvāram*, and lived in the seventh century. Three among them share the epithet *Maṟai* ('Veda'). The first, called Kaṭantai Maṟai Ñāṉacampantar, lived in the fourteenth century and was the author of *Catamaṇikkōvai* and the disciple of Aruḷnanti Civāccāriyār (thirteenth century) and the preceptor of Umāpati Civāccāriyār (fourteenth century). He is also referred to as Kaṭantai Maṟai Ñāṉacampanta Nāyaṉār. The second, called Citamparam Kaṇkaṭṭi Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar (1504–1564), is the author of the *Civatarumōttaram* and other works; the third is his disciple Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar, the author of the commentary on the *Civatarumōttaram,* the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam*, the *Patipacupācattokai* and the *Patipacupācappaṉuval*, as well as of original works such as the *Civapuṇṇiyatteḻivu* in Tamil and many Sanskrit works like the *Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati*, the *Dīkṣādarśa*, and so forth. The oeuvre of the last two authors is the subject of the present article. The fourth author, with the name Tiruvampalamuṭaiyāṉ Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar, belonged to the fifteenth century and is the author of *Ōṅkukōyil Purāṇam*, which is not extant now. Another notable author called Kuru Ñāṉacampantar (1550–1575) was the founder of Tarumapuram Ātīṉam and author of *Civapōkacāram, Muttiniccayam* (Cuvāmiṉāta Paṇṭitar, 1934), a refutation of the work *Muttinilai* by Citamparam Kaṇkaṭṭi Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar, and other works.

tion of the original Śaiva scripture called *Śivadharmottara* in Sanskrit, whose composition 'can possibly be placed in northern India in the seventh century,' and 'which enjoyed great popularity, in some cases until modern times, as shown by the numerous parallels and borrowings from this text found in Sanskrit literature throughout India' (De Simini 2016, 22 and 46).

Maṟaiñāṇa Campantar is also known under the Sanskrit names of Vedajñāna/Nigamajñāna; in Tamil sources, he is popularly referred to as Citamparam Kaṇkaṭṭi Maṟaiñāṇa Campantar. He was a scholar in Sanskrit and Tamil who composed a number of works mostly in Tamil on a variety of subjects like rituals and doctrines, as well as *Talapurāṇam*s such as the *Aruṇakirippurāṇam* (printed in 1880) and the *Kamalālayacciṟappu eṉṉum Tiruvārūrppurāṇam* (printed in 1961/2009).[3] Other names for this author are Citamparam Maṟaiñāṇa Campanta Nāyaṉār (see the cover page of the edition of *Kamalālayacciṟappu eṉṉum Tiruvārūrppurāṇam,* 1961), Citamparam Maṟaiñāṇa Tēcikar (see the cover page of the edition of *Aruṇakirippurāṇam,* 1880), Kukai Maṟaiñāṇa Tēcikar (*Civapuṇṇiyatteḻivu,* edition of 1837, verse 16), and Maṟaiñāṇa Campanta Paṇṭāram (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1954, II–III, as according to the palm-leaf manuscripts of *Paramōpatēcam, Aikkiyaviyal, Caṅkaṟparnirākaraṇam* and other works). Citamparam Kukai Kaṇkaṭṭi Maṟaiñāṇa Tēcikar and Kaḷantai Maṟaiñāṇa Tēcikar are other names by which he may be referred.

According to anecdotes, this Maṟaiñāṇa Campantar lived in Citamparam in his Kukai ('cave'), a hermitage, with his eyes covered with a veil in order to avoid his attention being distracted by the mundane world. He is dated to have lived between 1504 and 1564 (Dagens 1979, 6–15). He is one of the teachers of Caiva Cittāntam in the order of Meykaṇṭār, who have propagated the tenets of the Śaivāgamas in the Tamil country through their Sanskrit and Tamil works. His disciple and contemporary Maṟaiñāṇa Tēcikar (Aruṇācalam, 1975/2005, vol. 2, 233–237) ably followed his mission and works, as testified by the great reverence with which he seems to have referred to his mentor and his treatises. Maṟaiñāṇa Tēcikar is popularly known as Kāḷi Maṟaiñāṇa Tēcikar and, like his mentor, by the Sanskrit names of Vedajñāna/Nigamajñāna II.[4] He was a scholar in Tamil and Sanskrit and, again like his

[3] For a complete list of works by this author, see Aruṇācalam 1975/2005, 158–184, and Ganesan 2009, xiii–xvi,1–46, as well as Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1954.

[4] Note that there is some confusion regarding the names of both authors. In some contexts, Maṟaiñāṇa Campantar is also called Maṟaiñāṇa Tēcikaṉ (see for instance the title page of *Aruṇakirippurāṇam*, as well as verse 16 of the *Civapuṇṇiyatteḻivu*). Cōmacuntara Tēcikar (1936, 67–87), the first literary historian who wrote life sketches of poets in the sixteenth century, refers to them as Maṟaiñāṇa Campantar and Maṟaiñāṇa Tēcikar,

mentor, composed many works on various subjects such as rituals, doctrines on Śaivāgamas and commentaries on the fundamental texts of Caiva Cittāntam including a few works of his teacher Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar.[5] The work *Civapuṇṇiyatteḻivu* is an independent Tamil work of his (see below for a complete list of his works).

The life histories of these two authors have been described by Dagens (1979), Aruṇācalam (1975/2005, 158–184) and Ganesan (2009, xiii–xvi, 1–46), based on the information found in the Tamil and Sanskrit works. In this article, I update the information on the literary history of the two authors with regard to the works produced by them and their authorship, especially the commentary to the *Civatarumōttaram* by Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar.

2. *Works by Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar*[6]

2.1 *Ritual works*

1. *Caivacamayaneṟi* ('Precepts of Śaiva Religion'). It consists of 567 Tamil *kuṟaḷ* verses. It has a modern commentary by Āṟumuka Nāvalar (1915). An unpublished Sanskrit commentary by Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar, the disciple of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar, called *Caivacamayaneṟidṛṣṭāntam* ('Examples for precepts of Śaiva Religion') is found in palm-leaf manuscripts of the French Institute of Pondicherry (manuscript RE 10924). According to Ganesan (2009, xiii, 246, 255), 'It is a commentary of profuse citations of verses from the Āgamas and other Śaiva

just like the literary historian Aruṇācalam (1975/2005, 184–187; 1976/2005, vol. 3, 21–33). T. Ganesan (2009, 49–127) calls them Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar and Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar in Tamil and Nigamajñāna I and Nigamajñāna II in Sanskrit. Dagens (1979) refers to them only as Vedajñāna I and Vedajñāna II.

[5] Civañāṉa Muṉivar (1753–1785?), one of the stalwarts of Tamil Caiva Cittāntam, the author of *Civañāṉapōtam Māpāṭiyam*, a detailed commentary on the Tamil *Civañāṉapōtam* and teacher of Kacciyappa Muṉivar (-1790), the author of *Taṇikaippurāṇam*, pays glowing tribute to Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar in the following words (*Civacamavāta Maṟuppu-Eṭuttu eṉṉum collukkiṭṭa Vairakkuppāyam*, Mīṇāṭcicuntarm Piḷḷai 1958, 15): *teṉṉūl vaṭanūṉ muṭipu muḻutum iṉituṇarntu innūlukkurai ceytumeṉap pukunta civākkira yōki tēcikar maṟaiñāṉa campanta tēcikar mutaliya tollāciriyar*; 'The great teachers of yore Civākkira Yōki Tēcikar, Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar and so forth who have ventured to write commentary to this work (i.e., *Civañāṉa Cittiyār*) after having well understood the tenets in the works in Southern language (i.e., Tamil) and Northern language (i.e., Sanskrit).'

[6] The following is based on: Ganesan 2009, xiii–xvi, 1–46; Aruṇācalam 1975/2005, 158–184, Mīṇāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1954.

scriptures that are adduced as parallels in order to show that the views expressed by Nigamajñāna I are fully in accordance with the Āgamas and other Śaiva scriptures.' It illustrates about 718 authoritative parallel verses for the 565 verses of the *Caivacamayaneṟi* from the vast Āgamic and Purāṇic literature (Ganesan 2009, xvii).

2. *Uruttirākkaviciṭṭam* ('Greatness of the Rudrākṣa.' Mīṇāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1954, 51–68).

3. *Makācivarāttirikaṟpam* ('Treatise on rituals to be observed on Mahāśivarātri.' Mīṇāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1954, 1–6).

4. *Mātacivarāttirikaṟpam* ('Treatise on rituals to be observed on monthly Śivarātri.' Mīṇāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1954, 7–10).

5. *Cōmavāracivarāttirikaṟpam* (Treatise on the rituals to be observed on Śivarātri occurring on Monday.' Mīṇāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1954, 11–14).

6. *Cōmavārakaṟpam* ('Treatise on the rituals to be observed on Monday.' Mīṇāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1954, 15–30).

7. *Varuttamaṟa Uyyum Vaḻi* ('Way to live without difficulty.' Mīṇāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1954, 31–34).

8. *Tirukkōyiṟkuṟṟam* ('Sinful acts to be avoided in temple.' Mīṇāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1954, 35–38).

2.2 *Sthalapurāṇa*s

9. *Aruṇakirippurāṇam* ('Legends of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.' Printed edition in 1880).

10. *Kamalālayacciṟappu eṉṉum Tiruvārūrppurāṇam* ('Greatness of Kamalālayam or the Legends of Tiruvārūr.' Printed edition in 1961 and 2019).

2.3 *Doctrinal Works*

11. *Civatarumōttaram,* a translation from the Sanskrit *Śivadharmottara* (printed editions in 1867, 1888, 1938, 1998; the latter is a modern edition with a new commentary by A. Iramanātaṉ).[7]

[7] The name of the text is given as *Civatarumōttaram,* reflecting the title of the Sanskrit source text. However, in the manuscripts it is also written as *Civatarumōttiram* on the front pages and some places inside the book. This could be a scribal preference due to the influence of the common Tamil usage of the word *uttaram* as *uttiram*.

12. *Aikkiyaviyal* ('Discussion about identity [between Śiva and the Self]'; Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1954, 45–50)

13. *Paramōpatēcam* ('Supreme Teaching.' Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1954, 39–44). Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar refers to this work in *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 11.1 (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 1131) as that of his teacher, and mentions that this work is an amplification of his ideas on *cuvāṉupavam* (similar ideas are expressed in *Muttinilai*, see below).[8]

14. *Patipacupācappaṇuval* ('Discourse on Pati, Paṣu and Pāśa.' Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1954, 73–100). A *kāṇṭikai* commentary on it by Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar is known (*Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.58) but the commentary is now not extant .

15. *Caṅkaṟpanirākaraṇam* ('Refutation of the viewpoints of the opponents.' Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1954, 100–137). This is edited by Irāma Kōvintacāmip Piḷḷai, 1964.

2.4 *Other works attributed to Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar by Aruṇācalam*[9]

16. *Puvaṉakōcam* (*Bhuvanakośa* 'A Cosmographical Dictionary'). This work attributed to Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar by Aruṇācalam is on purāṇic cosmography in 128 *Viruttappās.* It was not printed, and a palm-leaf copy is found in the Saraswathi Mahal Library, Thanjavur. The second verse of this work is quoted by Veḷḷiyampalavāṉar (1700 ca.) in his commentary (*Pāṭiyam*) to *Ñāṉāvaraṇa Viḷakkam* by Kuru Ñāṉacampantar (1550–1575).[10] The attribution of this work's authorship to Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar needs to be confirmed. It should be mentioned here that ideas on cosmography are found in the twelfth chapter of the *Civatarumōttaram* as well as in the two Sthalapurāṇas by Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar.

[8] 'The experience that is generated in one's self is *cuvāṉupavam*. This is Sanskrit. If it is described as *civāṉupavam* that is not acceptable. Let it be understood that it is because it is mentioned as *cuvāṉupūtimāṉ* in the original text *Civañāṉapōtam* and also other Āgamas and Purāṇas mentioned it. Our teacher elaborated this in a treatise called *Paramōpatēcam.* Look into it'; *taṉṉiṭattuṇṭāṉa anupavam cuvānupavam. iḫtu vaṭamoḻi. Civāṉupavam eṉṟu uraikkil aḫtu icaiyā. Mūlacūttiramākiya civañāṉapōtattil cuvānupūtimāṉ eṉṟu'ōtiyirukkaiyiṉālum, maṟṟuḷḷa ākama purāṇaṅkaḷil kūṟukaiyiṉālum eṉṟaṟika. taṉai ematu kuravar paramōpatēcam eṉa oru nūlākki virittuk kūṟiṉār. Āṇṭuk kāṇka.*

[9] Aruṇācalam 1975/2005, 158–184.

[10] Aruṇācalam 1975/2005, 166, 258–261; 1976/2005, vol. 3, 287–288.

17. *Paramata Timira Pāṉu* ('The Sun [that dispels] the Darkness of Other Religions/Teachings'; Aruṇācalam 1975/2005, 180). This work composed in *kuṟaḷ veṇpā* is not extant. According to Aruṇācalam, songs from this work are quoted by Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar in his *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* commentary. Furthermore, Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Ñāṉappirakācar (1550–1575),[11] in his commentary on the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Parapakkam*,[12] quotes more than 180 verses from this work and mentions its title.[13] Thus, there should be a larger work which is the source of these verses.

18. *Pañcākkara Taricaṉam* ('The Five-Syllable [-Mantra] Doctrine'). This work is not extant now. Two verses from it are quoted by

[11] There are at least fourteen scholars with this name found in Tamil literature (see the details in Aruṇācalam 1975/2005 vol. 2, 278–279; 1976/2005 vol. 3, 63). In the edition of the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Parapakkam* commentary by Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Tattuvappirakācar published by Koṉṟai Mānakaram Caṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār (1875), the editor shows parallels from one Ñāṉappirakācar. Inside the text, he sometimes confuses this name with that of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Ñāṉappirakācar (1550–1600), the author of the commentary to *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam*. Aruṇācalam feels that the Ñāṉappirakācar found in *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Parapakkam* is Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Ñāṉappirakācar (1550–1575). He must have been a disciple of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar first, and later studied under Kamalai Ñāṉappirakācar (1525–1575).

[12] This is one of the three important commentaries on *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Parapakkam,* the other two being by Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Tattuvappirakācar and Vēlappa Paṇṭāram. With the exception of the commentary by Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Tattuvappirakācar, the other two are yet to be published. According to Aruṇācalam (Aruṇācalam 1976/2005 vol. 3, 66–67), excerpts from the commentary to *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Parapakkam* by Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Ñāṉappirakācar have been included in the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Parapakkam* commentary by Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Tattuvappirakācar published by Koṉṟai Mānakaram Caṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār (1875). In it, we find quotations from works such as the *Civatarumōttaram* and the *Paramata Timira Pāṉu* of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar, and Tamil Buddhist works such as the *Kuṇṭalakēci*, the *Maṇimēkalai,* the *Cittāntattokai*, and so forth, given by Ñāṉappirakācar. At least two palm-leaf manuscripts have been noted by me in the *Computerised International Catalogue of Tamil Palm leaf Manuscripts* (Chellamuthu, Padmanaban and Nākarācan, 1989): No. 14241, Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār, *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Mūlamum Uraiyum* by Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Ñāṉappirakācar, in 138 folios, complete, register No. 1265 of Mauṉa Kuru Maṭam, Chidambaram; No. 14242, Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār, *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Mūlamum Uraiyum* by Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Ñāṉappirakācar, in 134 folios, complete, register No. 1266 of Mauṉa Kuru Maṭam, Citamparam. Editing this work will throw more light on the author as well as on the transmission of *Civatarumōttaram*.

[13] *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Parapakkam* 30, Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Ñāṉappirakācar commentary: *ippaṭip paramatimira pāṉuveṇṇum tiruvākkiṇum teḷika*, 'Thus be enlightened by the Divine words called *Paramatimira Pāṉu*' (Koṉṟai Mānakaram Caṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār 1875, 115). See also Aruṇācalam 1976/2005, vol. 3, 66–67.

Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar in his *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam*. Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar mentions that these two verses are from *Pañcākkara Taricaṇam* by 'our mentor' (Aruṇācalam 1975/2005, vol. 2, 180).[14] Aruṇācalam also claims that a further verse beginning with *oru nāḻi uppum*, which is cited as 'by our teacher' by Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar, could also be from the *Pañcākkara Taricaṇam*.[15]

19. *Iṟaivaṉūṟpayaṉ* ('The Meaning of the Scriptures'). A work that is not extant now. It is composed of *kuṟaḷ veṇpā* metre and quoted in a few works (Aruṇācalam 1975/2005, 181).

20. *Muttinilai* ('The Nature of Liberation'). Nineteen verses of this work are extant now, yet it may have been a work of even larger dimensions. It proposes the concept of *āṉmāṉanta vāta*, in essence claiming that the soul has inherent bliss, and it is covered by the impurities, and when the impurities are removed it reverts back to its original state of bliss. What the soul experiences is its own bliss and not the *śivānanda* (Ganesan 2009, 46). This idea of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar is refuted by Kuru Ñāṉacampantar in his work called *Muttiniccayam* (Cuvāmināta Paṇṭitar 1934).

21. *Patipacupācattokai* ('The Epitome of [the] Pati-Paśu-Pāśa Doctrine'): According to Aruṇācalam, it consists of twenty-five *kuṟaḷ veṇpā*s. It had been printed twice, once by Pālvaṇṇa Mutaliyār in 1903 and once by the Tarumapuram Ātīṉam in 1940, with an extensive commentary (Aruṇācalam 1957/2005, 182). The editors of these editions have not mentioned the author of this extensive commentary, but, generally, scholars are of the opinion that it was written by Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar (Aruṇācalam 1976/2005, vol. 3, 31–32). Ganesan (2009, xiii–xvi, 1–46) and Mīṇāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai (1954) have not included it in the list of works by Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar.

[14] *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 9.3.8 (Mīnāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 1074; Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1889 II, 2345): *yakāram iliṅkamām nāḷam vakaramām | cikāram mēṟpīṭam terikkiṉ - makārantāṉ | kaṇṭamē ākum kaviṉ ār aṭip pīṭam | paṇ tikaḻum naḵkāṉām pār | nakaramē cattiyō cātamukam nāṭiṉ | makarantāṉ vāmam matikkil - pakaruṅkāl | cikāra vakāram puruṭam akōram | yakāram īcāṉa mukam eṉ | eṉṟār ematu kuravar | mēṟcakaḷamāvatu | navviraṇṭu kālatāy naviṉṟamav vayiṟatāy | civviraṇṭu tōḷatāy ciṟantavavvu vāyatāy | yavviraṇṭu kaṇṇatāy amarntu niṉṟa nērmaiyil | cevvai 'ottu niṉṟatē civāyanama* añceḻuttumē' (*Civavākkiyar* 97) *eṉa aṟika*. *Ivviraṇṭum Pañcākkara Taricaṇam eṉa aṟika*.

[15] *Oru nāḻi uppum oru nāḻi appum | iru nāḻi, inta iru nāḻi - oru nāḻi | ām aḻavil nīruḷ uṭaṅkiviṭum uppuppōl | ām uṭalil āvi aṭaintu | eṉṟār kuravar |*

22. *Aṭṭāṅkayōkakkuṟaḷ* ('[A Treatise in] Kuṟaḷ [Metre] on Aṣṭāṅga Yoga'): It consists of sixty-five *kuṟaḷ veṇpā*s on the aspects of yoga (Aruṇācalam 1975/2005, 18231).

Contrary to Ganesan, Aruṇācalam attributes the Sanskrit work called *Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati* to Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar. Ganesan discusses for the first time in his book (2009,49–127) the contents of this work in detail from an unpublished IFP Transcript (T 321) as that of Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar. It should be noted that all the available compositions of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar on many aspects of Śaiva religion are in Tamil while his disciple composed in both Tamil and Sanskrit.

3. *Works by Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar*[16]

Aruṇācalam discusses the following three commentaries and one doctrinal treatise as composed by Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar in Tamil:[17]

1. Commentary on the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam*;
2. Commentary on the *Paramopatēcam*;
3. Commentary on the *Civatarumōttaram*;
4. *Civapuṇṇiyatteḷivu*

3.1. *Ritual*

1. *Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati* ('Manual on Private Worship'): this is an unpublished Sanskrit work attested in several manuscripts, among which IFP T. 321.

2. *Dīkṣādarśa* ('Mirror on Initiation'). A Sanskrit work yet to be published (see IFP T. 372).

3. *Āśaucadīpikā* ('Illumination on Ritual Pollution'). A Sanskrit work yet to be published (see IFP T. 370).

4. *Caivacamayaneṟidṛṣṭāntam* ('Examples for Precepts of Śaiva Religion'). A Sanskrit work yet to be published (transmitted in manuscript RE 10924). This is a commentary of profuse citations of verses from the Āgamas and other Śaiva scriptures that are adduced as parallels in order to show that the views expressed by Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar in his *Caivacamayaneṟi* are fully in accordance with the Āgamas and other Śaiva scriptures (Ganesan 2009, xiii, 246 and 255). It

[16] The following is based on: Ganesan 2009, xvi–xviii, 49–257; Aruṇācalam 1975/2005, 184–187; 1976/2005, vol. 3, 21–33.

[17] Aruṇācalam 1975/2005, 184–187; 1976/2005, vol.3, 21–33.

illustrates about 718 authoritative parallel Sanskrit verses for the 565 verses of the *Caivacamayaneṟi* from the vast Āgamic and Purāṇic literature (Ganesan 2009, xvii).

5. *Civapuṇṇiyatteḷivu* ('Clarification on Meritorious Acts Done with [the Notion] that Śiva is the Supreme Being'). This was published in 1837, and again by the Tiruvāvaṭutuṟai Ātīṇam in 1954 (Ganesan 2009, 229–233; Aruṇācalam 1975/2005, vol. 2, 184–187). According to Ganesan it is a Tamil adaptation of two *paṭala*s from the *Acintyaviśvasādākhyāgama* (Ganesan 2009, 229–233).

6. *Jīrṇoddhārdaśaka* ('Ten verses on [the rite of temple] renovation'), with self-commentary. It is a Sanskrit work yet to be published. Ganesan (2009, 205–215) gives an analysis based on IFP T. 663 and T. 306.

7. *Śaivaṣoḍaśakriyāprakāśa* ('Illumination on the sixteen sacraments of the Śaivas'). Ganesan has given an analysis of the contents of this Sanskrit work based on the transcript of an unpublished manuscript (RE 25192, incomplete, Tiruvāvaṭutuṟai Mutt Collection No. 7; Ganesan 2009, 218–222).

8. *Śivālayanirmāsthāpanakriyādīpikā* ('Illumination on the Rites of Construction and Installation of the Temple of Śiva'). The reference to this Sanskrit text as composed by Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar is found in *Dīkṣādarśa* (T. 76, p. 64). An analysis of this unpublished work from a transcript of a manuscript in IFP (T. 553) is given by Ganesan (2009, 200–205).

9. *Vyomavyāpistava Laghuṭīkā* ('Brief commentary on the hymn of *Vyomavyāpimantra*'). It is a Sanskrit work yet to be published. A transcript of the manuscript is available (IFP T. 128; Ganesan 2009, 225–226, and 265).

3.2 *Doctrinal Works*

10. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam Urai* (Tamil).[18] This was published at the end of the nineteenth century in a three-volume edition alongside commentaries on it by Civākkira Yōki, Ñāṉappirakācar, Civañāṉa Yōki, Nirampavaḻakiyar, and Cuppiramaṇiya Tēcikar.[19] A further edition, along with the commentary of Nirampavaḻakiyar on the same text, was published by Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai in 1957 and 1958. According to Ṣaṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār, the editor of the

[18] Aruṇācalam 1976/2005, vol. 3, 23–28; Ganesan 2009, 239–241

[19] Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 vol. I, 1889 vols II and III.

above-mentioned six commentaries to *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam*,[20] there were two commentaries written by Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar on this text (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1889 II, 5): one is *kāṇṭikai* (paraphrase and illustrations) and another is *kaṇṇaḻivurai* (paraphrase). The one available along with the other five commentaries in the Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār edition seems to be of the first type, while the one printed along with the commentary of Nirampavaḻakiyar and published by Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai (1957–1958) seems to be of the second type. The differences between the two have been consistently recorded by Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai in his edition. Furthermore, there are a few individual critical editions of these commentaries based on manuscripts. A thorough critical edition of *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* based on manuscript evidence is long overdue.
In this work, Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar quotes profusely from the Tamil *Civatarumōttaram* and other works of his preceptor Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar. In contrast, another commentator, Civākkira Yōki, in similar instances prefers quotations from the Sanskrit *Śivadharmottara*. As mentioned earlier (see above, fn. 11 and 12) Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Ñāṉappirakācar also quotes from chapter eleven of the *Civatarumōttaram* and other works of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar, particularly the *Paramata Timira Pāṉu*, in his commentary to *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Parapakkam*.

11. *Civañāṇacittisvapakṣa Dṛṣṭāntasaṃgraha* ('Compilation of Verses from Āgama Literature [to illustrate that part] of *Civañāṉa Cittiyār* [where its author defends] his Own Views'). Ganesan has discussed the contents of this unpublished work based on IFP T. 317; the language of the work is not mentioned (Ganesan 2009, 234–239).

12. Commentary on *Patipacupācappaṉuval*. The author himself refers to his *kāṇṭikai* commentary on *Paramōpatēcam* of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar in his *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* commentary (Verse 2.58; see Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 1091). It is not available in print.

13. *Śaivāgamaparibhaṣāmañjarī* ('Collection of Terms from Śaiva Scriptures'). It is a compendium of ideas found in Āgamas and other related works (Ganesan 2009, 226–229). This has been published by Dagens (1979).

[20] That the editor is called Ṣaṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār is inferred from the introduction to the third part, where he thanks the people who made the palm-leaf manuscripts accessible for publishing the text (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1889, III, 40). Sometimes he is called by the epithet Koṉṟai Mānakaram Ṣaṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār.

14. Commentary on *Patipacupācattokai*: Aruṇācalam (1976/2005 vol. 3, 31–32) attributes this extensive commentary on the *Patipacupācattokai* to Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar. The commentary was published by the Tarumapuram Ātīṉam in 1940, but is not available to me.

4. *Works for which authorship cannot be decided between the two authors*[21]

4.1 *Ritual*

1. *Śivakālaviveka* ('Discrimination on [auspicious] periods for Śaiva [rituals].' See Ganesan 2009, 216–218.

4.2 *Commentaries*

2. *Vilocana* on *Varuṇapaddhati* ('Glance on the ritual manual of Varuṇa'). It is published by Ganesan from IFP T. 1034 (Ganesan, 2006). For a summary, see Ganesan 2009, 222–225.

3. *Upanyāsa* on *Śivajñānabodha* ('Bringing forth [arguments] to Establish the Views of the *Śivajñāṉabodha*'). Critically edited on the basis of four manuscripts with introduction and notes and English translation by Ganesan (Ganesan 2009, 241–243) under the title *Nigamajñānadeśikaviracitaḥ śivajñānabodhopanyāsah- A Commentary on the Śivajñānbodha by Nigamajñānadeśika*.

5. *Authorship of the Civatarumōttaram and of the Commentary on the Civatarumōttaram according to Literary Historians and Early Editors*

Ganesan, in his 2009 monograph, on which the above lists are partly based, does not mention anything about the commentary on the *Civatarumōttaram.* It is Aruṇācalam, in his literary history of sixteenth-century Tamil literature, who attributes for the first time the commentary on the *Civatarumōttaram* to Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar and discusses it in detail. However, Aruṇācalam does not offer evidence to support this attribution, nor does he discuss the absence of the name of the commentator in the printed versions. Ganesan kept silent on the authorship of the commentary to the *Civatarumōttaram*, leaving us to surmise that he is actually unsure of the authorship of the commentary or that it could be a self-commentary. As previously mentioned in § 3, if the views of Aruṇācalam are accepted there are four commentaries that can be ascribed to Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar: the commentary on the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam*, on the *Civatarumōttaram,* on the *Patipacupācappaṉuval,* and the non-extant commentary on the *Patipacupācattokai.*

[21] Ganesan 2009, xviii.

Among the early scholarship on the topic, Cōmacuntara Tēcikar, who wrote life-sketches of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar (Cōmacuntara Tēcikar 1936, 67–82) and Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar (Cōmacuntara Tēcikar 1936, 83–87), in his work on the poets of the sixteenth century, makes no observation on the commentary or its authorship. Cōmacuntara Tēcikar states that he has undertaken to write on these authors at the request of Aṉavarata Viṉāyakam Piḷḷai (1936, 67–87), even though he maintains that he has his own doubts about some of his opinions. According to Cōmacuntara Tēcikar, Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar is the author of the *Civatarumōttaram* and Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar is the author of the commentary on the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam*, but he does not write anything about the authorship of the commentary to the *Civatarumōttaram*. From Cōmacuntara Tēcikar's lone reference to Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar as the author of the commentary on the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam*, we can infer that he has no idea of the authorship of the commentary to the *Civatarumōttaram*. He also opines that both authors were *āṉmāṉantavāti*s, 'proponents of the doctrine that joy arises spontaneously from one's knowing oneself,' as expounded in Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar's work *Muttinilai*—though not to the extent of refuting it as did Kuru Ñāṉacampantar (the founder of the Tarumapuram Ātīṉam) in his *Muttiniccayam* (Cuvāmiṉāta Paṇṭitar, 1934). Further, Cōmacuntara Tēcikar gives a list of other works by Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar and dates them. He quotes two verses that are not in the printed editions, but are found at the end of the palm-leaf manuscript of the *Civatarumōttaram*, which refer to the composition of *Civatarumōttaram* by Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar.

Kumāracāmip Pulavar, the author of *Tamilppulavar Carittiram* briefly notes that Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar (Kumāracāmip Pulavar 1916, 148) is the author of the *Civatarumōttaram* and is different from the fourteenth-century author with the same name. He gives verse 217 from *Civatarumōttaram* chapter seven as an example.

Catācivam Pillai in his *Pāvalar Carittira Tīpakam* confuses the earlier Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar (fourteenth century) who is the teacher of Umāpati Civāccāriyār with his namesake and the author of the *Civatarumōttaram* (Catācivam Pillai 1916, 233). He refers to the printed edition of 1867 and gives details of the chapters, while also quoting the first verse from the *Civatarumōttaram*.

Moving to the printed editions of the *Civatarumōttaram* and commentary, none of them provide information on the identity of the author of the commentary. The first printed edition of 1867 mentions the title of the work as *Civatarumōttaram Mūlamum Uraiyum* ('*Civatarumōttaram*, Text and Commentary'), specifying that they were by Maṟaiñāṉa Campan-

tar. However, the expression used is a little ambiguous and could be interpreted as if the editor were attributing the authorship of both the text and commentary to the same author, or the authorship of the text to Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar and the commentary to an unnamed commentator:

> These are the *Civatarumōttaram* text and commentary benevolently bestowed by Maṟaiñāṉa Campanta Nāyaṉār. These are edited by Tirunelvēli Cālivāṭīcuvara *Ōtuvā Mūrttikaḷ* after consulting many books, and printed in the Muttamiḻākara Press of Ampalavāṇaṉ Kavirājaravarkaḷ, Ku. Civarāma Mutaliyāravarkaḷ and Putūr Vaḷḷināyakam Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷ. Pirapava Varuṣam Mārkaḻi Mātam. 1867, the month of December.'
>
> *Maṟaiñāṉa campanta nāyaṉār aruḷic ceyta civatarumōttaram mūlamum uraiyum ivai tirunelvēli cālivāṭīcuvara ōtuvā mūrttikaḷāl pala puttakaṅkaḷaik koṇṭu paricōtittu tirunelvēli ampalavāṇaṉ kavirājaravarkaḷ ku. civarāma mutaliyāravarkaḷ putūr vaḷḷināyakam piḷḷaiyavarkaḷ ivarkaḷatu muttamiḻākara accuk kūṭattiṟ patippikkap peṟṟaṉa. pirapava varuṣam, mārkaḻi mātam* 1867 *ticambar mātam.*

The title and details of the work on the title page of the second printed edition of 1888 are differently worded. It clearly mentions that the text *Civatarumōttaram*, as part of minor Āgama, is translated from Sanskrit by Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar. The commentary is mentioned separately, but definite clues are not offered as to a different authorship:

> The *Civatarumōttaram*, which is the eighth among the eleven sub-divisions of the *Cantāṉa Caruvōttamam*, the twenty-fourth among the twenty-eight *Caivākamam*s, was translated from Sanskrit by Maṟaiñāṉacampantar. Makārājasrī cu. Cupparāya Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷ, the bookseller of Tiricirapuram printed it with a commentary, having it edited under the supervision of Tirumayilai Vittuvāṉ Caṇmukam Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷ in the Chennai Mīṇāṭciyammai Kalāniti Press of Pu. Appācāmi Mutaliyār. 1888.
>
> *Caivākamam irupatteṭṭiṇuḷ 24 vatu cantāṉa carvōttamattiṉ upapētam patiṉoṉṟiṇuḷ 8 vatu civatarumōttaram vaṭamoḻiyiṉiṉṟum maṟaiñāṉacampantar moḻipeyarttatu. itaṟkuraiyuṭaṉ tiricirapuram puttaka viyāpāram makārājasrī cu. cupparāya piḷḷaiyavarkaḷ tirumayilai vittuvāṉ caṇmukam piḷḷaiyavarkaḷaik koṇṭu pārvaiyiṭṭu pu. appācāmi mutaliyāratu ceṉṉai mīṇāṭciyammai kalāniti /accuk kūṭattiṟ patippittaṉar* 1888.

The title page of the 1888 edition thus attributes the *Civatarumōttaram* to the Saiddhāntika scripture *Santānāgama* (*Cantāṉa Caruvōttamam*), reflecting ideas that are found inside the text (*Civatarumōttaram* 12.80; see below for translation and commentary).

As for the third printed edition of 1938, the title page of this work reads as follows:

> *Civatarumōttaram*, Text and commentary, translated from Sanskrit benevolently by Maṟaiñāṉa Campanta Nāyaṉār. This treatise is the eighth of the eleven subdivisions of *Cantāṉa Carvōttamam*, which is the twenty-fourth among the twenty-eight Śaivāgamās. Madras: Rippaṉ Press Edition, 1938.
>
> *Maṟaiñāṉa campanta nāyaṉār vaṭamoḻiyiṉiṉṟum moḻipeyarttaruḷiya civatarumōttaram mūlamum uraiyum iccāstiram caivākamam irupatteṭṭiṉuḷ irupattu nāṉkāvatākiya cantāṉa carvōttamattiṉ upapētam patiṉoṉṟiṉuḷ eṭṭāvatāyuḷḷatu, Maṟās: Rippaṉ Press Edition, Maṟās*, 1938.

This edition has added more notes to the commentary as *viṣēsa urai*, 'special notes' by the editor. In addition, the edition has an index of verses quoted and a list of works cited in the commentary. Another important addition is the description of the prosodic variety of the verses. There is no information available on the editor who added all these improvements. In short, the paratext does not give any clue to the author of the commentary. Even the brief introduction says nothing on the subject.[22]

The latest edition of 1998, by Kantaiyā & Vē. Civacuppiramaṇiaṉ, with a new commentary by A. Irāmanātaṉ, was published in Kuala Lumpur by the Centre for Śaiva Siddhantham, Kual Lumpur. This edition, too, gives no information on the old commentary, but offers a *sandhi* split version of the verses for easy reading by the lay reader. Its modern commentary is very basic and far from satisfactory.

6. *Evidence on the authorship of the Civatarumōttaram found in the manuscripts of the Civatarumōttaram and its commentary*

There are about thirty-one manuscripts of *Civatarumōttaram* identified in Chennai, Puducherry, Paris and other places, and some have been digitised thanks to the service of the Institut Français de Pondichéry, of the 'Texts Surrounding Texts' Project (led by Eva Wilden and Emmanuel Francis, based at the Staatsbibliothek zu Hamburg and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France), as well as by the Shivadharma Project. I have examined copies of six manuscripts[23] thanks to Florinda De Simini, who sent me digital copies

[22] A PDF version available on the internet seems to be a copy of this work. While the initial pages are not there, it could be speculated to be by Āṟumuka Nāvalar of Jaffna, though this is doubtful and the name of the editor still needs to be identified.

[23] Such manuscripts are described as P2 and P3 (from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris), G3 and G6 (from the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library of

from her collections. My focus was especially on the last colophon verses that were not published by the first publishers of the *Civatarumōttaram* in 1867 and 1888. The reasons for omitting these verses in the printed editions is unclear, but one may surmise that, at the onset of modern book-printing, publishers had the practice of omitting the last colophon or satellite verses found in the manuscripts, without recognising the importance of such information for historiography and literary history.

Two such colophon verses were recorded for the first time by the literary historian Cōmacuntara Tēcikar (1936, 79), as firm evidence that the authorship of the *Civatarumōttaram* be attributed to Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar. Aruṇācalam (1975/2005, 174) also records another verse from this colophon. Among the six manuscripts that I have examined, four contain the colophon verses (P2, P3, G6, F1) and two (G3, S1) do not. Among those that contain these verses, one is without commentary (G6). One manuscript without commentary (S1) and one with commentary (G3) do not have these verses. The details are given below.

The additional twelve or more colophon verses that speak about the provenance of the work, its author and the benefits that accrue by reciting the work, are found in the manuscripts of the *Civatarumōttaram* with and without commentary. From that one may infer that they are an integral part of the earlier transmission of the text. They are called *Tutippāyiram* 'Prolegomena of Invocations' in one manuscript (G6, See Appendix 1), a label that is rarely attested in texts. Among them, there are four verses that are more important, and which I present below; note that I have not reported the variant readings attested in the manuscripts, but only a standardised text:

muṉṉaṅ kēṭka vakattiyaṉ caṇmukaṉ |
paṉṉī rāyira mākap pakarnta |
ṉaṉṉa vuttara māyirat teṭṭunū |
ṟeṉṉa am'muṉi koytiṅ kiyampiṉaṉ || 1 ||

In earlier times, upon Akattiya's request, Caṇmukaṉ (i.e., Murukaṉ) narrated [the *Civatarumōttaram*] in twelve thousand *śloka*s. In this world, that sage harvested (and composed) such a great *Uttaram* in 1800 *śloka*s.

anta vākkiṉai nōkki yarukaruñ |
cinta vātucey tēcikaṉ ñāṉacam |

Chennai), F1 (from the Institut Français de Pondichéry) and S1 (from the Saraswathi Mahal Library of Tañcāvūr) in the appendix to Trento's article in this volume.

panta ṉāmam parittō ṉirucataṅ |
canta māyirat teṭṭuṅ camaittaṉaṉ || 2 ||

Based on his words, I/he who bear(s) the name of Ñāṉacampantaṉ, who challenged even the great Jainas in debate, composed it in two hundred plus thousand eight poems.

veṇṇai māṉakar meykaṇṭa tēcikaṉ |
kaṇṇi ṉālvipa rītaṅka ḷavittut |
teṇṇilā vaṇiceṅ caṭaiyāṉe |
tuṇṇiṉ ṟōtu vittāṉ ṟarumōttaram || 3 ||

When Meykaṇṭa Tēcikaṉ from the great town of Veṇṇai destroyed my erroneous knowledge through his spiritual vision, the God Śiva, whose red matted hair is adorned with the crescent cool moon, having resided in my heart, caused me to compose the *Tarumōttaram*.

inta nūlula keṅku milaṅkuka |
yinta nūlai yitaḷi ṉeḷutuvār |
cintit tīviṉai vāḻvar tivitaṉil |
vantu piṉ maṇiṉ māṟṟuvar tōṟṟamē || 4 ||

Let this book shine throughout the world. Those who write this book on palm-leaf live longer in heaven, having destroyed their sins. Later they will surely come to this earth and destroy rebirth.

The following quotation, cited by Cōmacuntara Tēcikar (1936, 79), attests different readings for two of the above-quoted stanzas:

muṉṉa māti ***murukaṉ muṉivarkkup***
paṉṉī rāyira mākap pakarntaṉa
ṉaṉṉa vuttara māyirat teṭṭunū
ṟeṉṉa māmuṉi vaṇkoy tiyampiṉāṉ || 1 ||
anta vākkiṉai nōkki yarukaruñ
cinta vātucey tēcika ñāṉacam
panta ṉāmam parittō ***ṉorucatañ***
canta nāṉkunā laimpatuñ cāṟṟiṉaṉ. || 2 ||

In earlier epoch, for the first time Murukaṉ narrated [the *Civatarmottaram*] to Akastiya Muṉi in twelve thousand *śloka*s.

Akastiya Muṉi harvested that *Uttaram* and narrated it in 1800 *śloka*s. Based on his words, I/he who bear(s) the name of Ñāṉacampantaṉ, who challenged even the great Jainas in debate, composed it all in four times one hundred verses (i.e., 400) and in four into four times fifty (i.e., sixteen multiplied by fifty, total 1200).

These colophon verses suggest that Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar is the author of the *Civatarumōttaram*. However, the narrative style of these verses is slight-

ly ambiguous. A first reading could show us the third person masculine singular predicate verb *camaittaṉaṉ*, 'he made' (verse 2), having as subject the nominative Ñāṉacampantaṉ in verse two and suggesting that the author of the colophon verses is different from the author of the work, to whom he refers here. However, the predicate verb *camaittaṉaṉ* is also homophonous with the form *camaittaṉaṉ*, 'I made.'[24] Interpreting *camaittaṉaṉ* as the first person, and attributing this statement directly to Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar, may be confirmed further by the verse that follows, in which the narrating author has unmistakably switched to the first person. Even if we accept it as the third person, the author may still be referring to himself as such a habit is attested in literature as an expression of the author's modesty. Verses extracted from his other works confirm that Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar alternates between referring to himself in the first and the third person singular:[25]

1. *Caivacamayaneṟi* 572

caiva camaya neṟi cārriṉaṉ campantaṉ uyir
maiyalaṟa vāykka varam caiva camaya neṟi

I, Campantaṉ, composed the text *Caivacamayaneṟi* in order for the boons to be obtained [and] for the souls to get ignorance dispelled.

2. *Patipacupācappaṉuval* (quoted in Aruṇācalam 1975/2005, 176)[26]
piramapurat tīcaṉpāl pētaimulai pālaip
parukiyapā laṉ pēr parintōṉ-nirumalaṉ col
āyntturaitta ceyyuḷvakai munnūṟum āṟāṟum
ēynta tuṇai pakkuvarkkeṉ ṟeṇ

The verse collection three hundred and six was composed after having studied the words of the Faultless One, by [Tiruñāṉacampantaṉ], the

[24] This homophony is the result of the Old Tamil first person singular *-eṉ* (*Tolkāppiyam, Col. Viṉai* 6) becoming *-aṉ* in Middle Tamil, and later merging with the third person masculine singular suffixe *-aṉ*, which is attested in Tēvāram (Appar. 4.113–8: *tuṟakkap paṭāta uṭalait tuṟantu ventūtuvaroṭiṟappaṉ iṟantāl iruvicum pēṟuvaṉ*, 'I will die having given up the body that is not to be given up, accompanying the messengers of Yama, and claim the great sky [i.e., reach heaven]'), and endorsed in a rule in the mediaeval grammatical text *Naṉṉūl* (no. 330).

[25] The following quotations are extracted from: *Caivacamayaneṟi*, *Patipacupācappaṉuval, Paramōpatēcam*), *Uruttirākka Viciṭṭam*, *and Caṅkaṟpanirākaraṇam* (*Ciṟappuppāyiram*).

[26] Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar wrote a still unpublished commentary on this work, according to his own reference in *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.58 (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 1091): *patipacupācap paṉuvalukkiṭṭa kāṇṭikaiyiṟ kūṟiṇam. āṇṭuk kāṇka*; 'I have explained it in the *kāṇṭikai* commentary to the *Patipacupācappaṉuval*. See it there.'

one who bears the name of the child who drank the breast milk of the innocent women (scil., Pārvati) who is part of the God of the Pirammapuram (i.e., Cīrkāḻi).

3. *Paramōpatēcam* 41

ceṟimāceṟiyum paramōpatēcam
maṟaiñāṉacampantaṉ vākku

The *Paramōpatēcam*, which destroys all the abundant sins, is the word of Maṟaiñāṉacampantaṉ.

4. *Uruttirākka Viciṭṭam*, *ciṟappuppāyiram* Prolegomena

cāṟṟiṇaṇē kaṇṭivarantaṉṉai yeṇṇic campantaṉ
āṟṟiṇaiyum ceñcaṭaimē lārvittāṉ-kūṟṟiṇaikkoṉ
ṟantaṇaṇaik kāttā ṉamarntilaṅku tillai vaṇat
tantamilāṉ taṇṇaruḷāl āyntu

Campantaṉ, having thought and examined the cool grace of [Śiva],
who has put on his matted red hair the river along with other things, who saved the Brahmin (i.e., Mārkaṇḍeya) by killing Yama, who resides splendidly in the Tillaivaṉam (i.e., Chidambaram), and who has no end,
thoughtfully explained the significance of the necklace of *rudrākṣa* beads.

5. *Caṅkaṟpanirākaraṇam, Ciṟappuppāyiram*

nirantavar caṅkaṟpam nirākarikkum innūl
parintu lakōr uyyap pakarntōṉ-tiruntumaṟai
ōṅki viḻaṅka utittamaṇai ōṭṭiṇaṉ pēr
tāṅkiṇā ṉāyntā kamamuttaṉ

The one who composed this work which refutes the convictions of many for the people of the world to be redeemed, is the one who bears the name of the one who was born so that the refined Vedas shine loftily and who drove away the Jains (Campantaṉ).

7. *Discussion in the Ciṟappuppāyiram on the Provenance of the Tamil Civatarumōttaram: Possible clue to the Authorship of the Commentary*

In the seventh verse of the *Ciṟappuppāyiram*, the 'prolegomena' to the text, the author mentions that he is summarising and narrating the contents of the *Civatarumōttaram* taught by Kantaṉ (Skanda) to Akattiyaṉ (Agastya; *Civatarumōttaram Pāyiram* 7 and 15). The commentary on *Civatarumōttaram Pāyiram* 7 identifies a set of details that one normally finds in the *Pāyiram,* i.e.: 1. the name of the author; 2. its lineage; 3. the geographical area of relevance or the current area where the text is circulated; 4. the name of the work; 5. the type of composition (e.g. abridgement, full text,

elaboration etc.); 6. the subject matter; 7. audience and 8. benefits gained by the text.

As per the above scheme, the commentator identifies the following details of the *Civatarumōttaram*:[27]

1. The name of the author: Maṟaiñāṉacampanta Nāyaṉār;
2. The lineage: derived from *Civākamā*;
3. The geographical area of circulation: the land where Tamil is spoken;
4. The name of the work: the name derived from its original title, i.e., *Civatarumōttaram*;
5. The type of composition: abridgement and elaboration
6. The subject matter: *śivadharma* (*civatarmam*), benefits from the gift of the Śaiva knowledge (*civañāṉa tāṉa palaṉ*);
7. Audience: students of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar;
8. Benefits: attaining salvation.

[27] *Civatarumōttaram Pāyiram* 7 (Translation: courtesy of Margherita Trento): 'Praising and worshipping the fragrant lotus-feet of Murukaṉ (*kukaṉ*) who knows fully the true [scriptures] beginning with the Vedas uttered by the Pure one who has no beginning, middle, or end, in order to destroy the impurities of living beings, Agastya asked [him]: "O teacher, tell [me] a way that might generate wisdom for all living beings!" [Thus,] Skanda graciously taught [him] the *Civatarumōttaram*. Analysing that book carefully (*ōrntē*), and making a summary of it (*tokai ceytum*), I will tell [it] (*uraippām*) now.' *Ātinaṭuvantamilāṉamalaṉuyirkkaḷukkaṟukkavaṟaintavāymai | vēta mutaluṇarntakukaṉviraimalarttāḷakattiyaṉṟāṉ viyantu pōṟṟip | pōtakaṉēvaṉait tuyirkkumpulamākkuneṟipukalāyeṉṉakkanta ṉō tiyaruḷ | civatarumōttaranūlaittokaiceytumuraip pāmōrntē* ||. Commentary: *yām*, *mutaṉaṭuvīṟillāta niṉmalaṉākiya civaṉuyirkaḷuk kāṇava mutaliya pācaṅkaḷai yaṟukkaiyiṉ poruṭṭaruḷicceyta vētākama mutaliya vuṇmai ñāṉattai yuṇarnta cuppiramaṇiyaṉatu maṇamporuntiya centāmarai pōṉṟa cīpātaṅkaḷai vaṇaṅki ñāṉācāriyaṉē caruvāṉmākkaḷukku maṟivuṇṭāmārkkattait tiruvaḷampaṟṟuvāyāka veṇṟakattiyaṉ viṇṇappañceyyavantaccuppiramaṇiyaṉ ṟiruvuḷam paṟṟiya civatarumōttara meṇṇuñ civākamattaiyuṟṟunōkkit tokuttut tamiḻārcollāniṉṟē meṉṟavāṟu. tokaiceytumeṉṟa vummaiyāl, vakuttumeṉavaṟika. akamākiya vintiya paruppatattaik kīḻppaṭuttukaiyālakattiyaṉe ṉappeyarāyiṟṟu. ku. viṉai yiṉnīṅkiya viḷaṅkiyavaṟiviṉ: muṉaivaṉkaṇṭatumutaṉūlākum eṉṉumuṉṉūlaippārttu moḻipeyartturaikkaiyālitu vaḻinūleṉappeyar peṟum cū. vaḻiyeṉap paṭuvataṭaṉvaḻittāku matuvē tāṉumīriruvakaittē tokuttal virittal tokai virimoḻipeyarppeṉat taku nūl yāppīraṇ ṭeṇpa. eṉpata ṉuḻ iḷtu tokaivakaiyeṉavaṟika. ākkiyōṉ peyarai mutaṟkaṭkūṟātu nūṟpeyaraik kūṟiya teṉṉu taliṟṟōveṇiṉ. ellārumpiramāṇa mākavaṅkīkarikkavēṇṭukaiyāṉeṉka. Ākkiyōṉ peyar mutaliyaṉa varumāṟu. ākkiyōṉ peyar, maṟaiñāṉacampantanāyaṉār. vaḻi. civākamattiṉ vaḻi*, *ellai*, *tamiḻvaḻaṅkumpūmi*, *nūṟpeyar*. *mutaṉūlāṟpeṟṟapeyar*, *yāppu*, *tokaivakai*, *nutaliya poruḷ, civataṉmamcivañāṉa tāṉa mutalāyiṉa*, *kēṭpōr*, *avar māṇākkar*, *payaṉ*, *vīṭupēṟu eṉavaṟika*.

The same method of interpretation is found in the commentary on the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* by Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar. The schematic representation of the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* given in the commentary is as follows:

1. Name of the author: Aruṇanti Tēvanāyaṉār;
2. The lineage: *Civañāṉpōtam*;
3. The geographical area of circulation: Naṭunāṭṭu Tiruttuṟaiyūr;
4. Name of the work: *Civañāṉa Citti*;
5. The type of composition: abridgement and elaboration;
6. Subject matter: the nature of the three categories starting from *pati*;
7. Audience: Maṟaiñāṉa Campanta Nāyaṉār, who is the chief among his students;
8. Benefits: attaining salvation (*Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* Sūtra 5, *Pāyiram*).

In the fifteenth verse of the *Civatarumōttaram Pāyiram,* the provenance of the original text in canonical literature is briefly referred to. The commentary on *Civatarumōttaram Pāyiram* 15 and *Civatarumōttaram* 12.80 claims that the *Civatarumōttaram* is one of the sixteen sub-divisions of *Cantāṉa Caruvōttamam.*[28] Let us first look at *Civatarumōttaram Pāyiram* 15 (Translation: courtesy of T. Rajarethinam and others of the Shivadharma Project Team):

> As soon as the sage had made his request in this way, the beautiful Kumaraṉ, feeling compassion [for the sage], meditated on the tightly ankleted feet of the Incomparable Śiva, [and spoke as follows:] O best of sages, listen! In order to remove suffering, we will teach the *dharma* (*aṟam*) of the book called *Civatarumōttaram*, which was produced by grace of the faultless Śiva in the past. Some people, upon learning it and putting it into practice, may reach Śivaloka, [and] others, after clearly perceiving themselves [viz. their own nature] and rubbing away [their] impurity, may reach Śiva's feet.
>
> *eṉṟu muṉiviṉavutalumirakkameytiyeḻiluṭaiyakumaraṉṟāṉiṉai yilīcaṉ, ṟuṉṟukaḻalaṭiniṉaintutuyakka nīṅkac colluvaṅkēṇmuṉivara ṉētukaḷilīca, ṉaṉṟaruḷcey civatarumōttarameṉūli ṉaṟamataṉaiyaṟin tucilarataṉaiyākkic ceṉṟaṇaiyaccivapuriyaitteruṇṭu tam'maic civa ṉaṭiyaic cilaraṭaiyamalamun tēyntē*.
>
> Commentary:
> When the *muni* Akkattiya made such a request, the beautiful Kumāracāmi appeared to him by grace, meditated on the holy feet of the incomparable

[28] On this, see also Cōmacuntara Tēcikar 1936, 79.

Śiva, who wears the tight anklet of bravery, and then [said]: 'O great Muṉi, I will teach, in a manner that removes any doubt, the *Civatarumōttaram*, an *upāgama* among the five *upāgama*s, i.e., the *Īcāṉam,* the *Civataṉmam,* the *Civatarumōttaram,* the *Tivyappurōktam,* and the *Kupēram,* which are the *upapēta* (*upabheda*) of the *Cantāṉa Caruvōttamam,* a *mūlāgama* among the twenty-eight divine Āgamas beginning with the *Kāmika,* taught by the unblemished Śiva as an act of grace at the time of creation;[29] so that a few among the ripe souls would understand the *Śivadharma* and follow it, and, as a result, would reach Śivaloka; and so that a few of the highly ripe may obtain the self-realisation through the Śaiva knowledge, remove the [three kinds of] impuries beginning with *āṇava*, and reach his holy feet. Please, listen to it!'

akattiya māmuṉi yivvāṟu viṉaviya vaḷavi laḷakiṉai yuṭaiya kumāracuvāmi kirupai ceṉittu oppilāta civaṇatu neruṅkiṉa vīrakkaḷaliṉaiyuṭaiya cīpātaṅkaḷait tiyāṉañceytu piṉpu muṉivaraṉē niṉmalaṇākiyacivaṉ pakkuvāṉmākkaḷiṟ ciṟitupērcivataṉmaṅkaḷaiyaṟintaṇuṭṭittataṇāṟa civalōkattaiyaṭaiyavum ati pakkuvariṟ civañāṉattiṉālē yāṇavamutaliyavātaiyaip pōkkittaṟ corūpatericaṇappaṭṭuttaṇatu tiruvaṭiyaiyaṭaiyavuñ, ciruṭṭikālattiṟ civaṇaru ḷicceytakāmika mutaliya tivviyākamamirupatteṭṭiṉuṭ cantāṉa caruvōttame ṉṉumūlākamattiṉupapētamākiya īcāṉañ civataṉmam civatarumōttaram tivviyap purōttam kupērameṇakkūṟiyavaintiṉuṭ civatarumōttara meṉṉu mupākamattai aiyantirivu nīṅkayāñ collāniṉṟōmataṇaik kētpāyākaveṉṟa vāṟu.

The text of *Civatarumōttaram* 12.80 runs as follows:
Considering the treatise called *Civatarumōttaram*, graciously given by the Incomparable One– [one should] know that, since it is a subdivision of the *Caruvōttam* among the scriptures, the contents of the other scriptures will also rarely be interspersed in it. The contents of the other scriptures will appear in other chapters as well.

ēkaṇaruḷ civatarumōttarameṇu nūleṇṇuṅkā |
lākamattuṭ caruvōttattupapētamataṇālē |
yākamattuṭpaṭiyitaṇuḷarukivarumeṇa vaṟika |
vākamattiṇpaṭi marṟaiyiyaluḷḷumaṭaintuṟumē ||

Commentary:
If it is asked whether the *Civatarumōttaram,* which is given by the Incomparable One as an act of his grace, is a primary (*mūla-*) or an ancillary (*upa-*) scripture (*āgama*), let it be understood that this *Civatarumōttaram* is one among the five division (*petam*) called the *Īcāṉam*, the *Civataṉmam*,

[29] According to the standard list, *Cantāṉam* and *Caruvōttam* are enumerated as twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth among the *Āgamas*. For the *Śivadharmottara* being an *upabheda* of the *Santāna*, see Goodall's article in this volume, p. 62.

> the *Civatarumōttaram*, the *Tivyappurōktam*, and the *Kupēram*, that [appear] within the twenty fifth Āgama called *Caruvottam*.[30] Therefore, the contents described in the other scriptures will also be interspersed in it. Therefore, it is not a defect of redundancy or exaggeration (i.e., a defect in literary composition, one of ten *nūṟ-kuṟṟam*). Moreover, they will be mixed up in the chapters [called] *Civañāṉayōkaviyal* and *Parikāraviyal*.
>
> *taṉakkopporuvarumillāta civaṉaruḷicceyta civatarumōttaram, mūlākamō upākamōveṉṉiṉ mūlakāmattilirupattaintāmākamamākiya caruvōttameṉṉu mākamattil, īcāṉam, civataṉmam, civatarumōttaram, tivviyap purōktam,kupērākkiyam, eṉappiṟintapētamaintaṉuḷ,intac civatarumōttaramum upākamākaiyālē maṟṟākamattiṟkūṟiya poruḷkaḷumitaṉuḷaruki varumeṉavaṟika. ātalālitu mikaipaṭak kūṟaleṉṉuṅkuṟṟamaṉṟu,aḥtaṉṟic civañāṉa yōkaviyaliṉum parikāraviyaliṉuṅ kalantu varum*

As there is no editorial introduction, we are not able to guess anything on the authorship of the commentary. Even the prefatory verse found in the 1888 edition has no mention of the details of the text. The printed versions gave little attention to differentiating between the author of the work and the author of the commentary. The above discussion suggests the possibility that the commentary is written by one who is not the author.

8. *Authorship and Style of the Commentary on the Civatarumōttaram*

We have direct references to 'a teacher' of Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar in the commentaries on the *Civatarumōttaram* and other works. One such cases is the commentary on *Civatarumōttaram* 2.9, on the topic of *civañāṉatāṉa* ('Donating wisdom of Siva'). This verse refers to the different rhythms of songs. The commentator, after paraphrasing the text, further discusses the various rhythms in Tamil and Sanskrit. In doing so, he quotes a verse from the commentary on the *Vīracōḻiyam* (twelfth century) about the twenty-six types of rhythms. Then he quotes the following two verses and mentions that these are by 'our teacher':

> *iruvitañcantamivaṟṟoṉṟeḻuttālilaṅkumaṟṟai | yoruvitamāttiraiyā lēyoḷirumoḷirumitu | poruvaritākiyavāriyat tuṇṭu potiyameṉṉu | maruva*

[30] Note that the title pages of the 1888 and 1938 editions give a different description, reflecting a separate enumeration of the Āgamas and their subdivisions: *Caivākamam irupatteṭṭiṉuḷ 24vatu Cantāṉa Carvōttamattiṉ upapētam patiṉoṉṟiṉuḷ 8vatu Civatarumōttaram*; 'The *Civatarumōttaram*, which is the eighth among the eleven sub-divisions of *Cantāṉa Carvōttamam* which is the twenty-fourth among the twenty-eight *Caivākamam*...' From the use of the form *Carvōttamattiṉ* (i.e., *Carvōttamam+attu+iṉ*), we deduce that the editor emends the name *Carvōttam* as *Carvōttamam*, through some kind of false etymology and hypercorrection (See the discussion in the article p. 156, 163ff).

raimātavaṉkūṟuntamiḻukkarukamaṉṟē | arukamaruntamiḻkkāriyattum 'meḻuttāṉutittu | varukiṉṟacantavitameṉṟu ḷattiṉ matittiṭuka | voruvaṉaiyellāvuyirkkumuyirāyoruvalillā | niruma laṉṟaṉṉaippatampaṇintēttiṭunēcarkaḷē | eṉṟōtiṉar - ematukuravar (cu)

There are two types of *Cantam*. One glitters with (i.e., is made of) letters. The other type glitters with *mātrā*s. That which glitters with *mātrā*s is found in unmatched Āriyam (i.e., Sanskrit). It is not appropriate for Tamil that is taught by the great ascetic of the great Potiya hill [i.e., Agastya]. Understand that the *Cantam* that originates from letters is appropriate to great Tamil and Āriyam. O devotees who worship, having bowed to the feet of the Unparalleled one and Unblemished one who never leaves the souls and is Soul to all souls!—Thus explained our teacher.

I could not identify the source text to which these two verses belong, and we have no direct confirmation that the author (and, thus, the 'teacher' referred to) is Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar. These could also be stray verses composed by Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar, and collected by the commentator as his intimate student. A thorough examination of the works of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar, both published and unpublished, may throw more light on them.

When commenting upon *Civatarumōttaram* 10.74, the commentator quotes from *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 1.45 and *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Parapakkam* 137, and illustrates his argument with another quotation from the work *Patipacupācappaṇuval* (4.68) of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar with the epithet 'as in *Cittiyār Cupakṣattil*, *Parapakṣattil Puttamāttiyamikan matattil*, and as narrated benevolently in *Patipacupācaviyal'* (4.68).[31] The usual reverential epithet 'narrated benevolently' might imply that here Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar is referring to Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar as his mentor. Moreover, this explanation of Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar seems to echo the sentiments of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar in *Civatarumōttaram* 10.75, where he declares that on this point

[31] *Inta nūlil vārātaporuḷkaḷellām virittukkūṟiyatu maṟṟum virinta tamiḻccāttiraṅkaḷilu mākamaṅkaḷiluṅ kaṇṭu virittukkūṟiya teṇakkoḷka. Cittiyār cupakṣattil*: *vittaikaḷ vittai yīcarcatācivareṉṟivarkku | vaitturumpataṅkaḷ vaṉṉampuvaṉaṅkaṇ mantiraṅka | ṭattuvañ carīrampōkaṅ karaṇaṅkaṭāme lāmu | muyttiṭumvayintavantāṉupātā ṉamākiniṉṟē* || (*Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupaṭcam* 1.45) *Eṉavum-Parapakṣattiṟ: Puttaṇmāttiyamikaṇ matattil. Avaiyavamporuḷāyttōṉṟum avaiyavamaḻintā ṟpiṉṉai | yivai poruḷeṉṉa vēṟoṇ ṟilāmaiyāṟ poruḷkaḷiṉṟām | avaiporuḷilāmaiyālē yaṟivu miṉṟākumeṉṟu | navai tarumoḻiyiṉālēnavilu māttiyamikaṉṟāṉē* || *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Parapaṭcam Māttiyamikaṇ matam* 137 *eṉavum. Karuvi taṉittaṉiyē kāṇuyirkaṭkellām puramuṭalār taṅkumpoḻutu* (*Patipacuppācappaṇuval* 4 *Pācacātaka iyal* 68) eṉap *Patipacupācaviyalil tiruvuḷamparṟiyatuṅkaṇṭukoḷka. Iṉṉuṅkāṭṭiṇ viriyum.*

he digressed for the sake of illuminating the ignorant souls on the wisdom of Śiva. Similar to the above quoted stanzas, he quotes Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar in his commentary to the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 9.8 (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 1074) with the reverential attribute 'our great teacher' (*em kuravar*). In other places (*Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 9.4, Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 1055) he will use the word *tiruvākku,* 'divine words,' to refer to the verses of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar.

Next, I will illustrate some aspects of the commentator's style which, apart from bringing more evidence towards confirming the authorship of the commentary, will also illuminate his commentarial habitus. These are: the method of introducing verses with a synoptic caption; the interpretive style; his sources of authoritative teachings.

Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar, when writing a commentary, has the habit of identifying the configuration of the sequence of verses and the main ideas narrated in them by labelling them with a caption, a kind of synoptic remark. This is the hallmark of his commentary-making. See, for instance, the caption to *Civatarumōttaram* 2.10:

> *Apakkuvarkkupporuṇmutaliyavācaiyiṉāṉñāṉanūlkūṟiṟkuṟṟameṉṟuṇarttukiṉṟār*
>
> [In the following verse, the author] states that if a teacher, out of his greediness for wealth and other things, teaches an immature person it is a sin.

Multiple such examples can be given to show his adherence to various hermeneutical practices and principles of *ukti* (i.e., literary devices employed by an author of a standard work who keeps in mind the thirty-two rules of exegesis) and so forth. In these remarks, note that the reference to the author is indicated in the third person (plural\honorific) in a sentence in which the subject is not expressed; this again confirms that the synoptic statements are written by a commentator other than the author. One can regularly observe Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar's practice of giving synoptic statements in the cluster of verses in his commentary to *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam*. See, for instance, the following captions:

> *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.32:[32]
> *civaṉāṉmākkaḷiruviṉaippalattaittuyppittaṉukkirakamceyyumataṟkutāraṇamiṭṭuṇarttukiṟār* [...] *itaṟku civataṉmōttarameṉa aṟika*.
>
> For this example is the *Civataṉmōttaram*: 'In verse [1.32] the author explains the act of Śiva causing the souls to experience the fruits of their two [types of] actions, giving examples.'

[32] Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 918.

Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam 2.33[33]
irācāvaip pōlac civaṉukkum paṭcapātam illai yeṉṟuṇarttukiṟār
[In Verse 33, the author] explains that Śiva too has no partiality, like a king.

In order to illustrate this point, Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar quotes two Tamil verses from the *Civatarumōttaram* (6.99 and 6.100) with the remark *eṉa aṟika*, 'let it be understood,' without mentioning the work.[34] On the contrary, in commenting upon the *Civatarumōttaram*, he sometimes brings into his commentary details and information from the original Sanskrit *Śivadharmottara* which had been omitted in the Tamil version of his master. This may be illustrated with an example from *Civatarumōttaram* 10.77:

icaivuṭaṉ pirāṇā yāma miyaṟṟiṉa rorukāl viṇṇil
acaivaṟa virukka yāka maṉaittaiyu miyaṟṟiṉārē

Those who perform *prāṇayāma* (*pirāṇāyāmam*) properly once are [effectively the same as] performers of all the sacrifices (*yākam*) for staying in heaven (*viṇṇil*) without falling back.

Here *yākamaṉaittaiyum* is glossed as *tapacu yākan tāṉam viratañ civa tīrttam ivaikaḷāl uṇṭākum palaṅkaḷaiyum,* an explanation that introduces the finer details found in the Sanskrit source (*Śivadharmottara* 10.147a–c: *tapāṃsi yāni paṭhyante yajñadānavratāni ca | sarvatīrthābhiṣekaś*).[35]

Another point to give attention to is that in the Tamil grammatical tradition, the textual matter is prefaced with a component called *Ciṟappuppāyiram*. It is defined as 'introduction to a book,' giving details on the author, title of the work, subject matter etc. This is one of the two types of *Pāyiram* ('prologue'), i.e., *Potuppāyiram* and *Ciṟappuppāyiram.* The *Potuppāyiram* is the most common, being similar to a general preface. Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar, who is

[33] Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 924.

[34] *Civatarumōttaram* 6.99: *viṇṇuḷār narar maṟṟai vilaṅkumē | paṇṇupāvapalattaik koṭuppavaṉ | ṟiṇṇamēyamaṉṟēcikaṉtīrttiṭum | paṇṇirpāvavitam civapattarum* |; 'Certainly Yama is the one who gives the fruits for the sinful acts done by celestials, human beings and other animals. In case the devotees of Śiva do various sinful acts, the teacher will remedy them.'

Civatarumōttaram 6.100: *piṇakkan taṉṉaiyumpeṟṟavar tam'miṭaik | kaṇakkilāraiyuṅkaḷvarkaṭam'maiyum | vaṇakkuvāṉmaṉṉaṉmaṟṟaiyar taṅkaḷai | yiṇakkuvāṉarakattuḻēyiyamaṉ* |; 'The king will subdue or punish those who have discord between themselves, those who do not maintain proper accounts, and thieves. Yama will attach them in the hell with other people.' We can contrast this practice with that of Civākkira Yōki who, in his commentary to *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam*, prefers to rely on the Sanskrit text of the *Śivadharmottara*, rather than on the Tamil *Civatarumōttaram*.

[35] Parallel to *Śivadharmottara* 10.146–147.

familiar with this tradition, has prefixed the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* and *Civatarumōttaram* with the same type of prologue, i.e., the *Ciṟappuppāyiram*.

Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar's frequent use of quotations in his commentary on the *Civatarumōttaram* and the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* highlights his vast knowledge of the classical Tamil tradition. Apart from the *Tēvāram,* the *Tiruvācakam* and other Śaiva hymns and treatises, he is acquainted with texts such as the *Tolkāppiyam,* the *Naṉṉūl,* the *Vīracōḻiyam,* the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* and the *Yāpparuṅkala Virutti*. The following 116 authoritative texts are referred to in his commentary on the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* (those marked with II had already been identified by Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai):[36]

Acitam (II) *Añcumāṉ* (II), *Aññavataipparaṇi* (II), *Ākkiṉēyapurāṇam* (II), *Aḻavai Viḻakkam, Irakaciyacāram* (II), *Irattiṇattiraiyam, Irauravāgamam, Irauravacūttiram* (II), *Uṇmaiviḻakkam* (II), *Kantakālōttaram* (II), *Kantapurāṇam* (II), *Kantaraṇupūti* (II), *Kaḻaviyal Urai, Kāntam, Kāmikāgamam, Kāraṇāgamam, Kālarūpappirakācikai* (II), *Kālōttaram, Kiraṇāgamam, Cataruttira Caṅkitai, Caṅkaṟpanirākaraṇam* (*Umāpati Civāccāriyār*), *Caṅkaṟpanirākaraṇam* (*Maṟaiñāṇacampantar*) (II), *Caṭcakattiram* (II), *Carvacittāntacaṅkirakam, Carvacurōttacāracaṅkirakam, Carvañāṉōttaram, Carvamatōppaṉṉiyācam, Cāratātilakam, Citampara Mākātmiyam, Cittāntacaṅkirakam, Cittāntacampōti* (II), *Cittāntam* (II), *Cittāntacārāvaḻi, Cittāntatantiram, Cittāntarakaciyacāram* (II), *Cintiyākamam, Civañāṉapōtam, Civañāṉapōtacaṅkirakam* (II), *Civatantiram* (II), *Civataṉmōttaram, Civataṉmam, Civappirakācam, Cuttākkiyai, Cuppirapētam, Cuvaccantam, Cuvaccantapairavam, Cuvāyampuvam, Cūkkumam, Cūtacaṅkiyai* (II), *Cūtakītai* (II), *Caivacamayneṟi* (II), *Caivapurāṇam, Countariya Lahiri, Ñāṇarattiṇāvali* (II), *Ñāṇāmirtam, Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram, Tirukkaḷiṟṟuppaṭiyār* (II), *Tattuvaviḻakkam, Tarkkaparipāṭai, Tirukkuṟaḷ, Tiruvācakam, Tantiracāram, Tirumantiram, Tiruvarutpayaṉ* (II), *Tiruviṭaimarutūr Mummaṇikkōvai* (II), *Tēvāram, Tolkāppiyam, Naṉṉūl, Niccuvācakārikai, Niccuvācatantiram, Niccuvācam, Niccuvācōttaram, Pañcappiramapāṭiyam* (II), *Pañcākkara Taricaṉam* (II), *Pattirakiri* (II), *Patipacupācappaṉuval, Paramatanirākaraṇam, Paramōpatēcam* (II), *Parākkiyai, Parācarōpapurāṇam* (II), *Pavuṭkar-*

[36] The earlier editor Śaṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār, in the first volume of the commentaries of the six commentators (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 3–4), identifies about forty-five works quoted in the commentary of Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar on the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam*; in the third volume (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1889 III, 8-10) he has identified a total of 102 quoted in the whole commentary of Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar on the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam*. Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1957, 32–34; 1958, Introduction, 21–24) also listed the works quoted in Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar's commentary to the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam*, which are marked with II in the above list.

am, Pārttipam (II), *Pirakaraṇam, Piramakītai* (II), *Piramāṇṭam, Pūcattavam* (II), *Purāṇam, Poṉvaṇṇattantāti* (II), *Pōṟṟippahṟoṭai* (II), *Makuṭam, Periyakiraṇākamam* (II), *Mataṅkam, Mirukēntiram, Mirukēntira Pattati Mūlatantirāvatāram* (II), *Mōkacūrōttaram* (II), *Viyākkiyai, Yāpparuṅkala virutti, Yōkam* (II), *Yōkajam* (II), *Varuṇappattati* (II), *Vātuḷam, Vātuḷacuttākkiyai, Vātuḷōttaram, Vāyavviyam* (II), *Vālarattiṇāvali* (II), *Vāyavviyacaṅkiyai, Vicuvacātākkiyam, Vicuvacāram Vicuvacātākkiyam* (II), *Vicuvacārōttaram Vicuvam, Vicuvācōttaram.*

9. *Conclusions*

The information presented above seeks to demonstrate how important an accurate philological study can be in order to collect historical data on the authors of our works, here, helping to establish beyond doubt that Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar is the author of the commentary to the *Civatarumōttaram*. The first printed editions of the *Civatarumōttaram*, not including the colophon and satellite verses at the end, removed valuable evidence for literary historiography and history of literature. The philological work of all the members of the Shivadharma Project will enhance our knowledge of these two authors, and their impact both on Tamil literary history and on the development of Caiva Cittāntam.

Appendix: References to 'Civataṉmōttaram' and quotations from the Civatarumōttaram by Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar in his Commentary on the Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam

As noted earlier, Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar, in his commentary on the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam*, has several quotations from the *Civatarumōttaram*, while Civākkira Yōki, in his commentary on the same work, rather makes reference to the Sanskrit *Śivadharmottara*. Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Ñāṉappirakācar (1550–1575), commenting on the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Parapakkam*, quotes frequently from the *Civatarumōttaram*, too.[37] Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar's quotations of works like *Pacupatipācaviyal* of his teacher Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar need a separate study.

Likewise, a separate study shall be dedicated to Tiruppōrūr Citampara Cuvāmikaḷ (eighteenth century, Cāntaliṅka Cuvāmikaḷ Pērūr 1927) who, in his commentary on the works *Kolaimaṟuttal*, *Vairākkiya Catakam*,

[37] Caṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār, Koṉṟai Mānakaram 1875. For example, *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Parapakkam* 29 (p. 78) quotes *Civatarumōttaram* 3.16, while *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Parapakkam* 11 (p. 334) quotes *Civatarumōttaram* 8.85, 86, 87.

Vairākkiya Tīpam and *Avirōtavuntiyār* of Cāntaliṅka Cuvāmikaḷ, quotes verses from the Tamil *Civatarumōttaram*.

In the commentary to the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam*, Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar gives the title of the text as *Civataṉmōttaram* (not *Civatarumōttaram*) in twenty-nine places as the source for the ideas expounded in the verse and commentary. It is mostly mentioned along with other scriptures. We cannot decide whether he meant the Sanskrit text, or the adaptation composed by his master. A lone reference to *Civataṉmam* is attested in *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.28 (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 898).

The following is a list of all twenty-nine occurrences of references to *Śivadharmottara* or *Civatarumōttaram* in the commentary on the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* by Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar:[38]

1. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.32
   Iṅku Civataṉmōttaram eṉa aṟika, 'here understand that it is *Civataṉmōttaram*'. (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 919). For this *sūtra* Civākkira Yōki quotes a Sanskrit verse that is not, however, found literally in the *Śivadharmottara*. In the commentary on the following verse of the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.33, Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar quotes the following *Civatarumōttaram* 6.99 and 6.100, which echo the Sanskrit verse quoted by Civākkira Yōki.

2. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.34
   Itaṟkuc Civataṉmōttarattum Pauṣkarattum kāṇka, 'Find evidence for this in the *Civataṉmōttaram* and the *Pauṣkaram*.' (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 930). The reference here is most likely in *Civatarumōttaram* 10.27–28.

3. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.37
   Itaṟkuc Civataṉmōttaramum Cuppirapētamum kāṇka, 'Find evidence for this in the *Civataṉmōttaram* and the *Cuppirapētam*.' (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 946)

4. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.45
   Itaṟkuk Kāraṇākamattum Mataṅkattum Civataṉmōttarattum kāṇka, 'Find evidence for this in the *Kāraṇākamam*, the *Mataṅkam* and the *Civataṉmōttaram*.' (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 987)

[38] There are variations of style in the references to quotation sources in the two versions of the commentary of the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* published in 1888 by Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār and in 1957 and 1958 by Mīṇāṭcicuntarm Piḷḷai. This topic requires a separate study.

5. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.89
Itaṟkuc Cuppirapētañ Civataṉmōttarattum eṉa vaṟika.
'Understand that the evidence for this is found in the *Cuppirapētam* and the *Civataṉmōttaram*.' (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 1331)

6. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.90
Itaṟkuc Cuppirapētañ Civataṉmōttarattum aṟika.
'Understand that the evidence for this is found in the *Cuppirapētam* and the *Civataṉmōttaram*.' (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 1335)

7. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.93
Itaṟkuc Civataṉmōttarattum aṟika.
'Understand that the evidence for this is also found in the *Civataṉmōttaram*.' (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 1348)

8. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 8.13
Itaṟkuppiramāṇam cintiyam Civataṉmōttaram, Makuṭam, Kāmikam eṉavaṟika.
'Find evidence for this in the *Cintiyam*, the *Civataṉmōttaram*, the *Makuṭam* and the *Kāmikam.*' (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai, 1958, 900)

9. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 8.16
Itaṟkuppiramāṇam Civataṉmōttaram, Kiraṇam, *Irauravam, Vāla Ñāṉarattiṉāvali, Irattiṉāvali eṉavaṟika*.
'Understand that the evidence for this is the *Civataṉmōttaram*, the *Kiraṇam*, the *Irauravam*, the *Vālañāṉarattiṉāvali* and the *Rattiṉāvali*' (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 921)

10. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 8.23
Itaṟkuppiramāṇam Civataṉmōttaram, Ñāṉāmirtam eṉavaṟika.
'Understand that the evidence for this comes from the *Civataṉmōttaram* and the *Ñāṉāmirtam*' (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 953)

11. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 8.24
Itaṟkuppiramāṇam, Niccuvācam, Civataṉmōttaram, *Cuppirapētam*, *Mirukēntiram eṉavaṟika*.
'Find evidence for this in the *Niccuvācam*, the *Civataṉmōttaram*, the *Cuppirapētam* and the *Mirukēntiram*' (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai, 1958, 957)

12. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 8.25
Itaṟkuppiramāṇam Civataṉmōttaram, Cuppirapētam, Mirukēntiram eṉavaṟika.
'Find evidence for this in the *Civataṉmōttaram*, the *Cuppirapētam* and the *Mirukēntiram*' (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 963)

13. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.40
Itaṟkuk Kiraṇattum Mirukēntirattum, Civataṉmōttarattum, Cittāntacārāvḷiyiṉum kāṇka.
'Find evidence for this in the *Kiraṇam*, the *Mirukēntiram*, the *Civataṉmōttaram,* and the *Cittāntacārāvaḷi*' (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 966; Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1957, 430)

14. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.45
Itaṟkuk Kāraṇakamattum Mataṅkattum, Civataṉmōttarattum kāṇka.
'Find evidence for this in the *Kāraṇākamam*, the *Mataṅkam* and the *Civataṉmōttaram*' (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 987)

15. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.89
Itaṟkuc Cuppirapētañ Civataṉmōttattum eṉavaṟika.
'Find evidence for this in the *Cuppirapētam* and the *Civataṉmōttaram*' (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 1331)

16. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.90
Itaṟkuc Cuppirapētañ Civataṉmōttum eṉavaṟika.
'Find evidence for this in the *Cuppirapētam* and the *Civataṉmōttaram*' (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 1335)

17. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.93
Itaṟkuc Civataṉmōttum aṟika.
'Find evidence for this also in the *Civataṉmōttaram*' (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 1348)

18. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 8.13
Itaṟkuppiramāṇam Cintiyam, Civataṉmōttaram, Makuṭam, Kāmikam eṉavaṟika.
'Find evidence for this in the *Cintiyam*, the *Civataṉmōttaram*, the *Makuṭam* and the *Kāmikam*' (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 900)

19. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 8.16
Itaṟkuppiramāṇam Civataṉmōttaram, Kiraṇam, Irauravam, Vālañāṉarattiṇāvali, Irattiṇāvali eṉavaṟika.
'Find evidence for this in the *Civataṉmōttaram*, the *Kiraṇam*, the *Irauravam*, the *Vālañāṉarattiṇāvali* and the *Irattiṇāvali*' (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 921)

20. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 8.23
Itaṟkuppiramāṇam Civataṉmōttaram, Ñāṉāmirtam eṉavaṟika.
'Understand that the evidence is the *Civataṉmōttaram* and the *Ñāṉāmirtam*' (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 953)

21. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 8.24
Itaṟkuppiramāṇam Niccuvācam, Civataṉmōttaram, Cuppirapētam, Mirukēntiram eṉavaṟika.
'Understand that the evidence for this is in the *Niccuvācam*, the *Civataṉmōttaram*, the *Cuppirapētam* and the *Mirukēntiram*' (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 957)

22. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 8.25
Itaṟkuppiramāṇam Civataṉmōttaram, Cuppirapētam, Mirukēntiram eṉavaṟika.
'Understand that the evidence for this is in the *Civataṉmōttaram*, the *Cuppirapētam* and the *Mirukēntiram*' (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 963)

23. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 8.31
Itaṟkuppiramāṇam Civataṉmōttaram, Tēvikālōttiram, Mataṅkam, Irattiṉattirayam eṉavaṟika.
'Understand that for this the authorities are the *Civataṉmōttaram*, the *Tēvikālōttaram,* the *Mataṅkam* and the *Irattiṉattirayam*' (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 991)

24. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 8.35
Itaṟkuppiramāṇam Carvañāṉōttiram, Civataṉmōttaram, eṉavaṟika.
'Understand that for this the evidence is the *Carvañānōttiram* and the *Civataṉmōttaram*' (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 1012)

25. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 9.1
Piraṇavattuṭaṉ āṟeḻuttu eṉṟu ōtiyirukka iṅṅaṉ ainteḻuttuk kūṟiyatu eṉ eṉṉil, atu potuvitiyāka vētākamaṅkaḷil kūṟiṉār, vētanāṉkiṉum

meyp poruḷāvatu nātaṉ nāmam namaccivāyavē tiruñāṉa. namaccivāya. 1 Eṉa aṟika. Itu civatarumōttarattu aṟika.
'When it is laid down [in scriptures] that the mantra consists of six letters including the *praṇava*, if you ask why here it is laid down as five letters, it is laid down as a general rule in Vedas and Āgamas. Understand this in the verse from the *Tēvāram*: "The lord's name is *Na-ma-cci-vā-ya*, that is the real essence of the four Vedas." (Tiruñāṉacampantar, *Namaccivāyappatikam*) Understand this in the *Civatarumōttaram*' (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 1041). The reference here is to *Śivadharmottara* 1.36 (see De Simini's article in this volume)

26. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 9.10
Itaṟkuppiramāṇam Civataṉmōttaram, Cuppirapētam, Vātuḷam, Mōkacurōttiram, Pūcāttavam eṉavaṟika.
'Understand that the *Civataṉmōttaram Cuppirapētam*, the *Vātuḷam*, the *Mōkacurōttiram*, the *Pūcāttavam* are the authorities' (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 1086)

27. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 10.2
Itaṟkuppiramāṇam Kālōttaram, Mataṅkam, Civataṉmōttaram eṉavaṟika.
'Understand that the *Kālōttaram*, the *Mataṅkam*, and the *Civataṉmōttaram* are the authorities for this' (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 1105)

28. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 10.3
Itaṟkuppiramāṇam Cintiyākamam, Civataṉmōttaram eṉavaṟika.
'Understand that the *Cintiyākamam* and the *Civataṉmōttaram* are the authorities for this' (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 1109)

29. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 11.8
Niccuvācam, Civataṉmōttaram, Yōkajam, Cintiyam, Mataṅkam eṉavaṟika.
'Understand that *Niccuvācam*, the *Civataṉmōttaram,* the *Yōgajam,* the *Cintiyam* and the *Mataṅkam* are the authorities for this' (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 1158)

In addition to the previous list of mentions, in the same commentary on the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* there are ten instances in which Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar quotes verses from the Tamil *Civatarumōttaram*. Sometimes, he

quotes other verses of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar from works like *Patipacupacaviyal* and some unknown works of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar. As mentioned earlier, Maṟaiñāṉa Tēcikar wrote two types of commentaries on the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* and the two editions of such commentaries do not show identical evidence or authorities for the ideas discussed. Only a thorough critical edition can resolve all these issues. Furthermore, a detailed study of the quotations from the *Civatarumōttaram* is needed to identify the ideas illustrated in *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* with *Civatarumōttaram*.

The references to verses from *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* and the quotations found in the commentary of *Civatarumōttaram* are as follows; note that the first is the reference of the *sūtra* in the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam*, and the second is the occurrence in the *Civatarumōttaram*.

1. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.9 — *Civatarumōttaram, Ceṉaṉ Maraṇaviyal*, 8.13

   Aṭṭakavuṭalattōṭēyuyirpitāvaruntaṉṉāti
   toṭṭavaṉutarantokkuccukkilattuṭaṉē tōṉṟip
   paṭṭaṉaipakattiṉmaṟṟaik karuppaiyirpatintu muṟṟic
   caṭṭakameṉṉattōṉṟittaraṇiyiṟṟaṅkiccāyum

2. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.33 — *Civatarumōttaram*, *Pāviyal*, 6.99–100

   Viṇṇuḷār narar maṟṟai vilaṅkumē
   paṇṇupāvapalattaik koṭuppavaṉ
   ṟiṇṇamēyamaṉṟēcikaṉtīrttiṭum
   paṇṇiṟpāvavitam civapattarum

   Piṇakkan taṉṉaiyumpeṟṟavar tam 'miṭaik
   kaṇakkilāraiyuṅkaḷvarkaṭam' maiyum
   vaṇakkuvāṉmaṇṇaṉmaṟṟaiyar taṅkaḷai
   yiṇakkuvāṉarakattuḷēyiyamaṉ

3. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 2.36 —*Civatarumōttaram*, *Ceṉaṉ Maraṇaviyal*, 8.2–3

   Aruntuyarkkuḻiyiṇāḻvārākamēpāvattākum
   poruntiya pūtattālēyimaittiṭum pōtu taṉṉuṭ
   purintu viṇpukuvārākampuṇṇiyattālēyākum
   poruntiya pūtacārattorukaṇappoḻutu taṉṉil*
   (**pōtu* in *Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār* 1888 I, 940)

Puṇṇiya pāvattālē pūtattiṉ pariṇāmattāṉ
maṇṇiṭai maṉitarākamaṟṟaiyavaṭivamellām eṉa aṟika [39]

This is quoted along with the following verse from *Patipacupācappaṉuval* 4.19 (*Pācacātaka viyal*)

Puriyaṭṭakamē purintaṅkaṅkuṇṇa
uriyavuṭaltaṉṉai viḷaikkum

Note that these quotations are not found in the version of the commentary published by Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1957, 417–419). The style of introducing the quotations is also different from usual.[40] On this point, Civākkira Yōki cites illustrations from the Sanskrit *Śivadharmottara* (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 941).

4. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 8.26 — *Civatarumōttaram*, *Palaviciṭṭakāraṇaviyal*, 4.41[41]

Meyyiṉai yuṇarnta ñāṉi vēṇavā viṭuttāṉē ṉum
yuyyavē piṟarai yuṉṉi yavar koṭai yuvappaṉ

In addition to the above, Śaṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār, in his edition of the *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* with six commentaries, also quotes *Civatarumōttaram* 4.4 (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1889 III, 2152):

Karumikaṭ kīkainiṟkum kalantoru piṟappiṟ kaṟṟa
periyarān tavattōrkkīkai piṟapporu nūṟu niṟkum
ariya mantirat tārkkīkai yāyiram piṟappu niṟku
muriya yōkikku ñāṉik kūḻipērūḻi niṟkum viciṭṭa kāraṇaviyal

5. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 8.29 — *Civatarumōttaram*, *Civañāṉayōkaviyal*, 10.5

Itaṟkuppiramāṇam pauṭkaram, cuppirapētam eṉavaṟika
ulakuḻārpeṟātu tuñcumoruporuḷ viḻittayōki

[39] The quotation leaves out the following two lines: *naṇṇiṭuñcarāyucattiṉarartaṉuvilaṅku maṟṟait | tiṇṇiyakamaṭampāmpuciṟaippuḷumaṇṭañcērum ||*

[40] *Itaṟkuk kāraṇākamattum civatarumōttarattum aṟika* is the wording in the earlier edition (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1888 I, 940), while *Itaṟkup piramāṇam Kāraṇākamam, Civatarumōttaram eṉa aṟika* is the wording in the version of the 1957 edition (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1957, 418).

[41] Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 967, gives for this chapter the title *Palaviciṭṭakāraṇaviyal*; the same chapter is sometimes referred to as *Viciṭṭakāraṇaviyal*.

yulakuḻār viḻittapaṇṭatturaṅkuvaṉuruvamāka
vulakelāmoṉṟivēraṟṟoḻirumoppili taṉoṇṭā
ḻalar talaikkaṇintayōkikkavaṉalāṉṉēyamyātē
Eṉṉum civatarumōttarattum aṟika

This is cited only in the version published in Mīṇāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 981, and not in the earlier edition (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1889 III, 2179).

6. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 8.39 – *Civatarumōttaram, Civañāṉayōkaviyal,* 10.5

Ulakuḻārpeṟātu tuñcumoruporuḷ viḻittayōki
yulakuḻār viḻittapaṇṭatturaṅkuvaṉuruvamāka
vulakelāmoṉṟivēraṟṟoḻirumoppili taṉoṇṭā
ḻalar talaikkaṇintayōkikkavaṉalāṉṉēyamyātē
Eṉavum civatarumōttarattum aṟika.

Taṉantaṉiyēyirun tāṉanta nittirai taṅkukiṉṟa
vaṉantaṉileṉṟiruppaṉaiya kayilāyattaṉē[42] *eṉavum*
muḻutum pulaṉoṭuṅka muttaṉalart tāḻai
cuḻumuṉai vaḻik kaṇṭataṉkīḻt tūṅku*–patipacupācap paṉuval pōtaka. 6 Eṉavum*
ōtiya tiruvākkukkaḷiṉum aṟika*.*

Tuṭaṅkiya vāḻkkaiyai vāḻā tuṟappar tuṟantavarē
aṭaṅkiya vēṭkai yaraṉpā livaraṟukāṟ paṟavai
muṭaṅkiya ceñcaṭai mukkaṇāṟ kaṉṟi yiṅkumiṉṟi
kiṭaṅki ṉiṟpaṭṭa karāvaṉai yārcila kēvalarē[43]
eṉpatum aṟika.

The quotations above are traceable in Mīṇāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 1031–1034, while Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār (1889 III, 2279–2280) gives a shorter version and does not contain any of the above verses.

7. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 9.6 — *Civatarumōttaram*, *Civañāṉayōkaviyal*, 10.90

Aṇuviṉu nuṇṇuruvukoḷa laṇimāvāḻaḻaṟṟiṇativēkattiyaṅkiyuntōyvaṟṟavuṭalakimāt,
tiṇiyaperuvaraiyeṉameyc ciṟappuṟukaimakimāccintittapalamevaiyuñceṟinturukaipirātti,

[42] Source text not known.
[43] Source text not known.

piṇaiviḻiyārāyiravaroṭumpuṇarcciperukaipirākāmiyīcitaimāvaliyumaṭi pēṇaṉ,
maṇamalarpōlevarālumvāñcikkappaṭukaivacivacitaivaliyārāṟṟaṭuppariyavāḻvē
Eṉṟār ematu kuravar eṉa aṟika.
Itaṟkup piramāṇam civatarumōttaram carvañāṉōttaram eṉa aṟika
(Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1889 III, 2324, Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 1063)

8. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 10.6 — *Civatarumōttaram*, *Palaviciṭṭakāraṇviyal*, 4.10

Coṉṉañāṉi taṉait tutit tāravaṉ
muṉṉam ceyyaṟam muṟṟu maṭaivarkaḷ
iṉṉa coṟ ṟava rēyvar vaṇkari
caṉṉa mīpavar ñāṉa maṭaivarāl
eṉṟum
eṉṟa pāṭal aruṇakirippurāṇam allatu kamalālayacciṟappu āka irukkalām
Aruttuka amalaṇtaṉṉai akattuṇarntavarai yaṉṉam
karuttirun tavarkkuc ceyta pūcaṉai kaṭavuḷ koḷvar
orutta rukkupacāraṅkaḷ uṭaliṭai yulakar ceyvar
pirittu ṭaluyiraip pēṇum peṟṟiyai yārē peṟṟār
Civatarumōttaram 4 *Viciṭṭakāraṇaviyal* 10
eṉṟum ōtiṉār ematu kuravar. Itaṟkup piramāṇam Tēvikālōttaram, Civañāṉapōtam eṉa aṟika. (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1889 III, 2391, Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 1101)

9. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 10.6 — *Civatarumōttaram*, *Civañāṉayōkaviyal*, 10.25

Ukkoḻiyātoḻikkumiruḷutaiyakatiroḷi muṉṉē
māya pakkuvattiṟpacupācava liyaṭaṅkumparamaciva
ṉakkaṉuyirkkaruḷ puriyanacittatalavacittatala
neykkaṉa nīṅkutaleṉṉamāyēyanilaitolaiyum.
Eṉṟār ematu kuravar.
(*Ukkoḻiyā pāṭam. Uraiyilum nacittal eṉṟa poruḷē uḷḷatu*).
Itaṟkuppiramāṇam Civataṉmōttaram, Kiraṇam, Cuppirapētam eṉavaṟika.

This quotation is found only in Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai (1958, 1121).

10. *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 11.2 — *Civatarumōttaram*, *Civañāṉayōkaviyal*, 10.5

Ulakuḷārpeṟātu tuñcumoruporuḷ viḷittayōki
yulakuḷār viḷittapaṇṭattuṟaṅkuvaṉuruvamāka
vulakelāmoṉṟivēṟaṟṟoḷirumoppili taṉoṇṭā
ḷalar talaikkaṇintayōkikkavaṉalāṉñēyamyātē
Eṉpataṉāṉum aṟika.
Itaṟkuppiramāṇamcarvañāṉōttaram, civataṉmōttaram, yōkajam, cintiyam, mirukēntiram eṉavaṟika. (Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār 1889 III, 2454, Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 1131). This is already quoted in *Civañāṉa Cittiyār Cupakkam* 10.6 (Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 1958, 1033).

'...not satisfied with the Mahābhārata...' (śrutvā bhāratasaṃhitām atṛptaḥ): the function of the Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha in the Śivadharma corpus[1]

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1. *Contents and structure of the Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

The *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* ('Compendium on the Essence of the Bull [of Dharma]') is a Sanskrit text of twenty-four chapters brought down to us in Nepa-

[1] This article is an early outcome of my work within task-force D of the DHARMA project (GA no. 809994, 'The Domestication of "Hindu" Asceticism and the Religious Making of South and Southeast Asia'), in which I work in close collaboration with the ŚIVADHARMA project group (GA no. 803624).

I owe thanks to my immediate colleagues in the project: Florinda De Simini, Margherita Trento, Giulia Buriola, Nirajan Kafle, Kenji Takahashi and Alessandro Battistini, who made innumerable suggestions concerning the constitution and interpretation of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* and helped me understand the text in every possible way. I am also extremely grateful to my colleagues, friends and fellow team members in Pondicherry, India, for their useful comments and criticism during our online readings and during a workshop at the EFEO center in Pondicherry (February 2020). Among them, Dominic Goodall, S.A.S. Sharma and R. Sathyanarayan stand out. For their help and support I am grateful to Francesco Sferra, Hans Bakker, Judit Törzsök, Nina Mirnig, Kristen de Joseph, Gergely Hidas and Torsten Gerloff. I am grateful to Florinda De Simini and Judit Törzsök for their comments on an early version of this paper and to an anonymous reviewer for some valuable remarks.

lese multiple-text manuscripts of the so-called Śivadharma corpus.[2] The present article aims to answer some very general questions, such as: Why was the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* included in this collection of texts? Does it have a specific role among the works transmitted in these manuscript bundles? And can we make guesses as to what target audience the redactors of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* had in mind? My efforts are somewhat similar to those of De Simini and Mirnig (2017), who explore another text of the Śivadharma corpus, the *Lalitavistara*,[3] finding clues for its short-lived presence therein.[4] My work on the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* has been carried out within a larger framework of research investigating still little-known textual sources on the lay Śaiva religion.

The text of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* has appeared in print along the other works of the Śivadharma corpus (Naraharinath 1998), but this version is highly problematic and calls for a new and truly critical edition.

The *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* is probably later than the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*,[5] the flagship texts of the Śivadharma corpus, and may be dated to around the tenth century on the following grounds: the oldest dated multiple-text manuscript of the Śivadharma corpus, a palm-leaf manuscript kept at the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, marked as G 4077 (N^{Ko}_{77}), dated to Nepal *saṃvat* 156, i.e., 1035-36 CE, already contains the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*,[6] but a possibly earlier (undated) Śivadharma manuscript (N^{K}_{28}) does not.[7] The *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* is 'a stable element of

[2] For recent publications on the Śivadharma corpus, see 'An updated bibliography on Śivadharma research' on pp. xii–xv. Note that so far no studies have appeared on the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*.

[3] This *Lalitavistara* is to be distinguished from the Buddhist work of the same title.

[4] De Simini and Mirnig (2017, 588): [It is an] 'opportunity to examine a specific moment in the textual production linked to the assemblage of a fixed Śivadharma corpus, in which we may more closely trace key aspects and motivations that have led to the composition of more works on Śaiva topics following the model of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*.'

[5] On the date of these two texts (around the seventh to the ninth century), see De Simini and Mirnig 2017, 589, and Goodall 2011, 232, note 33.

[6] See De Simini 2016b, 251 and De Simini and Mirnig 2017, 588.

[7] See De Simini and Mirnig 2017, 591. Nevertheless, this argument is not sufficient proof that the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* is later than the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*. In this regard, one could also consider Barois' argument for an early date for the *Dharmaputrikā* (Barois 2020), which is often transmitted as the last text in the multiple-text manuscripts. Thus, the order in which the texts of the Śivadharma corpus appear may not fully reflect the dates of composition of each individual text. For example, the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* shows archaic features, such as the *tattva*-system in chapter twenty, reflecting pre-classical, *Mahābhārata*-style Sāṃkhya. This may or may not be an indication of an early date for its composition.

the corpus,' meaning that it appears in early Śivadharma manuscripts and continues to be transmitted in later ones,[8] and there is little evidence that it was ever transmitted independently,[9] or outside Nepal.[10] After examining about thirty manuscripts that contain the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, I can venture to say that they transmit a fairly unified recension, although with innumerable variant readings and minor changes.

In general, the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* is a text on Dharma (religious duties), as its title suggests. De Simini has raised the possibility that the bull (*vṛṣa*) in the title may not only refer to Dharma but also to Śiva's mount.[11] As a matter of fact, while the bull as a synonym of Dharma is mentioned in the text repeatedly, somewhat surprisingly, and perhaps significantly, there is no clear reference to Śiva's mount in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*.[12] In contrast with this, the *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, the text that usually precedes the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* in the multiple text manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus, does confirm that the bull is the synonym of both Dharma and Śiva's mount (6.1–2):[13]

umovāca |
etadguṇasamāyuktā yathā gauḥ kathitā mama |
vṛṣaś cāpi ca ko dharmo vada śīghraṃ jagatpate || 1 ||
īśvara uvāca |

[8] See De Simini and Mirnig 2017, 592. It is to be contrasted with the swift disappearance of the *Lalitavistara*, ib.

[9] Asiatic Society (Calcutta), Manuscript G 4076, cat. no. 4083, may seem to be an independent manuscript of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, but as De Simini has already remarked (2016b, 240 n. 19), it is probably from a multiple text manuscript. In fact, from what can be gathered from its description in Shastri 1928, 716ff, it seems likely that this manuscript was originally part of manuscript Asiatic Society (Calcutta) G 3852, cat. no. 4085. See for example the folio numbering in these two manuscripts: ASC G 3852 contains 210 folios, and ASC G 4076 starts on folio 210.

[10] See De Simini and Mirnig 2017, 589. That the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* is one of the texts in this corpus that were transmitted and likely composed in the Kathmandu Valley is also hinted at, for example, in De Simini 2017, 506–507.

[11] De Simini 2016b, 238 n. 13: 'As noted by Sanderson [...], this title can have a double meaning, since the "bull" (*vṛṣa*) is both a synonym of "religious practice" and the traditional mount (*vāhana*) of Śiva.' In a similar manner, Bakker (2014, 69), while discussing a seal of Śarvavarman that features a beautifully carved bull representing Dharma, remarks: 'The reader may also see in the image the thriving Śaiva religion, represented by the Bull, the *vāhana* of Śiva [...].'

[12] There is one single line that introduces Nandikeśvara as an interlocutor in 10.3, but this name is very unlikely to have anything to do with Nandin/Nandi, the name usually associated with Śiva's *vāhana*. On Nandin, see Bhattacharya 1977 and *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* III s.v.

[13] N^{C}_{94} fol. 184r ll. 3–4.

na jānanti ca loke 'smin mānavā mūḍhacetasaḥ |
catuṣpādo bhaved dharmaḥ śuklo 'yaṃ mama vāhanaḥ || 2 ||

Umā spoke:
Just as you taught me the cow as having the above characteristics, tell me quickly, O Jagatpati: what kind of a bull is Dharma?
Īśvara spoke:
In this world, foolish people do not know that the four-legged Dharma is this bright mount of mine.

It is not inconceivable that the redactors of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* had the same association in mind, namely that the bull in question is both Dharma and Śiva's mount. In any case, the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* seems to be one of the few texts in the Śivadharma corpus, and the first one in the list of titles in most Śivadharma bundles, that does not have an evidently Śaiva title: the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, the *Śivadharmottara*, the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* and the *Śivopaniṣad*, all have the name Śiva in them; the titles of two further works in the multiple-text manuscripts, *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, clearly refer to dialogues between the Śaiva interlocutors of those texts, even if the texts themselves contain, within these purely Śaiva frameworks, some Vaiṣṇava material.[14] The *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* is usually the penultimate work in the multiple-text manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus, just before the *Dharmaputrikā*: since the latter is also far from being a purely Śaiva work,[15] this part of the corpus may represent a diversion from strictly Śaiva material. Nevertheless, this question is not necessarily significant here: instead of focusing on whether the title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* contains a clear-cut reference to Śaivism, one should rather focus on its mention of an image that unambiguously evoke the notion of Dharma. From this point of view the title is thus perfectly coherent with those of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*. Whether it is a text on Dharma teachings exclusively for Śaivas is another question and is rather doubtful, as I shall show below. To further investigate why the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* was included in the Śivadharma corpus and to understand what function it has

[14] On the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in this respect, see De Simini and Mirnig 2017, especially page 649: 'The *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, which uses most of the materials included in the *Lalitavistara*, adopted a more unequivocal Śaiva frame, even just by more systematically identifying the two speakers as Umā and Maheśvara throughout the work.' Also, note that the *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* contains, among other Vaiṣṇava material, a condensed narrative of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and a discussion on Viṣṇu's ten *avatāra*s in its seventh chapter. On this topic, also see Kafle's article in this volume.

[15] Kafle's ongoing research on the *Dharmaputrikā* will shed much light on this work's Buddhist background.

in this collection, we need to look at what topics the text focuses on and in what structure it presents them to us.

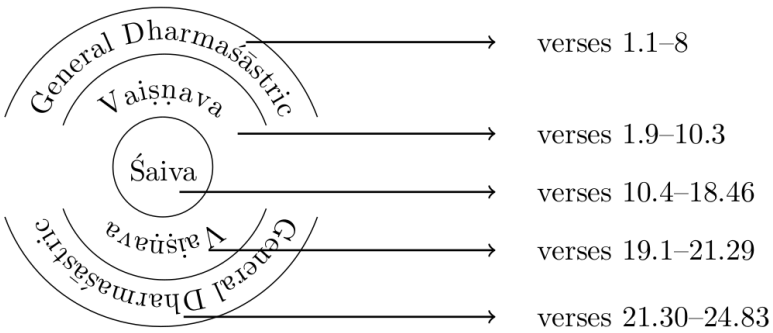
The structure of the text is that of numerous layers embedded in each other, in the manner of Matryoshka dolls. The outermost layer comprises little more than three chapters (1.1–1.8 and 21.22–24.85) in the form of a dialogue between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana, echoing the setting of the frame story of the *Mahābhārata*. Janamejaya is the king at whose snake-sacrifice Vaiśampāyana recited the whole *Mahābhārata* for the first time.[16] This important moment is where the frame story of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* takes off: Janamejaya has listened to the whole of the *Mahābhārata*, but having had the desire to hear the ultimate teaching on Dharma, he is bound to remain unsatisfied.[17] Asked by Janamejaya for a higher teaching on Dharma which can lead to liberation, Vaiśampāyana relates a dialogue between Vigatarāga (in fact Viṣṇu in disguise) and Anarthayajña, an ascetic. This makes up the second layer. This second layer is a substantial part of the text, spanning twelve chapters (1.9–10.3 and 19.1–21.29, with minor additional overlaps). In a simplistic manner, I label the outermost layer 'general Dharmaśāstric' (or possibly 'Vaidika') because there is little that is specifically Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava in it; and I label the second layer 'Vaiṣṇava' because, as mentioned above, one of the interlocutors, Vigatarāga, the one who poses questions to Anarthayajña, turns out to be Viṣṇu in disguise. This latter fact is not entirely clear in the first chapter because the confusing syntax blurs it,[18] but it becomes evident in chapter 21. Later, in verses

[16] See *Mahābhārata* 1.1.8–9.

[17] See *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 1.2–3ab: *śatasāhasrikaṃ granthaṃ sahasrādhyāyam uttamam | parva cāsya śataṃ pūrṇaṃ śrutvā bhāratasaṃhitām* || 2 || *atṛptaḥ puna papraccha vaiśampāyanam eva hi*; 'Having listened to the *Bhāratasaṃhitā* [= *Mahābhārata*], the supreme book of one hundred thousand [verses], one thousand chapters and one hundred sections, in its entirety, [Janamejaya] remained unsatisfied and asked Vaiśampāyana.' The above lines are the source for the title of the present article; compare *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā,* Mūlasūtra 1.9: *vedāntaṃ viditaṃ devaṃ sāṃkhyaṃ vai pañcaviṃśakam | na ca tṛptiṃ gamiṣyāmo hy ṛte śaivād anugrahāt* ||. Note that when citing the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, I use my critical edition in progress which is at the moment based on three to six manuscripts, depending on the passage in question. Note also that the language of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* is rather peculiar and often non-standard, as can be seen from the passages quoted in this article. Its language displays features that can be labelled Aiśa or Ārṣa; most specifically, the combined use of these two irregularities can be seen as a hallmark of the text: the use of stem form nouns *metri causa*, and the phenomenon of *muta cum liquida*, the licence that allows the presence of the syllables *pra, bra, hra, kra, śra, śya, śva, sva, dva* etc. after a syllable that should normally be short.

[18] *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 1.7–8 (note the use of the instrumental for nominative): *anarthayajñakartāraṃ tapovrataparāyaṇam | śīlaśaucasamācāraṃ sarvabhūtadayāparam*

10.1–3, Anarthayajña starts reciting a text in which Nandikeśvara relates a dialogue between Devī and Maheśvara. This layer spans from verse 10.4 till the end of chapter 18, and I label this core section of the text 'Śaiva.' The presence of Nandikeśvara as a narrator, as well as of Maheśvara and Devī as interlocutors of a dialogue, allows to connect this section both to the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, which is narrated by Nandikeśvara, and the other works of the corpus such as the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, which are clearly framed as conversations between the god and goddess—a feature shared with many other Śaiva scriptures. Somewhat surprisingly, partly in light of the scarcity of narratives in the texts of the Śivadharma corpus, and partly because of the orientation of this section, the actual innermost part, the very centre, of the text (chapter 12), is in fact a narrative, an entertaining tale, told by Maheśvara, of Vipula the merchant. Vipula, in order not to break a promise, has to donate his own wife to a Brahmin. Having done so, after some adventures involving Indra, Soma, Sūrya, a Gandharva, and a monkey, he gets to Brahmaloka eventually. This may be an attempt to produce another layer, that of a Brahmā-oriented core. In any case, in a simplified way, the structure of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* can be represented like this:[19]



|| 7 || *jijñāsanārthaṃ praśnaikaṃ viṣṇunā prabhaviṣṇunā | dvijarūpadharo bhūtvā papraccha vinayānvitaḥ* || 8 ||; 'Viṣṇu, the great Lord, assumed the form of a Brahmin, and to test him [i.e., Anarthayajña] he humbly posed a question to the one who performed immaterial sacrifices (i.e., *anarthayajña*), who was focused on his austerities and observances and whose conduct was virtuous and pure, and who was intent on compassion towards all living beings.'

[19] This structure is reminiscent of *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 11.59, the penultimate verse of that significant chapter: *brahmaṇo hṛdayaṃ viṣṇur viṣṇoś ca hṛdayaṃ śivaḥ | śivasya hṛdayaṃ saṃdhyā tasmāt saṃdhyām upāsayet* ||; 'Brahmā's heart is Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu's heart is Śiva. Śiva's heart is the Junctures of the day. Therefore, he should worship the Junctures.'

The general Dharmaśāstric introduction gives us a clue to the role of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* in the Śivadharma corpus in a broad sense: there is a need for a Dharmic teaching that is more specific than anything in the *Mahābhārata* and probably something that is newer or more approachable than the Dharmasūtras, the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, and the Smṛti texts. If the Śivadharma corpus is to be viewed as a coherent unit in which later texts reflect on, and react to, the preceding ones, one could argue that this setting, in which the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*'s starting point is a certain unsatisfaction with the *Mahābhārata*, is consciously contrasted with *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter eighteen, which praises the *Mahābhārata* (*bhāratakīrtana*).[20]

The topics touched upon in other parts of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* vary greatly. In chapter twenty-two, the general layer contains discussions on the identity of Anarthayajña, the interlocutor of the Vaiṣṇava layer, binding the two layers, Vaiṣṇava and general, together. It further contains a sequence of teachings on groups of ten (ten yogas, ten meditations, ten sacrifices etc.); chapter twenty-three deals with the nature of sleep, and chapter twenty-four with the seven islands and seven hells, among other minor topics.

The Vaiṣṇava layer discusses the knowledge about the Brahman (*brahmavidyā*), death, time and numbers, but mostly deals with Brahmā's Egg (*brahmāṇḍa*), i.e., the universe, in chapter one; chapter two is on the world of Śiva (*śivāṇḍa*), which is a sort of heaven to be approached exclusively by meditation. The presence of Śiva's world in the layer that I label Vaiṣṇava shows that the schematic classification that I propose is slightly more intricate; see *infra* for some more considerations. Chapter three deals with Dharma in general, and Dharma as a bull, characterising its four legs as the four *āśrama*s in the sense of 'life-stages' or 'life-options,' or 'the social order of discipline'[21] (see more on this below). From verse 3.16 up to the end of chapter eight, the text dwells on ten so-called *yama* rules and ten *niyama* rules, which are basically moral rules and rules of conduct to follow.[22] These make up a substantial portion of the Vaiṣṇava section. In addition, the three *guṇa*s of Sāṃkhya (chapter nine), cow-worship, the four castes (*varṇa*) and penance (*tapas*) (chapter nineteen), and an early, *Mahābhārata*-style,

[20] *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 18.5 also reconfirms, similarly to, for example, *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 1.4.20–25, that the *Mahābhārata* is the fifth Veda composed by Vyāsa to favour Śūdras: *bhārataṃ pañcamo veda itihāseti nāmataḥ | anugrahārthaṃ śūdrāṇāṃ vyāsenāmitatejasā* || (N^{C}_{94} fol. 162r).

[21] I borrow the phrase 'the social order of discipline' from Sanderson 2009, 41.

[22] They are non-violence (*ahiṃsā*), truthfulness (*satya*), the prohibition of stealing (*asteya*) etc.

system of twenty five *tattva*s (chapter twenty)[23] are dealt with. In chapter twenty one, Vigatarāga reveals his true identity as Viṣṇu and then teaches Anarthayajña about the æons (*kalpa*).

The Śaiva sections deal with external and internalised places of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*, chapter ten), with the four life options/life stages (*āśrama*) and sacrifice (chapter eleven), with the three *guṇa*s and embryology (chapter thirteen), with the differences between people and with the human soul (*jīva*, chapters fourteen and fifteen), *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* (chapter sixteen), donation (*dāna*, chapter seventeen), and *karman* (chapter eighteen).

All these topics are presented in an intellectual framework which can be characterised by the mention of numerous terms referring to scriptures, genres, philosophical schools and religious groups, including the following: *veda, śruti, smṛti, upaniṣad, āyurveda, dhanurveda, gāndharvaveda, arthaveda* (= Atharvaveda or Arthaśāstra?), *anyavedāḥ*, *bhāratasaṃhitā* (= *Mahābhārata*), *dharmaśāstra*, *manu*, *nīti, itihāsa, purāṇa, mīmāṃsā, sāṃkhya*, *yoga, vedānta, pātañjala, sāṃkhyayoga* (the last two terms occur next to each other, thus they signify either two traditions or a single one), *pāśupata, pañcarātra, śaiva, śaivaśāstra, kramapada*. In addition to these, some clearly Buddhist terminology is used freely.[24] The wide ranging contents of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* make its structure more complex than what the schematic diagram above could show. As mentioned above, there is a whole chapter on Śiva's world (*śivāṇḍa*, chapter two) in the Vaiṣṇava layer; the best deity is said to be Hari in 15.18,[25] which belongs to the Śaiva layer; and the last chapter, which is part of the general layer, features praise of Śivaloka (24.63–74), and, at the end, an additional verse giving the whole *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* a Śaiva flavour.[26] All in all, what strikes one is that the

[23] The peculiarities of this *tattva* system are the following: the highest *tattva* is Śiva, Brahmā/*brahman* and the *puruṣa* at the same time (20.6); the twenty third *tattva* is called *mati*; the *mahābhūta*s are called *dhātu*s and instead of *tanmātra*s, we have a great number of *guṇa*s.

[24] E.g. *maitrī, karuṇā, muditā* and *upekṣā*, the so called *brahmavihāra*s, are men tioned in 11.57–58ab. Note also that the yoga chapter of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (chapter sixteen) has numerous passages that appear in another text of the Śivadharma corpus, the *Dharmaputrikā*, which in turn seems to be deeply influenced by Buddhist thought (see Kafle forth. and Barois 2020).

[25] *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 15.18a: *devatānāṃ hariḥ śreṣṭhaḥ*.

[26] *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 24.83 (*sragdharā* metre; note the form *pratidina* for metrical reasons): *yenedaṃ śāstrasāram avikalamanasā yo 'bhyaset tatprayatnāt | vyakto 'sau siddhayogī bhavati ca niyataṃ yas tu cittaprasannaḥ || pitryaṃ yo* [*ye*?] *gītapūrvaṃ pratidina śataśa uddhriyante ca sarve | ātmānaṃ nirvikalpaṃ śivapadam asamaṃ prāpnuvantīha sarve* ||; 'If someone studies this essential Śāstra with his entire mind, and with a

primary mission of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* must have been similar to that of the *Lalitavistara*, another, less successfully surviving, text of the Śivadharma corpus: the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* too must have been aiming at 'harmonising aspects of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava *dharma*' (De Simini and Mirnig 2017, 649) and probably of a number of related philosophical schools and religious currents.

There seems to be even more to the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*'s aspirations. It would appear difficult to find any further leitmotif in this impressively rich material, in which innumerable traditions intermingle, or to understand what other role this text could have played in the formation of the Śivadharma corpus, if one thing did not stand out clearly: the figure of Anarthayajña.

2. *Anarthayajña's sacrifice and the āśramas*

As we have seen, Anarthayajña is the interlocutor of the sections that can be labelled Vaiṣṇava and his name also appears in other parts of the text. That he is part of a Vaiṣṇava setting in chapters one to ten and nineteen to twenty-one is also certain from the observation that when he has answered all of Vigatarāga's (Viṣṇu's) questions in detail, and when Viṣṇu reveals himself, they are described as departing to Viṣṇuloka together,[27] thus offering the impression that Anarthayajña is a devotee of Viṣṇu. One could argue that Viṣṇu's position as a pupil and the fact that he is being taught Śaiva material (in the Śaiva chapters) point towards the possibility that Anarthayajña is a Śaiva who converts Viṣṇu, thus turning most of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* into a Śaiva-oriented text; but the episode in which Viṣṇu steps forward and Anarthayajña praises him throughout thirteen *jagatī* stanzas (21.9–21) be-

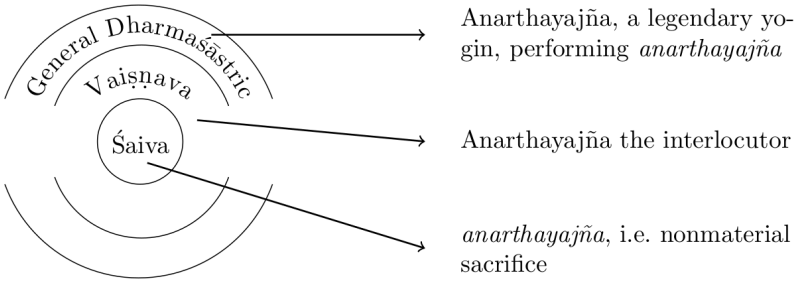
clear heart, by that effort he will evidently and inevitably become a Perfected Yogin; and all those who perform a hundred times the [rituals] of the Ancestors after singing a song every day will reach their non-differentiating Selves, Śiva's unequalled abode, in this world.'

[27] *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 21.30–32 (*anuṣṭubh* and *upajāti* metres): *evaṃ uktvā haris tatra kare gṛhya tapodhanam | tataḥ so 'ntarhitas tatra tenaiva saha keśavaḥ* || 30 || *evaṃ hi dharmas tv adhikaprabhāvād gataḥ sa lokaṃ puruṣottamasya | aśeṣabhūtaprabhavāvyayasya sanātanaṃ śāśvatam akṣarasya* || 31 || *tvam eva bhaktiṃ kuru keśavasya janārdanasyāmitavikramasya | yathā hi tasyaiva dvijarṣabhasya gatiṃ labhasva puruṣottamasya* || 32 ||; 'Having spoken thus, then Hari took the great ascetic by the hand, who disappeared in that moment, and with him Keśava, too. (30) Thus, as a consequence of the abundance [of] Dharma (in him? Perhaps understand *dharmasyādhikaprabhāvād*), he [Anarthayajña] reached the eternal and never-ending world of the never-decaying Highest Person, the imperishable origin of all living beings. (31) You yourself should be loyal to Keśava, to Janārdana of unmeasurable heroism, so that you can tread the path of that excellent Brahmin, that [of the] Highest Person. (32)'

fore departing to Viṣṇuloka with the promise of final liberation[28] suggests a truly Vaiṣṇava milieu here.

Moreover, Anarthayajña's figure is not confined to the Vaiṣṇava layer. It reappears in the outermost, Dharmaśāstric layer, in a somewhat obscure discussion on Anarthayajña's origins and on the religious practice he followed, that is the practice of performing internalised sacrifice (*anarthayajña*), a concept echoing his name (see 1.7a and 22.1–14). This time, any reference to Anarthayajña's religious affiliations is carefully avoided to better fit him into a layer without any clear sectarian bias. At this point, it begins to emerge that Anarthayajña, rather than Viṣṇu or Śiva, is the key figure in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*. What is striking is that no other Sanskrit text seems to mention an Anarthayajña, and the name may in fact be the invention of the redactors or authors of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*. This in itself places great emphasis on this mysterious figure.

What is even more important is the aforementioned concept of *anarthayajña*, or 'nonmaterial sacrifice.' This is taught in chapter eleven, within the Śaiva section, and is associated with Anarthayajña, the person in chapter twenty-two; furthermore, it is summarised there with details perfectly in harmony with, and in fact echoing, its Śaiva presentation in chapter eleven. In this way, Anarthayajña or the concept of *anarthayajña* appear in and dominate all three major layers of the text—general, Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva—becoming a binding thread for the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, running through the whole work, and giving the impression of a leitmotif. The presence of Anarthayajña as a person and as a concept in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* can be represented as follows:



[28] *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 21.29 (*upajāti* metre with some irregularities): *gacchāma bho sāmprata śvetadvīpam agamya devair api durnirīkṣyam | madbhaktipūtamanasā prayāti ghorārṇave naiva punaś caranti* ||; 'Well, let's go now to the White Island, which is hidden and inaccessible even for the gods. He who dies after his mind has been purified by devotion towards me, will never again enter the dreadful ocean [of existence].'

Exactly because of this omnipresence of the word *anarthayajña* in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* can we assume that the main message and role of the work in the Śivadharma corpus stems from it.

But what exactly is the concept of *anarthayajña*? It is sacrifice (*yajña*) without external, material things (*an-artha*), that is, without a sacrificial fire, without substances to be sacrificed, without any ritual elements and without any mantras to be recited, as opposed to *arthayajña* (*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 6.2a), also known as *dravyayajña*, which is dealt with in a single verse (*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 6.3d). In short, *anarthayajña* is nonmaterial, internalised sacrifice in which any ordinary elements of Vedic or brahmanical sacrifice are substituted with mental processes, mental practices and moral virtues. For example, the great altar (*mahāvedi*) is identified with the yogic practice of the withdrawal of the senses (*pratyāhāra*), the placement of the bowl during a sacrifice is now knowledge about Śiva (*śivajñāna*), the Adhvaryu priest is now yogic concentration (*dhāraṇā*), and so on and so forth (see 11.13–24). It is worth remarking here that all this contrasts conspicuously with *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* chapter six, which, after defining Dharma as a four legged bull (see p. 186 above), goes on to teach the details of *agnihotra*.

The concept of *anarthayajña* in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* is introduced at the beginning of the description of the first of the four *āśrama*s, in this case that of the *gṛhastha*, and not the Brahmacārin, as could be expected. Importantly, the term *gṛhastha* does not appear in this chapter at all; therefore the notion of *anarthayajña* might also be regarded as replacing that of the householder.

Now, it is generally accepted that one of the defining marks of the brahmanical religion is the system of four *āśrama*s.[29] The likely date of the creation of the system of *āśrama*s is the age of the Dharmasūtras, possibly the fifth century BCE, and its classical formulation probably happened at the beginning of the common era,[30] both dates coming before the supposed time of composition of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*. The system of the four brahmanical *āśrama*s also survived practically intact during the time of the tantric and non tantric manifestations of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism.[31]

[29] For example, see Olivelle 1993, 244: [The system of *āśrama*s is] 'an institution that has been—and that has been accepted by native theologians and modern scholars alike as being—a cornerstone of what we have conveniently come to call "Hinduism."'

[30] See Olivelle 1993, 101–103.

[31] See e.g. Sanderson 2009, 41: 'The early medieval period, from about the fifth century to the thirteenth, saw a decline in the role of Śrauta sacrifice in the religious ceremonies undertaken by Indian rulers. But it was not that kings turned aside from the brahmanical tradition in a fundamental sense. They continued to uphold the brahmanical social order of

In secondary literature,[32] discussions on systems of *āśrama*s tend to focus on the following points: [1] the number of *āśrama*s in the system, [2] their names or labels, [3] any subcategories within the four *āśrama*s, [4] the order of the presentation of the four *āśrama*s, [5] the question of whether they are to be taken as a temporal sequence or as life-choices, and, [6] the required order in which they are to be followed by the individual if they are a temporal sequence, and obviously [7] the content of each category and subcategory.

To address the first point above, in Sanskrit texts touching on the number of *āśrama*s, their number is given overwhelmingly as four, with minor exceptions,[33] and it is also so in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*. As regards the usual labels associated with the four *āśrama*s (point [2] above; *brahmacārin*, *gṛhastha*, *vānaprastha*, and *saṃnyāsin*) and their synonyms, they appear in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* several times,[34] but in the major discussion on the *āśrama*s in chapter eleven, the term *gṛhastha,* or any of its synonyms, are not present, as noted above. The colophon of chapter eleven reads *caturāśramadharmavidhānaḥ* ('the rules pertinent to the Dharma

the castes and disciplines (*varṇāśramadharmaḥ*) and they were commonly commended in inscriptions from the fifth to the eighth centuries for having rigorously imposed it on their subjects.' See also p. 255 *ibid*.

[32] See e.g. Kane 1941 and Olivelle 1992, 1993 and 2018.

[33] A possible exception could be Kauṇḍinya's comment on *Pāśupatasūtra* 3.1 (*avyaktaliṅgī*): *ṣaḍāśramaliṅgānupalabdhāv anavadhṛtoktaliṅgavad avyaktāḥ kriyāḥ kāryāḥ*; '[At this stage of the ascetic's life,] actions are to be performed secretly (*avyaktāḥ*), in a way in which the taught sectarian marks are not ascertained (*anavadhṛtoktaliṅgavad*), without having any of the sectarian marks of the six *āśrama*s.' Note that Hara remarks (1966, 309 n. 1) that one might want to read *vyaktāḥ* for *avyaktāḥ*, given that the next *sūtra* reads *vyaktācāraḥ*; but that is probably not necessary. Here, the editor of the Trivandrum edition of the *Pāśupatasūtra* gives the following list in explanation of the phrase 'six *āśrama*s' (*ṣaḍāśrama*): *'brahmacārī, gṛhasthaḥ, vānaprasthaḥ, saṃnyāsī, pāṣaṇḍaḥ* and *siddhaḥ*.' This interpretation is probably based on Kauṇḍinya ad *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.6 (*atra yathānyeṣām api varṇāśramiṇām āśramaprativibhāgakarāṇi liṅgāni bhavanti*; 'there are distinguishing marks here [in this system] just as for other members of *varṇāśrama*-system') and 4.18 (*gṛhasthabrahmacārivānaprasthabhikṣupāṣāṇḍināṃ panthānaḥ, te kupathāḥ*; 'the paths of the householder, the chaste student, the forest-dweller, the mendicant, and the heretic are wrong paths'). Another obscure mention of six *āśrama*s appears at *Jayadrathayāmala* 1.45.213ab (fol. 194r): *ṣaḍāśramāntarastho yaḥ sa gurur bhairavāgame*; 'He who is established within the six *āśrama*s is the [true] *guru* in the Bhairava Tradition.' Here textual corruption is unlikely (e.g. from *sadāśrama°*), because this line is part of a passage that lists groups of six items. Furthermore, the *Nityāhnikatilaka*, a post-tenth-century text of the Kubjikā tradition, teaches six *āśrama*s mostly intended for *yogin*s, namely: *gṛhastha, sālayin, cāravin, vanacārin, naiṣṭhaka* and *yogin* (NGMPP 3-384, A 41/11, fols 2r–3r).

[34] E.g. in *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 4.74cd: *gṛhastho brahmacārī ca vānaprastho 'tha bhaikṣukaḥ*.

of the four *āśrama*s'), but the topic that is in focus here is in fact a new kind of sacrifice (*yajña*) which is devoid of materiality because, according to the text, material things are nothing but trouble, or as the text puts it, 'material things/objects/money (*artha*) present many kinds of obstacles and [their acquisition causes] great fatigue...'[35] Thus, Maheśvara teaches the goddess about the nonmaterial version of sacrifice, and closes the section by saying '[By this] the first *āśrama* has been taught to you, O fair-faced goddess! [This teaching of] the true Dharma is worshipped by Sadāśiva and the gods.'[36] Why is the first *āśrama* not named here and why does the term *gṛhastha* not appear at all in this chapter? Is it simply implied? Or did the nonmaterial version of the daily sacrifices make an impression of being so yogic and so purely mental that the term *gṛhastha* seemed out of place to the redactors?

As regards any subcategories of the four main *āśrama*s in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (point [3] above), there is a short discussion on the categories *vipra, muni, bhikṣu, nirgranthi, parivrājaka, ṛṣi, daṇḍika* and *pāśupata* in 22.59–63. This may be an attempt to elaborate on the subcategories of the fourth *āśrama*, pulling the category of the *atyāśramin* Pāśupata into the fourfold *āśrama*-system,[37] and it may indicate that the redactors' interest in the *āśrama*s focused on the mendicant or the ascetic, rather than the householder.

The order of the four *āśrama*s (point [4] above) in *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* chapter eleven provides further clues about the significance of the presentation of its *āśrama*-system. The order here, explicitly, is: first *āśrama* (*āśramaḥ prathamaḥ*, 11.25a, possibly the *gṛhastha*), *brahmacārin* (*brahmacaryam*, 11.26; *dvitīya āśramaḥ*, 11.30a), *vānaprastha*, and *parivrājaka*. The order of the first two *āśrama*s is emphasised (*prathamaḥ, dvitīyaḥ*), as if they were to

[35] *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 11.6ab: *bahuvighnakaro hy artho bahvāyāsakaras tathā*. The opening of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is similar, see e.g. N^{K}_{82} line 3: *agniṣṭomādayo yajñā bahuvittakriyānvitāḥ | na śakyaṃte yataḥ kartum alpavittair dvijātibhiḥ || sukhopāyam ato brūhi sarvakāmārthasādhakam | hitāya sarvasatvānāṃ śivadharmaṃ sanātanaṃ ||*.

[36] *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 11.25: *āśramaḥ prathamas tubhyaṃ kathito 'sti varānane | sadāśivena saddharmaṃ daivatair api pūjitam ||*.

[37] See fn. 33 and also a similar attempt in the *Śivadharmottara* mentioned on page below. Also, note that the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* is aware of the fact that the Pāśupata is outside or beyond the system of *āśrama*s; see *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 8.40: *cāturāśramato 'dhikyaṃ vrataṃ pāśupataṃ kṛtam | tasmāt pāśupataṃ śreṣṭhaṃ bhasmadhāraṇahetavaḥ ||*; 'The Pāśupata vow is superior to those within the four *āśrama*s. Therefore, the Pāśupata [vow] is the best, because it involves the use of ashes.' See also De Simini's relevant remark on how most texts of the corpus, including the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, but excluding the first two, reveal traces of tantric influence (2016a, 64 n. 184): 'the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* distinguishes the texts of the Pāśupatas from those of "Śaivas," a term used in similar contexts to designate tantric Śaivas.'

be definitely seen as a temporal sequence, rather than options. The order of these two *āśrama*s is reminiscent of *Āpastambadharmasūtra* 2.9.21.1[38] but is otherwise rather rare; e.g. the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* and other *loci classici* teach a temporal sequence in which the *gṛhastha* comes second.[39] The *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* mentions the four *āśrama*s elsewhere, in the Vaiṣṇava chapters, twice, in both cases mentioning the *gṛhastha* first.[40] The *gṛhastha* being the first in the sequence of the four *āsrama*s is also what chapter eleven of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* teaches. As the recent editors of that chapter remark, this phenomenon might lead 'one to wonder whether this section of the chapter [*Śivadharmaśāstra* 11.10ff], or even the chapter as a whole, might have been composed substantially earlier' (Bisschop, Lubin and Kafle 2021, 23), a question easily applicable to *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* chapter eleven.

It appears as if part of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*'s main agenda could be a reinterpretation of the order of the four *āśrama*s, be it temporal or merely a question of an enumeration of options. One's impression that the central idea in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* is the presentation of the four *āśrama*s is amplified by a discussion in chapter three on why Dharma is thought of as a bull. In spite of the somewhat obscure phrasing, it is clear that in *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 3.3–4 Dharma is imagined as a bull whose four legs are the four *āśrama*s:[41]

dhṛtir ity eṣa dhātur vai paryāyaḥ parikīrtitaḥ |
ādhāraṇān mahattvāc ca dharma ity abhidhīyate || 3 ||

[38] *Āpastambadharmasūtra* 2.[9.]21.1: *catvāra āśramā gārhasthyam ācāryakulaṃ maunaṃ vānaprasthyam iti*. In Olivelle's translation (1999, 64): 'There are four orders of life: the householder's life, living at the teacher's house, the life of a sage, and that of a forest hermit.' See Kane 1941, 416 and Olivelle 1993, 82ff.

[39] *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 4.1: *caturtham āyuṣo bhāgam uṣitvādyaṃ gurau dvijaḥ | dvitīyam āyuṣo bhāgaṃ kṛtadāro gṛhe vaset* ||; 'Having spent the first quarter of his life at the *guru*'s place, the twice born should dwell at home, married, in the second quarter of his life.'

[40] *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 4.74cd: *gṛhastho brahmacārī ca vānaprastho 'tha bhaikṣukaḥ. Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 5.9: *etac chaucaṃ gṛhasthānāṃ dviguṇaṃ brahmacāriṇām | vānaprasthasya triguṇaṃ yatīnāṃ tu caturguṇam* ||. The latter verse is very close to *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 5.137.

[41] See also *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 4.74: *catuṣpādaḥ smṛto dharmaś caturāśramam āśritaḥ | gṛhastho brahmacārī ca vānaprastho 'tha bhaikṣukaḥ* ||. The *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*'s interpretation of the bull's four legs as the four *āśrama*s is in contrast with *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 1.81–84: there Dharma loses one leg in each *yuga* as it deteriorates. An idea similar to the one in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* may be expressed in *Mahābhārata* 12.262.19–21: *dharmam ekaṃ catuṣpādam āśritās te nararṣabhāḥ | taṃ santo vidhivat prāpya gacchanti paramāṃ gatim* || 19 || *gṛhebhya eva niṣkramya vanam anye samāśritāḥ | gṛham evābhisaṃśritya tato 'nye brahmacāriṇaḥ* || 20 || *dharmam etaṃ catuṣpādam āśramaṃ brāhmaṇā viduḥ | ānantyaṃ brahmaṇaḥ sthānaṃ brāhmaṇā nāma niścayaḥ* || 21 ||. See this passage discussed in Olivelle 1993, 99.

śrutismṛtidvayor mūrtiś catuṣpādavṛṣaḥ sthitaḥ |
caturāśrama[42] *yo dharmaḥ kīrtitāni manīṣibhiḥ* || 4 ||

The stem '*dhṛti*' is said to be a synonym [of *dharma*]. It is called *dharma* because it supports (*ādhāraṇāt*) and because it is great (*mahattvāt*). (3) The embodiment of Śruti and Smṛti, the Dharma that is the four *āśrama*s is taught by the wise as being a four legged bull. (4)

This leads us to the next question (point [5]), namely if the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* teaches a temporal sequence or four distinct life options.[43] The difficulty in answering the above question lies in the fact that the first three *āśrama*s are discussed in *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* chapter eleven as if everything were totally internalised, with almost no reference to external objects to be used or actions to be performed in these versions of the *āśrama*s: even the devotee's wife is now substituted with Faith, his ritual bath is said to be Itihāsa, his garments the Purāṇas, etc.[44] This in itself is challenging to interpret, but what comes as a surprise is that the fourth *āśrama* is treated differently. Now real life objects and real life instructions begin to appear among internalised abstractions (*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 11.45–46):

varjayen madhu māṃsāni paradārāṃś ca varjayet |
varjayec ciravāsaṃ ca paravāsaṃ ca varjayet || 45 ||
varjayet sṛṣṭabhojyāni bhikṣām ekāṃ ca varjayet |
varjayet saṃgrahaṃ nityam abhimānaṃ ca varjayet || 46 ||

He should avoid honey/alcohol and meat, as well as others' wives. He should avoid staying [in a place] for long and also staying at others' places. (45) He should avoid food that has been thrown away and he should avoid food from a single house.[45] He should always refrain from accumulating [wealth] and from self conceit. (46)

[42] Understand *caturāśramāḥ* or rather *caturāśramāṇi*, both of which would be unmetrical.

[43] On the *āśrama*s being either life options (typically in the age of the Dharmasūtras) or temporal stages (typically in the classical period, from Manu on), see Olivelle 1993 in general, and Olivelle 1993, 131 in particular: 'In contrast to the original system, the classical formulation considers the *āśrama*s not as alternative paths open to an adult male but as obligatory modes of life suitable for different periods of a man's life.'

[44] See *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 11.18a and 20cd: *śraddhā patnī... itihāsa jalasnānaṃ purāṇakṛta m ambaraḥ.*

[45] Compare *Śivadharmaśāstra* 11.41 (as edited and translated in Bisschop, Kafle and Lubin 2021, 82 and 115): *mādhukarīṃ cared bhikṣām ekānnaṃ parivarjayet* | *upavāsāt paraṃ bhaikṣam ekānnaṃ gṛhiṇāṃ malam* ||; 'He should seek alms like a bee [i.e., from many houses]; he should avoid single food [collected from one house]; almsfood is better than fasting; single food is the stain of householders.'

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha 11.52–53 similarly give practical instructions instead of elaborating on internalisation:

> *divasasyāṣṭame bhāge bhikṣāṃ saptagṛhaṃ caret* |
> *na cāsīta na tiṣṭheta na ca dehīti vā vadet* || 52 ||
> *yathālābhena varteta aṣṭau piṇḍān dine dine* |
> *vastrabhojanaśayyāsu na prasajyeta vistaram* || 53 ||
>
> He should go on his alms round visiting seven houses at the eighth part of the day. He should not sit down, he should not stay, and he should not say 'Give me!' (52) He should live on what is available, on eight bites a day. He should not stick to items of clothes, food or a bed for long. (53)

Why this partial switching to *realia* here? The passages on the *parivrājaka* give the impression of the redactors finally finding their way back to familiar territory, as if the first three of the traditional *āśrama*s were beyond their scope, or would be, in their traditional forms, life-options to object to, or out of their reach, or at least something distinct from the fourth *āśrama*. They present the first three *āśrama*s as a temporal sequence of yogic meditations, ignoring all the everyday details of the ritual life of a traditional *brahmacārin* or *gṛhastha*, and even the *vānaprastha*, emphasising internalisation, but then they switch to a tangible description of a real *saṃnyāsin/parivrājaka*. Thus, we arrive at a bifurcated system of, on the one hand, devotees, possibly householders, practising internalised sacrifices, and, on the other hand, wandering mendicants.[46] That the married householder is significantly present in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* can be inferred from the fact that the Śaiva section has two chapters on embryology (chapters thirteen and fourteen), a possible real-life interest for a married man,[47] but yogic teachings and praise of ascetics also abound in the text.

So, is there a temporal sequence of *āśrama*s in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, and if there is, what is the required order (points [5] and [6])? What seems clear is that the concept of the *brahmacārin* as a young pupil studying the Veda at his *guru*'s house is totally ignored.[48] The stage of *brahmacārin* seems to follow that

[46] This bifurcation, namely that of the distinction between those who 'stay at home' and pursue their religious goals there (*gṛhastha*), and those who leave their homes to become hermits and ascetics, is the point of departure in Olivelle 2019.

[47] The householder is also said to be the best of the four *āśrama*s in 15.17a: *āśramāṇāṃ gṛhī śreṣṭho*.

[48] This is strikingly similar to what happens in chapter eleven of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*. See Bisschop, Lubin and Kafle 2021, 22 on the *śivabrahmacārin* in *Śivadharmaśāstra* 11: 'The *śivabrahmacārin* comes next (11.15). This would seem to be out of order according to the sequence established by Manu, but this *śivabrahmacārin* is not

of the householder in time, possibly representing a level of asceticism or yoga at which the householder may arrive, although its short description (11.26–30) uses words related to the traditional *brahmacārin*: *vrata, sāvitrī, brahmasūtra, snāna*, etc., all now entirely internalised (his staff is self-restraint, his bowl is compassion, etc.). The category of the *vānaprastha* does not seem to refer to a real forest-dweller either: 'with his sense faculties conquered, he departs to the hermitage of rules of conduct which is in the forest of indifference and is surrounded by walls that have the stone-strong gate of moral conduct.'[49] In short, the descriptions of the *vānaprastha*, the *brahmacārin*, and in fact the *gṛhastha*, sound like yogic meditations.

Thus, the contents of the four *āśrama*s (point [7] above) can be summarised as internalised and meditative reinterpretations of the traditional ones, with the possible exception of the *saṃnyāsin/bhikṣu/parivrājaka*. What is the purpose of this reinterpretation? Olivelle (1993, 59) quotes Douglas (1982) on the correlation of urbanisation and the weakening of ritualism and the emergence of new ecstatic forms of religion and internalised values. But something even simpler than this may lie behind the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*'s main agenda: a text that aims to reconcile the practices of Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas (and Vaidikas and possibly Buddhists) may find it difficult to come up with such detailed ritual instructions for the householder and the other *āśrama*s that would fit all groups involved and instead invents a generic and mostly yogic variant of the system, without any sectarian bias, balancing on a razor's edge.

3. *Possible conclusions and avenues for research*

I agree with Olivelle (1993, 3) that the fourfold *āśrama*-system has probably never represented sociological realities faithfully, but has rather always been a theological construct;[50] thus I am aware of the danger of drawing hasty conclusions about the milieu in which a text was born or became popular based on its reinterpretation of the *āśrama*-system.

Nevertheless, one possible way of interpreting the structure of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* and its presentation of the system of four *āśrama*s is the

conceived of as observing the period of studentship in youth, preliminary to marriage. Indeed, no mention is made of Veda-study, its *raison d'être* in the Smārta system. Rather, the term is probably used to mean nothing more than a vow to refrain from sex [...]'

[49] *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 11.32: *vairāgyavanam āśritya niyamāśramam āharet | śīlaśailadṛḍhadvāre prākāre vijitendriyaḥ ||*.

[50] As Olivelle (1993, 7) warns: '...the *āśrama* system is primarily a theological construct. The system and its history, therefore, should be carefully distinguished from the socio-religious institutions comprehended by the system and from their respective histories.'

following. As I said in the introduction, the text offers at least three layers of possible religious paths: a general Dharmaśāstric or Vaidika one, a Vaiṣṇava, and a Śaiva one, possibly reflecting the religious milieu of its place and time of composition, proceeding from the most orthodox to the more esoteric, from the general and everyday to the secret and only mentally visualised. The *āśrama* system is presented in the innermost, Śaiva, layer in a mentally internalised fashion, quite logically, since, as *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 2.16 confirms, there is no *agnihotra* nor any daily rituals in the Śivāṇḍa, a Śaiva heaven that is reachable only through Śaiva yoga:

> *na japo nāhnikas tatra nāgnihotrī na yajñakṛt* |
> *na vrataṃ na tapaś caiva na tiryaṅnarakaṃ tathā* || 16 ||
>
> There is no recitation there or daily rituals, nobody performs the fire sacrifices and there is no sacrificer. There are neither religious observances, nor austerities. And there is no 'animal hell' [or: 'neither animal existence nor hell'].

The *āśrama* system is then reinterpreted, while keeping the four traditional labels, as a twofold system: the first three *āśrama*s may concern the inner life of a non ascetic (possibly a householder), who can, in parallel to his everyday religious activities, practise a secret Śaiva version of the traditional *āśrama*s as yogic meditation, while the fourth *āśrama* seems to be for those who actually leave their homes to become Śaiva ascetics. The internalised version of the sacrifices of the *gṛhastha* is introduced through the figure of Anarthayajña, whose name and prominence in the text suggests that he is the main propagator of this new approach to ritualism.[51] The *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*'s role in the Śivadharma corpus is then twofold: it provides a text that is suitable for Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas,[52] presenting its teachings on different levels of an esoteric scale, the Śaiva teachings being closest to the core, and always providing an internalised, secret version of topics discussed in the other layers; and it also reinvents the traditional *āśrama* system in a Śaiva way,

[51] The internalisation of ritual is of course not the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*'s invention. For internalization as the perfection of ritual in the case of the *saṃnyāsin*, see Olivelle 1992, 68–71, and e.g. *Bṛhatsaṃnyāsopaniṣad* 272. In Olivelle's translation (1992, 256): 'Having deposited the sacred fires in himself, an ascetic who offers the entire phenome nal world in the fire of knowledge is a great ascetic and a true fire sacrificer.'

[52] As very clearly expressed also by *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* 9.1 (MS N^{C}_{94} fol. 191v, verse 10.1 in Naraharinath 1998, 577): *ye māṃ caivāvamanyante viṣṇubhaktiparāyaṇāḥ* | *madbhaktyā cāthavā viṣṇum ubhau narakagāminau* ||; 'Those who are devotees of Viṣṇu and despise me [Śiva], and also those who are my devotees and [despise] Viṣṇu, all of these people will end up in hell.'

but in such a manner that would be acceptable for other religious groups. This may be an attempt to further develop an idea that appears in both the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*.[53]

The above conclusions await future revision in the light of further research focusing on the connections between the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* and other works of the Śivadharma corpus, especially the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* with regards to their *āśrama*-systems, and those for which a Nepalese origin can be hypothesised for other parallelisms. For example, passages and yogic concepts shared by the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* and the *Dharmaputrikā* are to be more deeply investigated. Furthermore, an examination of the relationship between the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* and the *Mahābhārata* has great potential, more far-reaching than what is suggested solely by the numerous verses borrowed from the *Mahābhārata* in chapter twenty of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*. A major avenue for further research is undoubtedly the study of other texts of the Śivadharma corpus in which a co-existence of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva material can be observed, this being part of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*'s agenda.

This preliminary survey of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* might additionally serve the purpose of reminding us that future observations concerning any text in the Śivadharma corpus need to be based on critical editions and on a thorough and comparative study of the entire Śivadharma corpus. Fortunately, this is in progress.

[53] These texts use new phrases for the four *āśrama*s: *Śivadharmaśāstra* chapter eleven uses the terms *śivagṛhāśramin, śivabrahmacārin, śivavaikhānasa* and *śivavratīndra*, while the *Śivadharmottara* 12.203–207 uses *śivabrahmacārin, śivāśramadharmasthaḥ gṛhasthaḥ, śivāśramavanastha*, and for the fourth category both the terms *pāśupata* and *mahāvratadhara*. On this topic, see De Simini 2016a, 52–53 and Bisschop, Lubin and Kafle 2021, 17 ff.

Bāṇa is blessed, Kṛṣṇa is cursed
Instances of lay Śaiva devotion in Kashmir

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1. *Introduction*

This paper focuses on chapter twenty-one of the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* or 'The Magic Jewel of Śiva's Deeds,' which relates the story of *bāṇaliṅga*s, egg-shaped stones found in the Narmadā river and commonly worshipped as manifestations of Śiva. This Kashmirian version of the story combines several myths about a demon called Bāṇa, Śiva's devotee, and moulds them into a special Śaiva lesson about how excessive devotion may be rewarded. Interestingly, it also uses a Kṛṣṇaite myth, which is entirely transformed to become a Śaiva one.

The text from which one chapter is examined here, the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, or 'The Magic Jewel of Śiva's Deeds,' was written by a Kashmirian author, Jayadratha, in the first half of the thirteenth century. This is the only work that seems certain to have been composed by him, others being of doubtful attribution.[1] The *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* is an anthology of edifying stories of Śaiva mythology, primarily intended for a general public of lay (*laukika*) devotees. Accordingly, just as in the Purāṇas, each story ends with the promise of a reward (*śrutiphala*) for those who recite

[1] Two works on poetics, the *Alaṃkāravimarśinī* and the unpublished *Alaṃkārodāharaṇa*, are sometimes attributed to Jayadratha but more often to his brother, Jayaratha, commentator of Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*. See e.g. De 1923, 197–198.

or listen to that particular story: if you understand the form in which Śiva manifests himself in the story, you will reach liberation or obtain various other rewards. Stylistically, too, the text resembles the Purāṇas: it is written in a fairly straightforward, non-ornate style, mostly in *śloka*, but with more stylistic and poetic effort than an ordinary Purāṇic text. It can thus be said to represent a mixture of two genres: Purāṇa and classical poetry. Various aspects of the work are of interest from the point of view of religious history, of which I would like to highlight four, by way of introduction.

First, although most of the Śaiva myths included may have been popular stories throughout India in various periods, the versions retained here often represent a local, Kashmirian variation, possibly with details of local cults from Jayadratha's period. A typical example can be found in chapter twelve, which relates the origin of the local river, the Vitastā. Another chapter, the one on the warrior goddess Durgā, also includes unusual elements that may be of Kashmirian origin.[2] When studying these variations, it is also an advantage that we have the date and place of the author, which we do not in the case of anonymous Purāṇic stories.

Second, each chapter is introduced by a philosophical stanza, which gives the myth a Kashmirian non-dualist Śaiva interpretation. In this way, Jayadratha manages to combine philosophy with the narrative genre, the learned Śāstra with the popular Purāṇa. Through this association, he also creates a link between lay Śaivism, represented by the story itself, and initiatory Śaivism, represented by the esoteric interpretation given in the introductory verses. The philosophical stanzas thus make the popular stories worth knowing also for those who look for hidden, esoteric meanings that are not normally expressed in Purāṇic myths.

To illustrate this point, one might look at the introductory stanza of chapter twenty-two, which relates the well-known myth of how the goddess (Devī), Śiva's spouse, practised austerities in order to shed her dark skin and become light-complexioned, 'of golden colour.' The stanza takes Devī's dark skin to represent differentiation or duality (*bheda*) and the brightness of fair skin to stand for the light of nondual consciousness (*samvitprakāśa*). The story thus, in this interpretation, becomes an allegory of enlightenment.[3] The two lions who threaten the goddess during her ascetic practices

[2] For this chapter, edited and translated, and its oddities, see Törzsök 2020.

[3] *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* 22.1 (for details about the manuscripts used, see next section): *tyaktvā bhedatamomayaṃ vapur idaṃ devī tava svecchayā saṃvin-nistuṣa-bodha-bhāsvarataya dedīpyate cen mayi | taj jāne 'hamidaṃmayau mṛgapatī hiṃsrau mitatvaṃ haṭhād ujjhitvāmaratām anugrahavaśād* āyāsyatas *tau vibho* (āyāsyatas *tau*] S D L Tsuchida: *āyāsya tasthau* Ked) ||; 'If the Goddess belonging to You, O Lord, having

(but who in the end become *gaṇa*s) are understood to represent aspects of duality, namely I-consciousness and Objectivising consciousness.[4]

Third, some chapters or passages discuss particular rituals that are either less well-known from earlier sources or for which Jayadratha uses sources no longer available to us or available in a different form. One such ritual is the 'gift of knowledge' (*vidyādāna*) which is in fact the ritual offering of a manuscript to someone, examined, among other issues, in De Simini 2016a. As De Simini reveals, Jayadratha makes extensive use of a Śivadharma text, which shows the proximity of the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* and the lay Śivadharma literature.[5] Another ritual described is the famous 'night of Śiva' (*śivarātri*), for which Jayadratha cites several lost sources to describe the ritual vigil and feast in Śiva's honour, popular in India to this day.[6]

Fourth, several, often originally non-Śaiva, myths were adapted, transformed or appropriated by Jayadratha in the Śaiva context of his work. Whether these adaptations were made by Jayadratha himself or by his predecessors, they bear witness to the ways in which Śaiva and non-Śaiva elements might have interacted in the time and place of Jayadratha and before. While it may sometimes be difficult to pinpoint where, when and by whom the adaptations were made, some research made in this direction may prove to be of interest. In this paper, an attempt will be made to identify certain elements in the story of Bāṇa that go back to other, non-Śaiva sources and to see how Jayadratha makes use of them and how he transforms these myths into Śaiva legends.

2. *The manuscripts and the need for a new edition*

The only existing edition of the work was published in the Kāvyamālā series as its sixty-first volume, in 1897, by Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Śivadatta and Kāśīnāth Pāṇḍurang Parab. Nothing is said about the manuscripts

abandoned, out of her own will, this body made of the darkness of differentiation, shines forth brightly in me, being luminous due to her awareness purified by the Supreme Consciousness, then I know that these two murderous lions, being made of I-consciousness and Objective consciousness, shall leave their limitations by force and, thanks to [the goddess's] divine grace, shall become immortals.'

[4] The term to denote these two, I-consciousness and Objectivising consciousness, can be found in Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* 4.168: *so 'pi kalpitavṛttitvād viśvābhedaikaśālini | vikāsini mahākāle līyate 'hamidaṃmaye* ||.

[5] For a comparison of parallels between *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* chapter thirty and *Śivadharmottara* chapters one and two (with some references to chapter seven), see De Simini 2016a, 423–430.

[6] For a cursory treatment of this chapter, see Törzsök forthcoming 2021.

used, but there must have been at least two, because two sigla (Ka and Kha) recur in the footnotes. As remarked by several scholars, this edition often has clearly corrupt readings and a new edition based on more correct manuscript evidence would be useful.[7] One of the first to comment on this problem was Tsuchida (1997), who produced a list of proposed emendations and conjectures wherever the edition's reading did not seem to yield much sense. Work on selected chapters was done by Alex Watson (unpublished draft of chapter nine), Maho Shibazaki (1997, 1998 and 2007) and Florinda De Simini (2016a) on the basis of new manuscript evidence. A new edition is being prepared by the present author from chapter ten onwards (the first nine chapters being edited by Alex Watson). For a review of known manuscripts, see Shibazaki (2007, 8) using information given by Alex Watson. I have been able to obtain images of the following four manuscripts thus far, all of which are paper manuscripts.

1. Oriental Research Library Shrinagar, manuscript no. 599, Devanāgarī (= D). Bound in a book, 139 folios, 24.5 × 16 cm, approximately twenty lines to the side, twenty *akṣara*s per line. This manuscript is in good condition and appears fairly recent. It contains a number of errors, but is not very corrupt.

2. Oriental Research Library Shrinagar, manuscript no. 1510, Śāradā (= S). Bound in a book, 135 folios, 24 × 12 cm, twelve lines to the side, thirty-five *akṣara*s per line. A very correct Kashmirian manuscript in good condition.

3. India Office Library, London, manuscript no. 7042/3333, Śāradā (= L). 98 folios, 10.5 × 7 inches, approximately fourteen lines to the side, forty-five *akṣara*s per line. A correct Kashmirian manuscript of the nineteenth century, in good condition. See *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office,* vol. II, part 2. OUP, London, pp. 1075–1076.

4. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, manuscript no. D28, Devanāgarī (= B). Bound in a book, 114 folios (114 being written as 1014), twenty to twenty-one lines to the side, thirty *akṣara*s per line. This manuscript is extremely corrupt and in a very uneven handwriting, and its variants have not been reported in general, as it would have resulted in a very voluminous and largely useless apparatus. Nevertheless, it represents an independent transmission compared to the above ones and is the only witness we have of some verses that seem to have been lost accidentally in the other manuscripts. On some occasions, in spite of its many corruptions, this is the only manuscript that transmits a correct reading or something that resembles one.

[7] A critical edition would be ideal of course, but it would require one to obtain copies of all the available manuscripts. Given the difficulties to procure copies of certain manuscripts from Kashmir, this ideal may not be attainable.

A few examples may be of interest to show the ways in which the new manuscript evidence helps us to establish good readings at places where the text was meaningless beforehand in the edition, or where Tsuchida (1997) proposed conjectures.

One obvious example in the edition of chapter twenty-one is in verse 31, whose second line reads *dānavaiśvaryam āsādya sarvajñā vismṛtā tava* ('Having obtained sovereignty over the demons, you have forgotten the omniscient [goddess?]'). *Sarvajñā* is in the feminine, but no female being is mentioned in the context. Tsuchida already proposed *dānavaiśvaryam āsādya śarvājñā vismṛtā tava* ('Having obtained sovereignty over the demons, Śiva's command was forgotten by you') here, a conjecture that makes perfect sense in the story and is also confirmed by all our manuscripts.

Another example shows that, while Tsuchida proposes a large number of important improvements, there are yet further ones that the manuscript evidence provides us with. In 21.23, the edition reads *bhavanmūrtyantaraṃ nandī prabhur mama bhavān api* ('Nandin is another embodiment of yours, and you too are my lord/and he is my Lord as well as you'). This statement is rather awkward no matter how exactly one understands it syntactically, for Śiva is obviously Lord to Bāṇa. Tsuchida does not conjecture anything here, but three of our manuscripts read *iva* for *api* (and one has *iti*). The comparative particle yields appropriate sense here: 'Nandin is another embodiment of yours, he is my Lord just like you.'

The third example demonstrates that, although the vast majority of the conjectures proposed by Tsuchida are useful and often agree with our manuscripts, sometimes they may prove to be wrong. In verse 28, the edition reads as follows: *bāṇāsurasutaḥ śaṃbhupūjanaikaparāyaṇaḥ* [...] ('Demon Bāṇa's son, who devoted himself to the exclusive worship of Śiva'). This reading is obviously wrong, for Bāṇa has no son in this story. Therefore, Tsuchida conjectures *bāṇāsurastutaḥ* 'lauded by Bāṇa.' The problem is that we need Bāṇa as the subject here, for he is also the unnamed subject of the subsequent verse. The manuscripts solve this problem, for they all simply read *bāṇāsuras tataḥ* ('and then demon Bāṇa'). This example also shows that sometimes even a very simple reading may become corrupted and find its way into the edition.

As pointed out above, manuscript B, in spite of its staggering number of corruptions, is sometimes the only manuscript that seems to transmit a good reading. The following two examples for this phenomenon are taken from chapter twenty-three, from the story of the warrior goddess Durgā/Kauśikī.

In 23.70, Durgā's *yakṣa* servant speaks, after tying up the *rākṣasa* demons. He reflects on what to do with them and decides that it is not for him as a servant to make a decision: he should ask the goddess. Here, only our manuscript B seems to have the right reading for the last word: *dāso* [']*smi*

sā prabhur devī svecchayā nāsti me gatiḥ | ādāya tad amūn baddhāṃs tasyā eva prakāśaye || ('I am a servant and the goddess is my mistress, I cannot act according to my will. So I shall take these tied [demons] and show them to her'). The edition and the other manuscripts read the third person singular passive *prakāśyate*, which is problematic because of the syntax. Considering the use of the first person singular in the first line, and the absence of a different subject in the second line, we need a main verb in the first person singular at the end of the verse too, which B has.

The manuscript situation is similar in 23.27. In this verse, three well-known ways in which a girl may marry are enumerated: she may be given by her father in marriage, she may have a *svayaṃvara* organised in which she chooses a husband for herself or she may be eloped, lit. 'taken by force' (*kanyāyāś ca pitā dātā prasiddham iti sādhuṣu | svayaṃvaraṃ* vā *kurute hriyate ca balena vā* ||). Only manuscript B has the right conjunction 'or' (*vā*) to link the second possibility to the first,[8] the others have the nominative feminine of the relative pronoun instead (*yā*), which is impossible to interpret.

3. *Summary of chapter twenty-one on Bāṇa*

The chapter I intend to examine here in more detail is chapter twenty-one (for the full text and a translation, see the Appendix of this paper), dealing with Bāṇa, a demon king who is an ardent Śaiva devotee. Through the story of Bāṇa, the chapter in fact explains the origin of the so-called *bāṇaliṅga*s, egg-shaped stones in the river Narmadā, which are worshipped as manifestations of Śiva. Here is a brief summary of the contents:

> A powerful demon called Bāṇa is born from Śiva's anger. Bāṇa performs austerities and intends to offer his thousand arms into the fire for Śiva, but the god stops him before offering his last arm. Bāṇa, whose arms are restored by Śiva, obtains several boons from the god, most importantly that Śiva shall always be by his side and that every single stone he worships shall be transformed into a *liṅga*. However, a limit is set—Bāṇa is cautioned not to worship more than 100,000 such stone *liṅga*s or else his thousand arms be really cut off. Śiva installs Nandin, his own double, to be Bāṇa's doorkeeper, fulfilling

[8] A subsequent passage confirms that these three options are meant. See 23.78–79: *nāhaṃ jānāmi janakaṃ tat ko dātā paro mama | upapannam apaśyantyāḥ svayaṃvara-vidhir na ca || tad idānīṃ kim anyena balīyān dānaveśvaraḥ | svayaṃ harati ced atra kim asty ucitam uttaram* ||; 'I have no father, so who else could give me in marriage? I do not know what is the best for me, so I cannot organise a *svayaṃvara*. So what else can I do now? The demon king is powerful. If he himself takes me, then would there be a more appropriate solution?'

in this way Bāṇa's request for him to be always by his side, and leaves. Bāṇa then, out of excessive devotion, of course forgets the limit. At this point, Nandin is perturbed: he should obey Śiva's command and punish Bāṇa by cutting off his arms, yet who is he to punish a true Śaiva devotee. He thinks that Viṣṇu could solve the problem. At this point, Bāṇa himself leaves to see Viṣṇu, who is responsible for the maintenance of order and is sleeping on the snake called Śeṣa in the eternal ocean. Bāṇa challenges Viṣṇu, who is now clearly identified with Kṛṣṇa and bears Kṛṣṇa's names and epithets. Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa in fact knows all the events through his divine knowledge and asks his discus (*cakra*), previously received from Śiva himself, to cut Bāṇa's arms off. The discus (*cakra*) obeys and severs Bāṇa's arms. When Nandin arrives there, he is furious to see that Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa has acted of his own accord. Nandin curses Kṛṣṇa, announcing that the Vṛṣṇi clan (i.e., Kṛṣṇa's clan) shall perish. As a reward, Bāṇa is transformed into an eighteen-armed *gaṇa* called Mahākāla. He then receives another boon, namely that *bāṇaliṅga*s shall bring about *mokṣa* for devotees. Moreover, it is stated that they can be worshipped by anyone, Śaivas, non-Śaivas and even those who are outside the brahmanical fold.

4. *Main elements of the story found in lay Śaiva and non-Śaiva literature*

Jayadratha's account builds upon several older Purāṇic myths to produce a new story, maintaining and renewing the tradition of lay Śaiva literature. Three myths are moulded together here, two of which can be traced back as far as the *Harivaṃśa*, while the third is more difficult to identify, but may be partially related to a myth found in the *Matsyapurāṇa*.

I. First, the story of how Mahākāla becomes a *gaṇa* in Śiva's retinue goes back to several earlier sources. Mahākāla is usually depicted in iconography as a skeletal figure with a body made of skin and bones evoking death (*kāla*), such as in the Rāvaṇa-phaḍi caves in Aihole (dated to ca. 550 in Tartakov 1980, 87), in the company of the divine couple, the mother goddesses and Gaṇeśa. However, early Śaiva Purāṇas such as the *Vāyupurāṇa* or the *Skandapurāṇa* do not seem to relate the story of his becoming a *gaṇa*, although the *Skandapurāṇa* is replete with legends of how various Śaiva devotees become Śiva's *gaṇa*s and includes (ch. 20–25) the story of Nandin (another famous *gaṇa*) as well as an otherwise completely unknown story about a devotee called Kāṣṭhakūṭa (ch. 52). Although Mahākāla's story is absent there, it must be remarked that these narratives provide a significant lay devotional example. For in each case, the devotee is rewarded with final liberation and with becoming a member of Śiva's retinue.
This aspect of the devotee stories, namely that they provide an example to follow, is certainly retained in Jayadratha's version, who none-

theless provides a very particular ontological basis to it. For in the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, the *gaṇa*s, including Nandin and Mahākāla, have no separate identities (as they would in a common mythological context) in the ultimate sense, but are manifestations of Śiva, in accordance with Jayadratha's non-dualist Śaiva theoretical approach. This identity of Bāṇa/Mahākāla and Śiva is already brought out in the introductory verse, although the story throughout speaks of the demon devotee as a person distinct from Śiva (unlike Nandin, who is treated as an embodiment of Śiva). This could be explained by Bāṇa's becoming a *gaṇa* only at the end of the story, i.e., his true identity with Śiva is only obtained after his act of devotion.

Bāṇa's devotion to Śiva is nevertheless already known to the *Harivaṃśa*.[9] It mentions his reward of becoming an eternal *gaṇa* for Śiva (*gāṇapatyaṃ tathākṣayaṃ*) and thus being in his presence all the time (*nityaṃ sāṃnidhyatā*). This suggests that the initial request of Bāṇa to forever be close to Śiva probably derives from an early version.[10] However, it is remarkable that in the *Harivaṃśa* these two rewards seem to logically form one single reward: since Bāṇa becomes a *gaṇa*, his request to always be near Śiva is also fulfilled. While there is the same end result in Jayadratha's version, already at the beginning Bāṇa is granted the presence of Śiva near him all the time in the form of Nandin. Then, at the end, Bāṇa also becomes a *gaṇa*. Thus, the two rewards are separated in our Kashmirian version, the first (Śiva's nearness) being the start of the story (the reason for Bāṇa's practising austerities and Śiva establishing Nandin as his doorkeeper) and the last being the end of it (gaṇahood).

II. The second element one could attempt to identify in earlier sources is the etiological myth of *bāṇaliṅga*s. This is certainly not one of the oldest myths one can find in the Purāṇic corpus. The earliest example known to me which appears to deal with this subject comes from the *Matsyapurāṇa* (chapters 187–188), which was most probably known to Jayadratha.[11] In this version,[12] the demons who live in the triple city are governed by Bāṇa. They frighten the gods

[9] For an overview of Śiva's role in the *Harivaṃśa*, see Schreiner 2005.

[10] See *Harivaṃśa* 105.6: *yathā cāsya varo dattaḥ śaṃkareṇa mahātmanā | nityaṃ sāṃnidhyatā caiva gāṇapatyaṃ tathākṣayam ||*.

[11] The closeness of Jayadratha's chapter nine and the *Matsyapurāṇa*'s version of the same story was pointed out by Alex Watson in his unpublished notes on chapter nine (September 25, 2004, p. 7).

[12] It is noteworthy that the chapter starts by lauding the sacredness of the Narmadā.

and sages, therefore Śiva starts reflecting on the bank of the Narmadā about how to solve the problem. He first sends Nārada to Bāṇa's court. Nārada teaches rites, donations and observances for women to Bāṇa's wife, who offers him a gift. Nārada asks the demonesses to worship him (*madbhaktiḥ kriyatām*). All the women are seduced by him, and thus, by taking away their loyalty to their husbands (*pativratatva*) he creates a vulnerable point in the demon city, through which the demons lose their energy (*tejas*). Śiva then prepares his bow, arrow and chariot made of several gods, to destroy the demon cities. The cruelty of the fire (Agni) destroying women and children is vividly depicted in several small scenes, which have been thought to describe the invasion and cruelty of the *hūṇa*s.[13] Śiva uses his magic arrow (*bāṇa*) to give the final blow. Part of the arrow falls down and transforms into Amarakaṇṭaka, the place where the Narmadā river originates, and which becomes a holy site, while another part lands in Śrīśaila. Thus, the story appears to associate both Śiva's arrow (*bāṇa*) and the demon Bāṇa with the origin of Amarakaṇṭaka and the Narmadā. Bāṇa escapes from this conflagration by putting a *liṅga* on his head, which may be an implicit reference to *bāṇaliṅga*s. He also sings praise (*stuti*) to Śiva, thanks to which he and his family receive the boon of becoming invincible, immortal and protected by Śiva.

Thus, the idea of devotion is already present in this version, as well as the association of Bāṇa with the *liṅga* and with the river Narmadā. Later South Indian Śaiva scriptures[14] also mention Bāṇa as a famous worshipper of the *liṅga*, but these sources were probably unknown to Jayadratha.[15]

A similar story, but in a much shorter version, can be found in a (probably) twelfth-century iconographical work, the *Aparājitapṛcchā* (chapter 205). Here too, the triple city belongs to Bāṇa as ruler of the demons. When it is destroyed and burnt by Śiva's arrow,[16] its pieces be-

[13] For an example of this interpretation, which remains hypothetical, see V.S. Agrawala 1963, 285ff. Agni nevertheless explains in the story (188.57–58) that he does not act on his own but is possessed by Śiva.

[14] See for instance *Uttarakāmika* 36.1–4: *bāṇaḥ sadāśivo devo bāṇo bāṇāsuro 'pi ca | tena tasmai kṛtaṃ yaḥ syāt bāṇaliṅgam udāhṛtam* ||; 'Bāṇa is god Sadāśiva [in the form of the *bāṇaliṅga*] as well as demon Bāṇa. Since he (the demon) made it (the *bāṇaliṅga*) for Him (the god), it is called a *bāṇaliṅga*.'

[15] These texts often called collectively 'South Indian temple āgamas' are probably later than Jayadratha's period and have only been in circulation in South India, where they were used in temple worship. See also Goodall 2004, xiii–xxxiv.

[16] The Nārada episode is also present here, but Nārada teaches observances for women in this version.

come crores of *liṅga*s dispersed in Śrīśaila, Vārāṇasī and Amarakaṇṭaka. In Amarakaṇṭaka, it seems to be specified that the *liṅga*s are created in the river Narmadā. Again, this is suggested without stating it explicitly that the *liṅga*s are produced by Śiva's arrow (*bāṇa*), although the demon king is also mentioned, therefore one could also understand that the *bāṇaliṅga*s were produced from Bāṇa's capital.[17]
In both of these stories, Bāṇa's devotion to Śiva and the association of *(bāṇa)liṅga*s with the demon king are present. The river Narmadā also figures as the main place of origin of these *liṅga*s. However, these elements are not combined with other myths in the way we find them in Jayadratha's work. Moreover, Bāṇa and the etiological myth are associated with the destruction of the three demon cities, which forms the core part of the story in these earlier sources. This is completely absent in the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, which perhaps intended to dissociate the demoniac from Śiva, and even make the reader more or less forget Bāṇa's being an *asura*. Instead of the old story of the triple cities (which goes back to Vedic sources), Jayadratha concentrates on the story of Bāṇa's excessive devotion.

III. The third precursor is a story of Kṛṣṇa and Bāṇa adapted from the *Harivaṃśa*, in which it runs through several long chapters (106–113). Being part of a Kṛṣṇaite text, its purport is to relate how Kṛṣṇa cut Bāṇa's thousand arms to punish him for imprisoning his grandson, Aniruddha. Only the element of Kṛṣṇa's cutting Bāṇa's arms is borrowed in the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, where Kṛṣṇa himself is then punished and cursed because of this. Nonetheless, in both versions, Bāṇa is rewarded by Śiva at the end and becomes the *gaṇa* called Mahākāla. The transformation of this story is particularly interesting, for a Kṛṣṇaite myth becomes a Śaiva one under Jayadratha's pen and this part of the *Harivaṃśa* can be identified as Jayadratha's main source for Bāṇa's story. Therefore, I propose to examine this adaptation in more detail.[18]

[17] See the following punning verse on Bāṇa, the demon, and *bāṇa,* the arrow: *bāṇāyāthākṣipad bāṇaṃ haro bāṇo 'py acintya ca | bāṇaṃ cikṣepa naṣṭau tau bāṇau kṣiptau parasparam||*; 'So Hara sent an arrow (*bāṇa*) to Bāṇa, and Bāṇa, without reflecting, sent out an arrow (*bāṇa*) too. The two arrows (*bāṇau*) sent out to each other were [thus] destroyed.'

[18] The story is also related in two chapters of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (5.32–33), mainly following the *Harivaṃśa*, and is included in the *Harivaṃśa* part of Kṣemendra's *Bhāratamañjarī* (stanzas 1337–1466, *Bāṇayuddha*). The latter may well have been Jayadratha's direct source, but examining this question is beyond the scope of this paper.

5. *From Kṛṣṇa to Bāṇa, from the Harivaṃśa to the Haracaritacintāmaṇi*

The story of Kṛṣṇa's cutting Bāṇa's thousand arms runs as follows (here in a heavily abridged version) in the *Harivaṃśa*:

> Bāṇa of one thousand arms lives in the City of Blood, Śoṇitapura, eager to start a fight, which Śiva promises to him. Bāṇa's daughter (Uṣā) falls in love with Kṛṣṇa's grandson (Aniruddha). They manage to have a secret meeting, but Bāṇa finds out about it and puts Aniruddha in prison. Kṛṣṇa learns about this and sets off to free his grandson. A long duel takes place, at the end of which Bāṇa uses a weapon called *brahmaśiras*. Kṛṣṇa replies with his disc, recalling the fact that (Paraśu-)Rāma also killed a thousand-armed enemy, Arjuna Kārtavīrya. When Kṛṣṇa tries to hurl the *cakra* against Bāṇa, the goddess Koṭavī, naked, tries to stand between them.[19] Kṛṣṇa calls Bāṇa unmanly and finally cuts his thousand arms with his *cakra*. He then wants to hurl his weapon against Bāṇa again, this time to kill him, but Śiva intervenes, accompanied by Kumāra. Śiva asks Kṛṣṇa not to kill Bāṇa, because he promised him protection and must keep his word. Kṛṣṇa withdraws his weapon, out of respect for Śiva. Then Nandin tells Bāṇa to dance.[20] Bāṇa starts dancing for Śiva with his limbs still covered with blood (*śoṇitaughaplutair gātrair*) and is rewarded by Śiva with several boons: he first chooses to be immortal, and Śiva offers him a second boon. Second, he asks Śiva to reward all those devotees who dance for him with a son. Śiva agrees that those who have fasted and are honest should get a son if they dance for him. He offers a third boon, for which Bāṇa wishes to have his original physical state restored and have no more wounds. Śiva then offers a fourth boon, and Bāṇa chooses to become the foremost *gaṇa* called Mahākāla, and gain fame. Śiva still has a fifth boon to offer, and Bāṇa chooses to become handsome with only two arms.

The most remarkable difference between the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* is that the latter eliminates the whole context of the (very complicated) love story between Aniruddha and Uṣā. Instead, in Jayadratha's version, Kṛṣṇa acts simply because he wants to obey Śiva. Thus, the main action of Kṛṣṇa's cutting off of Bāṇa's arms is maintained, but with a complete Śaiva reworking of the story. It may be remarked here that the concluding part in the *Harivaṃśa* about the five boons given by Śiva to Bāṇa also looks like a subsequent Śaiva addition to the basically Kṛṣṇaite story.

[19] For a detailed analysis of this episode, see Couture 2003.

[20] He says 'Oh Bāṇa, dance and you shall obtain happiness/final release' (*bāṇa bāṇa pranṛtyasva śreyas tava bhaviṣyati*, *Harivaṃśa* 112.114).

Here is a tabulated summary of the most significant transformations and adaptations that Jayadratha makes so as to create a Śaiva myth of Kṛṣṇa's story of revenge.

Table 1: The transformation of Bāṇa's story from the *Harivaṃśa* to the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*

Harivaṃśa	*Haracaritacintāmaṇi*
Kṛṣṇa fights for his grandson.	Kṛṣṇa punishes Bāṇa, according to Śiva's command, for his excessive devotion.
Kṛṣṇa uses his own *cakra*.	Kṛṣṇa commands the *cakra* he has received from Śiva.
Bāṇa's thousand arms are cut off by the *cakra*, he is bleeding.	[same]
Kṛṣṇa wants to reuse the *cakra* to kill Bāṇa.	[no equivalent]
Kṛṣṇa refrains from using his *cakra* because Śiva has promised to protect Bāṇa, and *Śiva's word should be kept*.	In the preamble, *Śiva must keep his word* and fulfil Bāṇa's wish to have Śiva near him all the time. Śiva stays with him in Nandin's body.
Nandin tells Bāṇa to dance for Śiva.	Nandin scolds and curses Kṛṣṇa: Kṛṣṇa's clan shall perish.
Bāṇa is rewarded with five boons.	Bāṇa is rewarded with boons (gaṇahood, *bāṇaliṅga* worship and fewer arms).

A comparison of the different boons Bāṇa is rewarded with also highlights some significant transformations of the story in Table 2.

Table 2: The transformation of Bāṇa's boons from the *Harivaṃśa* to the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*

Harivaṃśa	*Haracaritacintāmaṇi*
Immortality.	[same]
Dancing devotees should be given sons.	Those who worship *bāṇaliṅga*s should be rewarded with final liberation (*mukti*) and enjoyments in this world (*bhukti*).[21]
Bāṇa wants to be healed.	[not mentioned, but done]
Bāṇa wants to become the foremost *gaṇa* Mahākāla.	Nandin gives Bāṇa gaṇahood, the name Mahākāla and a retinue.
Bāṇa wants a handsome body with two arms.	Nandin gives Bāṇa a handsome body with eighteen arms.

[21] This promise carries some tantric connotations, for these rewards are often promised in tantric scriptures, frequently using the stock phrase *bhukti-mukti-phala-prada-*.

It may be remarked here that the boons remain almost the same with one exception: in the *Harivaṃśa*, Bāṇa's dancing propitiates the god, who rewards him with the establishment of a new rule, namely that dancing devotees should always be rewarded with sons; while in the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, it is Bāṇa's worship of the stone *liṅga*s that satisfies Śiva, who then gives him the boon that all *bāṇaliṅga* worshippers should obtain enjoyments or final release. Thus, both the mode of worship and the result it procures are different.

The *Harivaṃśa* appears to reflect a mode of worship that does not need any material support, one that also figures in the first stage of the *pāśupatavrata*, although it is by no means exclusive to it.[22] The *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* proposes a mode of worship that needs an external material support, but one that is easy to find and does not cost anything to the devotee. Therefore, in both cases, the mode of worship is meant to be clearly accessible to all.

The results promised for worship in the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* are much more numerous, basically because anything can be obtained by *bāṇaliṅga* worship. In both cases, however, the reward envisaged is rather general: the desire for a son is universal, just as the wish to obtain enjoyments and salvation or final release. Thus, the results promised also appear to target a very large, unspecific audience.

6. *The Śaivisation of Bāṇa's story*

The above tables show that Jayadratha found several different ways to transform the Kṛṣṇaite story into a Śaiva one. These may be placed under three different headings:

1. *Śaivisation of various elements in the story*
Several heterogeneous elements and details are rendered Śaiva in the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*. Most importantly, Jayadratha eliminates the love story between Aniruddha and Uṣā, so the reason for Kṛṣṇa to fight Bāṇa is not to defend his grandson, but to execute Śiva's initial command that Bāṇa must not worship more than one hundred thousand pieces of stone.
Just as Kṛṣṇa's motives have been changed, so too is the origin of his weapon with which he fights Bāṇa. In the *Harivaṃśa*, the *cakra* simply belongs to Kṛṣṇa, but according to the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, it

[22] The first stage of the *pāśupatavrata* involves worship by laughing, singing and dancing, paying homage etc. See *Pāśupatasūtra*s 1.8.

was Śiva who once gave Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa this weapon. This is confirmed in a previous chapter of the text (chapter seven), which relates this myth in detail, mentioning that Viṣṇu plucked out his eye to provide the last lotus of the one thousand he was to offer to Śiva. While this story seems to be well-known in early Śaiva Tamil literature[23] and may even be depicted as early as the seventh century in South India,[24] the only early Sanskrit mention of this element is found in the *Liṅgapurāṇa* (1.98.159–171). Moreover, the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* describes the *cakra* as a personified object that needs to be commanded and can speak, which may be in accordance with the conception of the *cakra* as 'wheel-man' or *cakrapuruṣa*, appearing as such in iconography throughout the subcontinent.

While Kṛṣṇa's role is thus diminished in the Śaiva version, Nandin's role increases. He is a very minor character in the *Harivaṃśa*, appearing basically only near the end of the story, but he is present throughout the events in Jayadratha's tale. He is an embodiment of Śiva (not just a servant to him) and it is him, not Śiva, who scolds and curses Kṛṣṇa for hurting Bāṇa. Several boons are also given by Nandin, rather than Śiva.

2. *Śaivisation by focusing on Bāṇa*

The point of the *Harivaṃśa*'s version is to relate how Kṛṣṇa manages to release his grandson, while Jayadratha's focus is on how Bāṇa obtains gaṇahood and becomes Mahākāla through worshipping Śiva. The role of the protagonist thus moves from Kṛṣṇa to Bāṇa.

In accordance with this change, the preamble of Jayadratha's story also deals with Bāṇa's devotion, for it relates that Bāṇa himself cut his arms off and offered them into the fire to honour Śiva. The arms were restored then by the god, but this Śaiva devotional part becomes a significant preamble which hints at the main story. The Kṛṣṇaite version speaks of Bāṇa in its preamble and of the fact that he was a

[23] For references to occurrences in the *Tēvāram*, see D. Rangaswamy 1958, 353ff.

[24] One depiction may be on the Kailāsanātha temple in Kāñcipuram (twelfth panel from the East end of the North side of the court), but although this scene is known as *cakrapradāna*, it represents Viṣṇu with his conch and *cakra* (both floating at his head) while offering his eye as a lotus to Śiva. The giving of the *cakra* is usually said to happen after this offering, but it is not depicted here. Nor is it depicted on another panel representing Viṣṇu worshipping a *liṅga* and offering his eye again, in the Airāvateśvara temple in Kāñcipuram (for a description, see Rangaswamy 1958, 355, for a discussion of these representations, see Gilet 2007, 41–2 and 2010, 218–9).

Śaiva devotee, but no such exemplary act of devotion is mentioned. Then, the main source of conflict is Bāṇa's excessive devotion to Śiva, which makes him forget about counting the *liṅga*s. Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa becomes a secondary character, who has not got the right to punish Bāṇa for his excessive devotion and to cut his arms off. Therefore, instead of Bāṇa, Kṛṣṇa gets punished and cursed.

3. *Śaivisation by introducing and focusing on liṅga worship*
While the original Kṛṣṇaite story does not mention *liṅga* worship at all, this becomes the focus in Jayadratha's story. The preamble or introductory part presents Bāṇa, who asks Śiva to transform stones he worships into *liṅga*s. Then, the central narrative relates Bāṇa's excessive worship of the *liṅga* and the chapter ends with a series of boons that also includes rewards of *liṅga* worship. Bāṇa asks for the universal worship of all *bāṇaliṅga*s without any restriction of its size, and that their worship should lead to enjoyments and final liberation. He also asks that offerings to it should not become impure (*nirmālya*) once they have been given. To this, Śiva adds that *bāṇaliṅga*s may be worshipped by anyone, not only Śaivas, but practitioners of any religion. He promises to be present in all *bāṇaliṅga*s, to bestow enjoyments and final liberation. It is, however, also stated that nobody should reuse whatever has been offered to a *bāṇaliṅga*.

7. *Conclusion*

To summarise these investigations, I would like to highlight three innovations in Jayadratha's story about Bāṇa which may possibly throw some light on the religious context of Jayadratha's place and time, as well as on the lay Śaiva worship of *bāṇaliṅga*s, and might lead to some interesting possible directions for further research.

First, as is clear from the transformations of Kṛṣṇa's story, Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa becomes a subordinate deity here. Śiva's all-encompassing domination is very much emphasised, he is the only deity who has the right to act, with Kṛṣṇa losing all autonomy. Not only does he become a minor deity in the company of Brahmā, Indra and the others, but he takes the wrong initiative. This may not tell us anything specific about Jayadratha's motivations to create this adaptation; however, it does show that the appropriation of Vaiṣṇava or Kṛṣṇaite mythology into Śaivism was still an ongoing process at this time and that the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* certainly contributed to it. Further research could determine whether Jayadratha had access to some South Indian or other sources which already involved elements of this Śaivisation.

Second, in the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, Bāṇa becomes the focus of the story throughout. This is true both for the adaptation of the *Harivaṃśa*'s myth, in which Kṛṣṇa was the hero of the original, and for the adaptation of the etiological story about *bāṇaliṅga*s, which previously focused on Śiva's victory over the three demon cities. Here, Bāṇa the demon devotee becomes the protagonist and instead of divine exploits, the narrative is about the power of Śaiva devotion. This in itself is not an innovation by Jayadratha; the *Skandapurāṇa*, for instance,[25] includes many similar myths of devotees who become Śiva's *gaṇa*s, therefore Jayadratha can be said to be continuing a longstanding Śaiva tradition. However, the shift of focus in the Bāṇa story compared to his sources and their moulding together seem to be Jayadratha's innovation.

Third, it is not only the power of devotion that is highlighted. In addition to the story of Bāṇa becoming a *gaṇa*, the reader is given a new etiological story of *bāṇaliṅga* worship. The special importance of this is pointed out only at the end of the chapter, where Śiva explains that all those within and outside the brahmanical fold may worship the *bāṇaliṅga*, which can, of course, also be the object of esoteric and exoteric Śaiva worship. With this ending, the whole Bāṇa story is given a new meaning, for its adaptation of Vaiṣṇava elements may be understood as contributing to its universality. Whatever the case, the closing lines represent an opening up of lay Śaiva devotional practices to non-Śaivas and even those outside the brahmanical fold. Whether this is a specifically Kashmirian phenomenon during this period or not remains to be established.

[25] See e.g. chapters twenty to twenty-five on Nandin, chapter thirty-four on Upamanyu, chapter thirty-five on Sukeśa and chapter fifty-two on Kāṣṭhakūṭa.

Appendix
Edition of chapter 21
of Jayadratha's Haracaritacintāmaṇi

Abbreviations in the edition

B =	Manuscript No. 757, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des manuscrits orientaux, Paris. Kashmirian Devanāgarī on paper. Since this MS is extremely corrupt in most cases, it has been only selectively reported.
D =	Manuscript No. 599, Oriental Research Library, Śrīnagar. Kashmirian Devanāgarī on paper.
L =	Manuscript No. 7042, Library of the India Office, London. Śāradā on paper.
Ked =	Kāvyamālā edition, 1897, ed. Kasinath Pandurang Parab.
S =	Manuscript No. 1510, Oriental Research Library, Śrīnagar. Śāradā on paper.
Tsuchida =	correction/emendation/conjecture proposed in Tsuchida 1997.
em. =	emendation
ac =	before correction (*ante correctionem*)
pc =	after correction (*post correctionem*)

Prakāśa 21: haracaritacintāmaṇau mahākālāvatāraḥ

ekas tvaṃ bhagavan sahasrakara ity ābhāsase yaḥ sadā
māhātmyaṃ na tu tasya kālakalanānaiyatyato naśvaram |
tejomūrtir anādimadhyanidhanas tasmān mahākāla ity
ujjṛmbhasva nijecchayā janijarāmṛtyūn nihantuṃ mama ||21.1||
anyān sarvān samutsṛjya śaraṇaṃ gṛhyatāṃ śivaḥ |
bāṇāsuro mahākālagaṇa āsīd yadicchayā ||21.2||
kalpāntasamaye viśvaṃ saṃharan parameśvaraḥ |
krodhena pīḍayām āsa hastaṃ hastena jātucit ||21.3||
anyonyahastasaṃmardād udabhūt tasya dānavaḥ |
kālākṛtir mahātejā bāṇo nāma bhayaṃkaraḥ ||21.4||
rudrakrodhodbhavo bhītair vandyamānaḥ surair api |
sa sahasrakaro bāṇaḥ plakṣadvīpe 'karot sthitim ||21.5||
jitvā tribhuvanaṃ bāṇaḥ sadevāsuramānuṣam |
sadvīpasāgarāṃ bhūmiṃ vicacāra nirańkuśaḥ ||21.6||
atha kālena bahunā tapo vyadhita dānavaḥ |
śaṃkaraṃ dvārapālatve vyāpārayitum utsukaḥ ||21.7||
bāhuṃ bāhum ayaṃ juhvad atidīpte hutāśane |
ekabāhur abhūd yāvad āyayau tāvad īśvaraḥ ||21.8||
abravīc candramaulis taṃ varam abhyarthayer iti |
abhāṣata tato bāṇaḥ pramodena kṛtāñjaliḥ ||21.9||
pāṣāṇam api viśvātman yaṃ prabho pūjayāmy aham |
tvalliṅgavat sa mokṣāya pūjakānāṃ pragalbhatām ||21.10||
itthaṃ pratyuktavantaṃ taṃ nijagāda maheśvaraḥ |
bāṇa liṅgatvam abhyeti pāṣāṇo 'pi tvadarcitaḥ ||21.11||
yady arcayasi pāṣāṇāṃl lakṣād abhyadhikān punaḥ |
madājñollaṅghanād bāṇa nāśaṃ prāpsyanti tvadbhujāḥ ||21.12||
iti śaṃbhor giraṃ bhaktyā nidhāya nijamūrdhani |
abravīd dānavendro 'pi tapogarvaviśṛṅkhalam ||21.13||
bhavantam ālokayituṃ sarvadāhaṃ samutsukaḥ |
mama dvārapradeśe tat tiṣṭha tuṣṭo 'si ced ayam ||21.14||

(*Invocations*: oṃ śrīmṛtyujite namaḥ Ked : oṃ namo mahārudrāya S : namo mahārudrāya oṃ L : *omitted in* D) **1b** na tu] S D Ked : nanu L • naiyatyato] S D Ked : naiyatyano L **1c** anādi] S D L^{pc} Ked : anādhi L^{ac} • mahākāla ity] Ked S L : mahākālayaty D **1d** ujjṛmbhasva] Ked S L : ujjṛmbha D • °mṛtyūn] S L Ked : °mṛtyur D **2a** anyān] D L Ked : oṃ anyān S **2d** yadicchayā] S^{pc} D L Ked : yidicchayā S^{ac} **4c** mahātejā] S D (B) Ked : mahātejo L **5a** °krodhodbhavo] S L Ked : °krodhodbhavod° D • bhītair] S D L Tsuchida : bhīter Ked **5d** plakṣa°] Ked : pakṣa° S D L (: plokṣa° B) **7c** śaṃkaraṃ] D L : śaṃkara° S (B) Ked **8a** bāhum ayaṃ] S L Ked : vāhumaya D **9a** abravīc] S L Ked : abravīś D **10d** pragalbhatām] S D L (B) Ked : prakalpatām (?) Tsuchida **11c** bāṇa (*separation sign*) liṅgatvam abhyeti] S : bāṇaliṅgatvam abhyetya D L Ked : bāṇa liṅgatvam abhyetu (B) Tsuchida **12d** tvadbhujāḥ] D L Ked : tvadbhujaḥ S

evaṃ vadati daityendre nandī yāvad vyadhāt krudham |
uvāca tāvad viśvātmā sāntvayan madhuraṃ vacaḥ ||21.15||
bhoḥ putra nandinn asthāne na krodhaṃ kartum arhasi |
tapaḥprasannād yatkiṃcin mattaḥ prārthayatām ayam ||21.16||
manorathaṃ ced aphalaṃ karomy asya tapasyataḥ |
bhaktibhājāṃ tad anyeṣām āśvāsaḥ kena jāyate ||21.17||
cirād ārādhitā anye dadyuḥ parimitaṃ na vā |
mama vāk sevakābhīṣṭaniṣedhaṃ naiva śikṣate ||21.18||
kim anyan nandirudra tvaṃ śarīrāntaram eva me |
bāṇasya dvārapālatvaṃ tat karomi tvadātmanā ||21.19||
iti prabhor vacaḥ śrutvā hṛṣyan bāṇāsuro 'bravīt |
hutapūrvaṃ dadhad bāhusahasraṃ śambhudarśanāt ||21.20||
jagaty akhaṇḍam aiśvaryaṃ kasyānyasya praśasyate |
tvam eva yan mahādeva vāñchitārpaṇakovidaḥ ||21.21||
kopito 'si mayā mohāt prasādaṃ vidadhāsi cet |
bhaktāyattatvam etena tavaivaikasya dṛśyate ||21.22||
bhavanmūrtyantaraṃ nandī prabhur mama bhavān iva |
tan mugdhena mayā deva dhigdhik prārthitam īśvaram ||21.23||
evaṃ varaṃ na yāce 'ham etenāpratimohitaḥ |
idānīṃ bhagavadbhaktir bhavaty evāstu śāśvatī ||21.24||
iti bāṇaṃ vadantaṃ taṃ jagāda parameśvaraḥ |
pravartate hi svapne 'pi na me vacanam anyathā ||21.25||
nandī te dvārapālo 'stu mayi bhaktiś ca niścalā |
ity uktvotthāya viśveśo gaṇaiḥ saha tirodadhe ||21.26||
nandī śūlāṅkitakaraḥ parameśvaraśāsanāt |
tataḥ prabhṛti bāṇasya dvārapālatvam ādadhe ||21.27||
bāṇāsuras tataḥ śaṃbhupūjanaikaparāyaṇaḥ |
anyatkartavyasaṃtyāgaṃ cakāra dṛḍhaniścayaḥ ||21.28||
ādāya narmadāmadhyaṃ sahasreṇa bhujair asau |
ahorātreṇa pāṣāṇalakṣaṃ bhakticamatkṛtaḥ ||21.29||
anyān apy arcayām āsa vismṛtyeśvarabhāratīm |
lakṣādhikatvam ālokya bāṇānāṃ narmadājale ||21.30||
atha dvārasthito nandī dānavendram abhāṣata |
dānavaiśvaryam āsādya śarvājñā vismṛtā tava ||21.31||

15a daityendre] S L Ked : daityendro D **16a** nandinn] S L Ked : nandin D **17d** kena] S L (B) Ked : ko na D **19b** eva me] S L Ked : eva ca D (B) **21b** kasyānyasya] S L (B) Ked : kāmyānyasya D **22c** bhaktāyattatvam] S L D : bhaktāyatatvam Ked **23b** bhavān iva] S L : bhayān iva D : bhavān api Ked (: bhavān iti B) **23c** tan mugdhena] S L Ked : unmugdhena D • deva] S D^{pc} L Ked : devī D^{ac} **24b** etenāprati°] S D Ked : etana prati° L **25a** vadantaṃ] S D L (B) : gadantaṃ Ked **27d** ādadhe] S L (B) Ked : ādade D **28a** bāṇāsuras tataḥ] S D L (B) : bāṇāsurasutaḥ Ked : bāṇāsurastutaḥ Tsuchida **29c** °lakṣaṃ] em.: °lakṣyaṃ S D L : °lakṣa Ked **30c** lakṣā°] Ked : lakṣyā° S D L **31d** śarvājñā] S D L Tsuchida : sarvajñā Ked

lakṣādhikārcanād bāhucchedam ādiśati sma yat |
prabhuḥ sa śaṃbhuḥ sarveṣām iti kasya na gocare ||21.32||
tadājñātikramaṃ nānye sahante jātu kecana |
mahādevājñayā so 'haṃ kāryākārye vicintayan ||21.33||
dehināṃ sthitaye viṣṇur adhikāre vyavasthitaḥ |
kṣīrābdhau śeṣaparyaṅke yoganidrāparāyaṇaḥ |
śivājñollaṅghanaṃ viṣṇuḥ kṣamate na kadācana ||21.34||
ity ukto nandirudreṇa kupyan dānavapuṅgavaḥ |
na kiṃcid abravīd bāṇo bhrukuṭīm atha nirmame ||21.35||
asaṃnihitam ālokya muhūrtād atha nandinam |
jagāma bāṇo govindaśayyāmandiram ambudhim ||21.36||
ālokya tatra nidrāṇaṃ nārāyaṇam anaṅkuśam |
haṭhena bodhayām āsa sahasreṇa bhujair asau ||21.37||
babhāṣe dānavendraś ca prabuddhaṃ madhusūdanam |
ādāya cakraṃ yuddhāya saṃnaddho bhava satvaram ||21.38||
tasya tadvacanaṃ śrutvā keśavaḥ sahasotthitaḥ |
jñānena kṛtsnaṃ niścitya nijacakram abhāṣata ||21.39||
bho bhoḥ sudarśana tvaṃ me datto devena śaṃbhunā |
samastaprabhuṇā hantuṃ nikhilān aparādhinaḥ ||21.40||
bāṇābhidhena cānena dānavena durātmanā |
ullaṅghya śaṃkarasyājñāṃ kriyate sthitiviplavaḥ ||21.41||
ayaṃ śivasyaiva girā bhujavicchedam arhati |
anyathā bhagavadbhaktiḥ kathaṃ nāma vijīyate ||21.42||
iha saṃnihito nandī dvitīya iva śaṃkaraḥ |
asmin prāpte gatir na syāt tavānyasya kathāpi kā ||21.43||
smaran māheśvaraṃ vīryaṃ sarvatejotiśāyi tat |
bāṇabāhudrumavaṇaṃ lunīhi rabhasād idam ||21.44||
iti daityārivacasā jvalann iva sudarśanaḥ |
ciccheda bāhūn bāṇasya sphuratkuliśakarkaśān ||21.45||
chinneṣu bāhuṣu tadā papāta bhuvi dānavaḥ |
tanmūlarudhirasrotaḥpravartitabhujāntaraḥ ||21.46||
asminn avasare nandī taṃ pradeśam avāptavān |
apaśyad dānavaṃ chinnabhujaṃ bhūmau nipātitam ||21.47||
īśānavacanaṃ hetuṃ jānantam api nandinam |

43d tatrānyasya kā katheti (*Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti ad* 4.115)

32a lakṣā°] Ked : lakṣyā° S D L **33c** so 'haṃ] S L Ked : mohaṃ D (: so yaṃ B) • vicintayan] S D Ked : vyacintayan L **34a** sthitaye] S L (B) Ked : sthitayaṃ D **35d** bhrukuṭīm] Ked : bhrukuṭim S D L (*unmetrical*) (: bhrukuṭīr B) **36a** asaṃnihitam] S D Ked : asannihatam L **42c** °bhaktiḥ] D S L (B) Ked : °bhaktaḥ Tsuchida **43a** saṃnihito] D Ked L : suvihito S **43d** kā] B : vā S D L Ked **44b** °tejotiśāyi] S Ked : °tejotanāyi D : °tejośāyi L (*unmetrical*) **45a** jvalann] S D Ked : jvalan L **47d** nipātitam] S L Ked : nipātitat D

upagamyābravīd viṣṇuḥ kupyantaṃ bāṇadarśanāt ||21.48||
vinā maheśvarasyecchāṃ kasya kutra vyavasthitiḥ |
tad atra kāraṇaṃ śaṃbhur iti tattvena cintyatām ||21.49||
krodho na tad vidhātavyo nandīśvara tvayā mayi |
tvam api prabhur asmākaṃ maheśvara ivāparaḥ ||21.50||
ity uktavati govinde nandirudro 'py abhāṣata |
mayy asaṃnihite viṣṇo bhinnāḥ kim iti bāhavaḥ ||21.51||
tvatkarmaṇā tad etena yātu vṛṣṇikulaṃ kṣayam |
śaptveti kṛṣṇam avadat patitaṃ bhuvi cāsuram ||21.52||
satyaṃ yadi mahādevaḥ sarvadaiva kṛpāparaḥ |
tad anenaiva dehena gaṇatvaṃ tvam avāpsyasi ||21.53||
ity uktvā śaṃkaraṃ smṛtvā nandī bhūyo 'py abhāṣata |
uttiṣṭhāṣṭādaśabhujaṃ labhasva vapur uttamam ||21.54||
ajarāmaratāṃ prāptaṃ yathāhaṃ gaṇapuṅgavaḥ |
tathaiva tvaṃ mahākālaḥ śaṃbhoḥ sevāparo bhava ||21.55||
yāvanto bāhavaś chinnās tava vikramakarkaśāḥ |
tatsaṃkhyāḥ pramathāḥ santu parivārāya madgirā ||21.56||
iti nandigirā bāṇas tathaiva samapadyata |
śivabhakticamatkāravigalanmohakālikaḥ ||21.57||
smṛto 'tha nandirudreṇa śivabhāvitacetasā |
adatta darśanaṃ devo devyā saha maheśvaraḥ ||21.58||
abhyarthito vinītena nandirudreṇa bhūriśaḥ |
devo 'pi varayām āsa mahākālaṃ kṛtastutim ||21.59||
athābravīn mahākālo nikṣipya dharaṇau śiraḥ |
bhagavann adya me śānto bahujanmārjito malaḥ ||21.60||
ye pūjitā mahādeva grāvāṇo narmadājale |
tān pūjayitvā tvallokaṃ bhajantv anye 'pi dehinaḥ ||21.61||
na mānaṃ digvibhāgo na nānyalakṣaṇavīkṣaṇam |
narmadābāṇaliṅgasya prabhuṇety ucyatāṃ mama ||21.62||
bāṇaliṅgasya pūjāyāṃ mānabhedabhayaṃ hara |
nirmālyaṃ jātu mā bhūc ca mahādeva tvadājñayā ||21.63||
yatra saṃnihito deva bāṇaliṅgaḥ kadācana |
krīḍa tvaṃ tatra viśvātmā bhuktimuktiphalapradaḥ ||21.64||
iti sarvaṃ mahādevaḥ kṛpayā pratyapadyata |
abhāṣata ca niḥśeṣabhaktalokābhayapradaḥ ||21.65||

48d kupyantaṃ] D L Ked : tṛpyantaṃ S (: kupyataṃ B) **50a** vidhātavyo] S D L Tsuchida : vighātavyo Ked **51c** mayy asaṃnihite] S D Ked : mayi sannihite L **52a** tvat°] L (B) Ked : tat° S D **53b** °daiva°] S^{ac} : °deva° S^{pc} D L Ked **54c** uttiṣṭhā°] S Ked : uttiṣṭā° D • °āṣṭādaśabhujaṃ] S D Ked : °āṣṭhādaśabhuja L **55a** prāptaṃ] S D L Ked : prāpto B **56d** madgirā] S L Ked : madgirāḥ D **58c** adatta] S D L : dadau ca Ked (: adatu B) **58d** maheśvaraḥ] S Ked : maheśvarāḥ D **61c** tvallokaṃ] S L Ked : tvalloka D **63c** mā bhūc ca] S Ked : mābhūś ca D L

sa mahābhairavo devaḥ sa mantraḥ pāramārthikaḥ |
phalapratiṣṭhite bāṇe ṣaṭtriṃśattattvaśodhanāt ||21.66||
vaidikair vaiṣṇavaiḥ sauraiḥ śaivaiḥ śāktaiś ca sarvathā |
apy amārgasthitair vāpi bāṇāḥ pūjyāḥ prayatnataḥ ||21.67||
nityaṃ saṃnihito bāṇe devyā saha bhavāmy aham |
tad etatpūjanān muktir bhuktiś ca karagocare ||21.68||
varaṃ śvapākaś caṇḍālaḥ pukkaso vadhyaghātakaḥ |
tailikaḥ sauniko vāpi na tu liṅgopajīvikaḥ ||21.69||
dhanena pūjayaṃl liṅgaṃ yaś ca bhuṅkte tadarpitam |
sa gacched rauravaṃ ghoraṃ sādākhyaṃ vatsaratrayam ||21.70||
tasmāt prayatnataḥ pūjyā bāṇā ity abhidhāya saḥ |
tirodadhe gaṇair nandimahākālādibhiḥ saha ||21.71||
jagati khalu carācare maheśaḥ prabhur ayam ity avadhārya śuddhabuddhiḥ |
ghaṭayati yadi bāṇaliṅgapūjāṃ viramati tat svayam eva pāparāśiḥ ||21.72||

66b pāramārthikaḥ] S D : paramārthikaḥ L (B) Ked **67c** °apyamārga] S D L Ked : °anyamārga Tsuchida **68a** saṃnihito] D L Ked : sannihite S **68b** bhavāmy aham] S D L : bhavābhyaham Ked (*typo?*) **69a** śvapākaś] S L Ked : śvapāka D **69d** °pajīvikaḥ] D L Ked : °pajīvakaḥ S (B) **70a** pūjayaṃlliṅgaṃ] S L Ked : pūjayelliṅgaṃ D **70b** yaśca] S L Ked : yacca D

Translation:
The Manifestation of Śiva as Mahākāla
(Mahākālāvatāra, Haracaritacintāmaṇi ch. 21)

1. You are one, [yet] always manifesting yourself as the Thousand-Armed [Mahākāla/Great Time], O Lord, but your greatness is not perishable, as you are not subject to the effects of time. Your body is energy, you have no beginning, middle or end, which is the reason why you are called the Great Time. May you be manifest as such, of your own will, to destroy birth, old age and death for me.
2. May we take refuge in Śiva, leaving aside all the other [gods]! Out of His will, the demon Bāṇa became the *gaṇa* called Mahākāla.
3. One day, when withdrawing the universe at the end of an aeon, the Supreme Lord clenched his fists together in anger.
4. From the pressure of his hands, a frightening Dānava demon was born, with a black body/with the body of Death (*kālākṛti*) and great energy, whose name was Bāṇa.
5. Being born of Rudra's anger, he was praised even by gods, who were frightened of him. Thousand-armed Bāṇa took up residence on the continent of Plakṣadvīpa.
6. Bāṇa conquered the three worlds including all the gods, demons and humans and was roaming about without hindrance in the whole world, over its oceans and continents.
7. Then, after some time, the Dānava performed austerities, wishing to employ Śiva as his door-keeper.

8. He offered his arms, one after the other, into the blazing sacrificial fire until he had only one arm left, at which point the Lord arrived.
9. The Lord with the crescent moon in his crown spoke to him— 'Please choose a boon.' Then Bāṇa replied with joy, joining his hands respectfully.
10. 'O my Lord, Soul of the Universe, may even a piece of stone I worship be able to effect final liberation for its worshippers, just as your *liṅga*.'
11. To this, the Great Lord replied—'O Bāṇa, even a piece of stone worshipped by you shall become a *liṅga*.
12. Yet, O Bāṇa, if you worship more than 100,000 stones, your arms will perish because you disobey my command.'
13. Promising Śaṅkara to obey his command with devotion, the Dānava lord spoke again, since he felt no limit being as he was very proud of his achievements in ascetic practices.
14. 'I would like to see my Lord all the time, so please stay at my door here, if you are satisfied [with my devotion].'
15. As the Daitya lord spoke in this way, Nandin [the *gaṇa*] became angry; so the Soul of the Universe spoke to him, soothing him with kind words.
16. 'O my son, Nandin, please do not get angry without good reason. He may ask anything from me, since I am satisfied with his ascetic practices.
17. If I do not fulfil his desire in spite of the austerities [he dedicated to me], then how could other devotees be sure of my protection?
18. Other [gods] worshipped for a long time would [only] give a limited [reward], wouldn't they?[1] [But] my word is not meant to go against my servants' desire.
19. What else can I say? O Nandirudra, you are another body of mine. So I shall be Bāṇa's doorkeeper in your person.'
20. Hearing these words of the Lord, Bāṇa spoke happily, previously having offered his thousand arms into the fire to see Śambhu—

[1] I am unsure in what sense this sentence should be taken, whether *vā* is tagged at the end of the sentence with the negation (*na vā* = or not, as translated) or is understood in the sense of 'alternatively/in other words.' In the latter case, the translation would be 'In other words, other [gods] do not give [only] a limited reward when they are worshipped for a long time.'

21. 'Who else is known to possess unlimited power in this world? For you are the only one, O Great God, who is able to fulfil desires.

22. I have made you angry because of my ignorance. If you still forgive me, then by this [act of grace] it will be seen that you are the only god devotees should depend on.

23. Nandin, who is another embodiment of yours, is my Lord just like you. So shame on me that I requested [the presence of] my Lord [as a doorkeeper], out of ignorance.

24. I do not wish to ask for a boon like this [i.e., to have you near me all the time], I am not deluded now by this [*tapas*/pride/request]. Now may just my pious devotion to You be eternal.'

25. After Bāṇa spoke, the Supreme Lord replied this—'Even in your dreams, my word will never be false.

26. Nandin shall be your doorkeeper and your devotion to me shall be unwavering.' Having spoken in this way, the Lord of the Universe stood up and disappeared together with his *gaṇa*s.

27. From then on, Nandin, with a trident in hand, became Bāṇa's doorkeeper, obeying the Supreme Lord's command.

28. Bāṇa then, concentrating solely on Śambhu's worship, left all his other duties with firm resolve.

29–32. Occupying the middle of the Narmadā river,[2] being inspired by his devotion, he worshipped a hundred thousand stones and even more than that, with his thousand arms, day and night, having forgotten the Lord's words. Seeing that he had gone beyond one hundred thousand *bāṇa*(*liṅga*s) in the water of the Narmadā, Nandin, posted at the door, spoke to the demon lord—'You have obtained sovereignty over the Dānavas and have forgotten Śarva's command, namely that he ordered your arms to be cut off if you go beyond the worship of a hundred thousand [stones]. Śambhu is the Lord of All— who would not know that?

33. Others would not tolerate that someone disobeys his command. Here I am, [obliged] by the Great Lord's command, reflecting on what should and should not be done.[3]

[2] I am uncertain as to how to take *ādāya* here, perhaps 'taking, embracing' in the sense of 'occupying.' One could also emend *madhyam* to *madhye* and understand: 'in the middle of the Narmadā, with (*ādāya*) his thousand arms.'

[3] I understand here that because Bāṇa is a true devotee, Nandin does not want to punish him, in spite of Śiva's command.

34. [But] it is Viṣṇu who is established to oversee the maintenance of embodied souls. He is in deep yogic sleep in the milk ocean, lying on the Eternal Snake, Śeṣa. Viṣṇu never tolerates that someone should disobey Śiva's command.'

35. At these words of Nandirudra, the powerful Dānava, Bāṇa, got angry, but did not say a word, only frowned.

36. A moment later, when he saw that Nandin was no longer near, Bāṇa left for the ocean, Govinda's bed-chamber.[4]

37. There, seeing Nārāyaṇa sleeping without any disturbance, he woke him up violently with his thousand arms.

38. Then the Dānava lord spoke to Madhusūdana, who had just woken up—'Arm yourself for battle with your discus straight away.'

39. Hearing these words, Keśava stood up immediately. He knew everything through his [unlimited/divine] knowledge and spoke to his discus.

40. 'O Sudarśana, you have been given to me by Lord Śambhu, the Lord of Everything, in order to kill all sinners.

41. And this mean Dānava called Bāṇa disobeyed Śaṅkara's command and created a disastrous situation.

42. It is by Śiva's command that he deserves to have his arms cut off. Otherwise [if not by the word of the Lord himself], how could devotion to the Lord be conquered?[5]

43. Here is Nandin nearby, who is like a second Śaṅkara. Once he arrives here, you have no other way out, not to mention others.[6]

44. So remembering the energy of the Great Lord which is beyond all forms of energy, cut off Bāṇa's forest of arms quickly.'

45. At these words of the enemy of Daityas, Sudarśana, the discus, as if in flames, cut off Bāṇa's arms which were hard like glittering diamonds/*vajra*s.

[4] From here onwards, the names of Kṛṣṇa (Govinda etc.) are mostly used for Viṣṇu.

[5] One could emend to *bhaktaḥ* with Tsuchida, but perhaps the emendation is not necessary, one can get the right meaning with *bhaktiḥ*. Viṣṇu in fact says that only Śiva can give a command against a Śaiva devotee.

[6] Only B has the right word: *kā*. In other words, Viṣṇu says to the *cakra* that it has no choice but to obey.

46. When his arms were cut off, the Dānava fell to the ground. In the place of his arms, he was covered with blood flowing from his shoulder joints.

47. At that point, Nandin reached the spot and saw the Dānava fallen to the ground, with his arms cut off.

48. Although Nandin knew that the reason for this was the Lord's command, he was angry to see Bāṇa [in this state]. Viṣṇu approached him and said—

49. 'What could possibly exist and where without the Great Lord's will? So in this case too, one should understand that in fact, the cause [of events] is Śambhu.

50. Therefore, do not be angry with me, O Nandīśvara, you are also my Lord, like another Maheśvara.'

51. After Govinda spoke in this way, Nandirudra replied— 'O Viṣṇu, why did you cut off his arms while I was away?

52. Because of this act of yours, may the clan of the Vṛṣṇis perish!' After cursing Kṛṣṇa in this way, he turned to the Asura fallen to the ground.—

53. 'If the Great Lord is indeed always intent on compassion, then you shall become a *gaṇa* in this very body.'

54–55. Having spoken thus, recalling Śaṅkara in his mind, Nandin spoke again [expressing thus Śaṅkara's intention/speaking in Śaṅkara's name]—'Stand up and get a supreme body with eighteen arms, which will be exempt from old age and death. Just as myself, you shall be a powerful *gaṇa*, Mahākāla. Be intent on serving Śambhu.

56. And may you have as many Pramathas[7] in your retinue by my command as the number of your arms, firm with courage, which have been cut off.'

57. Thus, through Nandin's command, Bāṇa lost all impurities of ignorance, thanks to the insight he gained from his devotion to Śiva.

58. Since Śiva was mentally recalled by Nandirudra, whose mind concentrated on him, the Great Lord appeared in front of him, together with the Goddess.

[7] *Pramatha*s are demonic creatures which belong to Śiva's retinue. *Gaṇa*s or *gaṇeśvara*s, being assimilated to Śiva, also have their own retinue consisting of such beings.

59. As he was requested by Nandirudra, politely and repeatedly, the Lord also offered Mahākala a boon, who had sung his praise.

60. Then Mahākāla, touching the ground with his head [in respect], spoke to the Lord—'Today, my impurity (*mala*) accumulated throughout many rebirths has been eliminated.

61. O Great God, may all other embodied beings who worship the stones I worshipped in the water of the Narmadā also obtain your world!

62. Please declare, my Lord, that a *bāṇaliṅga* of the Narmadā river shall have no [ideal/prescribed] measurement (*māna*), no particular direction [in which it should be found/turned] (*digvibhāga*) and is not to be examined for other special marks (*anyalakṣaṇavīkṣaṇa*).[8]

63. Please take away people's fear of loss of respect/prestige when worshipping a *bāṇaliṅga*.[9] And may there be no *nirmālya*, O Great God, by your command.[10]

64. Wherever a *bāṇaliṅga*[11] is close by, O Lord, may you play there as the Soul of the Universe, bestowing enjoyments and final liberation.'

65. Thus, the Great Lord, he who ensures the absence of fear for all devotees, compassionately bestowed everything asked for and spoke:

66. 'It is Great Bhairava, the Lord, the mantra in the ultimate sense that is present in the *bāṇa*[*liṅga*] when it is established for a

[8] Bāṇa asks Śiva to waive the different conditions that are to be met in case one intends to consecrate or worship a *liṅga*. These *liṅga*s must be of a certain size, they must be found as naturally turned to an auspicious direction, usually East or North-East, and must also possess various auspicious marks that make them stand out and be identified as naturally produced *liṅga*s. Thus, according to this request, *bāṇaliṅga*s are all appropriate and do not need to conform to any prescriptions.

[9] It seems to be implied that *bāṇaliṅga* worship should not be seen as something that only low castes or simple people do. The verse suggests that *bāṇaliṅga* worship was perhaps looked down upon as the worship of a simple and naturally found stone. Bāṇa thus asks Śiva to eliminate the contemptuous attitude concerning *bāṇaliṅga* worship.

[10] In other words, what is offered to the *bāṇaliṅga* will not become impure afterwards. Again, this goes against general Śaiva worship of the *liṅga*, which produces *nirmālya*.

[11] Oddly, *liṅga* is treated as a masculine noun here, perhaps because the *bāṇaliṅga* is meant to represent Śiva or Bāṇa here.

[particular] purpose, after/because of the purification of the thirty-six *tattva*s.[12]

67. *Bāṇaliṅga*s can be worshipped with dedication by Vaidikas, Vaiṣṇavas, Sauras, Śaivas, and Śāktas in all kinds of ways, even by those who do not follow any [brahmanical] religion.

68. I shall always be present in a *bāṇaliṅga* together with the Goddess. Therefore, if one worships it, final liberation as well as enjoyments will be readily accessible.

69. It is better to be a dog-eater, a *caṇḍāla* or *pukkasa* [low castes], to be an executioner, an oil-miller, or a butcher, rather than someone who lives off the offerings to a *liṅga*.

70. Someone who worships a *liṅga* with riches and then consumes what has been offered shall go to the terrible hell called Despair (*sādākhya*), for three years.

71. Therefore, *bāṇaliṅga*s must be worshipped with dedication.' Having said this, the Lord disappeared together with his *gaṇa*s Nandin, Mahākāla and the others.

72. If someone understands that the Great Lord is the ruler of this world of moving and non-moving creatures, and, with his mind purified by this thought, he performs worship of the *bāṇaliṅga*, then his numerous sins shall cease to exist on their own.

[12] With this statement, it is affirmed that an Āgamic, in fact Bhairavāgamic, identity of Śiva is present in the *liṅga* for those who do the purification of the thirty-six *tattva*s. The verse may describe the importance of *bāṇaliṅga*s in Bhairavāgamic worship here (which would certainly be the ideal, esoteric mode of worship for our author), then the subsequent verses show that *bāṇaliṅga*s can be worshipped by others, in a non-esoteric way. For Bhairavāgamic worship, the *bāṇaliṅga* would be established for a particular purpose (*phala*), according to this statement.

The Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda of the Śivadharma and its network

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1. *The Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda: preliminary remarks**

The *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*,[1] 'The dialogue between Umā and Maheśvara,' is the title of a work pertaining to a textual cluster of 'Śivadharma texts,' a group of associated Śaiva texts written in Sanskrit under anonymous authorship and transmitted in multiple-text manuscripts of the so-called 'Śivadharma corpus.'[2] The 'Śivadharma texts' comprise eight or nine books (De Simini 2016b, 233) in which we find two distinct strands. That is, first, there are two earlier works, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*

* I am thankful to Florinda De Simini, Csaba Kiss, Kengo Harimoto and Kenji Takahashi for reading a draft of this article and for their invaluable suggestions. I would further like to acknowledge the help of my friend, Ven. Gyalten Jigdrel (Hamburg), for checking my English and offering valuable feedback on questions of expression. Research for this article was part of my work for the ERC Project SHIVADHARMA (803624).

[1] All the references to the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* are from Naraharinath 1998. All readings have been checked and corrected against ms N^{K}_{82}.

[2] De Simini 2017 provides an analysis of the historical backdrop to the production and transmission of this particular cluster of texts on the basis of two case studies drawn from the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. De Simini's study offers significant insights into the methodology of the 'Common Error Method' of textual criticism, and the findings particular to the case study she has scrutinised are directly relevant for the scholar immersed in the study of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*.

that were 'also studied and transmitted outside Nepal,' and second, 'the remaining six (seven if we also include those attested only in one manuscript), which have so far been found, with rare exceptions, exclusively in Nepal and, at least in the earliest phases of their transmission, only in multiple-text manuscripts ... transmitting the entire corpus' (De Simini 2017, 506).[3] In most of the manuscripts, the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of the Śivadharma texts (henceforth: *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*) features as the fourth work after the *Śivadharmaśāstra*,[4] the *Śivadharmottara*[5] and the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (De Simini 2017, 528). The earliest source currently available to us is a possibly late tenth-century manuscript from Nepal.[6]

The transmission of this work appears disrupted, in particular as to how the text is divided. As De Simini shows (2017, 529), two groups of manuscript clusters become apparent when tracing the textual transmission history, one group dividing the text into twenty-one chapters, and another group dividing them into twenty-two.[7] What is more, De Simini (2017, 535–536) shows, for instance, how a copyist by the name of Haricandra added to the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* a new chapter (the *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya*), summarized the version of chapter twenty-one that was transmitted in another group of manuscripts, and presented it as chapter twenty-three in the manuscript he was tasked with copying. In doing this, he left out the story of the *gajendramokṣaṇa*, which in the bulk of the Nepalese manuscripts

[3] An overview of the non-Nepalese manuscripts of the Śivadharma is presented in Appendix II of De Simini 2016b; see also De Simini 2017, 517, fn. 25. For the traditional accounts of the transmission of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the other works of the corpus, refer to De Simini 2016b, 263–268.

[4] For an in-depth analysis of the structural and historical particularities of the last chapter of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, based on philological inquiry, refer to De Simini 2017, 509–528.

[5] De Simini (2017, 507) has noted that the *Śivadharmottara*, in particular has 'enjoyed a high level of popularity, as attested by the multiple reuses, with or without attribution, that have been traced so far in the main areas where the text was transmitted.'

[6] This source (N^{K}_{28}) is preserved at the National Archives, Kathmandu. Though undated, its script can be dated to the late tenth to the early eleventh century (see De Simini 2016b, 245, and Bisschop 2018b, 50, fn 212).

[7] De Simini (2017, 529) identifies this fact as a clear 'disruption in the transmission of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*,' showing 'how the Nepalese manuscripts appear to have divided the work into an uneven number of chapters' despite the fact that 'several manuscripts transmit the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as a work divided into twenty-two chapters, the final chapter consisting of only sixteen stanzas that usually lack the explicit designation of "chapter twenty-two", simply with a final *iti*.' What is more, De Simini (2017, 529–530) highlights further irregularities, with another manuscript concluding the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* at chapter twenty, as well as positioning it as the last work in the collection.

is transmitted in chapter twenty-one.[8] Though this particular scribe's editorial intervention is an extreme case, it serves to illustrate the fact that the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, as well as the collection at large, was consistently and consciously refashioned.

Furthermore, De Simini and Mirnig (2017) draw attention to the extensive literal parallels existing between chapters one to twenty of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the *Lalitavistara*, another work of the Śivadharma collection that, however, appears only in one Nepalese manuscript (N^{Ko}_{77}). This *Lalitavistara* seems to be a sort of earlier 'draft' of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvada*, which however coexists with the *Lalitavistara* in the same manuscript.

Apart from the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, with which we are concerned here, there are other texts known by the same name. One such example is a section of the *Mahābhārata* (henceforth: *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*) that is included in the *Dānadharmaparvan* of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* of the Poona critical edition (13.126–134). Furthermore, a second version of it is published as Appendix fifteen of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* in the same edition, covering forty-nine chapters (13.202–250). The latter version is hence considerably longer than the former, and might therefore have been a later expansion upon it.[9]

De Simini observes that the final colophon of the earliest manuscript so-far known for the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, the already mentioned N^{K}_{28}, indeed attributes the final chapter twenty to the *Śāntiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (De Simini 2017, 531), possibly under the influence of the existence of an *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in the *Mahābhārata*.

As previously stated, the chapter division of this work is problematic. Besides the oscillation in the number of chapters, ranging from a minimum of twenty to a maximum of twenty-four, their demarcation also fluctuates. The materials of chapter three and four, for instance, can easily be joined in the same chapter, as the *Lalitavistara* does in its chapter three (De Simini and Mirnig 2017, 588).

With all due caveats, let us investigate, in brief, the contents of each chapter of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as they appear in the most common version of the text, divided into twenty-two chapters. The topics listed below are partly based on the colophons attested in one of the earliest Nepalese manuscripts, N^{K}_{82}, dated to 1069 CE.[10] As chapter colophons rarely

[8] Regarding the *gajendramokṣaṇa* episode of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, see De Simini 2017, 531–532.

[9] See Hiltebeitel 2016 for a detailed study of these two versions of the text.

[10] On this manuscript, see Petech 1984, 46, and De Simini 2016b, 252.

mention the content of the chapters, I have integrated the information with my reading of the text:

1. Duties of different classes of people
2. Unfortunate rebirths
3. Unfortunate rebirths
4. Meditation (*dhyānavidhi*)
5. Pilgrim's bath (*tīrthādhyāya*)
6. The householder's duties
7. The householder's duties
8. Description of the Kaliyuga
9. Description of the Kaliyuga
10. Description of the features of the End of Aeons (*yugāntalakṣaṇa*)
11. Happiness and sorrow
12. How to enjoy a long life
13. How to enjoy a long life
14. Rules regarding food
15. *Karman*, rebirth, and hells
16. Ancestral rituals
17. The netherworld and dreams
18. The praise of the *Mahābhārata* (*bhāratakīrtana*)
19. Worship of Brahmins
20. The caste system
21. Music and sounds, and the story of *gajendramokṣaṇa*
22. Avatāras of Viṣṇu

Even from the above colophons, it is evident that the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* does not exclusively consist of Śaiva material. In particular, chapter twenty-two of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is noteworthy as it lists the *avatāra*s of Viṣṇu. Furthermore, chapter four of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* teaches a meditative practice that focuses on either Viṣṇu[11]—in which case it is called *adhyātma*[12]— or on Brahmā,[13] which is, in turn,

[11] *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4.13–30.

[12] See *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4.13. The *Niśvāsamukhatattvasaṃhitā* also connects the *ādhyātmika* (1.8, 4.42) teaching with Viṣṇu. In that text, the *ādhyātmika* stream is related to the teaching of Sāṅkhya and Yoga.

[13] *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4.31–45.

called *paitāmahaṃ dhyānaṃ.*[14] The teaching of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* thus conforms to the model of 'Hinduism' where the three major 'Hindu' gods play an important role. However, this inclusivist attitude does not only concern this work, but several other works of the collection: the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* contains long sections that are not markedly Śaiva, but rather Dharmaśāstric and secular in nature, while the *Dharmaputrikā*, usually transmitted as the final work of the collection, deals with the topic of yoga with a markedly Buddhist vocabulary, showing that it was composed in a milieu of religious interchange and borrowings.[15]

The only printed edition of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* has been published under the title *Paśupatimatam Śivadharmamahāśāstram Paśupatināthadarśanam* by Yogī Naraharinath in Kathmandu, in Nepal Saṃvat 2055 (1998 CE). Some parts of this edition are displayed in hand-written form. In this edition, the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* spans pages 434–518, and is printed as the fifth text. Apart from numerous printing mistakes, as noted by De Simini and Mirnig (2017, 621), Naraharinath's edition displays substantial semantic alterations to the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, changing Vaiṣṇava concepts into Śaiva ones. As for the slim possibility that the manuscript that Naraharinath used already displayed those changes, this is very unlikely as none of the sources consulted so far have those readings, and a sizable number of manuscripts have been consulted.

A few remarks are needed concerning the title. A group of texts transmitted in the Śivadharma multiple-text manuscripts have titles beginning with the word 'Śiva-' (*Śivadharmaśāstra*, *Śivadharmottara*, *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*,[16]

[14] See *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4.45.

[15] What is more, this is the only work in the Śivadharma collection of texts that is attributed to a human author. The signature verse explicitly mentions that it was composed by a certain son of Dharmaśīla, and that he collected the text from the treatise of a certain Śanaka: *ālokyātyantagūḍhārthaṃ śāstraṃ śanakanirmitam | vastumātraṃ samādāya dharmaśīlasya sūnunā* || 16:25 || *sukhāvabodhā bālānāṃ granthitā saṃhitā mayā* |.

[16] Note that in the case of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, the title, which unmistakably places the text within the domain of the Dharma of Śiva, is in fact the main factor establishing a connection with the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, as the contents are otherwise non-related. Such connection is additionally buttressed by the declaration, in *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* 1.3: *śambhoḥ sanatkumārasya vāyor dvaipāyanasya ca | granthasāraṃ samuddhṛtya kriyate dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* || 1.3 ||; 'The [*Śiva*]*dharmasaṃgraha* is composed upon having extracted the essence of the scriptures of Śambhu, Sanatkumāra, Vāyu and Dvaipāyana.'

As shown by Kafle 2020, 101ff, 'Śambhu' refers to the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, since the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* demonstrably draws on the *Niśvāsamukha* and the *Guhyasūtra*. 'Sanatkumāra,' on the other hand, could be a reference either to the *Śivadha-*

and *Śivopaniṣad*) and, although they in principle are conceived as the direct speech of a divine speaker, they are never really structured in a dialogue form. The *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* does not align with these titles, breaking the sequence in the multiple-text manuscripts, and is clearly structured in the form of a dialogue between the goddess asking questions and the god imparting teachings in reply.

2. *The Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda and the Mahābhārata*

As noted above, one of the scribes of the Śivadharma texts created a link with the homonymous section of the *Mahābhārata* by attributing to the latter a chapter of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda.* Given the structure of the two *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*s and their topics, one may legitimately wonder if these texts are somehow related. Further hints in this direction are also offered by other works of the Śivadharma texts, such as the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, which, as discussed by Csaba Kiss in his article for this volume, establishes clear connections with the *Mahābhārata*. In the following, I will therefore examine this research line by contrasting the two versions of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as transmitted in the *Mahābhārata* on the one hand and the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* on the other. When referring to the *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, I take into consideration the shorter Northern version rather than its more elaborate Southern counterpart contained in the appendix-section of the Poona Critical edition (*Mahābhārata* 13, Appendix 15); as Hiltebeitel (2016) cogently points out, the Southern work is a more developed, later elaboration upon the Northern version of the work.

Upon considering the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* vis-à-vis the *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda,* our conclusion is that these differ to an extent that makes it reasonable to treat them as two entirely different texts. The general pattern that can be observed in the comparison between the two works is that of intermittent similarities that differ in details of varying magnitude. What the two works certainly share is a background of generic Smārta teachings that they derive from the classical Dharmaśāstric tradition. Going beyond the layer of general Dharmaśāstric teachings, one may notice that the *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, from the outset, displays an even more markedly Śaiva flavour than the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. For example,

rmaśāstra, in which he was one of the two interlocutors mentioned in the first chapter, or to the *Skandapurāṇa*, since this *Purāṇa* is presented as having been narrated by Sanatkumāra; moreover, the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* demonstrates parallels with the *Skandapurāṇa*. Likewise, the mention of Vāyu refers to the *Vāyupurāṇa*, and that of Dvaipāyana to [Kṛṣṇa-]dvaipāyana (i.e., Vyāsa), supposed author of the *Mahābhārata*.

the cremation ground plays a significant role in the discussion of the concept of 'purity' and 'impurity,' yet no such corresponding treatment is found in the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* whatsoever. In the *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, the concept of (im)purity is introduced by Umā, Maheśvara's consort, asking why Maheśvara shows a particular affinity for dwelling in the cremation ground, despite the fact that he could easily inhabit more conventional dwelling-places; the charnel-grounds are commonly seen as an impure locality defiled by bones, hair, funeral fires and the like.[17] Flouting conventional expectations, Maheśvara answers that he roamed the entire earth in quest of a pure place and found the cremation ground to be the purest, for which reason he takes delight in his current dwellings.[18] He further explains that his troops of Bhūtas live there alongside him, and that the place is divine and decidedly pure.[19] Not only is a discussion of purity and impurity absent in the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, it lacks several important iconographic features of Śiva revealed in the *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, where he is conventionally described as sporting a tiger skin as his lower garment and a lion skin as his upper garment; donning a snake as his sacred thread, sporting matted hair, and brandishing a banner marked by a bull, amongst other things;[20] he is armed with a Pināka bow which he holds in his hand[21] and has an odd number of eyes (*virūpākṣa*).[22]

However, the strong Śaiva sectarian connotation characterising the *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is lost when the text turns to the topic of duties (*dharma*) of the four classes, as broached by Devī's question to Maheśvara at 13.128.23. Here, the text takes on the flavour one would commonly encounter in the Smārta teachings on duties. Such teachings continue in the

[17] *Mahābhārata* 13.128.13–15 *umovāca | nivāsā bahurūpās te viśvarūpaguṇānvitāḥ | tāṃś ca saṃtyajya bhagavañ śmaśāne ramase katham || keśāsthikalile bhīme kapālaghaṭasaṃkule | gṛdhragomāyukalile citāgniśatasaṃkule || aśucau māṃsakalile vasāśoṇitakardame | vinikīrṇāmiṣacaye śivānādavinādite ||.*

[18] *Mahābhārata* 13.128.16–17: *maheśvara uvāca | medhyānveṣī mahīṃ kṛtsnāṃ vicarāmi niśāsv aham | na ca medhyataraṃ kiṃcic śmaśānād iha vidyate || tena me sarvavāsānāṃ śmaśāne ramate manaḥ | nyagrodhaśākhāsaṃchanne nirbhuktasragvibhūṣite ||.*

[19] *Mahābhārata* 13.128.17–19: *tatra caiva ramante me bhūtasaṃghāḥ śubhānane | na ca bhūtagaṇair devi vināhaṃ vastum utsahe || eṣa vāso hi me medhyaḥ svargīyaś ca mato hi me | puṇyaḥ paramakaś caiva medhyakāmair upāsyate ||.*

[20] *Mahābhārata* 13.127.18–19: *vyāghracarmāmbaradharaḥ siṃhacarmottaracchadaḥ | vyālayajñopavītī ca lohitāṅgadabhūṣaṇaḥ || hariśmaśrur jaṭī bhīmo bhayakartā suradviṣām | abhayaḥ sarvabhūtānāṃ bhaktānāṃ vṛṣabhadhvajaḥ ||*. The text also mentions Śiva having a bull as his mount (13.128.9).

[21] *Mahābhārata* 13.127.48ab: *haste caitat pināka te satataṃ kena tiṣṭhati |*.

[22] *Mahābhārata* 13.133.44cd: *alpaprajño virūpākṣa kathaṃ bhavati mānavaḥ ||*.

MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda and culminate in the teaching on the duties of women (*strīdharma*), the last topic of the book.

Both works contain a chapter on the duties of the four *varṇa*s (chapter one of *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and chapter 127 of *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*) in which literal and less literal parallels exist both in the general description of the teaching scene,[23] and in the treatment of the main topic, which in both texts consists in teachings imparted for the benefit of the four *varṇa*s,[24] and in the maturation of positive and negative *karman* (*karmavipāka*). With regards to the specific duties of the four classes, both texts, closely following the Dharmaśāstra, mention that the chief duty of a Kṣatriya is to protect the people,[25] the primary duty of Vaiśyas to engage in

[23] In *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.2b and *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.127.2d the lord is presented as being frequented by Siddhas and Cāraṇas (*siddhacāraṇasevite*) on the mountain that is covered with various medicinal plants (*ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.2c *auṣadhyadibhir ācchanne*; *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.127.3a *nānauṣadhiyute*), and replete with joyful birds (*ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.2c *nānāvihagasaṅghuṣṭe*; *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.127.16ab *vihagāś ca mudā yuktāḥ prānṛtyan vyanadaṃś ca ha*).

[24] The *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (1.10a–12b) introduces the subject in the form of questions of Devī to Maheśvara, as follows: *brāhmaṇānāṃ ca ko dharmaḥ kṣatriyāṇāṃ ca kīdṛśaḥ | vaiśyānāṃ kīdṛśo dharmaḥ śūdradharmaś ca kīdṛśaḥ* || 1.10 || *tāpasānāṃ ca ko dharmaḥ kaś ca dīkṣābhikāṃkṣiṇām | uñchavṛttiṣu ko dharma ṛṣidharmaś ca kīdṛśaḥ* || 1.11 || *devarṣīṇāṃ ca ko dharmaḥ kaś ca strīdharma ucyate* |; 'What is the duty of Brahmins, and of what type is the duty of the Kṣatriyas? Of what type is the duty of the Vaiśyas and of what type is the duty of Śūdras? (10) What is the duty of ascetics? What is the duty of those who wish to obtain initiation? With regards to the gleaners, what is their duty? Of what type is the duty of sages? (11) What is the duty of divine sages and what is the duty of women said to be? (12ab)'

Note that the corresponding section in the *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (13.128.28–29), likewise initiated by Umā's query to Maheśvara, resembles this segment very closely, though not being strictly parallel to it: *umovāca | bhagavan saṃśayaṃ pṛṣṭas taṃ me vyākhyātum arhasi | cāturvarṇyasya yo dharmaḥ sve sve varṇe guṇāvahaḥ* || 28 || *brāhmaṇe kīdṛśo dharmaḥ kṣatriye kīdṛśo bhavet | vaiśye kiṃlakṣaṇo dharmaḥ śūdre kiṃlakṣaṇo bhavet* || 29 ||; 'Umā spoke: O Lord! I ask you [since] I harbour doubt; please kindly answer. What is the duty pertaining to the four classes (*varṇa*) of people that is ennobling each class? (28) Of what type is the duty with respect to Brahmins? Of what type would the duty be with respect to Kṣatriyas? With respect to Vaiśyas, what characteristic does their duty display? With respect to Śūdras, what characteristics would their duty have? (29)

[25] *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 8.20: *dharmajño rājadharmajñaḥ prajāpālanatatparaḥ | satyadharmasthito rājā nityaṃ rāṣṭrahite rataḥ* || 8.20 ||; Compare *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.128.46–47ab: *yas tu kṣatragato devi tvayā dharma udīritaḥ | tam ahaṃ te pravakṣyāmi taṃ me śṛṇu samāhitā* || 46 || *kṣatriyasya smṛto dharmaḥ prajāpālanam āditaḥ* |

agriculture, rearing cattle and making commercial transactions.[26] Likewise, both texts present similar concepts regarding the duties of Śūdras, whose main duty is to serve individuals of the upper three classes as well as to honour guests.[27] Regarding Brahmins, both the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* list the classical set of six deeds (*ṣaṭkarman*)[28] as it is attested, among others, in the Dharmasūtras, such a Āpastamba 2.10.4–5, Vaśiṣṭha 2.13–14, Gautama 10.1–3 and Baudhāyana 1.18.2, as well as in Smṛti texts starting with the *Manusmṛti* (10.75). Such six deeds are: studying the Veda, teaching, making sacrifices for themselves, making sacrifices for the sake of others, giving gifts and accepting gifts. It is worth mentioning that the list enumerating these duties, as they feature in the Dharmasūtras and the early Smṛti texts, incept with the study of the Veda, while both in the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* the list of these duties begins with the act of making sacrifices for one's own sake (*yajana*) and the performance of sacrifices for other people's sake (*yājana*).[29]

Furthermore, and connected to the topic of the four *varṇa*s, both texts extrapolate the concept of maturation of *karman*. The *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvara-*

[26] *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.36–37: *vaiśyadharmaṃ pravakṣyāmi yathā vaiśyopajīvinām | vartamāno yathā vaiśyaḥ prāpnoti paramāṃ gatim* || 1.36 || *dhanadhānyārjanaṃ kuryāt sarvabījāṃ* (*-bījāṃ for -bījānāṃ*) *ca saṅgrahaḥ | kṛṣigorakṣavāṇijyaṃ vāpanaṃ dohanaṃ tathā* || 1.37 ||. Compare *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.128.53: *vaiśyasya satataṃ dharmaḥ pāśupālyaṃ kṛṣis tathā | agnihotraparispando dānādhyayanam eva ca* ||.

[27] *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.43–44: *śūdradharmaṃ pravakṣyāmi yathātattvaṃ nibodha me | vartamāno yathā śūdraḥ prāpnoti paramāṃ gatim* || *brāhmaṇaṃ satataṃ pūjya kṣatriyaṃ vaiśyam eva ca | daivataṃ satataṃ pūjya ātithyaṃ cāpi nityaśaḥ* ||. Compare *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.128.56–58: *sarvātithyaṃ trivargasya yathāśakti yathārhataḥ | śūdradharmaḥ paro nityaṃ śuśrūṣā ca dvijātiṣu* || 56 || *sa śūdraḥ saṃśitatapāḥ satyasaṃdho jitendriyaḥ | śuśrūṣann atithiṃ prāptaṃ tapaḥ saṃcinute mahat* || 57 || *tyaktahiṃsaḥ śubhācāro devatādvijapūjakaḥ | śūdro dharmaphalair iṣṭaiḥ saṃprayujyeta buddhimān* || 58 ||; see also *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.131. 27ef–28: *kuryād avimanāḥ śūdraḥ satataṃ satpathe sthitaḥ* || *daivatadvijasatkartā sarvātithyakṛtavrataḥ | ṛtukālābhigāmī ca niyato niyatāśanaḥ* ||.

[28] *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.15cd–16: *brāhmaṇānām imaṃ dharmaṃ prathamaṃ kīrtayāmi te* || *vartamāno yathā viprāḥ prāpnoti paramāṃ gatim | ṣaṭkarmanirato nityaṃ śūdrasūtakavarjitaḥ* ||. The *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* once again mentions it at 10.54cd: *ṣaṭkarmaniratā viprāḥ sadā dhyānaparāyaṇāḥ* ||.

[29] *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.24cd–25ab: *yajanaṃ yājanaṃ caivādhyayanādhyāpanaṃ tathā* || *dānaṃ pratigrahaś caiva homaśāntiparāyaṇam* |; compare *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.129.8: *yajanaṃ yājanaṃ caiva tathā dānapratigrahau | adhyāpanam adhītaṃ ca ṣaṭkarmā dharmabhāg dvijaḥ* ||.

saṃvāda mentions the concept on two different occasions: once in chapter eleven,[30] another time in chapter fifteen.[31] We find the concept of the maturation of *karman* treated twice in the *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*: the first time in the presentation of the social stratification from Vaiśya to Śūdra at 13.131.2[32] and another time in connection with the reasons for a person to become either wise or foolish at 13.133.44.[33]

These and many more examples that one might mention (see, e.g., Kenji Takahashi's article in this book) suggest that the *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* might have provided an inspiration for the composition of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, as the two works certainly share an interest in teaching basic Dharmaśāstra notions in the framework of a devotional context (which is more marked in the *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* than in the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*). At the same time, no direct connections can be established in the process of composition of the two works, nor do we observe any substantial reuse of text.

3. *The Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda and the Uttarottarasaṃvāda*[34]

Moving beyond the rather fragile textual link existing between the *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda,* it emerges that the latter shows more solid connections with another text transmit-

[30] *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*: *kathaṃ saṃbhavate jīvaḥ śarīreṣu śarīriṇām | pṛthakkarmavipākena jāyate yamalaukikam* || 11.1 ||.

[31] In chapter fifteen, the topic is taken up three times in the same context with a particular emphasis on the maturation of *karman* that leads to a rebirth in hell. In the first two instances, Maheśvara broaches the issue of *karmavipāka*, and Devī asks a further question about it: *pṛthak karmavipākena prāpnuvanti ca te pṛthak | aṣṭau te narakā devi saṃkhyātā śṛṇu tatvataḥ* || 15.23 || *devyuvāca | kena karmavipākena avīcīṃ narakaṃ narāḥ | rauravaṃ vā prapadyante kālasūtraṃ ca mānavāḥ* || 15.24 || *kumbhīpākaṃ ca narakaṃ tathā yamalaparvatau | evaṃ śeṣāś ca narakān vrajante kena karmaṇā* ||15.25 ||. This concept is mentioned one more time in the text and in the same context in which Maheśvara addresses the question of Devī on the topic at 15.46: *yena karmavipākena vipacyante narādhamāḥ | vyajanaṃ tālavṛntaś ca chatraṃ vastram upānahau* || 15.46 ||.

[32] *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.131.2: *cāturvarṇyaṃ bhagavatā pūrvaṃ sṛṣṭaṃ svayaṃbhuvā | kena karmavipākena vaiśyo gacchati śūdratām* ||.

[33] *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.134.44: *kena karmavipākena prajñāvān puruṣo bhavet | alpaprajño virūpākṣa kathaṃ bhavati mānavaḥ* ||.

[34] All the references to the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* are from ms N^{K}_{82}. In the cases in which the chapter number I give differs from Naraharinath 1998, I have provided the folio and line numbers of the manuscript. Note that Naraharinath's edition lacks chapter four of the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda*.

ted in the multiple-text manuscripts of the Śivadharma texts, namely the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* ('The ultimate dialogue'), also called *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* ('The ultimate great dialogue'),[35] which has been transmitted as the sixth in a nexus of eight or nine Śivadharma texts. The *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* could have developed in a manner analogous to that of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Śivadharmottara*. The connection between the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* is more firmly established by the greater textual parallels between these latter sources.

There are some telling parallels between the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda*. In the examples below, bold font marks discrepancies, whereas fully congruent text is kept in simple italics. Chapter eight of the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* (on the present, degenerate age, *kaliyuga*) display parallels shared with chapters eight and ten of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. To quote an example:

ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda 10.1	*Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 8.5cd–6ab (fol. 21r6–21v1)
devy uvāca |	***umovāca*** |
yady evaṃ yugadoṣeṇa	*yady evaṃ yugadoṣeṇa*
naranārījanās tathā |	*naranārījanās tathā* ||
luptalajjā bhaviṣyanti	*luptalajjā bhaviṣyanti*
dharmo yāsyati saṃkṣayam ||	*dharmā yāsyanti saṃkṣayam* |

ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda 8.19cd = *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 8.43ab (fol. 22v1):

kalau tu prathamo rājā dharmaputro yudhiṣṭhiraḥ \|

Observing the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* in close apposition, it becomes clearer that these are not only closely related texts, but are connected by shared stock-phrases that are actual verbatim parallels. What is more, these particular key phrases are shared only by the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* and are not found in the other associated Śivadharma texts.[36]

[35] See for example N$^{K}_{7}$, fol. 273r, line 4: *ity uttarottare mahāsamvāde tṛtīyo 'dhyāyaḥ*.

[36] Let us list a few conspicuous instances: *śubhaṃ vā yadi vāśubham* (*ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 17.31b and *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 5.21d), *bhagavan karmaṇā kena* (*ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 15.1a, 17.10a; *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 5.100c), *naranārījanās tathā* (*ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 8.1d, 8.2d, 8.9d, 10.1b, 10.7d, 10.42b, 10.43b; *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 8.1b, 8.2b, 8.9b, 9.4b, 9.5), and *śreṣṭhinaḥ sārthavāhaś ca* (*ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 3.40a, 8.31c; *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 8.18a).

The direction of borrowing most likely goes from the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* to the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda*, as it seems that thematic kernels found in the former have been refined and elaborated upon in the latter work. Such reworkings not necessarily resulted in an improved version. For instance, as regards the presentation of a ritual calendar encountered in *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter twenty-one, it is apparent that the version of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is structurally more consistent than its counterpart in the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* (where it features in chapter three). Said calendar lists auspicious days to make offerings to Śiva. The details of such calendars are given in the Appendices to this article. Here, we limit ourselves to the following observations: in the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, the offering presented is made in the form of music and song; the list in the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* starts with the month of Āṣāḍha and ends with the month of Jyeṣṭha.[37] The calendar contained in the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* directly mirrors the calendar of *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter twenty-two insofar as it also begins with Āṣāḍha and ends with Jyeṣṭha—therein again highlighting the close connection between these two texts.

The calendar in the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* associates each month with a particular result in accordance with which the musical pieces to be performed are proclaimed as most fitting for the occasion.[38] The calendar in the third chapter of the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* mentions the month of worship according to a coherent order; however, either because of scribal negligence or textual corruption, auspicious dates that fall within a month are only mentioned for the first two months. Furthermore, while the topic in *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 3.10 is purportedly the worship of Śiva by way of offering flowers,[39] the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* introduces other elements of Śaiva worship, such as the bathing of Śiva in four specific months: Kārttika (with milk), Phālguna (with fragrant water), Vaiśākha (with ghee) and Jyeṣṭha (with curds).[40]

One might argue that it is just as likely that the text with a more stringent, coherent and neater execution is the younger text composed to rectify drawbacks in the older template. However, in this case, such possible ambi-

[37] Conversely, the ritual calendar contained in the *Śivadharmaśāstra* starts with the month of Mārgaśīrṣa and ends with the month of Kārttika. This latter calendar has been presented in more detail in Kafle 2019.

[38] See Appendix I.

[39] *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 3.10: *umovāca | keṣu keṣu ca puṣpeṣu prabho karttuḥ spṛhā tava | yājñikāni tu puṣpāṇi śubhāni kathayasva me* ||. See also 3.25: *puṣpāṇāṃ kathitaṃ devi māsānāṃ ca tathaiva ca | anyat kim icchasi śrotuṃ kathayasva varānane* ||.

[40] See Appendix II.

guity does not challenge the basic premise we have established regarding the direction of borrowing. After all, besides the evidence we have gleaned from our analysis of textual accretion in the segment treating the maturation of *karman*, the textual growth we have traced in the section on hells (*naraka*) leads us to a similar conclusion. In the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (15.19–21b) only eight hells are taught:

> *maheśvara uvāca* |
> *aṣṭau te narakā devi mṛtyuloke 'bhidhīyate* |
> *avīcī rauravaś caiva kālasūtraṃ tathaiva ca* || 15.19
> *kumbhīpākaś ca narakas tathā yamalaparvatau* |
> *kūṭaśālmalivṛkṣaś ca asipatravanaṃ tathā* || 15.20
> *mahāraurava ity ete narakāḥ parikīrtitāḥ* |
>
> The great Lord spoke: O goddess! These following eight hells are proclaimed to be in the world of death: [1] Avīcī [2] Raurava as well as [3] Kālasūtra. Then [4] Kumbhīpāka hell, similarly [5] Yamalaparvatas. Further, [6] Kūṭaśālmalivṛkṣa and [7] Asipatravana as well as [8] Mahāraurava. These hells are proclaimed.

The teaching on hells presented in *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 3.45–81 is much more elaborate and it also presents numerous further hells that are not mentioned in the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. In fact, *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 3.45–81 mention more than one hundred hells, possibly hinting at the direction of the borrowing, i.e., that the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* expanded the list of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*.

This is not the only telling instance by which the direction of borrowing can be established; in fact, the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* expands on the subject matter of the maturation of *karman* (*karmavipāka*) in great length. The topic of the maturation of *karman* is introduced and briefly elaborated upon in two chapters of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*—chapter eleven and chapter fifteen. The first chapter of the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* starts with Umā's question:

> *kena karmavipākena jāyante sadhanā narāḥ* |
> *nirdhanāḥ kena jāyante karmaṇā puruṣādhamāḥ* || 1.2
>
> By what kind of maturation of *karman* do people become rich and by what kind of *karman* do good people become poor? (2)

The topic of the maturation of *karman* in the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* spans the first five chapters—though more loosely connected tangents are intermittently interspersed—and contains a great degree of elaboration on the topic which in its rudimentary form was already contained in the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. On the basis of this evidence, it can be safely concluded that

the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* is both the younger text and that its authors refined and elaborated upon its predecessor, the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*.

Not only did the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* expand upon the contents of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, but, as the topic of *karmavipāka* exemplifies, the former even offers (quasi) original material which readily complements the contents of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*.

This becomes even more apparent when scrutinising the presentation of the topic of *karmavipāka* contained in the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda*. The *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* expands upon the teachings given on bathing in ashes, on the negative results that ensue from stealing from the wealth of *guru*s and gods, on *brahmarākṣasa*s ('[those who become] demons [by power of offending] Brahman'), and the consumption of *nirmālya*—a theme with a particular Śaivite context. Still nested within the wider framework of the maturation of *karman*, in chapter four the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* complements the basic teaching found in the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* by providing explanations on the reasons for being blind and deaf as a result of stealing; in the same chapter, the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* provides an original, cursory teaching on the creation myth to complement the basic exposition of *karmavipāka* provided in the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. Likewise, the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* provides further complementary teachings by enriching the discussion of *karmavipāka* when providing an original teaching on the dimensions of the world of Yama together with a description of the residence of Yama, Citragupta and Jvara, on how punishment in the world of Yama is meted out, a teaching on the six-sheathed body (*ṣaṭkauśika*), on the topic of killing cows and Brahmins, on Śaiva toponyms and on the episode of churning the ocean. Conversely, in chapter six, the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* in considerable detail expands upon, rather than complements, the teaching given in *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 10.61–36 dealing with *dharma* as the bull whose four legs represent the four *yuga*s. Likewise, chapter seven of the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* elaborates upon the general teaching of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (21.15ff) on the seven musical pitches, with the novel item being the establishment of a link between musical pitches and its theoretical prescription as regards the recitation of the Veda.

Both the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* and the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* contain popular Vaiṣṇava narratives. The *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* (7.143ff) mentions the *avatāra*s of Viṣṇu in a wording that is very similar to that in *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter twenty-two. One conspicuous difference between these two sources is that the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* mentions the Matsya-*avatāra* twice, once as the first reincarnation of the god and once as the tenth. The *Uttarottarasaṃvāda*, in contrast, most

probably in order to counter such an irregularity, lists the Buddha as the ninth incarnation, suggesting that the latter corrected the former's list.

As further testimony to the inclusion of Vaiṣṇava material in a fundamentally Śaiva text, a Vaiṣṇava episode connected to Rāma can be mentioned. This story begins with Īśvara telling Umā that she is in fact Arundhatī, and Sītā, as well as Mandodarī (7.171), figures with strong Vaiṣṇava associations. In return, Umā asks how it could be that she could simultaneously be Sītā, wife of Rāma, and the wife of Rāvaṇa (7.114). Then the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s Rāvaṇa episode is related, again a story with a strong Vaiṣṇava affinity, with even a reference to Rāvaṇa's ascetic practice (7.115ff). Furthermore, Umā asks Īśvara about Rāma and monkeys, a reference to the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Then the story recapitulates the *Rāmāyaṇa* up to *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 7.142.

It is worth noting that in the case of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, Vaiṣṇava teachings are not considered inferior to Śaiva dogma. In contrast, the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* paints a much less favourable picture of the Vaiṣṇavaite tradition. For example, people are said to be deluded and bedazzled by the power of Viṣṇu's *māyā*: *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 1.8cd intimates that people are deluded by the guile of Viṣṇu, as a result of which they covet the wealth of others (*mohitā māyayā viṣṇoḥ paradravyeṣu kāṃkṣiṇaḥ*). At 2.14cd, Viṣṇu is again portrayed as employing his power of *māyā* for detrimental purposes, bringing about distress amongst people (*mohitā māyayā viṣṇor jāyante tena duḥkhitāḥ*). In the same vein, Śiva discloses that Viṣṇu, portrayed as an irreligious maleficent force deluding the whole world, resides in Umā's body (3.30): *tvaccharīre sthito viṣṇur adharmo 'yaṃ prakīrtitaḥ | tenaiva mohitaṃ sarvaṃ bhagaliṅgāṅkitaṃ jagat* ||. The final passage states that he is nevertheless imbued with two positive qualities: he is the creator and the destroyer of the world and he is said to be whirling the world around (*viṣṇuḥ kartā vikartā ca cakravat bhrāmayej jagat,* 2.19cd). This passage ends, however, with what is portrayed as his distinctly negative quality, namely that he deludes the entire world: *tenaiva mohitaṃ sarvaṃ bhagaliṅgāṅkitaṃ jagat* (2.20ab).

Despite the somewhat discrediting portrayal in these earlier segments it is important to note that Viṣṇu is then portrayed more favourably as the text continues (in chapter ten). The text says that people who dishonour Śiva or Viṣṇu go to hell:

> *īśvara uvāca |*
> *ye māṃ caivāvamanyante viṣṇubhaktiparāyaṇāḥ |*
> *madbhaktāś cāthavā viṣṇum ubhau narakagāminau* || 10.1

The *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* does not portray Viṣṇu in a negative way, nor does it present the Vaiṣṇava teachings as inferior to their Śaiva counterparts. All in all, the Śaiva elements are more prominent in the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda*

than in the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*: for instance, the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* mentions the figure of Nandīśvara,[41] the narrator of the *Śivadharmaśāstra,* and the figure of Kālāgnirudra,[42] who features only in a Śaiva context, while both of these figures are completely absent in the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*.

Moreover, the installation of *liṅga*s and their worship play an important role in the text. To mention an example, *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 2.39ab states that somebody who installs a *liṅga* is equal in merit to one who has performed a sacrifice a thousand times.[43] Similarly, with reference to Sagara's *aśvamedha* sacrifice, *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* verses 2.96–97 mention a different result of installing a *liṅga* or worshipping it as equal in merit to having performed a hundred thousand *aśvamedha*-sacrifices.[44] At *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 2.99–103, the same chapter also teaches the installation of a *liṅga* in relation to obtaining kingship in the mortal world. At 3.114–116, the text mentions the practice of carrying a *liṅga* and the result of committing sinful acts while carrying the *liṅga*.[45] The text also mentions Śaiva temples three times alongside the installation of *liṅga*s—this is significant because the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* similarly talks about Śaiva temples in connection with *liṅga*s. The first mention of temples appears in *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* chapter two, in a discussion on constructing a Śaiva temple ostentatiously by lavish means.[46] The second occurence is about singing in a Śiva-temple.[47] There are further unambiguously Śaiva features in the text. In chapter three, the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* mentions *nirmālya* twice. In one of these two instances there is a concomitant mention of the negative results of consuming *nirmālya* (3.119cd–120ab[48] and 3.122c–23b).[49]

[41] See *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 5.135, 7.121, 7.123–124 and 7.135.

[42] *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* N^{K}_{82}, fol. 102. Naraharinath 1998 does not contains this chapter, hence this is only quoted from the manuscript.

[43] *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 2.39ab: *liṅgaṃ tu sthāpitaṃ tena yaṣṭā yajñāḥ sahasraśaḥ* |.

[44] *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 2.96–97: *īśvara uvāca | hanta te kathāyiṣyāmi tvatpriyārthaṃ varānane || sthāpite 'pi ca yat puṇyam arcite pūjite 'thavā | sagaro nāma yo rājā niviṣṭā yena sāgarāḥ || aśvamedhaḥ kṛtas tena niṣpannaṃ tasya tad bhavet | teṣāṃ śatasahasreṇa yat puṇyaṃ surasundari || tat phalaṃ sthāpite liṅge satyaṃ te kathitaṃ mayā* |.

[45] *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 3.114c–116b: *dhārayitvā tu yo liṅgaṃ vikarma yas tu kārayet || liṅgadrohas tu yo devi bhavati brahmarākṣasaḥ | adīkṣitas tu yo bhūtvā pravrajyām adhigacchati || upajīvet tathā liṅgaṃ sa bhaved brahmarākṣasaḥ* |.

[46] *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 2.106cd: *vittaśāṭhyānurūpeṇa yaḥ kuryāt tu śivālayam* ||.

[47] *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 7.72cd *aśuddhaṃ svarahīnaṃ vā ye gāyanti śivālaye* ||; also *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 7.74cd: *yo 'pi gāyatī śāṭhyena parārthe tu śivālaye* ||.

[48] *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 3.119cd–120ab: *devadravyavināśe ca nirmālyasya ca bhakṣaṇe || divyaṃ varṣasahasraṃ tu sa bhaved brahmarākṣasaḥ* |.

[49] *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 3.122cd–23ab: *bhakṣayanti ca nirmālyaṃ sevanti viṣayāṇi ca || te 'pi yānti durācārā narake pūtigandhike* |.

There are two further instances of a marked display of Śaiva elements in the third and seventh chapters of the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda*, in detailed discussions on the application of ashes. Umā asks Śiva about the merits that one obtains by smearing one's body with ashes.[50] Īśvara's reply extends from *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 3.84a to 3.101. In the seventh chapter, at 7.83, Umā asks Īśvara about the merit of bathing in ashes.[51] Īśvara replies that such is a divine bath and one who bathes in it without mantra incantation obtains the fruit of all sacred places and all sacrifices.[52] Īśvara explains that those who bathe in ashes while reciting mantras would obtain liberating knowledge.[53] Īśvara's speech continues up to 7.95, alongside further lists of the results of bathing in ashes.

Although the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* emphasises devotion to Śiva as an important aspect of correct religious practice, this does not play any marked role in the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*.[54] At the same time, the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* also integrates the cult of Śiva with that of the other main gods. A significant example is the fact that it makes use of the concept of a triad of supreme gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva or Rudra (*Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 6.16). There is further evidence for the same concept at 7.54 when the topic of the connection between sounds and symbols used for musical notation is discussed, and where the three heptatonic scales are referred to as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara respectively.[55] Verse 6.16 also presents the trinity of gods in the context of *agnihotra*, specifically in connection with the three sacrificial fire-pits, stating that Brahmā is worshipped in the round fire-pit, Viṣṇu in the semi-circular one and Maheśvara (i.e., Śiva) in the quadrangular one.[56]

In *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 3.34, Īśvara mentions that he himself inheres in every object, whilst simultaneously being Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Devī and

[50] *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 3.85ab: *bhasmoddhūtaśarīreṇa kiṃ puṇyaṃ kathayasva me* |.

[51] *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 7.83: *umovāca | tīrthāni martyaloke 'smin bhavanti vividhāni ca | bhasmasnānasya kiṃ puṇyaṃ yena snātaḥ sureśvaraḥ* ||.

[52] *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 7.84–85: *idaṃ snānaṃ ca me divyaṃ durbodhyaṃ daivatair api | snānaṃ devā na budhyanti varjayitvā ca māṃ priye || yat phalaṃ sarvatīrtheṣu sarvayajñeṣu yat phalam | tat phalaṃ labhate devi mantrahīnas tu mānavaḥ* ||.

[53] *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 7.87: *bhasmaṃ ye mantrasaṃyuktaṃ gurubhaktyā labhanti vai | labdhaṃ tair muktidaṃ jñānaṃ padaṃ paramadurlabham* ||.

[54] For example, see *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 2.3cd–4ab: *īśvara uvāca | śṛṇu devi yathā rājyaṃ labhanti puruṣottamāḥ || mama bhaktyā narāḥ sarve nityaṃ brahmaratāś ca ye* |. See also *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 2.81, 2.85–86, 2.102, 5.126, 7.72–73 and 7.95.

[55] *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 7.54: *ete devi trayo grāmā brahmaviṣṇumaheśvarāḥ* ||.

[56] *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 6.16: *maṇḍale hūyate brahmā viṣṇuś ca dhanurākṛtiḥ | catuṣkoṇe hy ahaṃ devi evaṃ vede pratiṣṭhitam* ||.

other gods.[57] This passage includes the major gods of Hinduism and is reminiscent of a passage of the *Bhagavadgītā* where Īśvara tells Arjuna that he is everything.[58]

Associated concepts are invoked at *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 7.32ff, where Īśvara mentions the Vedas, *vidyā*, *yajña*, Agni, and other important deities such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Indra (7.32), Rudras, Vasus, and so forth. It also mentions mantras, stellar constellations (*nakṣatra*), and concludes that whatever is moveable and immovable is Īśvara and he himself is the Vedas.[59]

As borne out in the above listed textual segments, the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* goes further than the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in including major gods and concepts of Indian culture and extends its teaching to fit a larger framework and to address a more diverse audience. It is worth mentioning that even the Jainas and the Buddhists are mentioned in a positive sense as worthy recipients of gifts,[60] which suggests that even though transmitted among the Śaiva texts, the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda*'s framework of teachings transcends traditional sectarian bias and boundaries, including Jainas and Buddhists into the framework of the text in a positive and respectful manner.

4. *Conclusions*

The *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* primarily deal with devotion (*bhakti*) and the correct execution of donative practices. The teaching of the *Śivopaniṣad* follows along the same lines and contributes to the concept of an integrated 'Śivadharma corpus,' being closely linked with the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* as discussed above. In contrast, the teaching of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is a pivotal text wherein both pure Śaiva and non-Śaiva teachings are combined. Leaving aside the somewhat exceptional order of the Śivadharma texts, it is from the

[57] *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 3.34–35: *ahaṃ yaḥ sa svayaṃ brahmā yo brahmā sa svayaṃ hariḥ | yā devī sā svayaṃ viṣṇur yo viṣṇuḥ sa ca candramāḥ || yaḥ somaḥ sa svayaṃ rudro yo rudraḥ sa tu bhāskaraḥ | evaṃ śaktiviśeṣeṇa sthitaḥ sarvāsu mūrtiṣu ||*.

[58] Cf. *Bhagavadgītā* 9.16–19.

[59] *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 7.32ff: *ahaṃ vedā ahaṃ vidyā ahaṃ yajñā ahaṃ tapaḥ | ahaṃ agnir ahaṃ vāyur ahaṃ parjanya eva ca || 7.32 || ahaṃ brahmā ahaṃ viṣṇur aham indraḥ prajāpatiḥ | ahaṃ yajñeṣu puruṣo ahaṃ hotā ahaṃ kratuḥ || 7.33 || viprā yajanti mām eva svayam eva yajāmy aham | rudrāś ca vasavo devāḥ nakṣatrāṇi ca sāgarāḥ || 7.34|| yajñapātrāṇi mantrāś ca ye cānye vighnanāyakāḥ | avyaktena tu tiṣṭhāmi trailokye sacarācare || 7.35|| ye na jānanti māṃ devi na te vedasya pāragāḥ | vedaṃ ca ye na jānanti yo vedaḥ sa tu śaṃkaraḥ || 7.36||*.

[60] *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 3.85cd–86ab: *īśvara uvāca | arhantasya ca ye bhaktāḥ sugatasya tathā pare || 3.85 || eṣāṃ datte gṛhasthasya viprasyāṣṭaguṇaṃ labhet |*.

ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda onwards that the Śaiva teachings of this cluster of texts moves towards pan-'Hindu' teachings, where most remarkably Vaiṣṇava, but also other major types of teachings are included. This general development is likewise reflected by the textual makeup of the *Uttarottarasaṃvāda*. Finally, in the *Dharmaputrikā*, generally presented as the last text of the collection, the Śaiva teaching merges with some of the concepts of the Buddhist tenet systems, as mentioned above.

As the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* has been poorly edited by Naraharinath and contains several noteworthy doctrinal 'twists' as a result of editorial interference, it should be said that the text deserves a fully reworked, critical edition. The position of the *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in the sequence amongst 'Śivadharma texts' demands a proper study of the text which ought to pay particular attention to parallels and themes shared with the *Mahābhārata*, *MBh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* and the *Lalitavistara*. Such a study would certainly prove beneficial and shed further light on the lay religious practices of premodern South Asia.

Appendix I

A scheme for worshipping Īśvara through songs in *ŚDh-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 21.30–49

Month	Auspicious day(s)	Observance	Result(s)
Āṣāḍha	eight lunar days of both halves of the lunar month	No	rebirth in heaven, experience of highest happiness
Śrāvaṇa	eight lunar days of both halves of the lunar month	Yes	results equal the donation of a thousand cows
Bhādrapada	eight lunar days of both halves of the lunar month	Yes	results equal those of performing a *rājasūya* sacrifice
Āśvayuja	eight lunar days of both halves of the lunar month	Yes	results equal those of performing a *naramedha* sacrifice
Kārtika	eight lunar days of both halves of the lunar month	No	equals the effect of dying in Prayāga
Mārgaśīrṣa	eight lunar days of both halves of the lunar month	No	*aśvamedha* sacrifice
Pauṣa	eight lunar days of both halves of the lunar month	Yes	results equal donating thousand cows, endowed with form and prosperity, well regarded
Māgha	eight lunar days of both halves of the lunar month	No	happiness in this life, in the subsequent life one obtains the best birth, one is very affluent in the life subsequent to that
Phālguna	eight lunar days of both halves of the lunar month	Yes (with clean cloth)	one obtains the world of Rudra, one is reborn in a noble, affluent family etc.
Caitra	not mentioned	No	Śaṅkara and Vāsudeva are pleased; one shall be affluent and honoured etc.
Vaiśākha	not mentioned	Yes	Mahādeva is pleased, one is honoured in heaven etc.
Jyeṣṭha	not mentioned	Yes	equals the fruits of all sacrifices, donations, and sacred places

Appendix II

A monthly scheme for worshipping Īśvara with different flowers in *Uttarottarasaṃvāda* 3.12–24

Month	Auspicious day(s)	Flower	Result(s)
Āṣāḍha	eighth day of the dark half of the lunar month	Guggulu	best rebirth
Śrāvaṇa	eighth day of the dark half of the lunar month	Karavīra (plus eating one time)	equals donating a thousand cows
Bhādrapada	not mentioned	Apāmārga	goes to [heaven] in a swan-flagged celestial chariot
Āśvayuja	not mentioned	Arka	goes to [heaven] in a peacock-flagged celestial chariot
Kārtika	not mentioned	Jātipuṣṇapa, bath with milk	one experiences a vision of Śiva
Mārgaśīrṣa	not mentioned	Buka flower	one obtains the world of Śiva
Pauṣa	not mentioned	Dhattura	one obtains the highest status
Māgha	not mentioned	Bilva	goes to [heaven?] in a celestial chariot endowed with young [=nascent] sun and moon
Phālguna	not mentioned	Droṇapuṣpa, bath with fragrant water	one comes to share the seat of Indra with Indra
Caitra	not mentioned	Darbha, dance and song	one obtains results equal to the fruit of the *bahusuvarṇa* sacrifice
Vaiśākha	not mentioned	white Mandāra, bath with ghee	one obtains results equal to the fruit of *aśvamedha* sacrifice
Jyeṣṭha	not mentioned	Lotus flower, bath with curds	one obtains the best rebirth

The dharma of gleaners in the Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda
Studies on the Śivadharma and the Mahābhārata 2

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1. *Introduction*

Gleaning (*uñcha*) is a traditional practice of poverty in South Asia, according to which one lives on fallen grains gathered from the field. The *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* ('The dialogue between Umā and Maheśvara'; henceforth: ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*) is a text of the so-called 'Śivadharma corpus,' which was very popular in medieval Nepal and teaches gleaners' (*uñchavṛtti*)[1] *dharma* as one of the three ways to lead a secluded life, along with that of ascetics (*tāpasa*) and that of wandering mendicants (*parivrājaka*). In comparison with the classical formulation of the four *āśrama*s as represented in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* and other Dharmaśāstras, we can observe that the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* adds both the life of an ascetic and that of a gleaner. A closer analysis indicates that the teaching on the life of ascetics in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* seems to be modelled after that of forest hermits in the classical *āśrama* system, but we do not find anything corresponding so exactly to the life of gleaners in the Dharmaśāstras. The Dharmaśāstras do contain teachings on gleaning and gleaners, but the life of gleaners does not appear as a separate life stage.

[1] The word *uñchavṛtti* can be either a *tatpuruṣa* compound 'the life of gleaning' or a *bahuvrīhi* compound 'the one whose way of life is gleaning.' For the sake of convenience, I use the word 'gleaner' for the latter meaning.

Recent studies by Hiltebeitel (2001, 2011, 2016, 2018) and Fitzgerald (2010) indicate that gleaning is one of the key recurrent topics with particular ethical connotations in the *Mahābhārata*. Furthermore, as also pointed out by Kafle in this volume, the *Anuśāsanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* contains a section that traditionally bears the same title as our text, and is transmitted in a Northern recension (NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 13.126–134) and a Southern recension (SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 13. App. 15). As demonstrated by De Simini and Mirnig (2017), the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* draws on both recentions. Moreover, apart from some cases of direct borrowing, the three texts also share several topics, including the teaching of gleaning. This paper compares the *dharma* of gleaners as expounded in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* with the instructions on the same subject in the Dharmaśāstras and in the *Mahābhārata*, with a view to understanding the socio-religious background underlying the composition of the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*.

2. *Gleaning in the Dharmaśāstras*

To acquire a general idea of gleaning, it would be helpful to look at the prescriptions concerning gleaning and gleaners in the Dharmaśāstras first. The following survey is based primarily on descriptions found in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* (second to third centuries CE, according to Olivelle 2005, 25) and I refer to other early Dharmaśāstras and commentarial traditions to complement our understanding. At the beginning of the fourth chapter of the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, Manu remarks that a Brahmin should sustain himself either by a 'true' means (*ṛta*), an 'immortal' one (*amṛta*), a 'mortal' one (*mṛta*), a 'fatal' one (*pramṛta*), or a 'true-cum-false' means (*satyānṛta*), but not by the means of the 'dog's life' (*śvavṛtti*).[2] Manu then clarifies what these means of livelihood represent in *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 4.5, where we find reference to two kinds of gleaning: [3]

> Gleaning of seeds (*uñcha*) and gleaning of ears of corn (*śila*) are to be known as a true means. [The food] which is not asked for will be an immortal means. Almsfood that is asked for, on the other hand, is a mortal means. Ploughing is a fatal means according to tradition.
>
> *ṛtam uñchaśilaṃ jñeyam amṛtaṃ syād ayācitam |*
> *mṛtaṃ tu yācitaṃ bhaikṣaṃ pramṛtaṃ karṣaṇaṃ smṛtam* || 4.5 ||

[2] *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 4.4: *ṛtāmṛtābhyāṃ jīvet tu mṛtena pramṛtena vā | satyānṛtābhyām api vā na śvavṛttyā kathaṃcana* ||.

[3] Translations of Sanskrit texts are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

Mānavadharmaśāstra 4.6 then says that trading is a true-cum-false means and serving is the means of the dog's life.[4] *Uñcha* and *śila* are exhorted as true ways of living, whereas begging, which involves asking, is discredited as 'mortal' (*mṛta*). Medhātithi (1020–1050 CE)[5] comments that begging is figuratively so-called because making one's living by asking makes one miserable, and that ploughing is even more wicked than begging.[6] Sarvajñanārāyaṇa (twelfth to fourteenth centuries CE) explains these terms from the viewpoint of non-violence: He says, 'It (begging) is "mortal" (*mṛta*) because it is the cause of violence by inflicting suffering to others. Ploughing is "fatal" (*pramṛta*) because it is the cause of death of living beings by ploughing up.'[7]

There can be different grammatical interpretations for the word *uñchaśila*, but *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 10.112 indicates that the word *uñchaśila* should be understood as a *samāhāra dvandva* compound, i.e., '*uñcha* and *śila*':

> A Brahmin without livelihood can undertake gleaning ears of corn (*śila*) and gleaning seeds (*uñcha*) from anywhere. Gleaning ears of corn is superior to accepting gifts, and gleaning seeds is praised [to be superior] even to this (i.e., gleaning ears of corn).
>
> *śiloñcham apy ādadīta vipro 'jīvan yatas tataḥ |*
> *pratigrahāc chilaḥ śreyāṃs tato 'py uñchaḥ praśasyate* || 10.112 ||

Then what is the difference between *śila* and *uñcha*, and why is *uñcha* considered to be superior to *śila*? Except for Medhātithi, commentators of the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* (Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, Kullūka, Rāghavānanda, Maṇirāma, and Govindarāja) unanimously understand that *uñcha* refers to picking up seeds, whereas *śila* refers to picking up ears of corn. Among them, Sarvajñanārāyaṇa's comment on the distinction between *uñcha* and *śila* is simple and illustrative:[8]

> Among them, *uñcha* is picking up, one by one, seeds that have fallen from carriages and so on. *Śila* [refers to] an ear of corn. *Śila* [also means the ac-

[4] *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 4.6: *satyānṛtaṃ tu vāṇijyaṃ tena caivāpi jīvyate | sevā śvavṛttir ākhyātā tasmāt tāṃ parivarjayet* ||.

[5] For the dates of the commentators of the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, I follow Michaels (2010, 321).

[6] *Manubhāṣya* ad *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 4.5 (vol. 2, 288, ll. 3–5): *ato yāvatā kācid vṛttir yācñayā sā dainyāvahatvān maraṇam iveti mṛtaśabdenābhidhīyate | karṣaṇaṃ tu maraṇād api pāpīyaḥ.*

[7] *Manvarthavivṛti* ad *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 4.5 (vol. 2, 288, ll. 9–10): *tan mṛtaṃ paraduḥkhotpādanena hiṃsāhetutvāt | kṛṣiḥ pramṛtaṃ prakarṣeṇa prāṇināṃ mārakatvāt*. Dave's edition reads *prāṇinā* for *prāṇināṃ*, but I suspect that the *anusvāra* was dropped either in the course of transmission or printing.

[8] *Manvarthavivṛti* ad *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 4.5 vol. 2, 288, ll. 6–7.

> tion] characterised by it, [namely,] picking up, one by one, ears of corn that have been abandoned on cultivated land.
>
> *tatroñcho rathyādipatitaikaikabījagrahaṇam | śilaṃ sasyamañjarī | tadupalakṣitaṃ śilaṃ kṣetrabhūparityaktaikaikasasyamañjarīgrahaṇam |*

Sarvajñanārāyaṇa thinks that *uñcha* is picking up seeds one by one, whereas *śila* might refer here both to an ear of corn and to the action of picking up ears of corn one by one.[9] I follow Sarvajñanārāyaṇa's interpretation in the above translation. Although Sarvajñanārāyaṇa does not explicitly say so, we may surmise that *uñcha* is valued more highly than *śila,* for the former involves a smaller amount of food than the latter.

Medhātithi's *Manubhāṣya*, the earliest extant commentary on this part of the text,[10] on the other hand, offers a different explanation pertaining to *uñcha* and *śila*:[11]

> When rice and so on that are reaped from the field are taken to a house or a granary, a blighted grain (*pulāka*) falls unnoticed by its owner. Collecting it is *uñcha*. This is a true means. In this regard, one should not entertain the idea, 'I do not take this one belonging to others.' Similarly, *śila* is picking up [rice and so on] endowed with several sprouts (*anekaprarohavat*) that have been reaped [but] have dropped from a granary or those that were not reaped.[12]

[9] This interpretation is also reflected in some dictionaries, such as Mayrhofer (1992–2002. III, 491): '*śila*: eine auf dem Feld zurückgebliebene Ähre; deren Auflesen.'

[10] Bhāruci's *Manuśāstravivaraṇa* (700–850 ce), which was critically edited by Derrett (1975) based on a single extant manuscript, is not available for books 1–5. Bhāruci does not discuss the distinction between *uñcha* and *śila* in his commentary on *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 10.112.

[11] *Manubhāṣya* ad *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 4.5, vol. 2, 287, ll. 4–7.

[12] Medhātithi's expression *khalāt paribhraṣṭasya lūnasyālūnasya vā* is puzzling. I understand that *vā* juxtaposes two groups of words: *khalāt paribhraṣṭasya lūnasya* and *alūnasya*. Syntactically, it may be more natural to understand that *vā* juxtaposes *lūnasya* and *alūnasya*, both of which modify *khalāt paribhraṣṭasya*. Then the whole sentence can be translated as 'Similarly, *śila* is picking up [rice and such like] endowed with several sprouts (*anekaprarohavat*) that have been left behind from the granary—whether they were reaped or not.' However, the rendering of *khalāt paribhraṣṭasya* as 'left behind from the granary' is slightly forced, and it is strange that those grains that are not reaped are said to be left behind from granary.

Olivelle (2005, 269), for his part, explains Medhātithi's understanding of *uñcha* and *śila* as follows: 'Medhātithi gives the following distinction between the two. Gleaning (*uñcha*) is gathering up ears of corn that have fallen on the ground when farmers take their harvest to their homes or granaries. Picking (*śila*) is gathering up ears of corn that have fallen to the ground from the plants in the field either before or after the harvest. The major difference is that the former is collected along the road and the latter in the

> *kṣetrāl lūnasya vrīhyāder gṛhaṃ khalaṃ vā nīyamānasya yaḥ pulākaḥ patitaḥ svāmino 'napekṣitas tasyoccayanam*[13] *uñchaḥ, tad ṛtam | na tatreyaṃ buddhir ādheyā parakīyam etan na gṛhṇāmīti | evaṃ ca khalāt pari bhraṣṭasya lūnasyālūnasya vānekaprarohavato grahaṇam śilaḥ |*

There are several interpretative problems in this passage. Whereas *uñcha* is said to be picking up *pulāka,* 'a blighted grain' of rice, and others (*vrīhyādi*), the object of *śila* is said to be *anekaprarohavat,* '[something] endowed with several sprouts,' and the substantive modified by this word is missing. In the above translation I source *vrīhyādi* from the sentence describing *uñcha* and understand *anekaprarohavat* as referring to rice and such like with several sprouts. The word *praroha,* 'sprout,' can refer either to unmatured sprouts that are to grow into seeds or simply to seeds. It is not entirely certain whether Medhātithi thinks that the object of *uñcha* is different from that of *śila*, but there seems to be a slight difference: the fact that Medhātithi uses the singular form (*pulāka*) in the case of *uñcha* and the marked plural expression (*anekaprarohavat*) in the case of *śila* seems to reflect other commentators' understanding of *uñcha* as the gleaning of seeds and *śila* as that of ears of corn. According to Medhātithi's understanding, *uñcha* refers to picking up blighted grains that fall in the course of transportation from the field to a granary or to a house, whereas *śila* refers to picking up rice and others with several sprouts that have been reaped but have fallen from a granary, or those that were not reaped and presumably remain on the field. It remains uncertain whether Medhātithi is proposing some difference in the circumstances in which *uñcha* and *śila* are practised.

Medhātithi's somewhat complicated interpretation might be based on some practice that is unknown to us, but the explanations of Sarvajñanārāyaṇa and other commentators appear to be more transparent and linguistically understandable than that of Medhātithi. Despite disagreement in exact differences, we can observe that commentators distinguish *śila* and *uñcha* in terms

field.' There are two problems in his interpretation: (1) he understands that the object of both *uñcha* and *śila* is an ear of corn, but there seems to be a distinction between the objects of these two actions. (2) It appears that he understands *khalāt paribhraṣṭasya* as 'that have fallen to the ground from the plants.' To the best of our knowledge, *khala* does not mean plant. The word *khala* can mean both 'granary' and 'the earth,' so it may be possible that the latter meaning is reflected in Olivelle's interpretation. However, the same word *khala* in the description of *uñcha* clearly refers to a granary for it is contrasted with *kṣetra*, and it is unlikely that Medhātithi uses one word in two different meanings in a relatively short, technical explanation of ways of picking up grains.

[13] Tedesco (1957) demonstrates that √*uñch-* is originally a Middle Indic transformation of *ud* + √*cay*, and, in support of his arguments, Tedesco (1957, 197) points out that √*uñch-* is often glossed by *ud* + √*cay* in the commentarial tradition.

of the object of gleaning and possibly in terms of the circumstances. In the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, *śila* refers to an ear of corn as the object of gleaning, as well as referring to the activity of gleaning (*Mānavadharmaśāstra* 3.100):[14]

> If a Brahmin stays [at one's house] without being adequately honoured, he takes away all the good deeds of even a man who gleans ears of corn (*śila*) or even of a man who makes offerings to the five fires.
>
> *śilān apy uñchato nityaṃ pañcāgnīn api juhvataḥ |*
> *sarvaṃ sukṛtam ādatte brāhmaṇo 'narcito vasan* || 3.100

Śila 'ears of corn' is construed with the verb *√uñch*, suggesting that *uñcha* can be used in a general sense of 'gleaning' and its object does not necessarily have to be confined to seeds. As we shall see later, the verb *√uñch* and the noun *uñcha* are predominantly used in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as well as in the *Mahābhārata*. This paper translates *uñcha* as 'gleaning' when it is used in a general meaning without any specification of its objects or circumstances and employs a technical translation of 'gleaning of seeds' when it is contrasted with *śila* 'gleaning of ears of corn.'

Uñcha and *śila* are regarded as ways to make a living for normal Brahmin householders. *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 3.100, which is quoted above, says that a Brahmin who is not properly worshipped takes away the merits of those who practise gleaning and those who make oblation to the five fires, suggesting that gleaning is considered to be one of the virtuous ways of living comparable to oblations to the sacrificial fire. *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 10.112 prescribes the gleaning of seeds or ears of corn as virtuous ways of living for Brahmins in distress and asserts that the gleaning of ears of corn (*śila*) is better than accepting gifts, and the gleaning of seeds (*uñcha*) is even better than the gleaning of ears of corn. Among the six *svakarman*s prescribed for Brahmins, accepting gifts is considered to be the least acceptable (cf. *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 10.74–75, 109). If gleaning is better than accepting gifts, one may wonder that gleaning can be included among a Brahmin's *svakarman*s. In fact, as pointed out by Biardeau (2002, 77) and Hiltebeitel (2011, 188; 2016, 44), *Āpastambadharmasūtra* 2.10.4–5 (from the beginning of the third to the middle of the second century BCE, cf. Olivelle 2000, 4–10) regards inheriting, gleaning of ears, and appropriating things that do not belong to anybody, as *svakarman*s of Brahmins along with the classical six.[15] *Yājñavalkyadharmaśāstra* 1.127 (early

[14] Cf. also *Śāṅkhāyanagṛhyasūtra* 2.17.1: *tṛṇāny apy uñchato nityam agnihotraṃ ca juhvataḥ | sarvaṃ sukṛtaṃ ādatte brāhmaṇo 'narcito vasan* ||.

[15] *Āpastambadharmasūtra* 2.10.4–5: *svakarma brāhmaṇasyādhyayanam adhyāpanaṃ yajño yājanaṃ dānaṃ pratigrahaṇaṃ dāyādyaṃ śiloñchaḥ* || 4 || *anyac cāparigṛhītam* || 5 ||.

fifth century CE, cf. Olivelle 2019, xxix) holds that gleaning of seeds and gleaning of ears of corn are superior to activities such as storing grains in a granary.[16]

Furthermore, *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 7.33 says that the fame of a righteous king who imposes punishments accordingly spreads in the world even if he lives by gleaning ears of corn and gleaning seeds.[17] This suggests that gleaning is not limited to Brahmins, and it can be a despised or inferior way of living, presumably because it is associated with poverty.[18]

Gleaning is also mentioned in the teaching of forest hermits. *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 8.260 refers to gleaners (*uñchavṛtti*) as one of the categories of those who live in forests along with hunters, fowlers, herdsmen, fishers, root-diggers, and snake catchers.[19] *Āpastambadharmasūtra* 2.22.8–10 holds that a forest hermit should build a dwelling outside the village, live either with or without his wife and children, keep the sacred fire, and live by gleaning.[20] *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra*[21] 3.2.14 counts *śiloñchā* as one of the nine ways of living (*vṛtti*)

I interpret the word *śiloñcha* (masculine, nominative, singular) here as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound 'gleaning of ears of corn,' because if it is intended as a *dvandva*, it should be either *śiloñchaṃ* (*samāhāra dvandva*) or *śiloñchau* (*itaretara dvandva*). The syntagma for the genitive *tatpuruṣa* interpretation can be found in *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 3.100 and *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* 3.2.14 (see fn. 20).

[16] *Yājñavalkyadharmaśāstra* 1.127: *kusūlakumbhīdhānyo vā tryaihiko 'śvastano 'pi vā | jīved vāpi śiloñchena śreyān eṣāṃ paraḥ paraḥ* ||.

[17] *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 7.33 (cf. *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* 3.97) *evaṃvṛttasya nṛpateḥ śiloñchenāpi jīvataḥ | vistīryate yaśo loke tailabindur ivāmbhasi* ||.

Hiltebeitel (2016, 45) interprets this verse as evidence that gleaning was considered as the ideal not only for Brahmins but also for kings. If it were not for *api* ('even though') in *pāda* b, his interpretation might be justifiable, but the concession expressed by *api* seems to suggest that gleaning is something that hinders the fame of the king. In this context, a king is said to obtain his fame not by gleaning, but by virtue of 'behaving in this way' (*evaṃvṛttasya*), which means imposing punishments according to rules in this context (*Mānavadharmaśāstra* 7.14–32).

[18] Cf. Medhātithi's *Manubhāṣya* ad *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 7.33, vol. 4, 25, l. 16: *śiloñchenāpi jīvito 'tyantakṣīṇakośasya*. Dave's edition reads *'tyantakṣīṇakosya* for *'tyantakṣīṇakośasya*, but I corrected as above in the light of Rāghavānanda's commentary. Cf. Sarvajñanārāyaṇa's *Manvarthavivṛti* ad *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 7.33, vol. 4, 25, ll. 19–20: *śiloñchenāpīti bhogadānābhyāṃ rahitasyāpīty arthaḥ*; cf. Rāghavānanda's *Manvarthacandrikā* ad *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 7.33, vol. 4, 25, ll. 23–24: *śiloñchenāpīti kṣīṇakośatvaṃ vivakṣitam*.

[19] *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 8.260: *vyādhāñ chākunikān gopān kaivartān mūlakhānakān | vyālagrahān uñchavṛttīn anyāṃś ca vanagocarān* ||.

[20] *Āpastambadharmasūtra* 2.22.8–10: *gṛhān kṛtvā sadāraḥ saprajaḥ sahāgnibhir bahir grāmād vaset* || 8 || *eko vā* || 9 || *śiloñchena vartayet* || 10 ||.

[21] Olivelle (2000, 4–10) observes that the possible date of the *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* can be placed around the same time as that of the *Āpastambadharmasūtra* (from the be-

for forest hermits according to which 'in whatever unfenced area he finds cereal plants, either along roads or in fields, he gleans (*uñch*) ears of grain one by one from time to time and sustains himself with those gleaning (*śila*)' (Olivelle 2000, 307).[22] As Hiltebeitel (2016, 39) argues, the other remaining eight ways of living prescribed in *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* 3.2.1–18 are suggestive of gleaning or small cultivation. Lastly, *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra* 1.8 (=*Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* 8.8, later than the third century CE, cf. Caland 1929, xv–xix), mentions gleaners (*uñchavṛttika*) in its list of forest hermits without their wives.[23]

The above short survey indicates that gleaning encompasses several different types of livelihood practice. The *Mānavadharmaśāstra* presupposes two types of gleaning: *uñcha* and *śila*. Although Medhātithi's understanding is different from the rest of the commentators on the same text, it appears that *uñcha* refers to picking up a smaller amount of corn and *śila* to picking up a slightly larger amount. This could be the reason why, in stanza 10.112, the former is considered to be more virtuous than the latter. We can detect variations not only in terms of the means of gleaning but also the circumstances for which gleaning is prescribed: Gleaning is taught as (1) one of a Brahmin's ways of making a living in a time of distress; (2) one of a Brahmin's virtuous ways of living; (3) one of a forest hermit's ways of living; (4) a despised way of living.

3. *The Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda of the Śivadharma corpus*

The ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is one of the texts incorporated in the Śivadharma corpus.[24] The earliest manuscript attestation of the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is found in N^{K}_{82} dated between the late tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century (De Simini 2016b, 244–248; see also Kafle's paper in this volume). De Simini (2017, 528–537) demonstrates that the text of the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* was still in the process of modification and

ginning of the third to the middle of the second century BCE) and that the former text is later than the latter. Moreover, the *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* appears to have been subject to later insertions. Olivelle (2000, 119) argues that the last two chapters of Book two, and the entire Books three and four, which includes the passage quoted above, were added later.

[22] *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* 3.2.14: *avāritasthāneṣu pathiṣu vā kṣetreṣu vāpratihatāvakāśeṣu vā yatra yatrauṣadhayo vidyante tatra tatraikaikaṃ kaṇiśam uñchayitvā kāle kāle śilair vartayati*.

As implicitly understood in Olivelle's translation (2000), *śila* in this passage seems to refer to what is gleaned, not an action.

[23] Its parallel passage in the *Āśramopaniṣad* (around the fourth century CE, Sprockhoff 1976, 136) lacks the teaching of forest hermits with wives and we do not find reference to gleaners there.

[24] See De Simini 2016b for a general survey of the making of the Śivadharma corpus.

expansion while being transmitted in the early Nepalese manuscripts. To the best of our knowledge, the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* was not transmitted, either directly or indirectly, outside of Nepal; we could therefore work with the hypothesis that the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* was composed in medieval Nepal, at least before the late tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh century, from which time it became especially popular there.

One of the characteristics of the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is that it draws on the *Mahābhārata*, especially the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. As suggested by their shared title, the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* takes over the narrative framework of the composition as the dialogue between Umā and Maheśvara. De Simini & Mirnig (2017, 607–617) identify the following parallel relationships among these texts:[25]

ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4.32–39 ~ *Mahābhārata* 13.132.1–29
(NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*)
ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 6.8–27 ~ *Mahābhārata* 13. App.15.779–803
(SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*)
ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 7.1–29 ~ *Mahābhārata* 13. App.15.803–855
(SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*)
ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 20.1–14 ~ *Mahābhārata* 14.App.4.1688–1717
(*Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra*)

De Simini & Mirnig (2017, 606) observe:

> This '*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*' provides a model and functions as a source of textual material for the composition of the later works of the Śivadharma corpus that adopt the same frame-narrative and deal with identical or similar topics as their epic antecedent. These texts can thus be placed at the crossroad of the Śivadharma corpus and the Sanskrit epics; as a consequence, the activity of selecting, borrowing, and rearranging sources transcends the technical aspects of textual composition, and suggests a more complex cultural operation aimed at establishing the Śivadharma as part of a broader Brahmanical—not necessarily nor exclusively Śaiva—tradition.

In this paper, I rely on Nirajan Kafle's draft of the critical edition of the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, which he kindly shared with me, and Naraharinath's edition (1998) is also consulted.[26]

[25] The *Lalitavistara*, another text of the Śivadharma corpus which is very close to the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, has further parallels with the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. Cf. De Simini & Mirnig (2017, 607–617).

[26] See Kafle's contribution to this volume (Section: 'Naraharinath's edition') for the problems of this edition.

4. *Ascetics, gleaners, and wandering mendicants in the Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda of the Śivadharma corpus*

In the first chapter of the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, upon a request by Umā (1.10–12), Maheśvara teaches eight types of *dharma*: that of Brahmins (1.15–30b), that of Kṣatriyas (1.30c–35), that of Vaiśyas (1.36–42), that of Śūdras (1.43–51), that of ascetics (*tāpasa*) (1.52–58), that of gleaners (*uñchavṛtti*, 1.59–67), that of wandering mendicants (*parivrājaka*) (1.68–93), and that of women (1.94–104). As De Simini & Mirnig (2017, 608) observe, none of the materials found in the first chapter is particularly Śaivite or refer to Śaiva principles.

Although the reason why eight *dharma*s are arranged in this order is not specified, we can surmise that the teachings of the four social classes (Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra) and women are intended as the secular *dharma*, whereas the *dharma*s of ascetics, gleaners, and wandering ascetics are prescribed for the secluded life. The teaching of four *varṇa*s given by the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* does not seem to be particularly unique. The text remarks that to be reborn within the same social class in the next life is regarded as the appropriate result of the *varṇadharma* not only for Brahmins but also for the other three social classes (ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.34–35ab):

> If a Kṣatriya acts in this way, he will reach the highest destination. He will not go to a debased womb [in the next life]; he goes to the womb of a Kṣatriya. (34) / Then if a Kṣatriya acts in a contrary manner, he falls [from Kṣatriya-hood].
>
> *evaṃ yaḥ kṣatriyaḥ kuryāt sa gacchet paramāṃ gatim* |
> *viyoniṃ na sa gaccheta kṣatrayoniṃ sa gacchati* || 34 ||
> *viparītam ataḥ kuryāt bhraśyate kṣatriyas tadā* |

After reaching "the highest destination" mentioned in 1.34b, a Kṣatriya is said to be reborn again as a Kṣatriya in the next life, which seems to be regarded as equivalent to "the highest destination."[27] Also in the case of Brahmins, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, after saying that they reach the highest destination, Śiva remarks that they are to be reborn as Brahmins, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras respectively. Women are said to be reborn in the womb of a Brahmin woman if they follow the *dharma* prescribed for them (ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.103c–104b). There remains uncertainty as to whether only a woman of the Brahmin class is reborn as a Brahmin or whether this

[27] One could understand *paramāṃ gatiṃ* √*gam-* as 'to die,' but, since 34ab suggests that to reach the highest destination is the result of following the *dharma* of Kṣatriyas, this highest destination must be something positive.

applies to all righteous women regardless of their social class. It probably refers only to Brahmin but the text is ambigiuous about this point.

Then, what are the differences among the *dharma* of ascetics, that of gleaners, and that of wandering mendicants?

In the *dharma* of ascetics, they are said to seek the highest destination (1.52cd), but what 'the highest destination' means is not specified. For them, Śiva prescribes purity, wearing matted hair and leather, and carrying *kuśa* grass (1.53ab). They are also advised to plant trees and have mercy towards animals (1.54ab). One should not eat honey and meat, and one should not sell sour milk, milk, sesame seeds, grains, barley, beans, and low-quality goods, but one may sell vegetables, Baraka fruits, and Iṅguda fruits (1.54c–55). Ascetics are also engaged in daily rituals such as *agnihotra*, bathing three times a day (1.53cd), and in the practice of a version of the five *mahāyajña*s.[28] Finally, an ascetic should distribute food to his guests (1.57ab). It is not specified what kind of asceticism one has to practise, but we can deduce that leading such a secluded way of life itself is considered to be asceticism.

The *dharma* of ascetics thus largely corresponds to that of forest hermits in the classical four *āśrama* system. We find prescriptions similar to it in the teaching of the life of forest hermits in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*: a forest hermit should wear cloth of leather or tree bark, wear matted hair, and keep his beard, bodily hair, and nails uncut (*Mānavadharmaśāstra* 6.6); one is not allowed to eat honey, meat and others (*Mānavadharmaśāstra* 6.14); one should take a bath twice a day, or thrice a day as a form asceticism (*Māna-*

[28] ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.56: *devayajñā brahmayajñā pitṛyajñāś ca sarvadā | bhūtayajñāgniyajñāś ca sambhavanti manuṣyatā* ||; 'Sacrifices for gods, sacrifices for Brahman, sacrifices for ancestors, sacrifices for spirits, sacrifices for Agni, and manhood (sacrifice for human beings) are [to be performed] at all times.'

According to the classical formulation, the five *mahāyajña*s are *bhūtayajña*, *manuṣyayajña*, *pitṛyajña*, *devayajña*, and *brahmayajña*, which are defined as giving oblation to spirits, worshipping of guests, the libation for ancestors, *homa* sacrifice, and the learning of Veda (cf. *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* 11.5.6.1–3, *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 3.68–70). ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.56 seemed to be based on this list of the five *mahāyajña*s. I interpret that *manuṣyatā* literally 'manhood' in *pāda* d represents *manuṣyayajña*.

We cannot find the equivalent for *agniyajña* mentioned in pāda c in the classical list of the five *mahāyajña*s. It is possible that the word *agniyajña* specifies the way in which *bhūtayajña* is performed (*bhūtayajña* in the form of *agniyajña*). *Bhūtayajña* means the offering of *bali* to all kinds of beings. One of the peculiarities of this offering is that *bali* is not put on the sacrificial fire but placed on the ground (see Kane 1941, 745–747). Therefore, *bhūtayajña* does not seem to be performed in the form *agniyajña*. In fact, Medhātithi explains that the word *bali* is used for non-fire *homa* (*Manubhāṣya* ad *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 3.70, Vol. 2, p. 85, l. 20: *baliśabdo 'nagnihome vartate*).

vadharmaśāstra 6.6, 24). Lastly, the most significant connection between the *dharma* of ascetics in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the teaching of forest hermits would be that one is supposed to continue *agnihotra* and 'five great sacrifices' (*Mānavadharmaśāstra* 6.5). Considering the fact that *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 6.22–24 teaches asceticism for forest hermits, we can understand that the *dharma* of ascetics in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is intended as an equivalent to the teaching of forest hermits in the classical four-*āśrama* system. It should also be noted that the list of food that ascetics should not sell and are allowed to sell in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is reminiscent of the livelihood in distress prescribed for householder Brahmins in *Nāradasmṛti, Vyavahārapāda* 1.57–61.[29]

After the *dharma* of ascetics, Śiva teaches the *dharma* of gleaners. They are said to thrive in the world of Brahmā.[30] They should worship gods,

[29] Cf. ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.54d–55: [...] *dadhikṣīraṃ na vikrayet* || *vikrayet phalamūlānāṃ śākaṃ badarakeṅgudam* | *tiladhānyayavān māṣān kupaṇyāni na vikrayet* ||; '[...] and he should not sell honey and meat. One should not buy curds and milk. Among fruits and roots, one may sell vegetables, Badaraka [fruits], and Iṅguda [fruits]. One should not sell sesame seeds, grains, barley, beans, and low-quality goods.' Cf. *Nāradasmṛti, Vyavahārapāda* 1.57–61: *vaiśyavṛttāv avikreyaṃ brāhmaṇasya payo dadhi* | *ghṛtaṃ madhu madhūcchiṣṭaṃ lākṣākṣārarasāsavāḥ* || 57 || *māṃsaudanatilakṣaumasomapuṣpaphalapalāḥ* | *manuṣyaviśaśastrāmbulavaṇāpūpavīrudhaḥ* || 58 || *nīlīkauṣeyacarmāsthikutapaikaśaphā mṛdaḥ* | *udaśvitkeśapiṇyākaśākādy auṣadhayas tathā* || 59 || *brāhmaṇasya tu vikreyaṃ śuṣkaṃ dāru tṛṇāni ca* | *gandhadravyairakāvetratūlamūlatuśād ṛte* || 60 || *svayaṃ śīrṇaṃ ca vidalaṃ phalānāṃ badareṅgude* | *rajjuḥ kārpāsikaṃ sūtraṃ tac ced avikṛtaṃ bhavet* || 61 ||;

'Even if a Brahmin should have to do the work of a *vaiśya*, he must not sell milk, curds, honey, beeswax, lac, alkaline, spices, liquor, meat, porridge, sesame seeds, linen, soma, flowers, fruit, jewels, men, poison, weapons, water, salt, cakes, herbs, indigo, silk, hides, bones, goat-hair blankets, animals with uncloven hoofs, earthernwares, buttermilk mixed with water, hair, oil-cakes, vegetables, etc., and medical herbs. A Brahmin may sell dry wood and grasses with the exception of fragrant materials, *rakā* grass, reeds, thorn apple, roots and chaff. He may sell what has fallen by itself, bamboo, the *badara* and *iṅguda* fruits, rope and cotton thread as long as it is still natural' (translation adapted from Lariviere 1989. II, 47–48).

Lariviere (1989. II, xix–xxiii), acknowledging the fact that there is little evidence that enables us to date the *Nāradasmṛti* with any degree of precision, observes that the *Nāradasmṛti* may be one or two centuries later than the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* on the basis of the comparison of the teachings of the two texts. Since Olivelle (2005, 25) places the likely period for the composition of the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* as the second to the third centuries CE, we can surmise that the *Nāradasmṛti* was composed sometime in the third to the fourth centuries. See Bronkhorst 2012 for the problems in Olivelle's dating of the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*.

[30] ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.59cd: *uñchavṛttir yathāvṛtto brahmaloke mahīyate* ||; 'A gleaner who has behaved accordingly prospers in the world of Brahmā.'

guests, ancestors, and teachers,[31] but they should not honour guests of wicked intentions.[32] They should have sexual intercourse with their wife only at a proper time and avoid others' wives.[33] They are supposed to practise religious vows, fasting, donation, learning, and adherence to truth.[34] They should not sell certain items.[35] They are intent on meditation after purifying themselves.[36] We also find several dietary prescriptions: they should avoid honey and meat,[37] as well as food offered by one's enemy, *patita*s, and Śūdras;[38] They should eat their own food only after performing the worship of all gods.[39] As in the case of the *dharma* of ascetics, the text does not touch upon specific prescriptions concerning the way of gleaning itself.

The *dharma* of gleaners in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* has an affinity both to the life of householders and to that of forest hermits in the classi-

[31] ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.60: *devatātithipūjā ca pitṝṇāṃ ca sadārcanam | gavāhnikaṃ ca dātavyaṃ gurūṇāṃ abhipūjanam* ||; 'And [he should] regularly [perform] the worship of gods and guests, and the veneration of ancestors; and he should donate the daily amount of food that a cow [eats], [and perform] the worship of teachers.' Also cf. ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.65: *pitṛkāryāṇi kurvīta śrāddhakālaṃ ca nityaśaḥ | vaiśvadevārcanaṃ kṛtvā paścāt svayam upāśnute* ||; 'One should always perform rituals for ancestors at the time of the *śrāddha*. One eats one's own food after performing the worship of all gods.'

[32] ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.66ab: *atithīn uñchavṛttis tu durmatīn na ca pūjayet*; 'A gleaner, on the other hand, should not worship guests with wicked intention.'

[33] ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.61ab: *ṛtukālābhigāmitvaṃ svadāraniratendriyaḥ*; 'He, whose senses are satisfied with his own wife, should have intercourse only at a suitable time.' Cf. ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.62d *paradāravivarjitaḥ*, 'One refrains from others' wives.'

[34] ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.61cd: *nityaṃ vratopavāsaṃ ca dānādhyayanam eva ca* ||; '[There should] regularly [be] religious observances, fasting, donation, and learning.' ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.63cd: *tathaiva satyasandhatvaṃ brāhmaṇāya prayacchati* ||; 'And [he should maintain] adherence to truth; he should make donations to a Brahmin.'

[35] ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 62ab: *kṣīrādīnāṃ ca sarveṣāṃ vikrayaṃ ca vivarjayet*; 'One should avoid the selling of all those things beginning with milk.'

[36] ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.64ab: *śuklavāsāḥ śucir bhūtvā nityaṃ dhyānaparāyaṇaḥ*; 'Wearing white clothes, having purified oneself, one is always intent on meditation.'

[37] ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.62c *madhumāṃsanivṛttaś ca*; 'And one refrains from honey and meat.'

[38] ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.63ab: *dviṣānnaṃ varjayen nityaṃ patitānāṃ ca śūdrayoḥ*; 'One should always avoid the food of enemies, outcastes, and Śūdras.'

It is not clear why the text uses the dual form *śūdrayoḥ*. The dual is interpreted as being used as plural, but it can be a married couple of Śūdra class or an elliptic dual that stands for a Śūdra and another lower social class such as a Caṇḍāla.

[39] ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.65cd: *vaiśvadevārcanaṃ kṛtvā paścāt svayam upāśnute* ||; 'After having done the worship of all the gods, one may eat.'

cal *āśrama* system. A gleaner in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* lives with his wife and continues domestic rituals, just like a householder in the classical *āśrama* system, who has to marry a wife or wives and perform Vedic rituals, as opposed to forest hermits, who can choose whether they continue domestic rituals (*Mānavadharmaśāstra* 6.5, 6.25) and married life (*Mānavadharmaśāstra* 6.3). However, these options should be abandoned at the stage of wandering mendicants (*Mānavadharmaśāstra* 6.34, 38, 42).[40] According to ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.64ab, a gleaner is supposed to wear white clothes. *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 4.35ab prescribes the same for a householder, while *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* 2.17.44 says that a renouncer should not wear white clothes after the rite of renunciation, and *Nāradaparivrājakopaniṣad* (p. 148, ll. 5–6) counts wearing white clothes as one of six causes of a renouncer's fall. These descriptions suggest that in the Dharmaśāstras white clothes are considered to be a symbol of a householder and that the life of a gleaner as expounded in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is closer to the life of a householder in the classical *āśrama* system in this regard.

As for the *dharma* of wandering mendicants, this is elaborated in detail in the first chapter of the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, and its aim is stated as being liberation.[41] According to the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, a wandering mendicant has to wear holey clothes dyed by minerals (1.68c–69b) with his hair and beard cut (1.85c). He should practise yoga consisting of meditation and others (1.70–71b), keep internal and external purity (1.71cd, 78), abandon desires (1.73, 80, 87b–88a), retain mental firmness (1.74, 81, 87cd, 88a), control one's action and speech (1.76, 77cd, 83), abandon lavish decorations and so on (1.84, 85ab, 86ab). Milking (1.88c), buying and selling (1.89c) are prohibited. It appears that one makes a living by begging for food (1.86cd–87b).

As might be expected, the *dharma* of wandering mendicants corresponds to that in the classical *āśrama* system. *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 6.55–60 also teaches that a *parivrājaka* has to collect food by begging. *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 6.85 says that a wandering mendicant reaches the highest Brahman by a series of yoga practices as expounded in *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 6.61–85. *Māna-*

[40] *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 6.24 says that a wandering mendicant should be alone without any companion. *Kaṭhaśrutyupaniṣad*, p. 31, ll. 3–5 explicitly states that a wandering mendicant should abandon his wife along with others such as his parents and sons.

[41] ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 1.92–93b: *evaṃ yo vartate nityaṃ tṛṣṇāṃ hitvā jitendriyaḥ | yatheṣṭaṃ parinirvṛttiś śuṣkendhanam ivānalaḥ* || 92 || *mokṣaṃ vrajaty asau devi pāpakarmarato 'pi vā*; 'If one always behaves in this way abandoning desire with his senses conquered, there is a complete cessation as he wishes, just like a fire [burns up] dry fuel. He reaches liberation, O goddess, or even the one who finds pleasure in sinful actions [reaches liberation if he follows the *dharma* of wandering mendicants].'

vadharmaśāstra 6.52a says that wandering mendicants should keep their hair, nails, and hair trimmed (*kḷptakeśanakhaśmaśru*). Clothes in holes dyed with minerals for wandering mendicants mentioned in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* most likely refers to clothes dyed in a reddish colour prescribed for wandering mendicants (cf. *Kaṭhaśrutyupaniṣad* p. 40, l. 6 *kaṣāyavāsas*).

We can summarise the main differences among the three orders of secluded life in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as in the following table. Here I highlight the parts that have some correspondence to the *dharma* of forest hermits in the classical *āśrama* system with grey colour and those that have some correspondence to the *dharma* of wandering mendicants in the classical *āśrama* system with yellow colour. Then I surround with bold lines the items that are also applicable to the *dharma* of householders in the classical *āśrama* system. I use dash when there is no clear mention.

	ascetics	gleaners	wandering mendicants
way of living	allowed to sell fruits, vegetables, and flowers	gleaning and prohibited from selling certain goods	begging
the highest destination	—	The world of Brahmā	Yogic practice→liberation
domestic rituals	*agnihotra* and five sacrifices	similar to five great sacrifices	—
clothing	leather	white clothes	holey clothes dyed with minerals
bodily hair	matted hair	—	keep hair and beard cut
married life	—	continues	—

Chart 1: The *dharma*s of ascetics, gleaners, and wandering mendicants in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*.

In the case of ascetics in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, even though the list of allowed food items to sell reminds us of Brahmins' professions in a time of distress, other characteristics are fairly close to the prescriptions of forest hermits in the four-*āśrama* system. The *dharma* of wandering mendicants does not differ from that of the classical system.

Then, why does Śiva teach the *dharma* of gleaners, which seems to have correspondence both to the *dharma* of householders and that of forest hermits in the classical formulation?

The comparison with the Dharmaśāstras will help us understand the cultural background underlying the teaching of gleaning found in the

ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. Although we do not find the *dharma* of gleaners as a life stage comparable to that of forest hermits and wandering mendicants, we do find sporadic references to the practice of gleaning. In Section two, we have seen that the Dharmaśāstras hold that gleaning can be applied both to householders and to forest hermits. This might be the reason why the *dharma* of gleaners advocated in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* has the characteristics of both householders and forest hermits. Besides, the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* contrasts gleaning with begging, which is a usual way to acquire food for wandering mendicants. This suggests that there is an ethical or cultural importance that distinguishes the life of gleaners from the life of wandering mendicants, although both denote a secluded life.

The *Mahābhārata* is another major source that shows a special interest in gleaning and likely in the distinction between gleaners and wandering mendicants. The *Mahābhārata* contains several accounts of Brahmin gleaners in its crucial narrative turning points, and Hiltebeitel (2001, 21–22) observes that those Brahmins responsible for the composition of the epic show a deep appreciation of Brahmin gleaners. Moreover, the author or authors of the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* had access to both the Northern and the Southern recensions of the MBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, and both texts contain sections on gleaning. A closer look at the idea of gleaning in these passages in the *Mahābhārata* will help us understand the textual backgrounds of the intriguing teachings on gleaning in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*.

5. *Five accounts of gleaners in the Mahābhārata*

The *Mahābhārata* is understood to have been composed between the middle of the second century BCE and the end of the fourth century CE (cf. Fitzgerald 2004, xvi, n. 2).[42] The *Mahābhārata* contains five accounts concerning gleaners with differing ethical connotations.

5.1 *The mongoose story (Mahābhārata 14.92–96)*[43]

After the great war of Kurukṣetra, the eldest of the Pāṇḍava brothers, Yudhiṣṭhira, decides to perform *aśvamedha* (a horse sacrifice) in order to rid himself of the

[42] Hiltebeitel (2001, 18), on the other hand, places the composition of the text some time between the mid-second century and the end of the first century BCE. He further observes that, 'the *Mahābhārata* must have been written over a much shorter time than is usually advanced: [...] by "committee" [...] or "team" [...], and at most through a couple of generations' (Hiltebeitel 2001, 20). For a critical review of Hiltebeitel's approach, see Fitzgerald 2003.

[43] I would like to thank Hideki Teshima, Masato Fujii, Kiyotaka Yoshimizu, Chisei Oshima and Junichi Ozono for their helpful suggestions for my interpretation of this story.

sorrow and sins of war (*Mahābhārata* 14.3).[44] However, he is now poor because he has used up all the wealth he had on the war. At this point, Vyāsa advises him to acquire ancient king Marutta's gold hidden in the Himalayas (*Mahābhārata* 14.3–10). Succeeding in this, Yudhiṣṭhira performs *aśvamedha* and makes a massive donation of gold to the Brahmins (*Mahābhārata* 14.70–91). After the completion of the ritual, a mongoose with half its body made of gold appears and says that Yudhiṣṭhira's *aśvamedha* is not a match even for a small amount of barley offered by a Brahmin gleaner who lived in Kurukṣetra.

At the request of the Brahmins attending Yudhiṣṭhira's *aśvamedha*, the mongoose tells the story of a gleaner (*Mahābhārata* 14.92–93): Once there was a Brahmin who lived with his wife, son and daughter-in-law making his living by gleaning. A severe famine struck their area, and the Brahmin managed to collect only a small amount of barley to share with his family. As they were about to eat, a hungry Brahmin guest appeared before them. The host Brahmin offered his share of barley to the unexpected guest, but the latter was not satisfied by this, so the Brahmin's wife, son and daughter-in-law also gave their shares of barley to the guest. When the guest had finished all the barley, he was satisfied and revealed his true identity as the god Dharma and told them that they would all go to heaven. The mongoose himself went up to the little barley of the Brahmin which remained, and as he did so, the body of the mongoose turned to gold.

This story seems to stress the superiority of a Brahmin gleaner over a secular king like Yudhiṣṭhira. Tieken (2005, 34) goes further to argue that 'It is clear that the Pāṇḍavas' sacrifice did not succeed in what it was supposed to do.' In my view, however, the superiority of the Brahmin gleaner's generosity to that of Yudhiṣṭhira does not mean that Yudhiṣṭhira's *aśvamedha* was a failure, as Yudhiṣṭhira's *aśvamedha* is intended as a remedy for his sins and sorrow and is not meant to promise ascension to heaven. The purpose of the mongoose story remains ambiguous and we find different layers of understanding of this story in the epic itself.

In the narration of the mongoose, Dharma praises the following virtues of the gleaner (*Mahābhārata* 14.93.57–74): (1) a legal way (*nyāya*) of acquisition of wealth without appropriating something belonging to others;[45] (2) giving as much as possible; (3) purity of mind; (4) valuing *dharma* above concern for

[44] The one who has performed *aśvamedha* is said to realise all his desires (*Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* 13.4.1.1) and be expiated of all the sins (*Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* 13.3.1.1). See Dumont 1927, 1.

[45] Cf. *Mahābhārata* 14.93.57ab: *śuddhena tava dānena nyāyopāttena yatnataḥ*. Dharma explains that Rantideva, a poor man, went to heaven by donating water with a pure mind, but Nṛga, who donated one thousand cows, had to go to hell because one of the cows belonged to others (*Mahābhārata* 14.93.72–74).

one's own family; (5) faith; (6) control of anger, hunger, desire and passion; (7) austerity. Of these virtues, the legal way of acquisition of wealth seems comparable to Yudhiṣṭhira's *aśvamedha* and the way he obtains Marutta's buried gold. A modern mind may question that gleaning also entails the acquisition of others' wealth for one appropriates others' harvests. We should remember, however, that Medhātithi states that a gleaner should not entertain the idea that what one is gleaning belongs to others (*Manubhāṣya* ad *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 4.5, vol. 2, p. 287, ll. 6–7: *na tatreyaṃ buddhir ādheyā parakīyam etan na gṛhṇāmīti*; see Section 2). We can assume that the author or authors of this part of the *Mahābhārata* also shared the idea that gleaning does not involve the appropriation of others' wealth. Still, Yudhiṣṭhira's way of acquisition does not seem particularly unrighteous because *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 8.38–39 says that when a king finds an ancient treasure trove buried in the ground, he should donate half to the Brahmins and appropriate the remaining half (cf. *Gautamadharmasūtra* 10.43 and *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* 3.56–57). It may be right that Yudhiṣṭhira's acquisition of gold is inferior to the Brahmin's gleaning, but it is nonetheless justifiable in view of the Dharmaśāstras.

In the level of the frame story of the epic, Janamejaya asks Vaiśampāyana why the mongoose criticised Yudhiṣṭhira's *aśvamedha*. Vaiśampāyana answers that violence in ritual is to be condemned (*Mahābhārata* 14.94). Then Vaiśampāyana draws on a story of Agastya to confirm these points (*Mahābhārata* 14.95). As the practice of *aśvamedha* entails the killing of a sacrificial horse, this point does make a contrast between the gleaner's hospitality and Yudhiṣṭhira's *aśvamedha*.

The next chapter (*Mahābhārata* 14.96) overturns the whole argument. Janamejaya asks Vaiśampāyana who the mongoose is. He answers that the mongoose was actually *krodha,* 'anger.' He was turned into a mongoose by the curse of Jamadagni and was only to be freed from the curse by condemning the god Dharma. By condemning Yudhiṣṭhira, who is a son of the god Dharma, the mongoose condemned Dharma and thus was freed from the curse. This episode appears very secondary, but we can surmise that it was inserted to diffuse the criticism of the mongoose story by identifying the mongoose as *krodha* 'anger.'

For now, I would like to refrain from analysing the relationship between these opinions expressed in an intricate narrative structure because it requires an examination of the overall epic context.[46] Still, we can observe that gleaning is contrasted to Yudhiṣṭhira's *aśvamedha* because gleaning does not involve the appropriation of others' belongings or the killing of sacrificial animals.

[46] For an analysis of the mongoose story and its surrounding contexts, see Reich (1998, 305–324; 2001, 151–169), Tieken (2005, 32–36), Fitzgerald (2010, 74–77) and McGrath (2017, 116–128). All seem to neglect the fact that Dharma attaches great importance to the gleaner's legal way of acquisition of barley.

5.2 *The Mudgala story (Mahābhārata 3.245–247)*

Another story of gleaners can be found in the *Āraṇyakaparvan* (Book 3) that depicts the exile period of the Pāṇḍava brothers in the forest before the great battle of Kurukṣetra. When Yudhiṣṭhira asks Vyāsa about donation and austerity, he commences the story of a gleaner named Mudgala[47] to illustrate that donation is more difficult than austerity (*Mahābhārata* 3.245.26–34). Mudgala lived by gleaning in Kurukṣetra with his family. He performed rituals such as *darśapūrṇamāsa* (the full and new moon sacrifice) and a ritual called *iṣṭīkṛta* and welcomed guests. His family lived on what was left after feeding gods and guests. The sage Durvāsas visited Mudgala and ate up all the food and repeated these visits six times every season. Observing that Mudgala did not give in to anger, stinginess or contempt, Durvāsas praised Mudgala's virtues and said that he could go to heaven with his own body. When a messenger from heaven came to deliver Mudgala to heaven, Mudgala asked the messenger about the good and defective points of heaven. After enumerating the pleasures of heaven, the messenger told Mudgala that the defect of life in heaven is that one must return to earth after consuming one's good *karman*, and it is unbearable to live on earth after experiencing heavenly pleasures (*Mahābhārata* 3.247.1–36). Mudgala told the messenger that he did not want to go to heaven where there is such a defect, and he abandoned his vow of gleaning. He then practised 'the yoga of knowledge' and reached the highest accomplishment characterised by *nirvāṇa,* 'complete cessation' (*Mahābhārata* 3.247.37–43).

Mudgala's rejection of heavenly pleasure gained by his donation of food and his conversion to yoga seem to discredit Vyāsa's first opinion that donation is better than austerity (*Mahābhārata* 3.245.27–34). In fact, after telling the story of Mudgala, Vyāsa says that Yudhiṣṭhira will regain his kingdom by austerity (*Mahābhārata* 3.247.44). A likely scenario behind this discrepancy is that the episode of Mudgala's rejection of heaven was added later, and the original Mudgala story ended in his attainment of heaven. This is corroborated when Vyāsa introduces this story saying that Mudgala obtained the fruit [of donation] by giving up one *droṇa* of rice (*Mahābhārata* 3.245.34cd). Fitzgerald (2010, 77) observes the ethical implications of this story as follows:

> This depiction of *uñchavṛttin* heroism is a put-up job, a representation of the gleaner designed to serve as a *pūrvapakṣa* in an argument that will demonstrate the ultimate superiority of *yoga* in pursuit of *mokṣa*.

[47] For a historical survey of Mudgalas from the Vedic period to the present, see Mahadevan 2016.

This story suggests that gleaning which leads practitioners to heaven is a practice inferior to yoga, the aim of which is eternal *nirvāṇa*.

5.3 *The Dharmāraṇya story (Mahābhārata 12.340–353)*

After the great war, Bhīṣma bestows his teaching on various topics such as statecraft, social affairs and liberation in Book 12 (*Śāntiparvan*) and Book 13 (*Anuśāsanaparvan*). In the last textual unit of the *Śāntiparvan*, Yudhiṣṭhira asks Bhīṣma to tell him the highest *dharma* (*Mahābhārata* 12.340.1), to which Bhīṣma recounts a story which was told to Indra by Nārada (*Mahābhārata* 12.340.2–11). There lived a righteous Brahmin named Dharmāraṇya in the town of Mahāpadma. One day he was hosting a Brahmin guest, and decided to ask him about the highest *dharma*. The guest advised him to ask Padmanābha, a snake king who lived in the Nāga town in the Naimiṣa forest, and Dharmāraṇya made up his mind to pay a visit to this king of snakes. But Padmanābha was not there when Dharmāraṇya first visited, as he had to carry the chariot of the sun god for one month. Dharmāraṇya decided to wait for him. When Padmanābha returned home, Dharmāraṇya asked the snake if anything surprising happened while he had been away working for the sun god. Padmanābha said that he saw something shining like a second sun one day and became one with the sun. Padmanābha asked the sun god who the shining entity was. The sun answered that it was a sage who was accomplished in the vow of gleaning (*Mahābhārata* 12.351.1) and who entered heaven by his efforts (*Mahābhārata* 12.351.3cd). Fitzgerald (2010, 81) observes:

> Clearly, it is a knowing and deliberate assertion of the point of view that valorises *dharmakarman* and reasserts the old notion that life in a heaven (the heaven of the universal God of the entire world, Brahmā) is the highest goal. But, interestingly, this account of a supreme *dharma* is well aware (seemingly fully aware) of the general philosophies of *mokṣa* and *yoga*.

In support of his observation, Fitzgerald (2010, 81–82) refers to several passages in this story that suggest that the author of this story had some knowledge of liberation and yoga.

5.4 *The Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda in the Northern Recension (Mahābhārata 13.126–134)*

As I noted in the introduction, the *Anuśāsanaparvan* (Book 13), which is the continuation of Bhīṣma's teaching to Yudhiṣṭhira from the *Śāntiparvan*, has textual units called *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in two different versions: the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in the Northern Recension (NMBh-*Umāma-*

heśvarasaṃvāda) that is attested in the manuscripts V_1, B_{1-5}, Dn_{1-3}, D_{1-2}, and D_{4-9} of the Poona Critical Edition, and the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in the Southern Recension (SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*), that is attested in the manuscripts D_{10}, T_{1-3}, G_{1-4}, M_{1-4}. The *Anuśāsanaparvan* appears to belong to a newer compositional layer of the *Mahābhārata* (cf. Pisani 1968, Schlingloff 1969, Tokunaga 2005, 2009, Fitzgerald 2006).

What follows is an overview of the treatment of gleaning and gleaners in the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and in the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* on the basis of Hiltebeitel's (2016, 2018) pioneering research, with updates on the interpretation of several passages. Within the narrative, after hearing the *dharma* of householders and the *mokṣadharma*, Umā asks Śiva about the *ṛṣidharma*, and Śiva indicates the kinds of *ṛṣi*s listed here in Chart 2.

	Features	Location
phenapa 'drinking foam' (vv. 36–38b)	They glean *amṛta* in the form of foam	Heaven
*vālakhilya*s (vv. 38c–42)	They practise gleaning following the way of Śakuni birds; They wear the cast-off skin of animals or bark-rags; They are the size of one joint (*parvan*) of a thumb; They attain the status of gods	The orbit of the sun
*cakracara*s[48] 'moving a cart' (v. 43)	Pure mind and *dharma* of compassion	The world of Soma
*saṃprakṣāla*s 'washing dishes'[49] (v. 44)	They practise gleaning according to prescriptions	In the vicinity of the world of ancestors
*aśmakuṭṭa*s 'grinding [grains] with stones' (v. 44)		
*dantolūkhalin*s '[using] their teeth as mortars' (v. 44)		

Chart 2: *ṛṣi*s in the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*[50]

The above list is slightly different from Hiltebeitel's presentation (2016, 37; 2018, 33), since he adds two more categories of *ṛṣi*s, *somapa*s 'soma-drink-

[48] *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* 6.8.1.1 says that whereas gods moved a cart, demons lived in a hut (*té devấś cakrám ácarañ chālám asurā āsaṃs*). See Gotō 2002, 32–35 and 2007 for *cakrám* √*car* and *śālám* √*as*.

[49] *Saṃprakṣāla*s are those who wash the dishes after eating and thus do not save their food. Cf. *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* 3.2.11.

[50] See Hiltebeitel 2016, 37–38, for a detailed survey of the sources that refer to those *ṛṣi*s listed above.

ers' and *ūṣmapa*s 'steam-drinkers,' after *dantolūkhalin*s on the basis of *Mahābhārata* 13.129.45–47, which I translate as follows:

> Those who practise gleaning in the presence of Soma-drinking gods and steam-drinking [gods or ancestors] with their senses controlled by nature (45) / — for them, keeping of fire, worship of ancestors and gods, and performance of the five sacrifices are said to be the *dharma*. (46) / This is the *ṛṣidharma* that is always followed by *cakracara*s and *dvija*s who travel the world of gods, O goddess. There is another [*ṛṣidharma*],[51] hear about it from me, too. (47)

somapānāṃ ca devānām ūṣmapāṇāṃ tathaiva ca |
uñchanti ye samīpasthāḥ svabhāvaniyatendriyāḥ || 45 ||
teṣām agnipariṣyandaḥ pitṛdevārcanaṃ tathā |
yajñānāṃ cāpi pañcānāṃ yajanaṃ dharma ucyate || 46 ||
eṣa cakracarair devi devalokacarair dvijaiḥ |
ṛṣidharmaḥ sadā cīrṇo yo 'nyas tam api me śṛṇu || 47 ||

One could argue that verses 129.45–46 refer to a different category of gleaners, but I interpret these verses as summarising the above list of gleaners. The *somapa*s mentioned in 129.45a are specified as gods, while *ūṣmapa*s, according to other sources, can be either gods or ancestors. *Mahābhārata* 13.18.50cd mentions *ūṣmapa*s along with *somapa*s in the list of groups of gods; *Bhagavadgītā* 11.22, on the other hand, mentions *ūṣmapa*s along with Rudras, Ādityas, and others, and commentators (Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Hanumat, Veṅkaṭanātha, and Nīlakaṇṭha) unanimously understand this word as referring to *pitṛ*s. If *ūṣmapa*s are to be understood as ancestors, then we can conjecture that 'those who practise gleaning in the presence of gods' correspond to *phenapa*s in heaven, *vālakhilya*s on the orbit of the sun, and *cakracara*s in the world of Soma, whereas 'those who practise gleaning in the presence of *ūṣmapa*s/ancestors' correspond to *saṃprakṣāla*s, *aśmakuṭṭa*s, and *dantolūkhalin*s, who are said to be in the presence of ancestors.

Hiltebeitel (2016, 38) remarks that *somapa*s are 'actually the Soma-drinking deities,' and also observes that '*saṃprakṣāla*s, *aśmakuṭṭa*s, and *dantolūkhalin*s glean also in the fashion of the Soma-drinking deities and the steam or fire drinkers near whom they reside' (Hiltebeitel 2016, 41). It

[51] In what follows (verses 48–55), Śiva explains the rules and virtues of *ṛṣi*s. One could argue that by the word 'another' (*anya*) *ṛṣidharma*, the text intends to explain another category of *ṛṣi*s, but I understand that the word 'another' (*anya*) indicates that the following contents describe the *ṛṣidharma* from a different perspective because we do not find any further classification of *ṛṣi*s therein.

appears thus that he understands *tathaiva* in 45b as 'in the fashion of,' and identifies the last three categories of gleaners with the *somapa* gods. However, *tathaiva ca* here means more likely 'and,' not 'like, in the fashion of.'

Hiltebeitel (2016, 40–41) offers the following important observations concerning the list of gleaners in the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*:

(1) Śiva uses the verb *uñchanti* 'they glean' four times (37a, 39c, 44b, 45c) in this passage and Hiltebeitel argues that those *ṛṣi*s mentioned in the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* are metaphorically put under the sign and into the category of 'gleaners.'
(2) Śiva's list of gleaners in the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is arranged in different celestial spheres from heaven to the world of ancestors.

We can thus deduce that the purpose of the list of gleaning *ṛṣi*s in the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* lies in locating them in a celestial hierarchy. In the following chapter 130, Umā asks Śiva to teach the *dharma* of forest hermits, and so it appears that gleaning *ṛṣi*s are regarded as being different from forest hermits.

5.5 *The Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda in the Southern Recension (Mahābhārata 13. App. 15)*

The southern manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata* transmit a different recension of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. As analysed by Hiltebeitel (2018, 17–24), the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* seems to rewrite the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* leaving its baseline untouched.[52]

Umā requests Śiva to instruct her in the *dharma* of ascetics (*Mahābhārata* 13 App. 15.569–572). Śiva tells her about the *munidharma*, which seems to be equivalent to the *dharma* of forest hermits (*Mahābhārata* 13 App. 15.580–614).[53] After the teaching of specific *dharma*s for forest hermits accompanied by wives and the results of their ac-

[52] Bigger (2002, 22) observes that it is not unlikely that the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* also share a common source text which was heavily revised in one or both recensions, but the structural analysis by Hiltebeitel (2016, 2018) and his comparison of the two versions of the teaching on gleaning seem to indicate the dependence of the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* on the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*.

[53] *Mahābhārata* 13. App. 15, l. 708: *paśupracāraniratāḥ phenapāś ca tathāpare*. Hiltebeitel (2016, 2018) understands *paśupracāranirata* as an adjective modifying *phenapa*s, but *ca* in the last half of the line suggests that *paśupracāranirata* and *phenapa* refer to different types of *ṛṣi*s.

tions (*Mahābhārata* 13 App. 15.615–675), Śiva teaches the *dharma* of *yāyāvara*s, *cakracara*s, *vaikhānasa*s, and *vālakhilya*s. Their features can be summarised as follows:

*ṛṣi*s	characteristics
*yāyāvara*s (ll. 676–687)	They are characterised by their fierce austerity. After death, they go to the world of Indra.
*cakracara*s (ll. 688–700)	They go around with a cart carrying the shaft with their wives and beg for their food.
*vaikhānasa*s (ll. 701–716) *aśmakuṭṭa*s 'bruising [grains] with stones'(l. 705) *dantolūkhalin*s '[using] their teeth as mortars' (l. 705) *śīrṇaparṇāśin*s 'eating withered leaves' (l. 706) *kapotavratin*s 'having the vow of pigeons.'[54] (l. 707) *paśupracāranirata* 'those who are devoted to moving like cattle' (l. 708) *phenapa*s 'foam-drinkers' (l. 708)[55] Those who walk around like wild animals (*mṛgavan mṛgacaryāyāṃ saṃcaranti tathāpare*, l. 709) *abbhakṣa*s 'eating water' (l. 710) *vāyubhakṣa*s 'eating wind' (l. 710) *nirāhāra*s 'eating nothing' (l. 710)	They long for death at their own will. After death, they go to the world of Indra.
*vālakhilya*s (ll. 717–740)	They practise fierce austerity. They wear the cast-off skin of animals. They are the size of one joint (*parvan*) of a thumb. They travel along with the rays of the sun and illuminate all directions.

Chart 3. *ṛṣi*s in the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*

[54] Hiltebeitel (2016, 43; 2018, 41) draws our attention to the *śākunī vṛttiḥ* 'the way of the Śakuni bird' of the *vālakhilya*s in the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the *kāpotī vṛttiḥ* 'the way of pigeons' of the *kapotavratin*s in the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* 4.5.27–28 refers to the way of pigeons in which one gleans with two fingers one by one and eats like a pigeon. Hiltebeitel (2016, 43) remarks: 'Legal texts seem to know nothing of the *śākunīṃ vṛttim*, so N's mention of it seems independent of that tradition. But the *kāpotīṃ vṛttim* commended by S is an old legal standard for gleaners. S thus probably replaces N's more obscure reference to a *śakuna* mode with the more widely regulated (by S's time) pigeon mode.' N and S stand for the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, respectively, in Hiltebeitel 2016.

[55] *Mahābhārata* 13. App. 15, l. 708: *paśupracāraniratāḥ phenapāś ca tathāpare*. Hiltebeitel (2016, 2018) understands *paśupracāranirata* as an adjective modifying *phenapa*s, but *ca* in the last half of the line suggests that *paśupracāranirata* and *phenapa* refer to different types of *ṛṣi*s.

Hiltebeitel (2016, 2018) compares the lists of the *ṛṣi*s in the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and in the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and points out several characteristics of the rewriting of the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*:

(1) The SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* reclassifies the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*'s gleaners into forest hermits as pointed out by Hiltebeitel (2016, 39–40; 2018, 34–35). This section on the gleaner *ṛṣi*s occurs in the context of the *munidharma*. In its introduction, it is said that the manifold *ṛṣidharma* was made on the basis of the *dharma* of *vānaprastha*s 'forest hermits' (cf. *Mahābhārata* 13 App.15.581–582: *vānaprasthaṃ samāśritya kriyate bahudhā naraiḥ | bahuśākho bahuvidhā ṛṣidharmaḥ sanātanaḥ* ||) and *vaikhānasa*s, one of the main categories of gleaning *ṛṣi*s are specified as a type of *vānaprastha*s (*Mahābhārata* 13 App.15.702… *vaikhānasā nāma vānaprasthāḥ*…). Moreover, while the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* uses the verb √*vuñch* four times in the corresponding section, the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* uses this verb only once (*Mahābhārata* 13 App. 15.706). Except for the association of *vālakhilya*s with the sun, the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* lacks the cosmological hierarchy of *ṛṣi*s in the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (Hiltebeitel 2016, 41; 2018, 36–37). Instead, the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* holds that all the *ṛṣi*s will be reborn in the world of Indra.

(2) Compared to the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* lacks *saṃprakṣāla*s and adds seven new types of *ṛṣi*s (*śīrṇaparṇāśin*s, *kapotavratin*s, *paśupracāraniratas*, those who walk around like wild animals, *abbhakṣa*s, *vāyubhakṣa*s, *nirāhāra*s). Hiltebeitel (2016, 36; 2018, 33) infers that the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* shows a greater interest in the taxonomy of *ṛṣi*s by introducing subcategories under *vaikhānasa*s.

As I argued in the examination of the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (Section 5.4), although Hiltebeitel's list of gleaners in the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* includes *somapa*s and *ūṣmapa*s, who are not mentioned in the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, a closer look at the text suggests that these two types of divine beings are not intended as gleaners. If interpreted this way, we can observe the dependence of the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* on the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* more clearly, because the *saṃprākṣala*s will be the only category to be found in the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, but not in the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. In other words, all the *ṛṣi*s other than *saṃprakṣāla*s mentioned in the NMBh-*Umāma-*

heśvarasaṃvāda are elaborated in the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the latter adds seven more types of *ṛṣi*s. This interpretation will give further support for Hiltebeitel's overall argument that the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* follows the thematic baseline of the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and freely rewrites and elaborates the contents.

Hiltebeitel (2016, 36–38; 2018, 34) refers to *Āpastambadharmasūtra* 2.22.2–5, which says that a forest hermit should live on roots, fruits, leaves, grasses, and on what he happens to find lying about and should sustain himself on water, air, and space, with each subsequent one of these considered to reap better rewards. Hiltebeitel (2016, 36–38; 2018, 34) infers that the above list of subcategories of *vaikhānasa*s in the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is based on this passage. Among the nine types of *vaikhānasa*s, the sequence of *śīrṇaparṇāśin*s, *abbhakṣa*s, *vāyubhakṣa*s, and *nirāhāra*s does seem to draw on *Āpastambadharmasūtra* 2.22.2–5, but the other remaining six types of *vaikhānasa*s of the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* do not seem to be based on the description of forest hermits found in the *Āpastambadharmasūtra*.

I would like to argue that *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra* 1.8 can also be one of the sources on which the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* classification of *vaikhānasa*s is based. As we have discussed earlier in Section 2, *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra* 1.8 refers to *uñchavṛttika* 'gleaner' as a type of forest hermits without a wife. Among thirty kinds of forest hermits without a wife, we find references to *aśmakuṭṭa*s, 'grinding [grains] with stones,' *dantolūkhalika,* '[using] their teeth as mortars,' *kapotavṛttika*, 'living like a pigeon,' and *mṛgacārika,* 'wandering like wild animals,' which fairly correspond to *aśmakuṭṭa*s, *dantolūkhalin*s, *kapotavratin*s, and those who wander like wild animals (*mṛgavan mṛgacaryāyāṃ saṃcaranti tathāpare*) in the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* respectively. Moreover, *śīrṇaparṇāśin*, 'eating withered leaves,' in the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* most likely corresponds to *pāṇḍupattrāśin* 'eating pale leaves' in *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra* 1.8. In the case of *phenapa*s in the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra* 1.7 refers to them in the list of forest hermits with their wives. *Paśupracāranirata* in the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, on the other hand, does not seem to have its counterpart in the *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra*. In this way, the proliferation of subcategories under *vaikhānasa*s in the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, which is not observed in the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, can be accounted for by assuming some influence from the prescriptions of forest hermits in the *Āpastambadharmasūtra* and the *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra*.

The fact that the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* utilises *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra* 1.8, in which the *uñchavṛttika* 'gleaner' is included in the list of forest hermits, gives corroborative evidence for Hiltebeitel's argument

that the SMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* intends to rewrite the section of *ṛṣi*s as that of forest hermits.

6. *Possible influence of the Mahābhārata on the section of gleaning in the Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda of the Śivadharma corpus*

In Section 2 it was demonstrated that the Dharmaśāstras regard gleaning as one of the ways of either *svakarman*s, livelihoods in distress or livelihood as forest hermits, thus applicable both to householders and to forest hermits. I argued that this might be the reason why the *dharma* of gleaners in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* has affinities with the *dharma* of householders as well as with that of forest hermits in the classical *āśrama* system. At the same time, there are several features of the *dharma* of gleaners in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* that cannot be seen in the Dharmaśāstras: the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* exalts gleaning as a separate *dharma* comparable to the *dharma* of forest hermits and that of wandering mendicants, attaching more importance to gleaning than the Dharmaśāstras do; the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* holds that a gleaner can attain the world of Brahmā, whereas a wandering mendicant attains liberation through the practice of yoga.

The ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*'s departure from the classical *āśrama* system can be regarded as an influence from the five accounts of gleaners in the *Mahābhārata* that were examined in Section 5, although there is no direct borrowing from the *Mahābhārata* to the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. The Mudgala story (5.2) represents gleaning in stark contrast to the practice of yoga aimed at salvation. This story, at least in its present form, seems to be intended to exalt yoga, and gleaning is considered to be an inferior means to reach heaven with a limited reward and subsequent suffering. As argued by Fitzgerald (2010), the Dharmāraṇya story (5.3) valorises gleaning as the supreme means to attain heaven, which is asserted as the highest good for human beings, while silently discrediting the notion of yoga and ultimate liberation. Except for the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (5.4), the accounts of gleaners found in the *Mahābhārata* commonly hold that gleaners attain heaven as a reward for their practice. The NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* also places the gleaners in a celestial hierarchy, indicating the association of gleaners with heavenly worlds. In the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, gleaners are said to reach the world of Brahmā by their virtue of gleaning, whereas wandering mendicants are said to achieve liberation by the practice of yoga. We can speculate that the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* inherits the idea of ascension by gleaning and its contrast to the life of wandering mendicants from the *Mahābhārata*.

Moreover, the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* seems to distinguish the *dharma* of gleaning *ṛṣi*s from the *dharma* of forest hermits. Unfortunately, the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* lacks a section on wandering mendicants, and we cannot argue that the division of secluded life into three in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (forest hermits, gleaners and wandering mendicants) originates from the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. Still, it is not impossible that the NMBh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* provided a model in which the *dharma* of gleaners is a practice of secluded life comparable to that of forest hermits and wandering mendicants.

At the same time, generosity in donation and propriety in the way of acquiring food that often dominate the interests of the author or the authors of the *Mahābhārata* do not come to the foreground in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. The mongoose story (5.1) and the Mudgala story (5.2) feature Brahmins' extreme generosity to give away what little food they have gained by gleaning to their visiting guests. The ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* enjoins hospitality towards guests along with the worship of deities and others, but it does not seem to attach particular importance to hospitality. Similarly, the mongoose story associates gleaners with a legal way of acquisition of wealth and non-violence, but these virtues do not seem to be defining features of gleaners in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*.

In conclusion, we can observe that the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*'s somewhat abrupt inclusion of gleaning in its system is based not only on the Dharmaśāstras but also on the accounts of gleaners found in the *Mahābhārata*. Whereas specific prescriptions found in the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*'s presentation of the practice of gleaning can be traced to the teaching of householders and forest hermits in the Dharmaśāstras, the ethical and soteriological connotations that the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* attaches to gleaning seem to presuppose the discussions on Brahmin gleaners in the *Mahābhārata*. In this sense, the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is one of the rare responses to the *Mahābhārata*'s appreciation of Brahmin gleaners. Furthermore, this points to the fact that the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* attempts to locate its teaching in the ethical and cultural matrix that the *Mahābhārata* advocates. The *Mahābhārata* holds the life of gleaning as representing Brahmin's virtues of pure poverty and generosity associated with heavenly attainments, which are carefully distinguished from the liberation that is the goal of yoga. We can infer that the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* tried to attract those readers who appreciate this particular Brāhmaṇical tradition by allotting the status of a separate *dharma* to the practice of gleaning.

The ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, in spite of its Śaiva title, abounds in the teachings that are not particularly Śaiva and that appear to be more appropriately attributed to pan-Hindu or Smārta tradition. The doctrine

of gleaning can be also one of such non-Śaiva teachings and indicates the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*'s orientation towards Brāhmaṇical tradition. Nirajan Kafle's contribution to the present volume compares the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* to the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, the two oldest texts of the Śivadharma corpus, and demonstrates that the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* constitutes a pivotal point in which the pure Śaiva and non-Śaiva elements, most notably Vaiṣṇava but also other pan-Hindu ones, are combined. The teaching of eight *dharma* in which the *dharma* of gleaners is included in the opening chapter of the text seems to be intended to outline a socio-religious order which the subsequent teachings presupposes. It is to be noted that the incorporation of the practice of gleaning into the eight *dharma*s is not a result of random patchworking of different doctrines: gleaning is exalted as one of the valid way of secluded life but at the same time is carefully distinguished from the practice of yoga. The practice of gleaners is aimed at gaining heavenly achievements, whereas wandering mendicants who are taught after gleaners are said to attain liberation through yoga practice. The ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* has an intriguing teaching of *dhyānayoga* in its fourth chapter, which awaits for further textual analysis, and we can infer that wandering mendicants are supposed to practice this *dhyānayoga*. In an admittedly speculative way, the teaching of gleaning in the first chapter of the ŚDh-*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* points not only to the text's effort to include the existing doctrines of Brāhmaṇical tradition, but also to its hierarchizing deliberation to place the existing doctrines into its own system.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank an anonymous reviewer, Florinda De Simini, Nirajan Kafle, Csaba Kiss, and Chikamitsu Taniguchi for their helpful and insightful suggestions on the earlier versions of this work. I had a fortunate opportunity to read some passages discussed in this work at the reading session 'Readings from *Mahābhārata* 13.129, *Mahābhārata* 13 App. 15, lines 678–740, *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* Chapter 1' held by Nirajan Kafle and Kenji Takahashi at The Śivadharma Project, the Pondicherry Workshop, Pondicherry, February 2020. I am very grateful to Alessandro Battistini, Dominic Goodall, and SAS Sharma (in alphabetical order) for offering their valuable comments and observations on that occasion. This work was supported by a JSPS Overseas Research Fellowship.

A first look at an unpublished commentary on the Bhikṣāṭanakāvya

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1. *Introduction*[1]

The *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* (sometimes called *Śivabhikṣāṭana* or *Parameśvarabhikṣāṭana*), 'Poem on the Mendicancy [of Śiva],' is a poem by Utprekṣāvallabha composed of roughly seven hundred stanzas divided into forty sections.[2] It narrates the story of Śiva begging for alms so as to expiate the sin of killing Brahmā.[3] The plot is in reality little more than a pretext to abundantly describe the love adventures of the god with the *apsaras*es of Indra's town. Such a theme places the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* quite near the prolific sub-genre of

[1] This article is the outcome of a series of online group readings held in the months March–June 2020 with my colleagues at the Śivadharma Project, scattered all over Europe due to the Covid-19 pandemic. From farther corners of the world, other scholars have joined: Yuko Yokochi, Csaba Dezső, Harunaga Isaacson, Andrey Klebanov and Somadeva Vasudeva. To all of them, my friendship and gratitude. Research for this article was part of my work for the ERC Project SHIVADHARMA (803624).

[2] The sections are called *paddhati*s, 'paths.' A manuscript from London (India Office no. 3852) contains forty-two such *paddhati*s. Renou (1957, 25) points out how the name went from indicating 'a manual of Vedic ritual' to marking the items in a less specified aggregate. Warder (2004, 982), recalling the Teliṅga recension of the *Sattasaī*, which is divided in *paddhati*s, rightly underlines that the name now immediately suggests a lyric collection.

[3] The myth of Śiva's wanderings is well-attested in the *Purāṇa*s, and more diffusely in *Kūrma Purāṇa*, *Uttarakhaṇḍa* 31. In variants of the story, the god seduces the sages' wives in the Deodar forest.

*śivalīlā*s ('poems on Śiva's love sports'), a corpus of works which blend devotion and eroticism readapting to another subject the illustrious model of the *Gītagovinda*.[4] The *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* occupies a special place in this sub-genre, having been quoted many times by theoreticians and anthologists for its undeniable originality and poetic qualities. The poem displays all the tropes of the lyrical *kāvya*, and the various sections into which the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* is divided deal with topics such as ladies' ornaments, moonlight and love messengers. Due to its particularly intense erotic vein, the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* has been compared to 'fetishistic' *kāvya*s (De 1970, 127–128) with their peculiar fixations on specific body parts of the deity such as the *Caṇḍīkucapañcāśikā* ('Fifty Verses on the Breasts of Caṇḍī') by Lakṣmaṇa Ācārya (unknown date), the *Mūkapañcaśatī* ('Mūka's Five Hundred Verses [on Kāmākṣī's breasts]') by Mūka Kavi (unknown date), and the *Pādukāsahasra* ('Thousand Verses on the Sandals [of Viṣṇu]') by Vedānta Deśika (thirteenth century).

A properly religious element in the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* is absent and the poem can therefore be classified as essentially erotic. Nonetheless, whilst the most conspicuous fascination of this poem to ancient critics was its literary and aesthetic nature, in the course of this paper it will transpire that the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* and its commentary can be used as auxiliary evidence to reconstruct very specific points of the religious and social history pertaining to the development and spread of Śaivism in South India.[5] Thus, it becomes an unexpected, fully-fledged source through which the Śivadharma Project aims to examine 'the impact of the spread of the Śaiva religion on the formation of regional religious identities in South Asia.'[6]

The *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* has been edited twice[7] and translated once into Hindi.[8] There is no single scholarly contribution entirely devoted to it, if

[4] On *gītakāvya*s, see Karambelkar 1980 and Rath 1980. The latter contains a list of one hundred thirty-two such imitations.

[5] In recent years, two important collective volumes have explored the possibilities offered if we overcome the debate '*kāvya* vs. history' and shift our attention to the historical discourse. The method of analysis followed for the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* in the special issue dedicated to it in the *Journal of Indian Philosophy* (2010, issue 38.5), and for the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* (2013) can be enlightening if employed for any text not immediately classifiable as 'historical.'

[6] From the project program available at https://www.shivadharmaproject.com.

[7] The *editio princeps* is the Kāvyamālā *gucchaka* edition of 1897. A second, much improved edition came out in 1938. I have used the 1988 reprint of this edition by the Chaukhambha Bharati Academy. Gupta 2002 reprints the second edition, but contains too many typos. Her introduction is nonetheless very useful, especially for the identification of *alaṃkāra*s and parallel passages.

[8] Śāstrī 1992, based on the *editio princeps*.

we exclude the short notices contained in histories of Sanskrit literature.[9] During a trip in search of manuscripts in South India, I managed to acquire a copy of an incomplete commentary on the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* entitled *Bhāvadīpikā* ('Lantern on emotions') composed by a hitherto unknown Maṅgapa. This paper contains the conclusions I have been able to draw reading the commentary for the first section of the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya*, called *Kāvyamukhapaddhati* ('Section on the beginning of the poem').

2. *On Utprekṣāvallabha and his work: some problems*

Utprekṣāvallabha is a pen name[10] that is suggestive of the poet's fondness for the figure of *utprekṣā* ('assumption').[11] His real name, given by the poet himself in his work, is Śivabhaktadāsa.[12] In the colophons of the manuscripts available to us and in the quotations from other Sanskrit authors (such as the anthologists and the rhetoricians quoted below), only the name Utprekṣāvallabha is used. Traditionally, two works are ascribed to Utprekṣāvallabha: the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* and the *Sundarīśataka* ("A hundred of verses for the beautiful one'); however, below I will raise an objection to the attribution of the latter to Utprekṣāvallabha. Internal elements and quotations in other sources indirectly provide us with bio-chronological and geographical information.

Stanzas from the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* were quoted quite abundantly in Sanskrit anthologies,[13] especially in Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī* (thirteenth century), which offers eighteen stanzas in total. Other sources are the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (fourteenth century), Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* (after the fifteenth century) and Harikavi's *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* (seventeenth century). The first stanza of the poem is quoted by Sāyaṇa (fourteenth century) in the

[9] Such as Krishnamachariar 2016, 299 and Lienhard 1984, 143 and 210. Warder 2004, 980–985 is more profuse and offers the translation of seven stanzas.

[10] On Sanskrit 'sobriquets' and especially that of our poet, see Raghavan 1951, 24. In *Sundarīśataka* 111 it is stated that 'The name Utprekṣāvallabha was given to the good poet Śrī Gokula by Bhāratī herself, pleased with the hymns by the pandit' (*bhāratyaiva kriyate stotraiḥ saṃtuṣṭayā dvijadvarā | śrīgokulasya sukaver utprekṣāvallabhety abhidhā* ||). Later in this paper I will make an argument that the author of the *Sundarīśataka* is probably different from Utprekṣāvallabha, but the etymology for the pen name is still valid.

[11] The figure is more often referred to as 'poetic fancy.' I prefer the terminology of Shulman 2012 and Vasudeva 2016.

[12] *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* 1.17b: *kavir asau śivabhaktadāsaḥ*. For a full translation and discussion of this verse, see below, p. 25-26.

[13] A list appears in Sternbach 1978, 130–131, who offers around 20 verses.

Subhāṣitasudhānidhi (4.67). Again, the title of the work is mentioned by Viśvanātha (fourteenth century) in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (6.328). In anthologies, the name is given alternately as Utprekṣāvallabha or simply Vallabha. The *New Catalogus Catalogorum*[14] informs us that the poem was referred to in the *Paṇḍitārādhyacarita* by the Telugu poet Pālkuriki Somanātha (thirteenth century). This last occurrence is unlikely to refer to an actual quotation, but rather to the episode of 'The Brahmin widow and the untouchable god' anthologised by Narayana Rao and Shulman (2002, 77–81), where Śiva appears in a household as a wandering ascetic and then reveals his true identity. All these pieces of evidence may be used to reinforce Warder's[15] suggestion that Utprekṣāvallabha belongs to the early thirteenth century, as the earliest authors mentioned above can be placed between 1258 CE (date of composition of Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī*)[16] and 1280 CE (date of composition of Palkuriki Somanātha's *Paṇḍitārādhyacarita* according to the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*).

As for the place of composition, equally, we rely on indirect evidence utilising three sets of elements. First, the topic itself: *bhikṣāṭanamūrti* is a popular icon in South India,[17] where it has been the subject of other literary

[14] Vol. 17, 147.

[15] Warder 2004, 980. His suggestion that Utprekṣāvallabha could have been a personal acquaintance of Jalhaṇa cannot be confirmed but seems reasonable: the anthologist is the first to quote the poet, and he gives the most quotations of any of the secondary sources, as if he had 'discovered' him.

[16] See the final *Īśvarastuti*, verse one (p. 463 of the printed edition).

[17] The history of the formation and development of the mendicant icon is a rich and complex one, and has been investigated by Gillet 2010, 118–142 with a focus on Pallava representations. The artistic renditions of the *bhikṣāṭanamūrti* reflect the ambivalence between Śiva's erotic power towards the women of the pine forest and his penitent attire after the impious beheading of Brahmā. As observed by Gillet (2010, 123–135), the earliest attestations of the *mūrti*, such as those in the temples of Malhār and Bhubaneśvar, usually depict the god with an erect sex, dishevelled hair, and skull in hand. The appearance of the icon in Chhattisgarh and Orissa is probably linked with the presence of Pāśupata ascetics in the area. By the time of the Pallavas (seventh century), representations of the *bhikṣāṭanamūrti* become more chastised, focusing on his spiritual virtues: instead of the erect sex we find Śiva raising a warning finger, and the god is consistently equipped with several pairs of arms, to underline his over-worldly nature. According to Gillet's interpretation (135–139), it is likely that this more decent outfit was influenced by Buddhist and Jaina iconography: one small hint is the constant presence of sandals at the feet of the god, who was otherwise sculpted barefoot. But the unrestrained nature of Śiva, as much as tamed, could not be fully erased from Pallava iconography: if the *bhikṣāṭanamūrti* increasingly assumes the form of the *kaṅkālamūrti* ('skeleton icon'), his wild and seducing traits are gradually transposed to the dancing form of Śiva Naṭarāja (Gillet 2010, 139–142).

renditions,[18] while being almost absent from the North.[19] Secondly, the authors who quote him all belong to an area stretching from Gujarat (Jalhaṇa and Harikavi) to Vijayanagara (Sāyaṇa) and Andhra Pradesh (Somanātha), with the exception of the Kashmiri Vallabhadeva. Finally, the provenance of the manuscripts of the work, all, except one, coming from the South (in various scripts).[20] These elements all contribute to our placing Utprekṣāvallabha in the South of India. Krishnamachariar (2016, 299) hazards a guess at Malabar, probably relying on the same elements.

If we take the *Sundarīśataka* into account, things get more complicated. The attribution of this second work to Utprekṣāvallabha has been taken for granted in secondary literature,[21] apparently only on the basis of the pen name of the author, as the first two stanzas of the poem, in *āryā* metre read:

> *jayati vilāsavatīnāṃ netraprāntāvalokanaprāṇaḥ |*
> *vadanendudyutisadanaḥ smitamādhvīmeduro madanaḥ || 1 ||*
> *sahṛdayahṛdayagrāhyaṃ madanamahīpālaśāsanād eva |*
> *viracayati sundarīśatam utprekṣāvallabhaḥ sukaviḥ || 2 ||*
>
> All glories to Madana, who lives in the side glances of the eyes of amorous women, who abides in the moonlight of their faces, who is sticky with the liquor on their smiles. By the command of King Madana himself, the good poet Utprekṣāvallabha composes the 'Hundred verses for the beautiful one,' that can be grasped by the mind of those of sensitive mind.

But the last stanza of the poem (111) reads: *kriyate...śrīgokulasya sukaver utprekṣāvallabhety abhidhā*: 'To the good poet Śrī Gokula was given the name Utprekṣāvallabha.' This contradicts the statement of *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* 1.17b: *kavir asau śivabhaktadāsaḥ* ('that poet is Śivabhaktadāsa'). Though it is possible that the same author chose a Śaiva devotional name when signing his Śiva-centred poem, two manuscripts' colophons offer evidence that make us lean towards attribution to two different authors.

[18] At least three hymns are devoted to the divine beggar in the Tamil *Tēvāram* (37–39). See Viswanathan Peterson 1989, 123–126. Other texts from the Tamil *bhakti* introduce Śiva in mendicant attire: a famous example is the tale of the 'little devotee' Ciṟuttoṇṭar, who cooks his own child as a curry for the god. See Pechilis Prentiss 1999, 108 and Hart 1980 for a full translation of this episode from the *Periya Purāṇam*.

[19] For a review of cases, see Adiceam 1965 and Lippe 1975. A few exceptions from Orissa are described by Donaldson 1986.

[20] See the list in *New Catalogus Catalogorum* vol. 12, 147.

[21] See for example Krishnamachariar 2016, 299, Lienhard 1984, 101, and Warder 2004, 980.

The Kāvyamālā editors provide in the introductory footnote the scribal signature, taken from an unidentified manuscript described as 'old' (*jīrṇa*), by a Cintāmaṇi Bhaṭṭa dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1653 (1597 CE),[22] and conclude that 'it could well have been written around the time of the author' (*kadācit kartṛsamayalikhitam eva bhavet*). Conclusive evidence, I believe, is contained in a manuscript of the *Sundarīśataka* from Bikaner collected by Bhandarkar[23] in his second tour of Rajputana. The signature of the manuscript, again written in *āryā* metre, goes like this:

> *sakalabhuvanaikanāyakalābhapurasthe prasannakīrtteṃ(tīṃ?)*[24]*dau* |
> *śāsaty akabarabhūbhṛti mahīm ahīnapratāpārke* || 27 ||
> *vasuvedarasaśaśāṃke varkhe*[25] *vaiśākhaśuklapaṃcamyāṃ* |
> *gokulabhaṭṭaviracitaṃ saṃpūrṇaṃ suṃdarīśatakaṃ* || [28] ||
>
> When King Akbar, a sun of unimpaired majesty, moon of clear fame, was ruling the earth from Lahore as the sole commander of the entire world, in the [Vikrama] Saṃvat 1648 (1591 CE), in the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha the *Sundarīśataka* composed by Gokula Bhaṭṭa was completed.

These two verses could of course refer to the mere act of copying the manuscript, and in that case be attributed to a simple scribe. But two elements lead me to think that they are the work of the author of the *Sundarīśataka*. First, the verses are composed in *āryā* metre, as the rest of the poem. Lastly, the absence of the usual information on the scribe's persona, such as his name or patronymic or place of activity is strange, especially considering his endeavours in writing a metrical colophon.[26]

[22] The editors wrongly give 1594 CE.

[23] Bhandarkar 1907, 51, with the excerpt at p. 91 (no. 44).

[24] The brackets are taken from Bhandarkar's transcript.

[25] Phonetic variant for *varṣe*.

[26] See for example the scribal colophons on these two manuscripts kept at the Institut Français d'Indologie in Pondichéry: RE10871 (*Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi*) *vedāraṇyavāsiśellapaṭṭārakakumāraganapatipaṭṭārakasvahastalikhitapustakam*, 'the manuscript copied by the hand of Gaṇapatipaṭṭāraka, son of Śellapaṭṭāraka, residing in Vedāraṇya' and RE43643 (*Śivāgamādimāhātmyasaṃgraha*) *śālivāṭipuranivāsijñānaprakāśaguru viracitaśivāgamāṭhidimahātmyasaṃgrahaḥ* (sic; read: *śivāgamādi-*) *samāptaḥ* [...] *bālasvāmisvayasthalikhitam* (sic; read: *svahastha-*), 'The *Śivāgamādimahātmyasaṃgraha* composed by the teacher Jñānaprakāśa from Śālivāṭipura is completed. [...] Copied by the hand of Bālasvāmin.' Of course, to have a full understanding of the matter, one should also take into account palaeographical aspects (position of the verses within the page, colour of the ink, presence of *puṣpikā*s and *daṇḍa*s etc.), especially for what concerns paratextual elements such as scribal signatures. But unfortunately we can only rely on Bhandarkar's excerpt.

If such hypotheses are right, this signature on the one hand confirms the name Gokula, and on the other moves the composition of the work two centuries ahead, to a different geographical and political context. This Gokula Bhaṭṭa would therefore have nothing to do with the Utprekṣāvallabha who composed the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya*, apart from a shared nickname.[27]

In this way, the aforementioned dedicatory stanzas of the *Sundarīśataka* could also acquire a different meaning. While Krishnamachariar and Lienhard speak of an unspecified King Madana or Madanadeva, Warder interprets the stanza as figuratively dedicated to the god of love. These two hypotheses can be merged: if verse one (*jayati vilāsavatīnāṃ*) is clearly a reference to Kāma, verse two (*sahṛdayahṛdayagrāhyaṃ*) is more likely a reference to an actual king commissioner of the work. The new information gathered from the Bikaner manuscript now offers the opportunity to attempt an identification: while I was unable to find a sovereign of such name, I propose to take this stanza as referring to Sūr Dās (born 1528 CE), a Brahmin, poet and musician, who was appointed by Akbar as Governor of Sandila. The features traditionally ascribed to this figure are admittedly very generic: he enjoyed love poetry and his eyes bloomed like a lotus flower[28] (Macauliffe 1909, 417–420; Dass 2000, 186–187). Even if these traits were to be considered too generic to identify a historical figure, there is one element that goes into more detail. It is said that, on account of his beauty, Sūr Dās bewitched Love himself and was thus given the surname Madan Mohan (Macauliffe 1909, 417), and it is this surname that probably stands behind the pun in the first two stanzas of the *Sundarīśataka*.

Another problem that I can only preliminarily address in this paper is raised by a manuscript of the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* kept in Chennai.[29] In fact, in his short notice on the poem, Krishnamachariar (2016, 299) states that it describes 'how Śiva went about as a mendicant seeking alms from Rājarāja Coḷa King to

[27] An odd, but plausible possibility: see the many Kavirājas that inhabit Sanskrit literature. On such cases of homonymy, see Sternbach 1978, 25–27.

[28] Curiously, other traditions describe Sūr Dās as blind, 'but his eyes remained fixed on the *līlā*' (Deol 2000, 171). The poet's blindness might here have an obvious symbolic value, especially in contrast with his internal eyes, always directed at the God's play. In this case, it is very likely that the element of blindness was absorbed from the descriptions of another, more famous, Sūr Dās (sixteenth century, therefore contemporary to Madan Mohan), the blind poet author of the renowned Braj lyrical collection *Sūrasāgara* (Deol 2000, 170).

[29] GOML no. 11618 (Vol. 20). The manuscript is not dated, but described as 'old' in appearance. Unfortunately, I have not had the opportunity to study this manuscript yet. Therefore, my speculations are based only on the excerpts from the *Descriptive Catalogue*.

test his liberality and how the appearance of Śiva influenced the women of the city.' This unexpected assertion (nowhere else do we find a Rājarāja associated with the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya*) is evidently based on the Chennai manuscript, where sections three and four are titled *Coladeśavarṇanapaddhati* ('Section describing the Coḷa country') and *Rājaguṇapaddhati* ('Section on the qualities of the king'). These two chapters are a unique feature of this manuscript which raises questions both on their content and how they entered the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* recension. The identity of the Rājarāja under discussion is the first matter to ascertain. The most plausible candidate would be the founder of the Coḷa empire, Rājarāja I 'the Great' (985–1014 CE). This reworking of the poem might be intended as a later tribute to the sovereign, who expanded the dominion of the dynasty to comprehend almost the totality of South India, and founded the Bṛhadīśvara temple in Tanjore (1003–1010 CE). It is therefore likely that these two additional sections were composed in Tamil Nadu and circulated locally, as there is no trace of them in any other manuscript. Were these chapters part of Utprekṣāvallabha's original project, surviving for some reason only in the Chennai manuscript? Or is it more likely to consider them a later addition, for reasons yet to be ascertained? A hypothesis of an expunction for political reasons is unlikely. Whatever the case, the simple presence of these two controversial *paddhati*s testifies to the vital reception and remodelling the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* has enjoyed in its history.

3. *Maṅgapa: king, commentator and Śaiva devotee*

The existence of a commentary on the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* is documented in catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts, but the references are confused. The *New Catalogus Catalogorum*[30] mentions two different commentators: Gajapāla Vaḍekara and Maṅgabhūpāla. These names arise from the confusion between a title and the proper name: there is actually only one author, Maṅgapa[31] Bhūpāla ('king'), whose epithet was Gajabeṭakāra, 'hunter of elephants' (more literally: 'he who made the wives of the elephants widows').[32] Manuscript catalogues list five copies of his commentary *Bhāvadīpikā*.

[30] Volume 12, 147.

[31] The name is the Sanskritised form of a name formed with the typical Kannada honorific suffix *-appa* 'father.' Berlin Manuscripts give the name as Maṅgapadmāpāla (*sic*).

[32] According to Sircar 1966, 46–47, the Telugu-Kannada term *beṭakāra* (or *beṇṭakāra*) means 'separation of lovers.' Furthermore, he argues that, as an epithet of kings, it means 'one who causes the separation of his enemies' wives from their husbands.'

The Oriental Research Institute of Mysore is home to two copies (Nos 8817 and 5142).[33] During my visit at their library, manuscript 8817 could not be located. All the conclusions drawn in this paper are therefore solely dependent on manuscript 5142.

The Staatsbibliothek in Berlin is home to another copy of the manuscript, which I was lucky to access while this article was almost due for print.[34]

There is no trace of Maṅgapa in secondary literature. His name does not appear in histories of Sanskrit literature, nor in catalogues of works, nor in the scanty contributions devoted to the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya*. The *Bhāvadīpikā* seems to be his only legacy to the world of Kāvya scholarship. The only source of our knowledge for this text is the manuscript itself. And the colophon of the work reveals a very interesting scenario (translations of the epithets are taken from Rice 1909, 155–156):

> *śrīmanmahāmaṇḍaleśvarageṇāṅkacakreśvarajavājīkolāhalapesālihanumārasaṅkasūnegāragajabeṭakāramaṅgapakṣmāpālaviracitāyāṃ* [...][35] (fol. 150r lines 5–6)
>
> [...] composed by King Maṅgapa, glorious District Governor (*mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*), Emperor of the Dagger (*geṇāṅkacakreśvara*), Shouting for Civet/Exulting in Musk (*javājīkolāhala*),[36] Hanumān in Artifice (*pesālihanuma*),[37] Slaughterer in War with Kings (*arasaṅkasūnegāra*), Hunter of Elephants (*gajabeṭakāra*).

[33] *Descriptive Catalogue of Mysore* Volume 8, with excerpts.

[34] The *VOHD Catalogue* 2.15 really speaks of three highly damaged and incomplete manuscripts: Hs Or 13003, 13094(2) and 13378, all three belonging to the Janert Collection. Annette Schmiedchen has kindly put me in touch with the personnel of the library to organize a visit and see the manuscripts, which were usually not available for consultation due to their very poor conditions. Examining all of them, I was able to discover that in reality they formed only one witness, whose leaves somehow ended up scattered in three different bundles. I finally managed to sort the folios in the correct order, and to identify three more works that were intermixed with the *Bhāvadīpikā* (Vemabhūpāla's commentary on the *Amaruśataka*, the *Itihāsottama* and what appears to be a folio from the *Agnipurāṇa*). During my work at the Library, I was nicely and efficiently assisted by Nicolé Fürtig and Siegfried Schmitt.

[35] From here on, passages from Maṅgapa's commentary will be given according to my edition of the Mysore manuscript. A few general remarks on my conventions: I have standardised the sandhi, which is usually split in the manuscript, and restored the homogeneous nasals, which are always substituted by *anusvāra*. Major emendations will be addressed in footnotes. I give folio and line numbers only at the end of the passage quoted.

[36] Kannada *javādi/javāji* (Sanskrit *javādi*) refers to the scented substance obtained from scent glands of either musk deers or civets. See for example Kittel's *Kannada English Dictionary*, *s.v.*

[37] Cf. Sanskrit *peśala,* 'crafty.'

Luckily, these partly unclear hybrid Sanskrit/Kannaḍa *birudas* ('honorific epithets') used by Maṅgapa allow him to be identified and placed in space and time with great precision. The titles are indeed exclusive to the Ummattūr Wodeyars, a small dynasty from the south of Mysore, which enjoyed alternate fortunes between the fourteenth and the sixteenth century.[38] Maṅgapa was therefore a king who chose a life of letters, and it is perhaps relevant to note that he gave his commentary the title *Bhāvadīpikā*, the same title Vemabhūpāla (another erudite king)[39] gave to his commentary on the *Saptaśatīsāra* (another lyrical work comprising roughly seven hundred stanzas). It is possible that he had that illustrious literary model in mind, although we cannot prove it.

Despite the relative abundance of inscriptions commissioned by the Ummattūr chiefs,[40] we have not identified any ordered by Maṅgapa himself. The only explicit mention of his name engraved on stone comes from a grant of the village of Neṭṭakallu dated 1532 CE by Mallarāja Wodeyar,[41] who mentions his father Maṅgapa, Hunter of Elephants etc. We can therefore ascribe the commentator Maṅgapa to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

However, the colophon is not the only part of the manuscript that provides biographical data for Maṅgapa. Over roughly two folios (fol. 1r l. 3–2v l. 3), the commentator provides a long family tree of the Ummattūrs, starting from an unidentified Vīra Someśvara[42] and his two sons up to Maṅgapa himself and his six brothers. Unfortunately, the first two folios of the manuscript are so heavily damaged that in many places their readings are lost. Again, the names that are possible to draw from this family tree partially correspond to

[38] On the Ummattūr chieftains, see Arokiaswami 1953; Hayavadana Rao 1943, 13–14, 53, 57; and Rice 1909, 155–156 especially for the translations of the *birudas* and the epigraphical references. The Ummattūrs switched from contenders to feudatories to supplicants of Vijayanagar. For the study of the epigraphical materials, I was helped by Giulia Buriola.

[39] Pedakomaṭi Vemabhūpāla, or Vemareḍḍi, reigned in Koṇḍavīḍu at the beginning of the fifteenth century. His commentaries on the *Amaruśataka* (*Śṛṅgāradīpikā*) and on a selection from the *Sattasaī* (*Bhāvadīpikā*) provide amongst the most lucid and influential models for commentaries to lyrical poetry. An overview of his theoretical work can be found in Cattoni 2012.

[40] Mostly collected in *Epigraphia Carnatica* 4.2 (chronological index of the Ummattur epigraphs at p. 8).

[41] *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department*, 1920, 37; *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy*, 1923–1924, 112–113.

[42] It is possible that this king corresponds to the Hoysala ruler of the same name, who indeed had two sons. Unfortunately, the manuscript does not allow us to reconstruct the relation between these three and the subsequent Ummattūrs, although a link seems to have existed, since Rice 1909, 155 mentions their claim on Hoysalarājya.

those present in inscriptions by the Ummattūr kings, but indisputable identifications are not possible, especially given the frequent cases of homonymy amongst the chiefs.[43] As for the seven brothers, no other inscriptions mention them. Since this is not the place to disentangle in full the history of the dynasty, it is enough to quote two passages in order to give an idea of the many layers of analysis to which our commentator lends himself. This is the first stanza, devoted by Maṅgapa to the mythical forefather of his race, the Sun:[44]

> *astīnaḥ prauḍhatejonidhir udayam ayann eva pūrvakṣamābhṛn*
> *mūrdhanyastāgrapādaḥ kṣititalavinatadhvānta<saṅkṣobhakāra>ḥ*[45] |
> *kartā nakṣatranāthasphuraṇaviramaṇasyāhur ardhendumauler*
> *netraṃ <vā>metarad yaṃ vimalam api ca tan mārgaratnaṃ ca m<i>tram* ||[46]
>
> There is the Sun, treasury of scorching heat: as soon as it rises, its rays set on the head of the Eastern Mountain; the darkness is dispelled from the surface of the Earth by his pulsation.
> He is the one who makes the moon stop shining; whom they call the right eye[47] of the Half-Moon Crowned One [i.e., Śiva], spotless, and that is the jewel of the [celestial] courses, and Mitra.

The stanza can also open to a second interpretation. This time, the features of the Sun can be transferred, and translated accordingly, to the description of an ideal king:[48]

> There is a Lord, treasury of audacious valiance: as soon as he rises to power, the tips of his feet step on the heads of the previous kings; he dispels the ignorance [of those] bent down to the ground.
> He is the one who does not make the lords of the *kṣatriya*s stop shining;[49] whom they call the favourable glance of the Half-Moon Crowned One

[43] Both Arokiaswami 1953, 234 and Rice (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, 27) print a family tree for the Ummattūrs. The utter divergence between the two is proof of the complexity of the matter.

[44] Fol. 1r ll. 3–5. This stanza therefore confirms the statement by Rice (1909, 155) that the lords of Ummattūr belonged to the Sūryavaṃśa. For the interpretation of this verse I am particularly grateful to Yokochi.

[45] This integration relies on the palm-leaf manuscript from the State Library of Berlin (Hs Or 13003 SBB-PK, fol. 1r).

[46] Meter: *sragdharā*.

[47] Śiva's right eye is often identified with the sun.

[48] The second half of the stanza is much more problematic to be interpreted in this direction.

[49] This compound is the most difficult to interpret. If my translation is correct, the idea behind the expression would be that the king 'keeps alive the flame of the *kṣatriya*s.' Another hypothesis could be that 'he shuts down the light of the non-*kṣatriya* lords.'

[Śiva], is stainless, and a jewel [amongst the devotees] in the [religious] path,[50] and friend.

Despite the fact that the translation presents many points of doubt, especially in the second half stanza, it is clear that Maṅgapa takes full inspiration from the typical stylistic features of royal *praśasti*s,[51] starting from the *śleṣa* structure of the stanza (the pun continues also in the subsequent verse). This other verse introduces the birth of his six brothers and himself:[52]

śrīharyaṇendrakṣitipasya tasya
jātāḥ sutāḥ sapta jagatprasiddhāḥ |
pūrvaṃ pratiṣṭhāpitac<ā>rusapta-
santānapākā iva bhāsamānāḥ ||[53]

To that King Haryaṇendra[54]
seven sons were born, famous all over the world.
They shone like the maturations
of the seven noble meritorious acts that he had previously undertaken.

This stanza is just one of an abundance of references to chancery style and concepts present in Maṅgapa's text. Here, the reference is to the institute of the *saptasantāna*: a group of seven meritorious enterprises that a man ought to perform during his lifetime (procreation of offspring, accumulation of wealth, planting of groves, helping people to marry, supporting the composition of poetry, the erection of temples and excavation of tanks).[55]

A final point concerns Maṅgapa's religious affiliation, which finds some space in this initial *praśasti*. The twentieth stanza of his family tree reads:[56]

garjaddurjayavārivāraṇaghaṭākāñcīravāt[57] *kantuhṛn-*
mūrteḥ sarvamatābdhipāragamateḥ pañcākṣarākhyād guroḥ |

[50] Maybe a reference to the Ummattūrs Śaiva affiliation?

[51] The pun between king and sun is omnipresent in Sanskrit literature, at least since Daṇḍin, *Kāvyādarśa* 2.309. On *śleṣa* and panegyrics, see Brocquet 1996.

[52] Fol. 1v ll. 6–7.

[53] Meter: *indravajrā*.

[54] Unidentified ruler. Maybe to be identified with Immaḍi Depaṇṇa, also called Pratāpa Harihara?

[55] Sircar 1966, 300 gives different lists of seven acts. Talbot 2001, 98–99, 116 offers archaeological and epigraphical evidence on how the *saptasantāna* concept was diffused in Andhra, especially concerning the building of water reservoirs.

[56] Fol. 2r ll. 2–4.

[57] °*kāñcīravāt*] corr.; °*kaṃchīravāt* MS

labdhvā maṅgapamedinīpatimaṇir yaḥ śaivadīkṣāṃ śubhāṃ
śaivaṃ mārgam abhipracāram akaron niṣkaṇṭakaṃ sarvataḥ ||[58]

Maṅgapa, jewel among the kings, who made the Śaiva path easy to undertake, devoid of obstacles under any aspect, after taking the auspicious Śaiva initiation from the teacher called Pañcākṣara, whose mind had crossed the ocean of all the traditional systems, embodiment of Kantuhan [= Śiva], whose voice was like the girdle of bells of an army of trumpeting water elephants difficult to conquer.

We do not know the exact extent of the facilities offered by the king for the practice of the Śaiva faith, but we know from epigraphical records that the Ummattūrs worshipped Someśvara as their family deity (Rice 1909, 155) and that they largely supported Śaiva monasteries and temples.[59] A point of reflection comes from another mention of this unidentified Guru Pañcākṣara. In the *praśasti* (verses 28–29), Maṅgapa states:[60]

pañcākṣarābhidhānasya deśikasya nideśataḥ |
prasādaliṅgārpaṇasadbhāvākhyaṃ[61] *grantham ujjvalam* ||
kṛtvā [...]

Having written the resplendent book titled *Prasādaliṅgārpaṇasadbhāva* by instruction of the teacher called Pañcākṣara[62] [...]

I was unable to trace any other mention of such a text, in catalogues or secondary sources. This title might refer to one section of Māyideva's *Anubhavasūtra*, the Vīraśaiva manual composed in the mid-fifteenth century, specifically the seventh chapter devoted to 'The real nature of offering' (*arpaṇasadbhāva*), which discusses the offerings to the *prasādaliṅga* (Sanderson 2015, 38). Should we interpret his 'resplendent book' as another commentarial work, this time on a ritualistic compendium? Or was it an original composition centred on a very specific aspect of worship?

Turning to the text of the *Bhāvadīpikā*, we can see some traces of Maṅgapa's religious background. For example, summing up the purport of verse two he states:[63]

parameśvaropāsanā sidhyatīti tad<d>vārakaparamapuruṣārthamokṣopayogitvam asya prabandhasyeti vastu dhvanyate kiṃ cāyaṃ kaviḥ pratyabhi-

[58] Meter: *śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
[59] *Epigraphia Carnatica* Vol. IV p. 27.
[60] Fol. 2v ll. 1–2.
[61] °*sadbhāvākhyaṃ*] corr.; °*satbhāvākhyaṃ* MS.
[62] On *pañcākṣara* as the Śaiva five-syllable mantra, see De Simini's article in this volume.
[63] Fols 7r line 10–7v line 1.

jñātaparamaśaivarahasyatvāt parameśvaraḥ śaktisahāya eva jagannirmāṇādikaṃ kṛtavān ta<d>dvāraiva paramapuruṣārthamokṣaprado 'pīti paramaśaivasiddhāntarasahasyaṃ[64] *saṅkṣepeṇātra śloke sūcitavān* ||

With the expression 'the worship of Parameśvara is accomplished,' [he] suggests the fact that this composition is an instrument for liberation, which is the supreme human aim, by means of that [worship]. Moreover, this poet has briefly described in this verse the secret of the supreme Śaiva doctrine (*paramaśaivasiddhāntarahasyaṃ*), because the supreme Śaiva secret is recognised as: Parameśvara, solely together with Śakti, has created the world etc., [and] thereby he is also the bestower of liberation, which is the supreme human aim.

Maṅgapa not only assigns to the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* a teleologic function, but he does so by hinting at the Śaiva concept of Paramaśiva. Unfortunately, I was unable to identify the source of the statement regarding Parameśvara and Śakti either as a direct quote or a paraphrase.

In verse three, he attempts to reconcile the interpretation of the stanza (a benediction to Gaṇeśa) with the Śaiva doctrine:[65]

nanu brahmādīnām iva herāmbasya parameśitṛtvābhāvāt kathaṃ vighnanivarttakatvam ity ata āha [...][66] *rāgadveṣarahito 'pi parameśvaro lokānugrahabuddhyā svopāsakajanakṛtaśubhakarmanighātalopasyaitatkarīndradvārā karteti tadupāyabhūtasya kācit kṣatir mā bhūd iti tadgandatalacumbibhramareṣv api sābhyasūyo nivārako bhavati na tu putraprītyety arthaḥ ataḥ karīndravaktrasya parameśvaraparamakṛpāpātratvād aiśvaryādiguṇasampannatvena brahmādyapekṣayotkṛṣṭatvāt s<v>opāsanādvārā paraparameśvaropāsakānāṃ śubhakarmavighnavighātakartṛsāmarthyam asti herambopāsanāpi parameśvaropāsanaiva bhavati tasya tadaṅgatvāt | aṅgāny anyā devatāḥ*[67] *iti śruteḥ | ata eva śaivamate parameśvaravyatiriktānyadevatopāsanā na yuktā sā kathaṃ kriyate tatprayuktavighnavighātaḥ katham iti śaṅkānavakāśaḥ* ||

To the objection: 'Since Heramba, like Brahmā and the other gods, is not [endowed with the attributes of] a supreme lord (*parameśitṛ*), how can he remove obstacles?,' he replies: '[...]Despite being devoid of attachment and hostility, Parameśvara becomes jealous, that is, wards off the bees that kiss his [i.e., Gaṇeśa's] temples. [He does so] not out of love [for his own] son, [but] willing to benefit humanity, so that there is no damage to his [i.e., Śiva's] instrument of that [i.e., of the removal of obstacles]: this is the meaning. [Śiva] is the agent of the removal of the obstacles [hindering] the good actions of

[64] The correct reading should be *rahasya*. It is not clear if the copist already deleted the *sa* with a small stroke.

[65] Foll. 8v line 1–9r line 4.

[66] For reasons of space, I omit a passage not relevant to our discussion.

[67] *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 1.5.1.

> the devotees, with the help of this Karīndra [=Gaṇeśa].[68] Therefore, since Karīndravaktra is the recipient of the supreme grace of Parameśvara (*parameśvaraparamakṛpāpātratvād*), he is [thus] endowed with the qualities of lordship and so on, and is [consequently] superior to Brahmā and the other gods (*brahmādyapekṣayotkṛṣṭatvāt*): through his worship his ability to remove the obstacles [hindering] the good actions of the devotees of the supreme Parameśvara comes to pass. Moreover, the worship to Heramba becomes exactly [the same as] the worship of Parameśvara, because the former is a limb of the latter. Since according to the Vedas 'The other deities are the limbs.' That is precisely why in the Śaiva doctrine (*śaivamate*) there is no room for these objections (*śaṅkānavakāśaḥ*): the worship of another deity independently of Parameśvara (*parameśvaravyatiriktānyadevatopāsanā*) is unsuitable; why is it then practiced [anyway]? How is the destruction of obstacles resulting from that [worship] possible?

It thus appears that Maṅgapa's literary endeavours were heavily oriented by his Śaiva affiliation. We may now turn to his Kāvya commentary, to see if his choice of commenting on the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* was due to literary appreciation or if it followed some religious agenda.

4. *Features of the Bhāvadīpikā*

This article is mainly based on the palm-leaf manuscript of the *Bhāvadīpikā* written in Nandināgarī script from Mysore (MS 5142). There is a label attached on the first blank folio, stating the accession number and the name of the former owner of the manuscript: 'Sriman Venkata Ramavadharigal son of Narayanavadharigal, Hosahalli agrahar, Shimoga dist.' The manuscript therefore comes from central Karnataka. The manuscript bears no date, and I cannot attempt a dating based on palaeographical evidence. However, given the date of the author (roughly one generation before 1532), it must have been produced later than that. The first two folios are heavily damaged by worms and age, compromising a full understanding of the text. Luckily, some passages can be reconstructed thanks to both the transcript of the incipit from the *Descriptive Catalogue of Mysore*, and the manuscript from Berlin that I have unexpectedly been able to consult when this paper was already being revised.

4.1 *Maṅgapa's poetry and poetics*

As I mentioned earlier, before the actual commentary Maṅgapa inserts a long preamble in verse (thirty verses in total) which has a complex structu-

[68] The construction of this passage is rather difficult, and the syntactic unit *etatkarīndradvārā karteti* in particular seems oddly placed.

re:[69] first a *maṅgalācaraṇa* to Śiva (verses 1–2); then the usual *praśasti*, thus organised: description of Maṅgapa's family lineage up to himself (verses 3–19); homage to his *guru* Pañcākṣara (verses 20–21); exaltation of his own kingly qualities (verses 22–24); praise of his own intellectual capacities and declaration of intents for what concerns the commentary (verses 25–30). In this poetic part, Maṅgapa exhibits some poetic endeavour: he employs five different metres,[70] usually switching metre whenever there is a change in the topic, and makes an abundant use of *alaṃkāra*s. The homage to Śiva is constructed with a series of *virodha*s ('contradictions').[71] The following text is reconstructed on the basis of a collation of the above mentioned manuscript against a transcription of this stanza available in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Mysore*, which was compiled when the manuscript was in a better state of preservation:[72]

> *nityāṅgīkṛtamanmathākṣam api yat pradveṣa<van manmathe*
> *brahmadro>hy api kalmaṣair virahitaṃ <śūly apy> <abādhā> nvitaṃ*[73] |
> *sarvaiśvaryanidhānam apy anugṛhaṃ bhikṣām aṭad dīnavad*
> *digvāso 'pi gata<trapaṃ kim api tat te>jaḥ paraṃ bhāvaye* ||[74]
>
> I meditate upon that supreme light which, even if its eyes always promise love, is hostile towards the [god of] love; even if a Brahmin-killer, is free of sins; even if armed with a trident, does no harm; even if treasury of every sovereignty, goes begging from house to house like a mendicant; even if naked, all the more is beyond shame.

One half stanza amongst those describing his rule clearly echoes *Raghuvaṃśa* 1.30:[75]

> *parikhīkṛtasaptābdhiḥpṛthvīnāgaraśāsakaḥ* || (fol. 2r l. 2)
>
> ruler of the Earth as if it were a city, with the seven oceans made into ditches

[69] On the complexity of this introduction, which follows some of the patterns of literary preambles, see Boccali 2008 and Slaje 2008.

[70] These are: *anuṣṭubh*, *indravajrā*, *vasantatilaka*, *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *sragdharā*.

[71] A classical motif in hymns; see the observations by Goodall 2012, 351–352. One example of such contradictions is in *Raghuvaṃśa* 10.22, speaking of Viṣṇu.

[72] Fol. 1r ll. 1–2.

[73] This integration comes from the Berlin manuscripts (Hs Or 13003 SBB-PK, fol. 1r)

[74] Meter: *śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[75] Speaking of Dilīpa: *sa velāvapravalayāṃ parikhīkṛtasāgarām | ananyaśāsanām urvīṃ śaśāsaikapurīm iva* ||; 'He ruled the earth which had no other rule as if it were a single fortress, with the shores of the seas as a line of ramparts and the oceans made into ditches.'

Turning to the proper commentary, the style of its composition is pure *daṇḍānvaya*,[76] i.e., it consists of running prose intermingled with explanatory quotations. While this is more elegant and subtle, when compared to the more schematic *khaṇḍānvaya* or *kathambhūtinī* (*ṭīkā*), the long and complex sentences make it more difficult to follow the arguments of the commentator, and sometimes give rise to 'a feeling of exhaustion' (Zadoo 1947, 3). The glosses follow a schematic structure: an *avatārikā* stating the premise and subject of the stanza; then the proper commentary to the stanza, with marking off the words, the syntactical construction, synonyms, and the explanation of grammatical rules. In this more systematic part, the *pratīka*s are always present, and this is particularly helpful because it allows us to identify variants in the text of the poem. Finally, Maṅgapa inserts a more or less detailed discussion of the *alaṃkāra*(s) present in the stanza. As for synonyms and grammatical rules, the authorities are the *Amarakoṣa* and the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, with many quotations in every verse. At verses eight and nine we also have quotations from Maheśvara's *Viśvaprakāśa*.[77]

The *avatārikā*s vary from more concise to more complex: for example, verses 1–3 refer to each other, raising the issue of the deities invoked in the initial *āśīr* of the poem. Maṅgapa's arguments are detailed but not really compelling. The *avatārikā* to verse one not only states the subject of the stanza, but also contains more details about the composition. It is worthwhile presenting it here in full to exemplify Maṅgapa's style at its best:[78]

> *atha tatrabhavān utprekṣāvallabhanāmakavir—dharmārthakāmamokṣeṣu vaicakṣaṇyaṃ*[79] *kalāsu ca karoti kīrtiṃ prītiṃ ca sādhukāvyanibaṃdhanam*[80]*—iti bhāmahādyālaṃkārikavacanaprāmāṇyāt kāvyabandhasya caturvargasādhanatāṃ manvānaḥ sakalajagadīśvarasya paramapuruṣārthapradasya bhagavataś candra<cū>ḍāmaṇer līlārūpasya bhikṣāṭanasya prādhānyena varṇanīyatayā svacikīrṣitasya kāvyasya sadviṣayatvena satkāvyatvāt —kāvyālāpāṃś ca varjayet—*[81] *iti niṣedhasmṛter asatkā<vya>viṣayatāṃ vilokayan 'nānāpraghaṭṭakair bandhaḥ kośa ity abhidhīyate—*[82]

[76] On the two major styles of commentaries, see Zadoo 1947, 1–6. The most valid general introductions to the study of commentarial literature are Tubb and Boose 2007 and Roodbergen 1984.

[77] See *Viśvaprakāśa*, p. 150 verse 43 and p. 4 verse 125. A work that 'exercised a very lively influence' on lexicography (Vogel 1979, 329).

[78] Fols 2v l. 3–3r l. 4.

[79] MS: *vaicakṣiṇyaṃ*.

[80] Bhāmaha, *Kāvyālaṃkāra* 1.2.

[81] Unidentified quote.

[82] Unidentified quote, but see Viśvanātha, *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 6.329, and Daṇḍin, *Kāvyādarśa* 1.13.

iti kośākhyakāvyalakṣaṇam anusandhānaḥ | kāntīmaṇḍanādīnāṃ varṇanīyānāṃ nānāpraghaṭṭakatva<ṃ> vimṛśaṃś ca cikīrṣitasya kośākhyakāvyasya vivakṣitārthakramatvād —vivakṣitārthakramavat kośaiḥ \pa/[83] *ddhatir iṣyate—*[84] *ity <ukta>tvāt tasmin paddhatināmakavicchedakaraṇam api manasi nidhāya parameśvarabhikṣāṭanam iti prathitāparanāmadheyaṃ kośākhyaṃ kāvyam eva cikīrṣuḥ cikīrṣitāvighnaparisamāptipracayagamanasvarūpaphalahetuṃ parameśvaranamaskāraṃ bahir eva vidhāya —āśīr namaskriyā vastunirdeśo vāpi tanmukham*[85]*—ity ukter granthe nibaddhasyāśīrādyanyatamasya kāvyamukhatvenāvaśyakartavyatayādāv āśiṣaṃ nibadhnāti ||*

Next,[86] the honourable poet called Utprekṣāvallabha necessarily composes a benediction at the beginning, because any amongst a benediction etc. inserted in a book has the status of incipit of a poem, on the basis of the statement: 'Its incipit is a benediction, a salutation, or the enunciation of the subject.' He had already inserted outside [of the book] the salutation to the Supreme Lord, in order to get the result of an unobstructed completion, inner coherence, and diffusion of the work planned.

He has borne in mind that a poem is an instrument to realise the four human aims (*kāvyabandhasya caturvargasādhanatām*), on the authority of the statements by Bhāmaha and other poets—such as: 'The composition of good poetry gives experience in *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*, as well as in the arts, and gives fame and joy.' And since this poem about to be composed has as its main subject the playful mendicancy of the moon-crested Lord, king of the whole universe who grants the supreme human goals (*paramapuruṣārthapradasya*), it is a good [poem] because it has a good subject, considering the fact that the subject of the traditional prohibition 'One should abstain from the babblings of poetry' (*kāvyālāpāṃś ca varjayet*) is [only] bad poetry.

Desirous to compose indeed the 'treasury' poem famously titled *Parameśvarabhikṣāṭana,* he has complied with the definition of the [type of] poem called 'treasury' (*kośākhyakāvyalakṣaṇam*)[87]—i.e.: 'A composition with multi-

[83] Syllable integrated through *kākapada*s by what seems to be the same hand of the main scribe.

[84] Unidentified quote.

[85] Daṇḍin, *Kāvyādarśa* 1.14.

[86] In order to provide a more fluid reading experience, I have altered the order of some syntactic units of the Sanskrit (the reader can check the original). In particular, in the central paragraph, my translation highlights the quasi-syllogistic reasoning behind the commentator's thought: Kāvya grants *mokṣa*; Śiva grants *mokṣa*; this is a good Kāvya because it deals with Śiva. For what concerns the syntax of the whole passage, I have segmented the Sanskrit text, with its redundant series of participles and gerunds, in a tidier succession of main and subordinate clauses.

[87] We don't know where Maṅgapa took this definition from. Viśvanātha (*Sāhityadarpaṇa* 6.329) names only the *Muktāvalī* (the *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Jalhaṇa?) as an example of *kośa*,

> ple themes is called treasury,' taking note that the descriptions of of ladies' ornaments etc. constitute multiple themes (*nānāpraghaṭṭakatva<ṃ>*)[88]. Since in the so-called 'treasury' poem which is about to be composed there are steps in the intended meaning (*vivakṣitārthakramatvād*), he has also established to compose in that poem subdivisions named 'paths' (*paddhati*), on the basis of the statement: 'A "path" is prescribed by the "treasuries" as if there are steps in the intended meaning.'

This long, sometimes clumsy section constitutes a detailed defence of the poem and of its own subject and structure. However, its erudition and organisation are not all of Maṅgapa's own making. The passage is in fact evidently structured after the introductory remarks made by Mallinātha at the beginning of his commentaries to *mahākāvya*s[89] and *śāstra*s.[90] From the works of the great South Indian commentator, Maṅgapa retakes ideas and sources, starting with the incipit *atha tatrabhavān* up to the never identified quote about the 'babblings of poetry.' But his dependence on the illustrious model is not simple plagiarism: our commentator improves the passage with quotations from relevant literature,[91] and more generally, confers on it a more specific nature which is truly focused on the work under scrutiny, while Mallinātha's remarks are always stock expressions, not addressing the specificities of the poems he is commenting upon (see Patel 2014, 92). We can continue reading from verse one to explore other features of the commentary. This is the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya*'s opening stanza, which contains a clever *utprekṣā*:

> *kalyāṇam āvahatu vaḥ śivayos tad ekaṃ*
> *gātraṃ yadīyam asitacchavi kaṇṭhamūlam |*
> *vāmetare 'pi kurute sitabhāsi bhāge*
> *prārabdhaśailatanayāpariṇāmaśaṅkām || 1 ||*

thus sticking to the definition of treasury as '[miscellaneous] poetic anthology'. He does though mention the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* and is the only *ālaṃkārika* to explicitly do so, to illustrate a rather extemporaneous definition of all the minor varieties of Kāvya (i.e., everything except *mahākāvya*s): *bhāṣāvibhāṣāniyamāt kāvyaṃ sargasamujjhitam | ekārthapravaṇaiḥ padyaiḥ sandhisāmagryavarjitam* ||; '[A minor] Kāvya can be composed either in Sanskrit or Prakrit, should be devoid of *sarga*s, in verses that deal with one single matter, and without the [dramaturgical] conjunctions (i.e., not developing as a theatrical play).'

[88] On the singularity (*ekapraghaṭṭakatva*) or multiplicity (*anekapraghaṭṭakatva*) of themes as means to classify types of poetic compositions, see Raghavan 1963, 630.

[89] Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa*; Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*; Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*; Bhaṭṭi's *Rāvaṇavadha* and Harṣa's *Naiṣadhīyacarita*.

[90] As, for example, in his commentary to Vidyādhara's *Ekāvalī*.

[91] And the anonymity of the quotation about *kośa*s and *paddhati*s is particularly regretful, since it would have enriched our knowledge of the theoretical literature available to Maṅgapa.

> May that single body of Śiva and Śivā bring you fortune, whose black skin at the root of the neck creates the apprehension that also the right part, which is white, has started to transform into the Daughter of the Mountain.[92]

After the explanation of the meaning of the stanza, Maṅgapa discusses the theory behind the poetic assumption, and he does so by relying heavily on Ruyyaka, the theoretician who played a major part in the systematisation of the figure:[93]

> *atrārdhanārīśvarasya varṇanīyatvena tasyaiva prakṛtatvāt kevalayoḥ pārvatīparameśvarayor aprakṛtatvāt prakṛtārdhanārīśvarakaṇṭhamūlasyāprakṛtake vala<pārva>tīkaṇṭhamūlanīlaguṇasambandhāt prakṛtasyārdhanārīśavāmetarabhāgasyāprakṛtakevalapārvatīpariṇāmaprāraṃbhas<ya> sambhāvyamānatvād upāttaguṇanimittakriyotprekṣyata ity utprekṣālaṃkāro vācyaḥ | tad uktam alaṃkārasarvasve —aprakṛta<guṇakriyābhi>saṃbaṃdhād aprakṛtatvena prakṛtasya saṃbhāvanam utprekṣā*[94] iti ||[95]
>
> Here, since it is Ardhanārīśvara who is being described, and he is indeed the subject of comparison, while Śiva and Pārvatī individually are the object of comparison; since the black quality of the neck of the object (i.e., individual Pārvatī) is referred to the neck of the subject (i.e., Ardhanarīśvara); and since it is imagined that the right part of the subject (i.e., Ardhanārīśvara) is beginning to transform into the object (i.e., individual Pārvatī), the figure 'assumption' is expressed, i.e., an action is imagined by means of an expressed quality. This has been stated in the *Alaṃkārasarvasva* 'Assumption means imagining the subject as the object, with reference to qualities and actions of the object.'

The dependence on Ruyyaka is evident not only in the explicit quotation of the Kashmiri theoretician, but also from the subsequent development in Maṅgapa's argument, who refutes the possibility of three other figures for this stanza. The rejected *alaṃkāra*s are *bhrāntimat* ('erroneous'), *sandeha* ('doubt') and *pariṇāma* ('transformation'), three figures invented exactly by Ruyyaka, and grouped together in his treatise as all rising from some

[92] The translation by K.V. Sarma provided in Sternbach 1981, 2350 is wrong, as it misses the idea central to the stanza: the left part of Ardhanārīśvara is Pārvatī, described by Maṅgapa as 'black as a *dūrvā* leaf.' The black spot of poison in Śiva's throat therefore creates the impression that also the right part of Ardhanārīśvara (Śiva) might transform at any moment into the black Pārvatī. For Sarma, only the left part of the neck is dark, thus invalidating the poetic fancy.

[93] On Ruyyaka's treatment of *utprekṣā*: Shulman 2012, 55–62; Vasudeva 2016.

[94] Ruyyaka, *Alaṃkārasarvasva* 22 *vṛtti*.

[95] Foll. 3v line 8–4r line 1.

deflective cognition.[96] Echoes of other *alaṃkārika*s are scattered all over the commentary. We have seen quotes from Bhāmaha[97] and Daṇḍin in the first *avatārikā*, while at the end of this same v. 1, after the discussion of tropes, Maṅgapa spends a few more words on *vyatireka* ('distinction'), *vastudhvani* ('suggestion of a fact'), *bhāvadhvani* ('suggestion of an emotion') and *adbhutarasa* ('aesthetic experience of wonder'), concepts expressed with the help of Ānandavardhana[98] and Mammaṭa:[99]

> *atra śivayoś tad ekaṃ gātram ity anena parameśvarasya strīpūṃsātmakatvoktyā parameśvarasyācintyamahimatvarūpaṃ vastu dhvanyate, tato 'sya brahmādivilakṣaṇatvapratīter vyatirekālaṃkāraś ca dhvanyate, loke sarvatra kasyāpi strīpuṃsātmakatvābhāvād asya tathāvidhatvenātivismayālaṃbanatvenādbhu taraso dhvanyate | kaveḥ parameśvaraviṣayā ratir vyajyata iti bhāvadhvaniś ca 'ratir devādiviṣayā vyābhicārī*[100] *tathāñjitaḥ'*[101] *ity uktatvāt ||*
>
> Here, by stating that Parameśvara is both male and female (*strīpūṃsātmakatvoktyā*) through this [expression] 'that united body of Śiva and Pārvatī,' the fact (*vastu*) that Parameśvara has an inconceivable form of mightiness is suggested; therefore, by clearly comprehending that he is different from Brahmā and the other gods, the figure 'distinction' (*vyatirekālaṃkāra*) is suggested; since in the whole world no one is both male and female, since he is like that the 'aesthetic experience of wonder' (*adbhutarasa*) dependent on astonishment is expressed. And because it is said: 'Affection towards a god etc. and suggested transient feelings are called (emotions),' there is also 'suggestion of an emotion' (*bhāvadhvani*) because the affection of the poet towards Parameśvara is expressed.

That Maṅgapa relies not too subtly on specific Alaṃkāraśāstras is evident also from the many quotations of poetic passages used to illustrate theory: these very examples are most often taken from the Alaṃkāraśāstras themselves: two stanzas (one from Murari's *Anargharāghava* 5.2 and one anonymous) that illustrate *pariṇāma* on v. 1 (foll. 4r line 8–4 v line 2) are the same employed by Ruyyaka (*Alaṃkārasarvasva* 16 *vṛtti*); one stanza from Utpala's *Śivastotrāvalī* (13.16, quoted at fol. 5v ll. 1–2) is taken from Mammaṭa on the sentence defect of *avimṛṣṭavidheyāśa* 'non-discrimination of the predicate' (*Kāvyaprakāśa* 7.192). Two more problematic references de-

[96] Ruyyaka, *Alaṃkārasarvasva* 16-18.
[97] Another quotation from *Kāvyālaṃkāra* 1.12 at verse 11 (fol. 14v l. 10).
[98] Also explicitly mentioned as Dhvanikāra in v. 2 (fol. 7r ll. 7-8) (*Dhvanyāloka* 2.21).
[99] Fol. 4v ll. 6–10.
[100] MS.: *vyabhicāraṃ*.
[101] Mammaṭa, *Kāvyaprakāśa* 4.35.

serve mention. The first is the mention of an unidentified Candracūḍa (it is not clear if he is a poet or a rhetorician; see verse ten, fol. 14v ll. 3–4); and the second is a possible reference to Bhoja's twelvefold classification of *sāhitya* at the end of verse 16 (fol. 17r l. 12).[102]

There is one more important element that casts light on Maṅgapa's milieu. At the end of the commentary on v. 1 (fol. 5r lines 2–5) he dwells on a discussion on the very first word of the poem (*kalyāṇam*) to ascertain if its phonetic and metrical structure is auspicious or not.[103] To support his views he quotes three statements: '*ta gaṇa* [¯ ¯ ˘] bestows power and comes from heaven' (*aiśvaryado nābhasas ta*), 'Lakṣmī comes from the four letters beginning with *ka* [*ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *gha*]' (*caturbhyaḥ kādivarṇebhyo lakṣmīr*) and '*ka varga* belongs to Prajāpati, is yellow and bestows nourishment' (*prājāpatyaḥ kakāraḥ syāt pītaḥ puṣṭikaras*). These three prescriptive formulas appear in different forms in two lesser known works of poetics belonging to the so-called 'Andhra school':[104] Amṛtānandayogin's *Alaṃkārasaṅgraha* and Gauraṇa's *Lakṣaṇadīpikā.* These two authors and others from their strict circle developed a rich body of works dealing with poetry's metaphysical dimensions, and their analysis especially concerned royal praise poems (*cāṭuprabandha*s): the ritual aspect of their works and the court environment in which they operated fits precisely with the information available on Maṅgapa.

4.2 *Philological Implications*

To conclude this overview, I would like to address some points concerning the composition of the text of the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya*. Bearing in mind that our work is so far based on only two highly problematic manuscripts, is it possible to arrive indirectly at an idea of the status of the text Maṅgapa was commenting upon?

Compared to that of the two printed editions,[105] the text of the poem that we can reconstruct from the commentary is slightly different, at least for the *Kāvyamukhapaddhati* under examination here. A few major variants I could identify are verse six (eleven of the printed editions): *kāmaṃ khalās*

[102] See *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* p. 353 and Cox 2012. Maṅgapa's passage is very difficult to read, being at the lowest line of the folio, and is probably corrupt.

[103] The concern on the auspiciousness of beginnings is the topic of much of Sanskrit exegetical literature. See for example Minkowski 2008, 22–23, for a discussion on the virtues of *vṛddhi*, the first word of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

[104] The only contribution on this very little studied topic is Jones 2019.

[105] Let us not forget that the Kāvyamālā edition and Gupta 2002 carry the same text.

tilakayantu cirāya pṛthvīm ('let bad people speckle the earth as they like for a long time') instead of *sarve khalās tilakayantu cirāya pṛthvīm* ('let all bad people speckle the earth for a long time'); verse seven, *asabhyaninadaiḥ* ('vulgar sounds') instead of *asahyaninadaiḥ* ('unbearable sounds'); and verse twelve *mitavāṅmadadurvidagdhāḥ* ('ignorant because of the arrogance caused by their limited capacity to express themselves') instead of *mitavāṅmayadurvidagdhāḥ* ('ignorants because of their limited readings').

The order of the stanzas in the manuscript is significantly different from that of the printed editions. Maṅgapa's order sometimes finds justification by his explanations in the *avatārikā*s, but his reasons are more often not cogent. For example, verse three of the printed editions appears in the manuscript after verse one. This is the *avatārikā*:[106]

> *iṣṭaprāptyaniṣṭaparihāraviṣayatvād āśiṣaḥ pūrvam iṣṭaprāptiviṣayām āśiṣaṃ nibaddhyānantaram aniṣṭaparihāraviṣayām āśiṣaṃ nibandhum āha |*
>
> Since the scope of a benediction is to obtain what is desirable and to ward off what is undesirable, having first composed a benediction with the scope to obtain what is desirable, subsequently, in order to compose a benediction with the scope to ward off what is undesirable, he says...

However, this remark would also be valid for the stanza that appears in print at verse two and in the manuscript at verse four, because it is also centred on such an invocation: 'May Parameśvara's mendicancy ward off your poverty' (*kārśyaṃ kṣiṇotu bhavatāṃ parameśvarasya bhikṣāṭanam*).

Despite these uncertainties, and with the caution which must always be maintained when trying to ascertain a strict consequentiality within a Kāvya composition, especially in a 'treasury' whose verses have their individual, self-sufficient role as *muktaka*s, it is possible to identify a loose structure in the organisation of the *Kāvyamukhapaddhati*. With the changes of position operated by Maṅgapa, this 'Introduction' now covers in a more or less schematic way all the topics that later literature prescribes as a preamble.[107] We can identify two main sections: verses 1–4 constituting the *namaskarādyupakramatva* ('beginning with salutations etc.'), and verses five

[106] Fol. 5r ll. 5–6.

[107] Preambles in Kāvyas grew more and more elaborated starting from Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*. The first theoretician to analyse in depth the structure of beginnings was Bhoja (*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* chapter eleven), from whom I take the terminology used in this paragraph. On this topic, see Pollock 1995, centred on *kaviprasaṃsā*, but offering an overview of the topic.

to sixteen as *sambandhādimadādivākyatva* ('expressing personal details and intentions at the beginning of the book'). In detail, the verses contain:

1–4: *āśīr*, 'benedictions' to Śiva and Gaṇeśa.
5: *kaviprasaṃsā*, 'eulogy of previous poets.'
6–8: *dṛṣṭānta*s, 'examples' to illustrate and dispel Utprekṣāvallabha's doubts about enterprising the composition of a poem.
9: *adhikārin,* recipients 'entitled' to read his work: the *rasika*s who do not focus only on defects but can appreciate qualities. This is Bhoja's *sujanasvarūpa*, 'character of fair critics.'
10: *prayojana*, 'purpose' of the poem': the eternity granted by fame.[108]
11: Another *dṛṣṭānta*: it takes only a single good verse to enjoy the fame of being a good poet.
12: Another *dṛṣṭānta*: those 'not entitled' to read his poem, those who only reflect other poets' fame. This is Bhoja's *durjanasvarūpa*, 'character of unfair critics.'
13: *arthāntaranyāsa*, 'apodixis': a short poem like the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* can be devoid of faults, while there are many *mahākāvya*s full of defects. Śiva does not carry the full moon, but a smaller crescent one!
14: Another *dṛṣṭānta* concerning those 'not entitled' to read his poem: those mediocre intellects who only live off the poet's talent, like stones reflecting the sun's light.[109]
15: *vastunirdēśa*, 'statement of the topic.' The poet will talk only about Śiva.[110]
16: Final *āśīr* and *kāvyaphala*.

I will end this preliminary survey of Utprekṣāvallabha and Maṅgapa's work with a few words on two of the stanzas of the *Kāvyamukhapaddhati* relevant to the poet's vision and to the commentator's knowledge of the text. Let us take a look at Utprekṣāvallabha's *kaviprasaṃsā* (verse five):

vālmīkir astu vijayī prathamaḥ kavīnāṃ
tasyānusārasaralaḥ sa ca kālidāsaḥ |
anye bhavantu jayinaḥ kavayo 'tha mā vā
eṣāṃ kṛtaḥ kṛtiṣu naiva mayāvagāhaḥ ||

[108] See Vāmana, *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti* 1.5, quoted by Maṅgapa.
[109] Here, he is probably referring to Mammaṭa's reservations against Kālidāsa (*Kāvyaprakāśa* 7, 285).
[110] The stanza contains a *virodhālaṃkāra*.

May Vālmīki, the first of poets,
and the rightfully candid Kālidāsa, be victorious.
There might be other successful poets, or maybe not,
but I do not really dive[111] into their books.

The poet's canon is extremely limited, especially compared to the general usage of other *kavi*s. If the majority of *kavi*s provide at least a triad of exemplary poets, with exceptions going up to the fifty-six poets praised in the *Avantisundarīkathā*,[112] Maṅgapa accepts only two, possibly the most iconic in the history of the trope, that are never absent in any *kavipraśaṃsā*.[113] The presence of Vālmīki is a point of difference to Bāṇa, who is the only one to omit Vālmīki in the history of *kavipraśamsā*.

The last important point concerns a quite remarkable omission from Maṅgapa's commentary. The *Kāvyamukhapaddhati* in print contains seventeen stanzas, not sixteen. This last verse reads:

vṛttaṃ vasantatilakaṃ viṣayaḥ śivasya
bhikṣāṭanam kavir asau śivabhaktadāsaḥ |
śṛṅgāra eva hi rasas tad iha prabandhe
śraddhā na kasya yadi sūktivinodaśīlaḥ ||

The metre is *vasantatilaka*, the subject Śiva's
mendicancy, this poet is Śivabhaktadāsa,[114]
the *rasa* is indeed sentimental: therefore in this book here
who could not have faith if he is one who truly enjoys good literature?

[111] The idea of literary work as bodies of water is well-attested in Sanskrit literature (one could think, for instance, of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* or of the *Śivalīlārṇava*). Later poets have played ingeniously with the image: Kavirāja (twelfth century) has compared the composition of his *śleṣa* poem *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* to the merging of the Ganges into the ocean; Sūryadāsa Sūri (sixteenth century.) raised the bar with his palindrome poem *Rāmakṛṣṇavilomakāvya*: he outdid Gautama's miracle of diverting the Godāvarī's course by making the river flow backwards (that is, composing a poem that can be read also backwards). See a discussion in Bronner (2010, 122–154, and in particular 126–127).

[112] A detailed list of these catalogues, that served as real histories of literature in a nutshell, can be found in Pollock 1995, especially 447–448.

[113] With the exception of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*.

[114] Despite the compound could simply mean 'Śiva's humble devotee,' I tend to believe that such a recapitulatory stanza should contain either the poet's proper name, or at least a well-known 'sobriquet' (see Raghavan 1951), serving as an *aṅka* ('seal') to the poem. In this, I follow Sternbach (1978, 130) and the editors of the Kāvyamālā edition (61, fn. 1), who take Śivabhaktadāsa as an alias of the poet. For a partial discussion of *nāmāṅka*s, see Battistini 2016, 35–36.

The neat expressions and elegant syntax clearly make it the work of a valid poet. Within the Introduction of the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* this stanza perfectly serves the purpose of an *upasaṃhāraśloka* ('recapitulatory stanza'). Moreover, it crowns the canto with what Bhoja calls *kavibhāvāṅkitasamāptitva* ('concluding with the seal of the poet's status'), be it a signature with the poet's name, his patronymic, or the reference to a family deity. Was this verse not available to Maṅgapa? Was it not available simply to the scribe of our manuscript? Unfortunately, relying only on this copy, we cannot answer this. Or, and this is the most exciting hypothesis, did this verse enter the transmission of the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya* later on? Perhaps some skilled scribe, feeling the canto was missing something, forged a totally plausible 'seal' by Utprekṣāvallabha?[115] This would create great problems for the legitimacy of the name Śivabhaktadāsa, and would require a thorough study of the manuscripts on which the printed editions are based, a study not as yet undertaken. As we see, the Mendicant's wanderings are far from being concluded.

[115] The only such instance I am aware of is the fake *cakrabandha* composed by Vidyāmādhava and supplied to Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* 'not to transgress conventions' (*rītibhaṅgo na syāt*). See Isaacson 1999.

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Abbreviations

EFEO	=	École française d'Extrême-Orient
CII	=	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum CII vol. III = see Bhandarkar 1981 CII vol. V = see Mirashi 1963
CDIAL	=	Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages, see Turner 1962–1966
EI	=	Epigraphia Indica
IFP	=	Institut français de Pondichéry
GOML	=	Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Chennai
MS[S]	=	manuscript[s]
NAK	=	National Archives, Kathmandu
NGMPP	=	The Nepalese-German Manuscript Preservation Project
SI	=	Select Inscriptions, see Sircar 1942 and 1983
SP_S	=	*Skandapurāṇa* Adhyāya 167, S recension, see Bisschop 2006a
TAK	=	*Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*

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N^{K}_{11} NAK 5-738, NGMPP A 11/3. Palm-leaf
N^{K}_{A12} NAK 5-892, NGMPP A 12/3. Palm-leaf
N^{K}_{28} NAK 6-7, NGMPP A 1028/4. Palm-leaf
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N^{Ko}_{52} Asiatic Society Kolkata MS G 3852, cat. no. 4085. Palm-leaf
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Sātvatasaṃhitā: see Anantha Chariar 1902
Sāhityadarpaṇa: see Roer and Ballantyne 1851
Śivadharma (corpus): see Naraharinath 1998
Śivadharmaśāstra: see manuscript sources and also Jugnū, Bhaṃvar 2014
Śivadharmaśāstra (*Śāntyadhyāya*): see Bisschop 2018b
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Śaivapraibhāṣā by Śivāgrayogin: see Balasubrahmanian, Raghavan, Suryanarayana Shastri 1982
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IL TORCOLIERE • Officine Grafico-Editoriali d'Ateneo
Università di Napoli L'Orientale
prodotto nel mese di dicembre 2021

978-88-6719-228-1