



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

Dominic Goodall

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Śivadharmāmṛta
Essays on the Śivadharma and its Network

UNIVERSITÀ DI NAPOLI L'ORIENTALE
DIPARTIMENTO ASIA, AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO

THE ŠIVADHARMA PROJECT

Studies on the History of Śaivism
II

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Florinda De Simini & Csaba Kiss (eds)


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On mantrasamhitā, 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 *sūtras* 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 Lakuliśa 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 *puraścarana*), 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*:

parameśvarapūjāṁ ca kuryān mantrī samāhitah |

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 *upabhedas* 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 *upabhedas* 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): *om̄ namah 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 (*Śivadharma-mottara* 1.28–29) in which the five syllables *na*, *mah*, *śi*, *vā*, and *ya* are said to be seed-syllable forms (*bija*) of the five *brahmamantras*. There is nothing distinctively tantric about the use of the five *brahmamantras*, since, as is well known, they are central to Atimārga practice too, as we know from the *Pāśupatasūtras*.⁴ But since seed-syllable forms of the *brahmamantras*, and indeed seed-syllable mantras generally (with the notable exception of the *prañava*), 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 *Śivadharma-mottara* to be earlier than the earliest works of the Mantramārga to include seed-syllable *brahmamantras*, but this seems unlikely.⁵ For the earliest known mention of seed-syllable forms of the *brahmamantras* may be that in the *Mūlasūtra* (6.16), which we think is the earliest surviving layer of the *Niśvāsatattvasamhitā* 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 *Śivadharma-mottara* are not likely to surprise anyone. Indeed, as Nirajan Kafle (2020) has demonstrated at length, the *Niśvāsamukhatattvasamhitā*, 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 *brahmamantras*, see Bisschop 2018c. For more on uses of the *brahmamantras* 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 *Śivadharma-mottara*, see the introduction to Bisschop 2018b.

satattvasamhitā, has evidently been drawn on extensively in order to compose the *Śivadharmaśāṅgraha*, 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 *Śivadharmaśāṅgraha*).⁶ Thus, unsurprisingly, we find an allusion to *bijamantras* in *Śivadharmaśāṅgraha* 6.22, and to *mantrasādhana* in conjunction with *linga*-worship in 6.27–28. And in the *Śivopaniṣad* we find a reference to the *śivamantra* (7.63), to *mūrtimantras* (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 *Śivadharmaśāṅgraha*, yogic practice is combined with what seem to me to be distinctively tantric mantras such as the 'Death-conqueror,' *mṛtyuñjaya* (presumably *om jum sah*, which we know, perhaps most famously, from the *Netratantra*, but which already makes two appearances in the *Kiraṇata-ntra*, in chapter thirty-four and in 45.20, where it protects from disease and is used for the purification of food), a *daśāksara* (perhaps the Daśāksaradeva taught in chapter sixteen of the *Guhyaśūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasamhitā*), 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 *Śivadharmaśāṅgraha* is usually placed third in manuscript bundles is not necessarily evidence that the *Śivadharmaśāṅgraha* 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 *mantras* are also rare, scarcely 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 *daśāksara*, and she observes that the *ekāśītipada* is alluded to 'without the term *vyomavyāpī* 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 *Guhyaśūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasamhitā*, 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 *Śivadharmaśāṅgraha* 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 *Vāmadeviya-Kriyāśari-graha*, 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 śivaikādaśikāṁ japet |
sarubo nīrujo mantri sadyojātatasāṇi 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 *Śivadharma-tara* 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:

*sandhyākālaparibhramse śivaikādaśikām japeṭ |
sandhyātrayaparibhraṣṭah 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 *sandhyās*, 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 *Śivadharma-tara* 11.61cd, while the first half is quoted elsewhere with attribution to the *Mrgendratantra* (e.g. in the same Trilocanaśiva’s *Somaśambhupaddhatitikā*, GOML MS M. 14735, p. 101; and in the *Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati*, T. 55, p. 133), and we find it incorporated in Aghorāśiva’s *Mrgendrapaddhati* (T. 1021, p. 25). It cannot be found today, however, either in Bhatt’s edition of the *Mrgendra*, or in chapter twenty-six of Hṛdayāśiva’s *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*, which corresponds to CP 107–123 of the *Mrgendratantra*. But the expression *śivaikādaśikā* does occur in the *Mrgendra* in the context of expiation in another verse (CP 119cd–120ab):

*mahāpātakasamnyoge śivaikādaśikāyutam ||
japeṭ daśaguṇam̄ prāṇasamnyamī 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 Nārāyaṇakanṭha glosses *śivaikadaśikā* with *saṃhitā* here, and that expression, used here as a

⁸ Brunner-Lachaux (1985, 406), following Nārāyaṇakanṭha’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, Nārāyaṇakanṭha offers no gloss of *sambitayā* (e.g. *ad kriyāpāda* 2.28, 6.23, 7.41), but he glosses it with *samhitāmantraiḥ ad kriyāpāda* 7.16ab and with *śivaikādaśin্যā ad kriyāpāda* 7.43, and he glosses the expression *samhitāvigrāhe in kriyāpāda* 8.154b with *śivaikādaśikasamhitārupe*. We may note also that *samhitāṇubhiḥ* in *caryāpāda* 6 has been glossed with *śivai-kadaśikayā samhitayā*.

In other words, Nārāyaṇakanṭha appears to use the expressions *samhitā*, *samhitāmantraiḥ*, *śivaikādaśinī*, and *śivaikādaśikasamhitā* as synonyms. To this list we may add the expression *mantrasamhitā*, which is used *ad kriyāpāda* 8.63 in the context of *ālabhana* (exactly as *samhitāmantraiḥ* is used *ad KP* 2.9 and 7.16ab). We may also add *śivasamhitā*, 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 *brahmamantras* and the six *aṅgamantras* (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 saṃhitāmantritenā ca |
nivṛtyādivisuddhena bhasmanā snānam ācāret ||

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 *kalās* 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 *Somaśambhupaddhatiṭikā*):

saṃhitāśabdās tu dviśatikālottaradrīṣā mūlādyastrāntamantraśatkavā-
cakah. sārdhatriśatikādīdrīṣā tu mūlabrahmāṅgavācakah. asyās tu pa-
ddhateḥ dviśatimūlatvāt taduktaiva saṃhitā grābyā.

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] *brahmamantras* and the [five] *aṅgamantras* [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 śīmatkāmike sabrahmāṅgaś śīvaś sāstre samhitety 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 Trilocanaśīva for interpreting *Dviśatikālottara*-based manuals (in other words all surviving Saiddhāntika manuals except the *Mrgendrapaddhati* of Aghoraśīva) consists of only six elements, which means that the expressions *śīvaikādaśīkā*, *śīvaikādaśīnī* and *aikādaśīkā* cannot be synonymous with *sambitā*. Once she had taken cognisance of this passage, Brunner revised her view of Somaśambhu's usage (1977, 71–73, *Somaśambupaddhati* 3), concluding that the older vision was probably of a unit formed by the root-mantra (*śīva*) and Śiva's five primary *aṅgamātrās*.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):

*prathamam hrdayam vidyād dvitiyam tu śirah smṛtam |
trtiyā tu śikhādevī caturtham kavacam bhavet ||
pañcamaṁ tu śivam vidyāt saṣṭham astraṁ visargajam |
saṭanigam etat kathitanam 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 *aṅgas*, which, from the point of view of later usage, is unusual.

As for Nārāyanakantha's understanding of the referent of the various expressions used in the *Mrgendratantra* 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 Aghoraśīva'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 *brahmamantras* and five *aṅgamantras*. This is nowhere very clearly enunciated, as far as I can see, by Nārāyaṇakanṭha, but there is one telling indication, rather late in the text: the expression *śivādibhiḥ* in *kriyāpāda* 8.213 is glossed by Nārāyaṇakanṭha with *saṃhitāmantratḥ*, which shows that his *saṃhitā* was not the five *brahmamantras* and the six *aṅgamantras* including *netra*.

Concerning the two eleven-mantra options (five *brahmamantras* + six *aṅgamantras*, or five *brahmamantras* + five *aṅgamantras* + *mūlamantra*), Brunner presents a muddled picture. In *Somaśambhupaddhati* 1 (1963, xxxii) and *Somaśambhupaddhati* 3 (1977, 71–73) she speaks exclusively of the first option (five *brahmamantras* + six *aṅgamantras*) 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 *Mrgendratantra*, however, she mentions (1985, 38, fn. 12) only the second option (five *brahmamantras* + five *aṅgamantras* + *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 *brahmamantras* and the six *aṅgamantras* including *netra*. But we do find something that might seem close to such an interpretation elsewhere.

The anonymous commentary on the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Śivadharmottara* 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 (*sandhyātrayaparibhraṣṭah śivaikādaśikātrayam*) (fols 175v–176r):

śivaikādaśikātrayam śivamantrasyaikādaśikā¹¹ vaikādaśikā tasyāś trayam śivaikādaśikātrayam; ekādaśānām vā¹² samābhārah ekādaśikā. śivamantrah khalu pañcabrahmarūpēna hrdayādiṣaḍamgātmanā (f. 176r) caikādaśadhbhā bhavati. tādrīyāś śivekādaśikājāś trayam sandhyātrayaparibhraṣṭo japtvā śuddhim avāpnōti

[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 *śivaikādaśikātrayam śivamantrasyaikādaśikā*] emend; *śivekādaśikātrayam śivamantrasyekādaśikā* MS.

¹² *ekādaśānām vā*] conj.; *ekādaśānām* 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 (*kbalu*), becomes elevenfold as the five *brahmamantras* and as the six *aṅgas* beginning with the heart. One who fails to perform three observances of the *sandhyā*-rite obtains purity upon reciting three instances of such a *śvaikādaśikā*.

Now we could understand this to mean that, for the anonymous commentator on the *Śivadharīmottara*, *śvaikādaśikātraya* 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 *brahmamantras* and the six *aṅgamantras*. 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 *brahmamantras* and *aṅgamantras* 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 *Śivadharīmottara*, 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 *Kirana* and the like, but rather to the formula *namah śivāya*, prefixed by *om*. Furthermore, we also learn from that first chapter that the five syllables of that formula yield seed-syllable forms of the *brahmamantras*. As for the *aṅgamantras*, they can be thought of as inalienable properties that inhere in Śiva, namely *cicchakti* (*hrdaya*), *aiśvaryā* (*sīras*), *vasītva* (*sīkhā*), *tejāḥ* (*kavaca*) *pratāpa* (*astrā*), 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 *śvaikādaśikā* refers to Śiva expressed as the five *brahmamantras* and the six *aṅgamantras*, but rather saying that it is eleven repetitions of the *śivamantra*, which in any case contains the five seed-syllable *brahmamantras na maḥ si vā ya*, and which in any case, since it is the mantric essence of Śiva, contains his inalienable properties that are his *aṅgamantras*.

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 *samhitā* (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 *Śivadharīmottara*, which after all does not allude to *aṅgamantras*.

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

schop and Griffiths 2007), whose date is uncertain. Furthermore Kālidāsa may already refer to Śiva's *brahmaṇtras* and *aṅgamaṇtras* 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 *samhitāmantra* of eleven constituents, not only because it does not teach any *aṅgamaṇtras*, but also because the earliest uses of *samhitā* (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 *om̄ namah̄ 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 *mantrasamhitā*, *samhitāmantrāḥ*, *śivasamhitā* and *samhitā*. Such expressions — all containing the word *samhitā* — 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 *mantrasamhitā* 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 *brahmamantras* and *aṅgamaṇtras*.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 *aṅgas*' 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.

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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	=	<i>Skandapurāṇa</i> Adhyāya 167, S recension, see Bisschop 2006a
TAK	=	<i>Tantrikābhidhānakosā</i>

Manuscripts and their sigla

Śivadharma corpus

N ^C ₀₂	Cambridge University Library MS Add. 2102. Palm-leaf, available online: https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01694-00001/1
N ^C ₄₅	Cambridge University Library MS Add. 1645. Palm-leaf, available online: https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01645/1
N ^C ₉₄	Cambridge University Library MS Add. 1694. Palm-leaf, available online: https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02102/1
N ^K ₀₇	NAK 1–1075, NGMPP B 7/3. Palm-leaf

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- N₁₁^K NAK 5-738, NGMPP A 11/3. Palm-leaf
N_{A12}^K NAK 5-892, NGMPP A 12/3. Palm-leaf
N₂₈^K NAK 6-7, NGMPP A 1028/4. Palm-leaf
N₈₂^K NAK 3-393, NGMPP A 1082/3. Palm-leaf
N₅₂^{Ko} Asiatic Society Kolkata MS G 3852, cat. no. 4085. Palm-leaf
N₅₆^{Ko} Asiatic Society Kolkata MS G 4076, cat. no. 4083. Palm-leaf
N₇₇^{Ko} Asiatic Society, Kolkata G 4077/1. Palm-leaf, dated to [Nepāla] Saṃvat 156 (1035/36 CE)
N₅^O Bodleian Library, Oxford, Sansk a 15. Palm-leaf
N₃₇^P Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS. Skt. 57-B 23
IFP T. 32 & 514 Paper transcripts in Devanāgarī

Haracaritacintāmaṇi

- B Manuscript No. 757, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des manuscrits orientaux, Paris. Kashmirian Devanāgarī on paper.
D Manuscript No. 599, Oriental Research Library, Śrinagar. Kashmirian Devanāgarī on paper.
L Manuscript No. 7042, Library of the India Office, London. Śāradā on paper.
S Manuscript No. 1510, Oriental Research Library, Śrinagar. Śāradā on paper.

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