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Rules of Conduct for the Śaivas. The Intersection of Dharmaśāstra and Śaiva Devotion in the Śivadharmottara

Florinda de Simini

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Essays in Honour of Raffaele Torella

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Essays in Honour of Raffaele Torella

Edited by
Francesco Sferra and Vincenzo Vergiani



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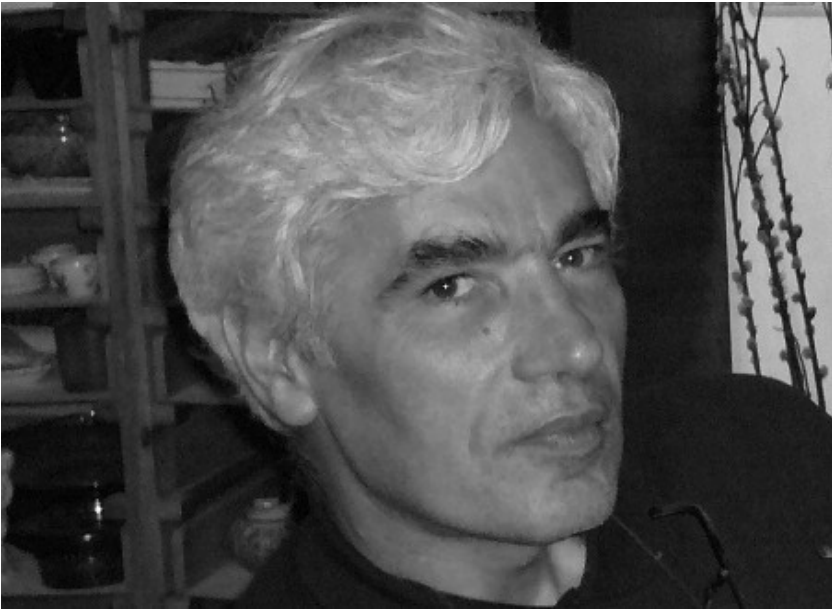
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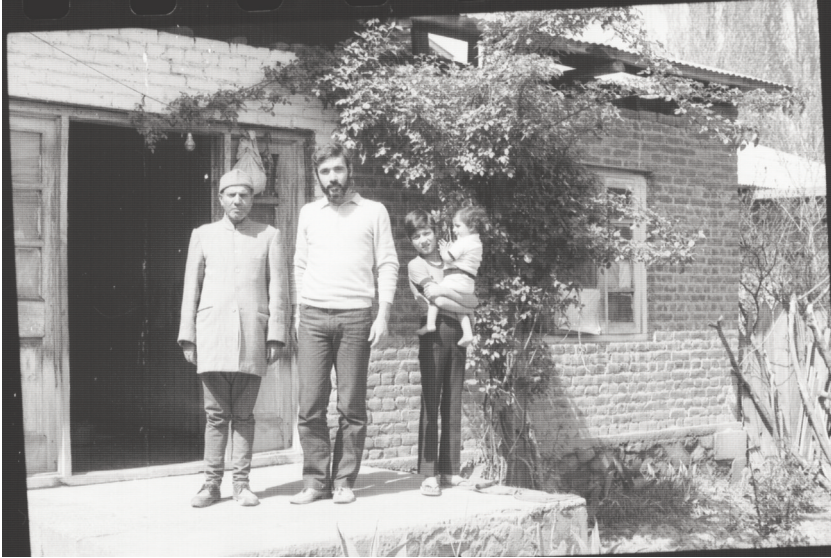
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Dīnanāth Yach and Raffaele Torella in Śrīnagar in the mid-1980s



Raffaele Torella in the countryside near Bracciano with students

*Rules of Conduct for the Śaivas.
The Intersection of Dharmasāstra and Śaiva
Devotion in the Śivadharmottara*¹

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(Università di Napoli “L’Orientale”)

The study that I present in the following pages is based on my close readings of some portions of the *Śivadharmottara*, an early

¹ This article is part of my work for the ERC project No. 803624, ‘Translocal Identities. The Śivadharma and the Making of Regional Religious Traditions in Premodern South Asia’ (SHIVADHARMA). Having the privilege of also working in synergy with the ERC project No. 809994, ‘The Domestication of Hindu Asceticism and the Religious Making of South and South-East Asia’ (DHARMA), I am happy to acknowledge the inspiration my research drew from it. Besides recognising the contribution of the European Research Council, which has also partly financed the printing and distribution of this volume, I want to express my gratitude to all the members and collaborators of the Śivadharma Project, in particular those who have regularly contributed in the past year to our weekly reading sessions of my edition of chapter 4 of the *Śivadharmottara*: Kengo Harimoto, Nirajan Kafle, Csaba Kiss, Kenji Takahashi and Judit Törzsök. I also thank Dominic Goodall for his comments on my edition of chapter 1 of the *Śivadharmottara*, and Csaba Kiss for having read this article and shared his comments on it.

A very special thank is also due to Raffaele Torella, who has supported me from the very beginning and has strongly believed in our project. We all owe him more than we could ever give back.

Parts of this paper have been presented and discussed at various workshops in the winter and spring of 2022: the South Asia Seminar at the University of Chicago (24 February 2022), the mid-term workshop of the ERC project DHARMA

Śaiva text whose composition we tentatively place around the 6th–7th century, and of which several crucial aspects still need to be properly clarified. Among these, the one I will address here is its relationship with early Dharmasāstra literature, which both in my research and in other studies to which I will refer below is emerging as an important source of doctrines, textual borrowings, and general inspiration for the authors of the *Śivadharmottara* and the *Śivadharmaśāstra*. The focus will thus be on the Dharmasāstra as a source for the composition of parts of the *Śivadharmottara*, but given the high level of intricacy of South Asian textual traditions, some topics will require an incursion into Vaiṣṇava devotional literature and early Śaiva Tantrism. Among the many subjects dealt with in the *Śivadharmottara*, we will mainly focus on the prescriptions centered on the *śivayogins*, the most important religious figure in the text, which selects them as the main recipients of a wide array of donations and makes them the culmination of an ideal depiction of society. Besides the importance assigned to the *śivayogins*, their portrayal as ideal recipients also has evident historical implications, as it addresses the issue of the material support given to religious communities and institutions. Therefore, the study of this topic has to be regarded as a further contribution towards the historical reconstruction of the context in which the authors of our texts acted, and the reasons for their composition.

Concerning my approach to textual sources, all the stanzas I quote from the *Śivadharmottara* or from other parts of the Śivadharma corpus are based on the editions that are currently being prepared in the frame of the Śivadharma Project, as specified in the footnotes and the bibliography. Since all these editions are works in progress and subject to change, I have omitted the critical apparatus, but I discuss some relevant variant readings in the footnotes. I made my best to base the following considerations on portions of the texts whose reconstruction can be considered very close to certain. Moreover, my readings from the *Śivadharmottara* and the *Śivadharmaśāstra* are accompanied, whenever relevant, by

‘Institutionalised Religion and Asceticism in South and Southeast Asia in the Pre-Modern Period’ at the Humboldt University in Berlin (1–4 March 2022), and the workshop ‘Studies on Dharma in the Himalayan Region’ at L’Orientale University of Naples (27–29 April 2022).

the remarks of an anonymous commentator, whose work is preserved in a manuscript in Malayalam script whose transcription and study is also still in progress. Since I wanted to focus on the sources used by the *Śivadharmottara*, this time I avoided too many considerations on how the passages I examine have been transformed in the rich reception of the text, except for some references to the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*. Therefore, many aspects related to the topic of the present article remain to be studied, and for this reason the reader should not expect any conclusive statements on the subjects that it promises to enlighten, but rather a sequence of connections, ideas, and many questions.

1. *The domestication of Śaiva asceticism in the Śivadharmottara*

The *Śivadharmottara* devotes its fourth chapter, to which the manuscript tradition attaches the title *Satpātrādhyāya*, to the definition of suitable recipients in a ritual donation, and the rejection of unsuitable ones (*apātra*). As a matter of fact, despite permitting access to ritual gifting to a variety of recipients, the *Satpātrādhyāya* constantly remarks the superiority of the *śivayogins*, who are praised not just as recipients of gifts but also as objects of worship on a par with Śiva. There are two main contexts in which the *Satpātrādhyāya* extols their function as recipients: the *śrāddha* offerings, namely the monthly Smārta ritual consisting in offerings of food to the ancestors, and the guest reception. Therefore, this chapter mainly positions the *śivayogins* as the recipients of donations of food—and part of the *Satpātrādhyāya* is occupied by a list of permitted food items—along with all the acts of care prescribed for the guest-reception. The contents of the chapter are structured as follows:

- 4.1–21: Identification of the *śivayogin* as the perfect recipient and praise of those who donate to them, who are cleansed of all their sins;
- 4.22–36: List of food items for *śrāddha* offerings;
- 4.37–42: Praise of feeding the *śivayogins* during a *śrāddha* rite as a way to increase one's own merits and those of the ancestors;
- 4.43–47: Guest reception for *śivayogins*;
- 4.48–55: Injunctions against defaming the *śivayogins*;
- 4.56–63: Injunctions against donating to an unfit recipient;
- 4.64–67: *Yogins* must not become attached to receiving gifts;

- 4.68–79: The only person really benefiting from a donation is the donor, who will increase his spiritual merits; he should therefore not select the recipients on the basis of superficial features, but donate to all the suitable ones;
- 4.80–82: One should donate according to their capabilities, or even just take care of the *yogins* if they have no food to offer;
- 4.83–88: The donor should have a respectful attitude and avoid feelings of rage;
- 4.89–92: List of *Tirthas* and sacred places that increase the positive results of donations;
- 4.93–94: Periods of the year when donations are more auspicious;
- 4.95–99: The nature of *śrāddhā* and its praise.

These topics, as well as some textual borrowings and similarities, suggest that one of the sources of inspiration for the composition of this chapter was possibly the *Manusmṛti*, in particular parts of its chapter 3, dealing with the duties of the householder. After treating the topic of marriage (3.1–66), the *Manusmṛti* devotes the largest part of the chapter to food offerings, both in the frame of the five ‘great sacrifices’ of the householder (3.67–121), and in the context of *śrāddha* rites (3.122–286). Guest reception (3.94–121), the identification of suitable and unsuitable invitees to the ritual offerings (3.127–186), as well as the correct food and time (3.266–284) for such offerings are other topics to which the text pays considerable attention. Significantly, the *Śivadharmottara* does not describe the procedures of these rituals, as the *Manusmṛti* does, but only prescribes their performance, meaning that other sources were used as authorities on the procedural details. The sole issue that concerns the author of the Śaiva text here is the re-interpretation of some defining aspects of the Dharmaśāstra gifting procedures—the identity of the recipient, the places increasing the merits of donation, the centrality of *śrāddhā*—through the medium of Śaiva devotion.

The possibility of establishing a link between the two works, here and elsewhere, is not only revealing of the strategies of textual composition, or the impact of Dharmaśāstra on the formation of theoretical models of society in early medieval religious communities, but it can also significantly help to understand the agenda of the composers of the *Śivadharmottara*, especially when it comes to a topic such as the identification of the *pātra*. As recent studies have highlighted, the Dharmaśāstra ‘theory of the gift’ has

mainly been a ‘theory of the recipient,’ since the vast majority of the instructions are given from the point of view of the donees, and very little is dictated concerning the donor.² Starting from early times and throughout all the medieval history of literature on the topic of *dāna*, such recipient has been unanimously identified with a male Brahmin conversant with the Veda,³ reflecting the hierarchical view on society that this literature promotes—a hierarchy which saw the authors of the Dharmaśāstra on top as the receivers of material support. Therefore, when the authors of the *Śivadharmottara* construct their own theory of the recipient with reference to topics and doctrines that are typical of the Dharmaśāstra, and in such a context support the superiority as a recipient of the *śivayogin* who masters the *śivajñāna*, they are *de facto* operating a direct replacement of the Brahmin who knows the Veda. In this way, they promote an alternative view of society in which the *śivayogin* occupies the same prominent position as the Brahmin in the classical Dharmaśāstra conceptualisation, and in which the *śivajñāna* is considered on a par with the Veda, though not replacing it.⁴ This intellectual operation can be read in light of an attempt to frame Śivadharmā teachings in the context of Vedic orthodoxy, but, considering the importance that material support can have in the survival of a given community, it also suggests a competitive attitude, which was not alien to Vedic orthodoxy either.⁵

The association with salvific knowledge in an eschatological perspective is the main qualification of the Śaiva recipient, to the point that his redemptive powers are inscribed in an artificial etymology of the word *pātra*:

² For the role of the *pātra* in the treatises on gift in the Dharmaśāstra tradition, see Brick 2015: 41 ff.

³ Among the countless examples that could be cited at this point, see *Manusmṛti* 7.85: *samam abrahmaṇe dānaṃ dviguṇaṃ brāhmaṇabruve | prādhīte śata-sāhasraṃ anantaṃ vedapāraṅge ||*; ‘A gift to a non-Brahmin brings an equal reward; to a Brahmin by name, a double reward; to one who is advanced in Vedic study, a thousandfold reward; and to a man who has completely mastered the Veda, an infinite reward’ (tr. Olivelle 2005).

⁴ Note that in ch. 1 the *Śivadharmottara* clearly suggests that the Veda and the *śivāgama* are to be regarded as being on the same level (De Simini 2021: 35 ff).

⁵ For instance, Brick (2015: 45) points out that the Dharmaśāstra expressly warns against donating to heretics.

*jñānoḍupena yaḥ puṃsām trātā saṃsārasāgarāt |
ajñānām pālanāt trāṇāt tat pātraṃ paramam smṛtam || 4.8 ||*

It is traditionally taught that the one who saves ignorant people from the ocean of transmigration with the raft of knowledge, because of protecting (*pā-*), [i.e.] saving (*trai*),⁶ is the supreme recipient.

Further on, the *Śivadharmottara* makes our interpretive work easier by expressly contrasting its ideal recipient with the ‘twice-borns who know the Vedas,’ and hyperbolically stressing this contrast with a shift in number, from a ‘multitude’ of twice-borns to a single *śivayogin*:

*dviḥjānām vedaviduṣām koṭim sambhojya yat phalam |
bhikṣāmātrapradānena tat phalaṃ śivayogine || 4.10 ||*

The fruit that [one obtains] feeding a multitude of twice-borns who know the Vedas, this fruit [is obtained] by merely giving alms to one *śivayogin*.

A similar type of contrastive comparison was used by Manu to identify the best recipient of *śrāddha* rites and guest-reception as the Brahmins who are expert of the Veda, juxtaposed with those who do not have the same mastery (*Manusmṛti* 3.130–131):

*dūrād eva parikṣeta brāhmaṇam vedaparagam |
tīrtham tad dhavyakavyānām pradāne so 'tithih smṛtaḥ || 3.130 ||
sahasraṃ hi sahasrāṇām anycām yatra bhujate |
ekas tām mantravit pṛitah sarvān arhati dharmataḥ || 3.131 ||*

He should search far and wide for a Brahmin who has mastered the Veda: such a man is the proper recipient of divine and ancestral offerings, and tradition calls him ‘a guest.’ (130) For when one man who knows the Veda is gratified here, in terms of the Law he is worth all the men ignorant of the Veda who may eat there, be they in their millions. (131) (Tr. Olivelle 2005)

⁶ This etymology is based on *Dhātupāṭha* 1, 1014 (*traiṅ pālāne*). I thank Vincenzo Vergiani for making me aware of it.

Conversely, the *Śivadharmottara* identifies the unfit recipient simply with the person who does not possess the *śivayogins'* knowledge, and donation to him is compared to pouring water into an unbaked clay vessel, sowing a seed in infertile ground, offering oblations into ashes—all images that the *Manusmṛti* too uses to describe the gift to a non-Brahmin.⁷

The *śivayogins'* superiority as a recipient of donations is justified on account of his identification with Śiva. The *Śivadharmottara* bases such identification on his being a *yogin* who is constantly engaged in meditation on Śiva, and has in fact attained union with Śiva as a result of his yoga:

jñānīne sāntacittāya śivadhyānaratāya ca |
śraddhayānnaṃ sakṛd dattvā sarvāpāpāih pramucyate || 4.13 ||
ekaṃ munivaraṃ sāntam īśvarārṣitamānasam |
bhōjayitvā sakṛd bhaktyā sarvakāmān avāpnuyāt || 4.14 ||
dhyāyamānaḥ śivaṃ yogī bhūṅkte 'nnaṃ satataṃ yataḥ |
tataḥ sākṣāc chivenaiva tad bhuktam aśanaṃ bhavet || 4.15 ||

Having donated food even only once, with faith, to one who has cultivated knowledge, whose mind is pacified and who delights in the meditation on Śiva, he is liberated from all sins. (13) Having fed even only once, with devotion, a single, excellent *muni*, whose senses are pacified, whose mind is fixed in the Lord, one will fulfil all desires. (14) Since the *yogin* eats food while he is constantly meditating upon Śiva, this food will be eaten by Śiva himself. (15)

This is restated in other parts of the text, where the worship of a *śivayogin* is said to be the equivalent of worshipping Śiva because

⁷ *Śivadharmottara* 4.58–61: *āmapātre raso yadvan naśyate tac ca bhājanam |*
dānam ajñe tathā nyastaṃ saha pātreṇa naśyate || 4.58 || sadbījam ūṣare yadvad vāpi-
taṃ niṣphalaṃ bhavet | dānaṃ tadvad apātreṣu vinyastaṃ niṣphalaṃ bhavet || 4.59 ||
bhasmanīva hutam havyaṃ yathā hotuḥ suniṣphalam | jñānāgnirahite vipre tathā
dānam nirarthakam || 4.60 || yathā ṣaṇḍho 'phalaḥ strīṣu yathā gaur gavi cāphalā |
brāhmaṇasya tathā janma jñānahīnasya niṣphalam || 4.61 ||; 'Just like juice is lost in
 an unbaked clay vessel, as well as the vessel itself, in the same way a gift offered
 to an ignorant disappears with its receptacle. (58) Just like a good seed will be
 fruitless if it is sowed in a saline soil, in the same way a gift offered to unfit reci-
 pients will be fruitless. (59) Just like an oblation offered into something like ash
 is entirely fruitless for the sacrificer, so the donation to a Brahmin devoid of the
 fire of knowledge is without any benefits. (60) Just like a eunuch is fruitless for
 women, and a cow is fruitless for another cow, so the life of a Brahmin who is
 devoid of knowledge is fruitless (61).'

the latter is materially present in the body of a *yogin*;⁸ once, the text compares the worship of a *śivayogin* to that of all the gods and ancestors.⁹

However, following a line of thought that is already found in the Dharmasāstra, the *Śivadharmottara* singles out the perfect recipient of donations also for his moral virtues, which find an expression in his detachment from the gifts he accepts and his extreme altruistic behaviour, which motivates him to accept gifts only in order to benefit the donor.¹⁰

The stress on the *śivayogin*'s detachment from material possessions is all the more striking if one considers that the *Śivadharmo-*

The *Manusmṛti* uses the comparison with an unbaked recipient in order to refer to a Brahmin who is greedy for gifts even from polluted donors (3.179): *vedavic cāpi vipro 'sya lobhāt kṛtvā pratigraham | vināśaṃ vrajati kṣipram āmapātram ivāmbhasi ||*. The idea of pouring an oblation into ashes instead of fire as a metaphor for a useless offering is found several times in chapter 3 of the *Manusmṛti* to describe oblations to ignorant men (3.97: *naśyanti havyakavyāni narāṇāṃ avijānatām | bhasmabhūteṣu vipreṣu mohād dattāni dātybhiḥ*), again to a Brahmin who does not recite the Veda (3.168: *brāhmaṇo hy anadhīyānas tyāgnir iva sāmyati | tasmāi havyaṃ na dātavyaṃ na hi bhasmani hūyate*), and to a twice-born man who is the son of a remarried woman (3.181cd: *bhasmanīva hutam dravyam tathā paunarbhave dvije*).

Śivadharmottara 4.59 is reminiscent of *Manusmṛti* 3.142: *yatheriṇe bijam uṅtvā na vaptā labhate phalam | tathānyce havir dattvā na dātā labhate phalam ||*. In his commentary on this verse (which is 3.132 in Medhātithi's recension), Medhātithi glosses *iriṇam* with *ūśaram*. *Śivadharmottara* 4.61 can be compared to *Manusmṛti* 2.158: *yathā saṅgho 'phalaḥ strīṣu yathā gaur gavi cāphalā | yathā cājñe 'phalam dānam tathā vipro 'nyo 'phalaḥ ||*.

Note that the connection of these images with the Dharmasāstra worldview is such that the *Śivadharmottara* uses the words *vipra* in 4.60 and *brāhmaṇa* in st. 4.61.

⁸ See, for instance, *Śivadharmottara* 4.47: *śivayogīśarīre tu nityaṃ sannihītaḥ śivah | yogīndram pūjayet tasmāt sāksāt sampūjitaḥ śivah ||*.

⁹ *Śivadharmottara* 4.39: *yugapat pūjitās tena brahmaniṣṭha mahēśvarāḥ | pītarāḥ sarvadevāś ca yo 'rcayet śivayoginam ||*.

¹⁰ See *Śivadharmottara* 4.66: *na hi svārtham samuddiśya pratigṛhṇanti sādhaveḥ | datur evopakārya yasmād gṛhṇanti niḥspṛhāḥ ||*; 'The virtuous do not accept gifts for their own sake, since they accept gifts without craving for them, only to the advantage of the donor.' On the altruistic scope of gift acceptance, see *Śivadharmottara* 4.72–73: *ihāmutra phalenāpi dātāram anuyojayan | āyāty arthī gṛham dātuh kas taṃ na pratipūjayet || nārthinaḥ syuh katham pūjyā yācamānā dine dine | ye balād apy anicchantaṃ yojayanti naram śrīyā ||*; '[It is] in order to bind the donor with good results in this existence and the next that the supplicant goes to the house of the donor. Who would not worship him? (72) How could one not worship supplicants who, begging for alms every day, forcefully procure fortune even to an unwilling man? (73)'

ttara regards the *śivayogin*, qualified as absorbed in the practice of *śivajñāna* or immersed in meditation on Śiva, not just as the recipient of ritual food offerings and *bhikṣā*, but also as the main donee of all the gifts included under the umbrella category of *vidyādāna*, which range from the gift of manuscripts to the administration of big, multi-functional *āśramas*, to which these figures are attached.¹¹ Also the twelfth and last chapter of the *Śivadharmasāstra*, a work that is otherwise mostly concerned with the construction and exaltation of the figure of the lay Śaiva devotee,¹² praises the *śivayogins* as the utmost recipients, and the text gives a list of everyday objects, including manuscripts and a resting place, one can donate to them.¹³ In this chapter, in which, coherently with the aims of the *Śivadharmasāstra*, the praise of *śivayogins* is balanced with that of feeding *śivabhaktas* during *śrāddha* rites, we find an expression that is very close to *Śivadharmottara* 4.10, again contrasting the feeding of a Śaiva ascetic (here qualified as a ‘*muni* who has subdued passions’) during *śrāddhas* with that of twice-borns who know the Vedas:

dvijānāṃ vedaviduṣāṃ koṭiṃ sambhojya yat phalam |
munaye vītarāgāya bhikṣādānena tat phalam || 12.59 ||

Thus, by focusing solely on the *śivayogin* as the best recipient of all, the *Śivadharmottara* expands on the prevalent lay emphasis of the *Śivadharmasāstra* while still reflecting a comparable worldview, including the effort of constantly balancing its reception and

Brick remarks how scholars who have worked on gifting procedures in South Asia have often claimed that reluctance to accept gifts is a prominent feature of South Asian theories of the gift. Manu and Yājñavalkya warn the recipients against becoming addicted to donations, and the latter even praises those who reject a gift despite being qualified to it (Brick 2015: 46).

¹¹ On this see De Simini 2016, in particular pp. 83–226.

¹² On the divinisation of lay Śaiva devotees in the *Śivadharmasāstra*, see Mirmig 2019.

¹³ On donations to the *śivayogins* in chapter 12 of the *Śivadharmasāstra*, and the connections that can be established with the *Śivadharmottara*, both for the type of donations addressed to them and the characterisation of their form of yoga, see De Simini 2016: 51 and 208 ff.

interpretation of Dharmasāstra with the principles and practices of Śaiva devotion.¹⁴

Further examples of this operation can be found in the initial and concluding stanzas of the *Satpātrādhyāya*, in which the text creates a theoretical frame for its teachings, where the identification of the *śivayogin* as the best recipient is firmly anchored on the principles of the Dharmasāstra theory of the gift:

athaikabhavikaṃ dānaṃ karmayogaratātmanām |
śatajanmabhavaṃ dānaṃ taponiṣṭhapraṭiṣṭhitam || 4.1 ||
jaṇayajñābhīyuktebhyaḥ sahasrabhavikaṃ smṛtam |
ābhūtasamplavasthāyi pradānaṃ śivayoginām || 4.2 ||
atyalpaṃ api yad dattaṃ śivajñānārthavedinām |
tan mahāpralayaṃ yāvad dātur bhogāya kalpyate || 4.3 ||
tad dānam alpam bahu vā kiṃcid asti vijānataḥ |
deśakālavidhīśraddhāpātrayuktaṃ tad akṣayam || 4.4 ||
pātre deśe ca kāle ca vidhinā śraddhayā ca yat |
dattaṃ hutaṃ kṛtaṃ ceṣṭam tad anantaphalaṃ bhavet || 4.5 ||
tīlārdhamātrakeṇāpi yat pramāṇena dīyate |
satpātre śraddhayā kiṃcit tad bhavet sārvaśāntikam || 4.6 ||

A gift for those whose souls delight in the practice of rituals [produces merits] that last for one lifetime; [the merits of] a gift imparted to those who are fixed in ascetic practices are enjoyed for one hundred rebirths. (1) [The result of a gift] to those who are devoted to the practice of mantra-recitation is taught to last for one thousand worldly existences; a gift to the *śivayogins* will keep [producing its fruits] until the dissolution of existence. (2) If something, albeit very small, is given to those who know the meaning of the *śivajñāna*, this will be of enjoyment for the donor until the great dissolution. (3) Whatever gift, be it small or big, is significant for the learned [*yogin*]; that [gift] that is performed according to the [correct prescriptions about] place, time, procedure, faith, and recipient is undecaying. (4) What is donated, offered into the fire, performed,¹⁵ and offered in a ritual when the recipient, place and time [are correct], according to the [correct]

¹⁴ Important instances of this dynamic can be found in the reinterpretation of the *āśrama* system expounded in chapter 11 of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, recently studied in Bisschop, Kafle and Lubin (2021).

¹⁵ Here the Sanskrit commentary suggests to interpret *kṛta* as referring to *tapas*.

procedure and with faith, will bear endless fruits. (5) Something that is donated to a correct recipient with faith, even if it has the size of half a sesame seed, will fulfil all desires. (6)

Verses 4.4–5 mention some of the elements that in Dharmasāstra literature are known as the ‘components’ (*aṅga*) of the gift. In the formulation of the *Devalasmṛti*, which has become a *locus classicus* in the medieval digests on *dāna*, these are six and correspond to ‘donor, receiver, trust, object to donate, place and time.’¹⁶ The *Śivadharmottara* also counts six, with *vidhi* instead of the donor, but later it expressly states that the components of the gift are four (see *infra*). Similar lists of gift components are also given in early Dharmasāstra literature, albeit not necessarily labelled as such. A relevant example is that of *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 1.6, but also Manu offers some parallels.¹⁷

Among these components, *śraddhā* strikes out as one of the most highlighted characteristics of donors in the Dharmasāstra treatises on gifting.¹⁸ The range of meanings of *śraddhā* in the Dharmasāstra usually centres on the donor’s attitude towards gifting, which he should perform with generosity and lack of envy (*anasūya* is the gloss of Vijñāneśvara on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 1.203)—hence Olivelle’s translation of *śraddhā* as ‘spirit of generosity.’¹⁹ Brick (2015: 54) has highlighted how commentators and authors of Dharmabandhas understand *śraddhā* also as ‘a believer’s attitude’: Hemādri aptly glosses it as *āstikyabuddhi*—a gloss also given

¹⁶ *Devalasmṛti*, as quoted in *Dānakāṇḍa* 1.11: *dātā pratigrahītā ca śraddhā deyaṃ ca dharmayuk | deśakālau ca dānānām aṅgāny etāni ṣaḍ viduḥ*.

¹⁷ *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 1.6: *deśe kāla upāyena dravyaṃ śraddhāsamanvitam | pātre pradīyate yat tat sakalaṃ dharmalakṣaṇam ||*. A nearly identical verse is quoted by Medhātīthi in his commentary on *Manusmṛti* 7.86: *deśakālavidhānena dravyaṃ śraddhāsamanvitam | pātre pradīyate yat tu tad dharmasya prasāadhanam*. Note that, content-wise, *Manusmṛti* 7.86 is close to *Śivadharmottara* 4.4: *pātrasya hi viśeṣeṇa śraddadhānatayaiva ca | alpam vā bahu vā pretya dānasyāvāpyate phalam ||*. Verse 7.85 of the *Manusmṛti* gives the above-quoted list of four recipients matched to the gradually increasing reward of the donations offered to them, culminating with the *vedapārāga*, which makes it vaguely comparable to *Śivadharmottara* 4.1. For a list of the ‘gift components’ in the *Manusmṛti*, one can also look at 3.275: *yad yad dadāti vidhivat samyak śraddhāsamanvitaḥ | tat tat pitṛṇām bhavati paratṛānantyam akṣayam ||*.

¹⁸ See Brick 2015: 49 ff.

¹⁹ See Olivelle 2005: 135–136.

by Vijñāneśvara in his commentary on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 1.6— where the noun *āstikya* marks the contrast with *nāstikya* and the *nāstikas*, the ‘deniers’ of the validity of the Veda, ‘nihilists,’ who are often condemned as major sinners in the *Manusmṛti* and other works (see § 2).

The *Śivadharmottara* is seemingly aware of both nuances of this word in this context when it lists five synonyms of *śraddhā*, starting with devotion:

*bhaktir bhāvaḥ parā prītiḥ śivadharmāikatānatā |
pratīpattir iti jñeyam śraddhāparyāyapañcakam || 4.95 ||*

Devotion, affection, a very friendly attitude, conformity with the Śivadharmā, respectful behaviour: these are known as the five synonyms of faith.

Thus, the ‘religious’ attitude towards the gift that part of the Dharmasāstra tradition understands as *āstikya* is devotion in the purview of the Śaiva text—to Śiva, and consequently to the *śivayogins* as his incarnations. The understanding of *śraddhā* is also adapted to a Śaiva context through the reference to the *śivadharmāikatānatā*, the ‘condition of being one with the Śivadharmā,’ which one may understand as respect for the precepts of Śivadharmā. The following stanzas keep praising *śraddhā* as crucial for the successful performance of *dāna*,²⁰ while the last stanza of the chapter even celebrates it as the most important among the components of the gift, which here are said to be only four:²¹

*śraddhāpradhānam vijñeyam satpātrādicatuṣṭayam |
śraddhā te kīrtitā tasmān nāśraddhas tatphalaṃ labhet || 4.99 ||*

Faith is the most important element of the four [components of the gift] that start with the suitable recipient: for this reason faith

²⁰ *Śivadharmottara* 4.96–98: *śraddhā māteva jananī jñānasya sukytasya ca | tasmāc chraddhāṃ samutpādyā deyam akṣayam icchatā || yad dānam śraddhayā pātre vidhivat pratīpāditaṃ | tad ananta-phalaṃ jñeyam api bālāgramātrakam || āreṣu dīneṣu guṇānvīteṣu yac chraddhayā svalpam api pradattam | tat sarvakāmān samupaiti loka śraddhaiva dānam pravradanti tajjñāḥ ||*

²¹ The Sanskrit commentary lists these components as *satpātrasaddeśasatkālasadvidhi*^o (fol. 139v3).

has been explained to you. The one who has no faith will not get the the fruit of giving.

Śraddhā is here listed among the characteristics of the gift and, specifically, of the donors' attitude towards the recipient and the act of giving in general, coherently with the Dharmasāstra context. When it is assimilated to *bhakti* it is in fact regarded by the *Śivadharmottara* as the real foundation of its system. Stanza 4.95 is quoted at the beginning of the commentary on 1.17–22, where *śraddhā* is celebrated, among other things, as the base of the Śivadharmā, the sole *pramāṇa* to get access to salvific teachings and obtain union with Śiva, and is said to correspond to every ritual activity, knowledge, liberation, and ultimately everything that exists.²² By quoting this stanza, the commentator links the notion of *śraddhā* as one of the components of ritual gifting to *śraddhā* in a devotional context, pointing out their identity: *ato 'tra śraddhāśabdena bhaktir ucyate* (fol. 116*r2). This is the remark that follows the quotation of stanza 4.95, with which he opens his commentary on the eulogy of *śraddhā* in chapter 1. As a matter of fact, this eulogy is the real beginning of the *Śivadharmottara*, the first words that the text attributes to Agastī in reply to Sanatkumāra's questions, which function as a concise table of contents at the beginning of the work. The eulogistic stanzas on *śraddhā*, as is also remarked by the commentator, answer Sanatkumāra's first question, namely *kimpradhānāḥ śive dharmāḥ*, 'what is the main component of these Dharmic paths that lead to Śiva?'²³

²² *Śivadharmottara* 1.17–22: *śraddhāpūrvāḥ sarvadharmāḥ śraddhāmadhyānta-samsthītāḥ | śraddhāniṣṭhāpratiṣṭhās ca dharmāḥ śraddhaiva kīrtitāḥ || 17 || śrutimātra-rasāḥ sūkṣmāḥ pradhānapuruṣeśvarāḥ | śraddhāmātreṇa grhyante na kareṇa na cakṣuṣā || 18 || kāyakleśair na bahubhir na caivārthasya rāsibhiḥ | dharmāḥ samprāpyate sūkṣmāḥ śraddhāhīnāiḥ surair api || 19 || śraddhā dharmāḥ paraḥ sūkṣmāḥ śraddhā jñānaḥ hutam tapah | śraddhā svargaś ca mokṣaś ca śraddhā sarvam idaṃ jagat || 20 || sarva-svaṃ jīvitaṃ vāpi dadyād aśraddhayā yadi | nāpnuyāt sa phalaṃ kiñcic chraddadhānas tato bhavet || 21 || evaṃ śraddhāmayaḥ sarve śivadharmāḥ prakīrtitāḥ | śivaś ca śraddhayā gamyaḥ pūjyo dhyeyaś ca śraddhayā || 22 ||.*

²³ Note that, while the commentator and the majority of Northern and Southern manuscripts read *śive dharmāḥ*, here a few Nepalese manuscripts, such as N^{Ko}₇₇, N^C₉₄, N^O₁₅, along with Naraharinath's edition, attest the reading *śiva-dharmāḥ* or variations thereof, which would result in a *sa-vipula*.

The mention of the *śivayogin* as the most important among four different categories of recipients in the first two stanzas of chapter 4 of the *Śivadharmottara* allows for numerous cross-references both to other chapters of the text and to specific sections of the *Manusmṛti*, as well as to other branches of devotional literature. In chapter 3 of the *Manusmṛti*, within a list of the authorised invitees to an ancestral offering (*pitṛya*, 3.127), Manu divides twice-borns into the following categories (*Manusmṛti* 3.134):

*jñānaniṣṭhā dvijā kecit taponiṣṭhās tathāpare |
tapahsvādhyāyaniṣṭhās ca karmaniṣṭhās tathaiva ca ||*

The correspondence to *Śivadharmottara* 4.1–2 is very close, although, as in other cases, not literal, and expounded in reverse order, as the following table shows:

<i>Śivadharmottara</i> 4	<i>Manusmṛti</i> 3
<i>karmayogaratātma</i>	<i>karmaniṣṭha</i> (mentioned as fourth)
<i>taponiṣṭhapraṭiṣṭhita</i>	<i>taponiṣṭha</i> (mentioned as third)
<i>jāpayañābhīyukta</i>	<i>tapahsvādhyāyaniṣṭha</i> (mentioned as second)
<i>śivayogin</i>	<i>jñānaniṣṭha</i> (mentioned as first)

Despite the order in which these four groups are mentioned in the two texts, the intention is always to stress the superiority of the ‘knowledgeable’ as recipients. Medhātithi starts his commentary on this stanza by stating that here the text offers ‘an account of the divisions of qualifications in order to praise knowledge (*vidyā*) out of all of them, and the praise is [also] addressed to donating to the knowledgeable.’²⁴ After explaining that the °*niṣṭha*-part of the compounds denotes excellence (*prakarṣa*), he proceeds to explain the *jñānaniṣṭhas* as those ‘who have intensively studied the contents of the Vedas and are entirely devoted to this [namely, the exegesis of the Veda]’; *tapas* is explained as the ‘ascetical practices such as the *cāndrāyaṇa* fasting,’ *svādhyāya* as the self-recitation of the Veda, while *karmāṇi* is a synonym of ‘rituals such as the Agni-

²⁴ *Manubhāṣya ad 3.134* (124 according to Medhātithi): *sarvagūṇebhyo vidyāṃ praśamsitum guṇavibhāgakathanaṃ praśamsā ca viduṣe dānārthā |*.

hotra.²⁵ According to Medhātithi, in order to become a proper recipient, one has to possess all of these four qualifications and excel in one of them. Therefore, even the group that is simply qualified by the practice of rituals must possess some levels of Vedic knowledge.²⁶

At this point, Medhātithi offers a further explanation that he attributes to ‘others,’ according to which these four groups correspond to the four *āśramas*: the *jñānaniṣṭha* is the *parivrājaka*, who has renounced active ritual duties and is thus devoted to the knowledge of the self; the *taponiṣṭha* is the *vānaprastha*, the *tapahsvādhyāyaniṣṭha* the *brahmacārin*, and the *karmaniṣṭha* the *gṛhastha*.²⁷ The resulting interpretation is thus that only those within the *āśrama* system are entitled to become recipients of these offerings, with the *jñānaniṣṭha/parivrājaka* on top, as they are the sole permitted recipient of the *pītrya*. As the following stanza in the *Manusmṛti* will state, only *jñānaniṣṭhas* are eligible to the *kavya*, which is the ancestral offering, while the offering to the gods (*havya*) can be given to all four groups.²⁸

The correspondence between these four categories and those mentioned in chapter 4 of the *Śivadharmottara* is almost complete, if we consider that, as noted above, *śivayogins* are often qualified by their mastery over and dedication to the *śivajñāna*, and that a

²⁵ *Manubhāṣya ad 3.134* (124 according to Medhātithi): *jñāne vidyāyām niṣṭhā prakarṣo yeṣām te jñānaniṣṭhāḥ jñānādhikāriṇaḥ | gamakatvād vyadhikaraṇānām api bahuvrihiḥ | bhṛṣam abhyastavedārthās tatparā evam ucyanṭe | evaṃ sarvatra niṣṭhānteṣu draṣṭavyam | tapas ca svādhyāyas ceti dvandvagarbho bahuvrihiḥ | tapāṃsi cāndrāyaṇādīni svādhyāyo vedādhyayanam | karmāny agnihotrādīni |*

²⁶ *Manubhāṣya ad 3.134* (124 according to Medhātithi): *sarva ete guṇāḥ sarveṣu samuccitā iti draṣṭavyāḥ | na hi ekaguṇasadbhāva itaraguṇahīnasya pātratām āpādāyati kiṃ tu kasyacit ko 'pi prakarṣa ucyate | yathā ca niṣṭhāśabdāḥ samāptivacanāḥ prakarṣam lakṣayati | tanniṣṭhas tatpara ucyate | sarvaguṇasadbhāve 'pi yadi ekatra prakarṣo 'nye ca guṇāḥ madhyamāḥ tathā ca bhavaty eva pātram | aprakṛṣṭe tu ekasmin sarvaguṇasadbhāve 'pi na pātratām labhante | samuccayas ca vyākhyāyate yena na jñānarahitasya karmānuṣṭhānasadbhāva ity uktam dvitīye |*

²⁷ *Manubhāṣya ad 3.134* (124 according to Medhātithi): *anyais tu jñānaniṣṭhaḥ parivrājako vyākhyāyate | tasya hi ātmajñānābhyāsaḥ karmānyāsenā viśeṣato vihitaḥ | taponiṣṭho vānaprasthaḥ | sa hi tāpasa ity ākhyāyate grīṣme pañcatapās tu syāt iti | tapahsvādhyāyaniṣṭhāḥ brahmacāriṇaḥ | karmaniṣṭhā gṛhasthāḥ | atās cānāśramiṇo niṣidhyante |*

²⁸ *Manusmṛti 3.135*: *jñānaniṣṭheṣu kavyāni pratiṣṭhāpyāni yatnataḥ | havyāni tu yathānyāyaṃ sarveṣu eva caturṣu api ||*

reference to them as *śivajñānārthavedins* is found in the following stanza 4.3. As for the group immediately preceding them, namely the people devoted to the ‘ritual self-recitation’ (*japayajña*), the absence of a reference to *tapas* makes the similarity with Manu’s *tapahsvādhyāyanīṣṭha* slightly less precise. However, before examining what the *Śivadharmottara* might intend with *japa*, one has to consider that the word is certainly used as a synonym of *svādhyāya*, the self-recitation of the Veda, in the tradition of the *Manusmṛti*, as the text and Medhātithi’s commentary *ad* 3.64–65 (3.74–75 in the edition of the text without Medhātithi’s commentary) show. Thus, the *Śivadharmottara* does not seem to go very far from the *Manusmṛti* in the formulation of these four groups of recipients, to the point that one is tempted to wonder if we can apply one of the interpretations given by Medhātithi, associating the four categories of recipients with the four *āśramas*, also to this passage of the *Śivadharmottara*. If this were the case, the *śivayogin* of the *Śivadharmottara* would correspond to the *parivrājaka* of the Dharmaśāstra tradition, the wandering mendicant who has renounced the ritual fires and lives off alms. This placement within the *āśrama* system would be coherent with the reinterpretation of this system given in chapter 11 of the *Śivadharmasāstra*, where the *śivayogin* in fact occupies the position that the Dharmaśāstra assigns to the wandering mendicant,²⁹ and with a similar scheme proposed by chapter 12 of the *Śivadharmottara*.³⁰

Unfortunately, the terse commentary on the *Śivadharmottara* does not offer any clue to solve this specific issue, nor are these four groups mentioned together as such anywhere else in the text. However, these four categories turn out to be strongly reminiscent of a doctrine that the *Śivadharmottara* emphasises in other points of the text and that is, again, the reinterpretation of a major Dharmaśāstra teaching, namely that of the five ‘great sacrifices’ or religious practices (*mahāyajña*). What makes this reference even more relevant here is that the teachings on the *mahāyajñas* were given by the *Manusmṛti* in the same chapter 3, from stanza 3.70

²⁹ See Bisschop, Kafle and Lubin 2021: 20–24.

³⁰ See De Simini 2016: 52. Note that here the position of the wandering mendicant is assigned to a *pāśūpata*.

onwards: since most of these ritual activities consist in offerings and guest-reception, this doctrine constitutes the main backbone of Manu's treatment of the proper recipient. As observed by Olivelle (2018: 194), the five great sacrifices are used to codify food transactions, and food offerings are indeed dealt with in chapter 3 of the *Manusmṛti*, as well as in chapter 4 of the *Śivadharmottara*. A possible reference to the doctrine of the *mahāyajñas* by the *Śivadharmottara* would therefore be extremely coherent with this context.

A first list of *mahāyajñas* was given in chapter 1, in a short table of contents of the *Śivadharmottara* that lists the topics corresponding to chapters 3 and 4 as follows:

karmayajñas tapoyajñāḥ svādhyāyo dhyānam eva ca |
jñānayajñas ca pañcaite mahāyajñāḥ prakīrtitāḥ || 10 ||
eṣāṃ ca pañcayajñānām uttamāḥ katamāḥ smṛtaḥ |
etadyajñaratānām ca pradāne kīḍyasaṃ phalam || 11 ||

The practice of rituals, the practice of asceticism, self-recitation, meditation, and the practice of knowledge: these are known as the five great sacrifices. (10) And which one of these five sacrifices is traditionally known as the best? And of what kind is that fruit [which is obtained] from gifting to those who rejoice in these practices? (11)

The list of four groups of recipients in *Śivadharmottara* 4.1–2 only makes a fleeting reference to these five categories that the *Śivadharmottara* considers *mahāyajñas*, but this is justified by the fact that the subject is already been dealt with at length in the previous chapter, with which chapter 4 is firmly linked. When we read them in the light of *Śivadharmottara* 1.10–11, the first stanzas of chapter 4 and all the contents related to the gift addressed to the knowers of the *śivajñāna* can be regarded as the answer to the second question of 1.11. The first question, as to which one of the five sacrifices is the best, is answered in chapter 3, and the answer is, not surprisingly, the *jñānayajña* (*Śivadharmottara* 3.12–15):

atha pūjāgnikāryādyair bhedair bahuvīdhaiḥ sthitāḥ |
karmayajñāḥ samākhyātas tapas cāndrāyaṇādīkam || 12 ||
svādhyāyas ca japāḥ proktaḥ śivamantrasya sa tridhā |
dhyānayajñāḥ samākhyātaḥ śivacintā muhur muhuḥ || 13 ||
adhyāpanam adhyayanaṃ vyākhyā śravaṇacintanam |

iti pañcaprakāro 'yaṃ jñānayajñāḥ prakīrtitaḥ || 14 ||
uttarottaravaiśiṣṭyaṃ sarveṣāṃ parikīrtitaṃ |
pañcānāṃ api yajñānāṃ jñānādhyānaṃ vimuktidaṃ || 15 ||

Now, what goes by the name of practice of rituals is established in multiple categories such as the *pūjā* or the ritual of fire. Asceticism consists in activities starting with the *cāndrāyaṇa* fasting. (12) And the self-recitation is taught to be the repetition of the *śivamantra*; such [repetition] is of three kinds. What we call practice of meditation (*dhyānayajña*) is the continuous meditation on Śiva. (13) Teaching, studying, explaining, listening and meditating: this is known as the fivefold practice of knowledge (*jñānayajña*). (14) Among all these, what follows is superior to what precedes; out of the five sacrifices, knowledge and meditation (or: meditation based on knowledge, *jñānādhyāna*)³¹ bestow emancipation. (15)

Chapter 3 is a complex composition that centres on the figure of the *śivayogin*, and the superiority of his religious practice. The text does not describe any of the yogic techniques that will be the object of chapter 10, but states that, through the cultivation of a form of pure knowledge devoid of conceptual constructions, the *yogin* (also called a *muni* in 3.52 and 3.73, or a *jñānin* in 3.43 and 3.50) can overcome the duality of Dharma and Adharma, and attain the cessation of ignorance and sorrow, which will bring him to emancipation after death. The entire chapter shows a certain ambiguity, both in the text and in the transmission, in the use of the terms *jñāna* and *dhyāna*, as well as the terms *yajña* and *yoga*, sometimes used interchangeably.³² An example of this is that the

³¹ However, note that this reconstruction is still tentative. The reading *jñānādhyānam*, attested elsewhere in this chapter (see 3.52, 3.60–62) and in chapter 10 (10.75) to denote the yogic practice, is only supported by one manuscript, namely N^{Ko}₇₇. Another manuscript that partly supports this reading is N^K_{A12}, the oldest available manuscript of the *Śivadharmottara*, which is damaged at this place, and allows only to read the last part as °*dhyānam*, making it quite likely that *jñānādhyānam* is in fact its reading. Other manuscripts have *dhyānayajñam* (N^K₂₈), *dhyānayajño* (N^K₈₂, N^C₉₄, and N^C₄₅), and *jñānayajño* (the two Southern ones, G^P₄₃ and D^P₇₅). The confusion between all these compounds, which the chapter uses as synonyms, and the higher complexity of the reading *jñānādhyānam*, might explain the origin of this variation and thus support our choice of *jñānādhyānam*.

³² Variant readings in this sense are already in the transmission of the verses quoted above. The compound *karmayajñāḥ* in 3.12c is read by N^K_{A12}, N^C₉₄, N^C₄₅, as well as by G^P₄₃ and D^P₇₅, but other medieval Nepalese manuscripts, such as N^K₂₈ and

word *karmayajña* is attested as *karmayoga* in other stanzas of chapter 3 (3.88) and in the list of donors of *Śivadharmottara* 4.1–2, or that the manuscript tradition attributes to this chapter the same title as chapter 10, namely *jñānayogādhyāya*. While in the list of five sacrifices *dhyāna* is distinguished from the *jñānayajña*, in the following stanzas *dhyāna* and *jñāna* are used as synonyms to refer to the yogic practice conferring liberation that both the *Śivadharmasāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* call *jñānayoga*,³³ and to which chapter 3 of the *Śivadharmottara* refers with several other expressions, such as *yogābhyāsa* (3.17), *jñānābhyāsa* (3.34), *jñānādhyāna* (3.52, 3.60–62), *yoga* (3.73), *dhyānayajña*, (3.56–57), *śivayoga* (3.60, 3.78), and *jñānayoga* (3.79 and 3.86). The assimilation of *dhyāna* and *jñāna*, stated several times in the text,³⁴ presupposes that here *jñāna* is not the knowledge full of conceptual constructions that emerges from the teaching and learning process that constitutes the *jñānayajña* according to the definition of the *Śivadharmottara*, but rather the pure knowledge that the *yogin* develops from that by means of meditation. The use of the verb \sqrt{cint} to describe this process in stanza 3.19, as well as the definition of *dhyāna* as *śivacintā* in 3.13, suggests that *cintana*, which is the cusp of the *jñānayajña* in 3.14, is the element that links *dhyānayajña* to *jñānayajña*.

N₈₂^K, read *karmayogaḥ* instead, while here N₇₇^{Ko} has a gap. Note that *karmayajñāḥ* does not have substantial variant readings attested in *Śivadharmottara* 1.10.

A very close situation is that of the compound *jñānayajñāḥ* in stanza 3.14d: here N_{A12}^K, N₈₂^K, N₄₅^C, N₉₄^C, and the two Southern manuscripts, read the compound as ending in *-yajñāḥ*, while N₂₈^K and N₇₇^{Ko} read *jñānayoga*.

³³ Besides the references in chapters 3 and 10 of the *Śivadharmottara*, we can point at one important passage of *Śivadharmasāstra* chapter 10 that reads: *trisaṅgātakulajaiḥ sārḍhaṃ bhogān bhuktvā yathepsitān | jñānayogaṃ samāsādya sa tatraiva vimucyate || 10.45 || yogād duḥkhāntam āpnoti jñānād yogāḥ pravartate | śivadharmād bhavet jñānaṃ śivadharmāḥ śivārcanāt || 10.46 || ity eṣa vaḥ samākhyaṭaḥ saṃsārāṃṣa-vavartinām | śivamokṣakramopāyaḥ śivāśramaniṣevinām || 10.47 ||*

The passage is quoted from the edition in preparation by Peter Bisschop, Nirajan Kafle and Csaba Kiss. Note that here the text refers to the practice of *jñānayoga* in the *śivapura* (*tatraiva*) by lay practitioners after they complete the enjoyment of the rewards earned through their meritorious actions on earth. This is not an isolated case, as stanza 2.161 of the *Śivadharmottara* prescribes the same for a performer of *vidyādāna*: *tataḥ kālena mahatā vidyādānaḥprabhāvataḥ | jñānayogaṃ samāsādya tatraiva ṣarimucyate ||*

³⁴ See, for instance, 3.52: *yathā jñānaṃ tathā dhyānaṃ jñānaṃ dhyānaṃ samaṃ smṛtam | jñānādhyānarataḥ saukhyaṃ munir mokṣaṃ ca vīndati || 52 ||*

The topics of this chapter, which has been quoted at times also by non-Śaiva authors,³⁵ deserve more in-depth considerations, which will form the subject of a separate essay. For the current discussion, it suffices to consider that the *śivayogin* is the main character also of chapter 3, where there is an attempt to frame his emancipatory yogic practice within ritual categories, such as the *mahāyajñas*, which look very different in the classical Dharmaśāstra, but still in a way that shows some connections and possible resemblances with the *Śivadharmottara*. Firstly, it is worth noticing that the five *mahāyajñas* of the *Śivadharmottara* overlap almost perfectly with the four categories of donors listed in *Śivadharmottara* 4.1–2, and we showed how those, in turn, were inspired by *Manusmṛti* 3.134. The change in number from five to four is the result of the above-mentioned association between *dhyāna* and *jñāna*—or one could explain the shift from four to five the other way around. The Sanskrit commentator glosses *śivajñānārthavedinām* in stanza 4.3, used as a synonym of *śivayogin*, as *jñānayajñarata* (fol. 138v1). Moreover, some literal parallels may be noted between the basic definitions given in *Śivadharmottara* 3.12–13 for each of the *yajñas*, and those, again rather standard, offered by Medhātithi in his commentary on 3.134/124, such as the mention of the *cāndrāyaṇa*-fasting and of the fire-ritual. While these parallels might not in and of themselves hint at any direct borrowing, since such definitions are very common, their occurrence here still corroborates the assumption that the contexts of both texts are close. Things look different once we attempt a direct comparison between the teachings of the *Manusmṛti* and the *Śivadharmottara* on the *mahāyajñas*.

The five sacrifices of the early Dharmaśāstra tradition are substantially different from those of the *Śivadharmottara*, so one may suspect that here the Śaiva text is simply reusing the ‘label’ of this ritual category. However, some shared elements of the definitions of *mahāyajñas* in both texts suggest a possible connection. The five

³⁵ A verse from this chapter, corresponding to 3.37, is quoted in the *Sekanirdeśa* (st. 11), the work of the 11th-c. Buddhist author Maitreyaṇātha (a.k.a. Advayaavajra), with attribution to a generic *yogādhyāya* (see Isaacson and Sferra 2014, 285 and n. 182). Moreover, verses from chapter 3 are quoted, with attribution, in the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣadbhāṣya* by (pseudo-)Śaṅkara.

mahāyajñas of the *Manusmṛti* are daily ritual acts meant for the householder,³⁶ the performance of which is prescribed to expiate the ‘five slaughter-houses’ (*pañcasūnā*), which are five places in the house that can accidentally cause death to living beings, and thus be sources of sin for the householder himself. Incidentally, we observe that the *Śivadharmottara*, too, has a list of *pañcasūnā* corresponding to those of the *Manusmṛti*, but while the *Manusmṛti* lists them immediately before the *mahāyajñas* due to their causal relationship, the *Śivadharmottara* does not connect them to the *mahāyajñas*. The Śaiva text lists such causes of sins in chapter 4:

Śivadharmottara 4.20–21

*sammārjanāñjanaṃ toyam
agnikaṇḍanapeṣaṇī |
sūnāḥ pañca gṛhasthānām
nityaṃ pāpabhivṛddhaye || 20 ||*

*śivāgnigurupūjābhiḥ
pāpāir etair na lipyate |
anyaiś ca pātakair ghoraiś
tasmāt sampūjayet trayam || 21 ||*

Cleansing and anointing [the floor], water [in the pot], fire [in the fire-place], the mortar and the grindstone: the five killings always [contribute] to the increase of sins for householders. (20) Thanks to the *pūjās* to Śiva, Agni, and the teacher one is not soiled by these sins, nor by other terrible sins; therefore, one should worship [these] three (21).

Manusmṛti 3.68–69

*pañca sūnā gṛhasthasya
cullī peṣaṇyupaskarah |
kaṇḍanī codakumbhaś ca
badhyate yās tu vāhayan || 68 ||*

*tāsāṃ krameṇa sarvāsāṃ
niṣkṛtyarthaṃ maharṣibhiḥ |
pañca kṛptā mahāyajñāḥ
pratyaḥaṃ grhamedhinām || 69 ||*

A householder has five slaughter-houses: fireplace, grindstone, broom, mortar and pestle, and water pot. By his use of them, he is fettered. (68) To expiate successively for each of these, the great seers devised the five great sacrifices to be carried out daily by householders. (69) (Tr. Olivelle 2005)

The two lists correspond, even though the *Śivadharmottara* changes some of the ‘places’ listed by Manu into activities or natural elements. In both texts these are causes of sins for the householders, and both offer a solution to that, namely the Śaiva *pūjā* for the

³⁶ For an overview of daily rituals, including the *mahāyajñas*, see Lubin 2018.

Śivadharmottara and the daily performance of the *mahāyajñas* for the *Manusmṛti*. The *Śivadharmottara* therefore proceeds with a list of food items to be given to *śivayogins*, while the *Manusmṛti* expounds the great sacrifices, whose performance is prescribed in the nuptial fire (*vaivāhike ḡnau*, 3.67), daily (3.69), and consists in the offerings to *brahman* (*brahmayajña*), to the ancestors (*pitryajña*), to the gods (*devayajña*), to the spirits (*bhūtajajña*), and to men (*ṛyajajña*).³⁷ Three of these—the offerings to ancestors, gods and spirits—take place in the fire, and correspond to libations (*tarpaṇa*), *homa*, and *bali*; the two that do not imply the use of fire are the *ṛyajajña*, explained as the reception of guests, and the *brahmayajña*, for which the *Manusmṛti* also gives the definition of ‘teaching’ (*adhyāpana*, 3.70), ‘muttered repetition’ (*japa*, 3.74), and ‘self-recitation’ (*svādhyāya*, 3.75), all activities that have as their object the Vedic text. Medhātithi, commenting upon stanza 3.70 (3.60 in his text), also makes *brahmayajña* a synonym of *adhyayana*, the activity of reciting the Veda.³⁸

Manu’s five *mahāyajñas* are thus substantially different from the list of the *Śivadharmottara*, but looking into the *Manusmṛti* definitions of the *brahmayajña* one can find elements that are reminiscent of some offerings of the *Śivadharmottara*, such as the *svādhyāya*, corresponding to *japa* in the *Śivadharmottara*, although for the latter it is the repetition of the *śivamantra* rather than the Vedic text; others, such as *adhyāpana* and *adhyayana*—the latter not mentioned by Manu, but introduced by Medhātithi—are part of the *Śivadharmottara*’s definition of the *jñānayajña*. Again, even if the *Śivadharmottara* does not say so explicitly, one can easily deduce that in the case of its *jñānayajña* all these didactic activities were not meant for the Vedic text, but for the *śivajñāna*. The *svādhyāya* of the *Śivadharmottara*, taught to correspond to *japa*, seems thus to be closer to the *japayajña* mentioned by Manu in 2.85–87 in the context of the recitation of Vedic mantras, rather than being the practice of reciting scriptures or portions of them.

³⁷ *Manusmṛti* 3.70: *adhyāpanaṃ brahmayajñāḥ pitryajñāḥ tu tarpaṇam | homo daivo balir bhauto ṛyajajño ṛitihpūjanam ||*.

³⁸ For a history of the development of the Vedic notion of *svādhyāya* as ‘self-recitation,’ and how all these more ‘didactic’ activities came to be its synonym at a later time, see Malamoud 1977.

Moreover, in another section of the *Manusmṛti* devoted to *dāna* (4.186–236), Medhātithi explains the expression *brahmada*, the ‘giver of the Veda,’ a notion that is partly overlapping with that of *brahmayajña*,³⁹ with the clause *yo ’dhyāpayati vyākhyāti ca*—with *vyākhyā* being another member of the definition of *jñānayajña* given in *Śivadharmottara* 3.14. As for the remaining sacrifices, the three fire-offerings of the *Manusmṛti* could all be comprised under the category of *karmayajña/karmayoga* in the *Śivadharmottara*, although the *pūjā* mentioned in the latter finds no parallels in the *mahāyajñas* of the *Manusmṛti*, just like *tapas* and *dhyāna*, coherently with the idea underlying the great sacrifices of the early Dharmasāstric tradition, which are only conceived for the daily practice of the householders.

Significantly, some of the changes that we observe in the *Śivadharmottara* are already found in the treatment of the *mahāyajñas* available in the more recent *Yājñavalkyaśmṛti* (ca. 5th c.), where these are called the ‘great oblations’ (*mahāmakha*; see above all 1.100–104).⁴⁰ Like the *Manusmṛti*, the *Yājñavalkyaśmṛti* treats the five great offerings among the daily duties of a householder but, like the *Śivadharmottara*, does not tie their performance to the expiation for the sins deriving from the five ‘slaughter-houses.’ Moreover, for Yājñavalkya the act of offering libations (*tarpayet*) to ancestors and gods is accompanied by worship (*arcayet*), an action that the medieval commentator Vijñāneśvara explains as a *pūjā*-type of worship of gods’ effigies.⁴¹ Furthermore, Yājñavalkya ex-

³⁹ For further considerations on *brahmayajña* and *brahmadāna-vedadāna* in early Dharmasāstra and Purāṇic literature, also with references to *Śivadharmottara* chapter 3, see De Simini 2016: 293 ff.

⁴⁰ *Yājñavalkyaśmṛti* 1.102: *balikarmasvadhāhomasvādhyāyātithisatkriyāḥ | bhūtapitramarabrahmamanuṣyāṇāṃ mahāmakhāḥ || 102 ||*.

⁴¹ *Yājñavalkyaśmṛti* 1.100: *uḥyādīśvaraṃ caiva yogakṣemārthasiddhaye | snātvā devān pītṛṇś caiva tarpayed arcayet tathā || 100 ||*. Commenting upon *arcayet*, Vijñāneśvara writes: *tadanantaraṃ gandhapuṣpāksataiḥ hariharahiraṇyagarbhaprabhṛtīnām anyatamaṃ yathāvāsanam ṛgyajuḥsāmamantrais tatprakāśakaiḥ svanāmabhir vā caturthyantair namaskārayuktair āvādhayed yathoktavidhinā*; ‘Following this (scil. the libations) he should propitiate, following the prescribed procedure, one of the [deities] such as Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Brahmā, according to his desire, with fragrances, flowers, grains of rice, with mantras from the *Ṛgveda*, the *Yajurveda* and the *Sāmaveda* which summon that [deity], or with their proper names in the dative, together with *namaskāra*.’

tends the performance of *japa* to include non-Vedic literature: after bathing, offering libations and worship to gods and ancestors, a householder has to recite (*japet*) ‘the Vedas, the Atharvan and the Purāṇas, along with the Itihāsas and the wisdom related to the Ātman, according to one’s own capability, in order to accomplish the offering of recitation (*japayajña*).’⁴²

Thus, those that the *Śivadharmottara* advertises as its own *mahāyajñas* reflect some developments that have occurred in the early medieval time, to which the composition of the *Śivadharmottara* belongs. At the same time, the *Śivadharmottara*, while still inspired by the Dharmaśāstra, promotes a complete reshaping of this category, which goes from being a label for the daily religious duties of the householders to depicting the whole array of religious paths admitted in the Śaiva society as described by the text, including the liberating path of yoga. Therefore, the five *yajñas* mentioned in chapter 3 seem to reflect the practice of different groups of people (or of people at different life-stages), who are the recipients mentioned in chapter 4 in a hierarchical order that devalues the practice of rituals in favour of the practice of knowledge and yoga. The perspective from which this is written is thus one in which the simplest expressions of the *bhaktas*’ devotion are held as essentially inferior to the practice of the *yogins*, and chapter 3 prepares the ground for justifying the primacy of *śivayogins* as recipients in chapter 4. Two stanzas from chapter 3 are especially telling in this respect and therefore worth of being quoted in full:

karmayajñāt tapoyajño viśiṣṭo daśabhir guṇaiḥ |
japayajñas tapoyajñā jñeyas śataguṇādhikāḥ || 59 ||
jñānadhyanātmakāḥ sūkṣmāḥ śivayogamahāmakhāḥ |
viśiṣṭaḥ sarvayajñānām asaṅkhyātair mahāguṇaiḥ || 60 ||

These stanzas establish a sequence of four groups that is parallel to the recipients in chapter 4: here, too, the superiority of one over the other is expressed numerically, and prominence is given to the ‘great sacrifice of the *śivayoga*, subtle, which consists in

⁴² *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* 1.101: *vedātharvapurāṇāni setihāsāni śaktitāḥ | japayajñāpra-*
siddhyartham vidyāṃ cādhyātmikīm japet ||.

meditation and knowledge (or: meditation on knowledge, 3.60).’ This confirms the connection between the ‘great sacrifices’ and the recipients once and for all, but also establishes another link to the Dharmaśāstra, since here the text uses the expression *mahāma-kha* instead of *mahāyajña*, just as Yājñavalkya had done.

We cannot leave this subject without adding a further element of complication, namely that the doctrine of the *mahāyajñas* as expounded in the *Śivadharmottara* also shows the clear influence of the *Bhagavadgītā*. In chapter 4,⁴³ Kṛṣṇa first introduces himself as the founder of a lineage of *yoga* teachers, and refers to his mastery over *yoga* and his repeated interventions to save the earth, then expounds his doctrine of action (*karmayoga*) based on the renunciation to the fruits of action in order to stop the retributive mechanism and attain liberation (4.1–25). The only way to achieve this is through knowledge (*jñāna*), which thus plays here a crucial soteriological function. Actions, once detached from their fruits, are equated to *yajña*, all elements of which are said to correspond to *brahman* as the realm of liberation. At this point, the text makes a list of rituals and ascetic practices (4.25–32) that are all presented as a form of *yajña*, among which:

dravyayajñās tapoyajñā yogayajñās tathāpare |
svādhyāyajñānayajñās ca yatayaḥ saṁśītavratāḥ || 28 ||

There are sacrificers who offer with substances, others with austerities, others with yoga, others with knowledge and Vedic study—ascetics all and strict in their vows. (Tr. van Buitenen 1981)

The list continues until stanza 4.33:

śreyān dravyamayād yajñāj jñānayajñāḥ paramtapa |
sarvaṃ karmākhilam pārtha jñāne parisamāpyate ||

The sacrifice of knowledge is higher than a sacrifice of substances, enemy-burner, but all action culminates in knowledge, Pārtha. (Tr. van Buitenen 1981)

⁴³ For an overview and analysis of the topics of this chapter, see Malinar 2007: 102–108.

The following stanzas up to the end of the chapter (4.42) keep praising the crucial function of *jñāna*, compared to a raft, fire, and a sword, that allows to attain detachment from the fruits of actions and, as a direct consequence, liberation. Many of the contents of this chapter, from the list of various *yajñas* to the crucial role assigned to the *jñānayoga* to cut the bonds of action, as well as the superiority of internalised sacrifice over external ritualism, suggest that also this part of the *Bhagavadgītā* was used by the authors of the *Śivadharmottara* to carve out a place for the *śivayogin* in a landscape that must have seen the converging influence of various strains of religious literature, all reflecting a different understanding of Dharma, ritual and society. The efforts of the Śaiva authors went towards firmly placing this figure against the paradigm of Vedic orthodoxy, which is at once acknowledged and superseded. Further research will have to delve deeper into this network of influences and cross-references, and clarify the level of interdependence that this early Śaiva text established with the prevalent models of its time.

2. Community rules of the Śivadharmā between the Dharmasāstra and the Tantric traditions

Following the lines on the reception of the *śivayogins* as guests, the *Satpātrādhyāya* devotes some stanzas to the punishments awaiting those who defame them, both actively and as passive listeners, in hell:

yoginaṃ ye dviṣanty ajñāḥ sarvapāpeṣu avasthitāḥ |
adhomukhordhvapādās te patanti narakāgniṣu || 4.48 ||
kṛmibhir bhinnavadanās tāpyamānās ca vahninā |
prapīḍyante vadhair ghorair yāvad ācandratārakam || 4.49 ||
ye śivajñānanirataṃ pradviṣanti manāg api |
paścād bāhukabaddhās te nīyante yamasādanam || 4.50 ||
tatrāgnīaptaiḥ sandaṃśaiḥ prapīḍyorasi pādataḥ |
teṣāṃ utpātyate jihvā śataśo 'tha sahasraśaḥ || 4.51 ||
vikathyanti⁴⁴ mahātmānaṃ ye mūḍhāḥ śivayoginaṃ |

⁴⁴ All the Nepalese manuscripts consulted for the edition adopt the form *vikathyanti*, with the exception of N₇₇^{Ko}, which changes it into *kimanyanti*; the Grantha manuscript, whose copyist probably tried to make sense of an obscure reading, reads here *vikarttante*. The reading *vikathyanti*, which I have chosen due

te yānti śrotṛbhiḥ sārḍham narakeṣu na saṁśayah || 4.52 ||
ye cāpavādam śṅṅvanti vimūdhāḥ śivayoginām |
te viśeṣeṇa pacyante narakeṣu āmahikṣayāt || 4.53 ||
sati śrotari vaktā syād apavādasya yoginām |
tasmāc chrotā tu pāpīyāms taddaṇḍaḥ sumahān atah || 4.54 ||
vaktā śrotānumantā ca prayoktā dūṣaṇasya ca |
etaiḥ samyujyate yaś ca pañcaite narakāḥ smṛtāḥ || 4.55 ||

The ignorant who despise a *yogin* are in the condition of having committed all sorts of sins: they will therefore fall headlong into the fire of hell. (48) Having their faces eaten up by insects and being burned by fire, they will be tormented with horrible punishments as long as the moon and stars exist (49). Those who despise, even just a little, one who rejoices in the *śivajñāna* are taken to the palace of Yama with their arms tied behind their backs. (50) Here, having been tormented from the feet up to the chest with red-hot pincers, their tongue is drawn out a hundred thousand times. (51) Those foolish people who badmouth a very noble *śivayogin*, they certainly go to hell, along with those who listen to them. (52) And those foolish people who listen to the defamation of the *śivayogins* will be especially cooked in hell until the dissolution of the universe. (53) [Since] a person will speak evil of the *yogins* only if there is someone who listens, the listener is a worse villain than him, and his punishment for this will be very severe. (54) One who defames [somebody] with his words, one who listens to them, one who approves of them, and one who repeats them, as well as those who are their accomplices: these are known as the five types of hells' visitors. (55)

The text prohibits different types of malevolent acts addressed to the *śivayogins*: from the more emotional 'hatred/hostility' (*dviṣ*) to active defamation, an action expressed through the root $\sqrt{\text{vikath}}$ and the nouns *vaktṛ* and *apavāda*. The latter will also be used in stanza 4.56 in the compound *pūjāpavāda* to refer to the revilement of the ritual that results from the selection of an inadequate *pātra*.⁴⁵ As pointed out above, the role of the active listeners is also

to its wide attestation in the Nepalese manuscripts, is in fact not attested in early literature, as far as I can tell. Naraharinath's edition and the Sanskrit commentary replace it with the better attested *vikathante*.

⁴⁵ *Śivadharmottara* 4.56: *iti yogīndrapātrasya mahābhāgyam udāhṛtam | pūjāpavādaviṣayam apātraṃ śṅṅutādhunā* ||.

strongly stressed. The colourful depictions of the torments of hells that we find in these verses give a foretaste of the style of chapter 7, whose 258 stanzas will be almost entirely devoted to describing the gruesome tortures that different categories of sinners undergo in the hells. Among the people being tormented (and who should expect to experience such torments after death), chapter 7 also lists ‘those fools who defame (*nindanti*) a noble teacher who instructs in the Dharma, as well as the Śaiva devotees and the eternal Śivadharma.’⁴⁶

In chapter 7, the notion of ‘defamation’ is extended to include also the Śaiva devotees and the teachings of the Śivadharma, and is expressed through the verb \sqrt{nind} that, just as the noun *apavāda* used in *Śivadharmottara* 4.53–54, can refer to the act of defaming or offending someone or something verbally. The recurring mention of this prohibition shows that this is not a minor point for the *Śivadharmottara*: as a matter of fact, chapter 6 describes three major types of *nindā*—addressed to Śiva (*śivanindā*), to the teacher (*gurunindā*) and to the Śaiva scriptures (*śivajñānasya dūṣaṇam* or *jñānanindā*)—to which other subcategories are added, and considers these to be ‘extreme’ sins (*sumahatpātaka*), thus classed above the *mahāpātakas* of the Dharmasāstra tradition.

The major early Smṛtis do have specific prohibitions about the *nindā* of relevant people and scriptures (in their case, it is mainly the *vedanindā*), and thus might have provided a model for the construction of these categories of *nindā* in the *Śivadharmottara*. On the other hand, Śaiva Tantric scriptures include the same categories of *nindā* mentioned in *Śivadharmottara*’s chapter 6 among a set of eight ‘common’ rules of behaviour (*samaya*) prescribed for the initiated into a Śaiva community (see Törzsök 2019 and *infra*). This topic thus gives us the chance to explore possible connections between the *Śivadharmottara* and these two major streams of

⁴⁶ *Śivadharmottara* 7.194: *ye nindanti mahātmānam ācāryaṃ dharmadeśikam | śivabhaktāṃs ca saṃmūḍhāḥ śivadharmaṃ ca śāśvatam ||*. I quote this stanza from the draft critical edition of chapter 7 currently being prepared by R. Sathyanarayana and Kenji Takahashi. My thanks to the latter for pointing out this reference to me. Among the parallels they note for this passage, the *Śivapurāṇa* (5.10.21) changes *śivadharmaṃ* to *dharmasāstraṃ*, whereas the *Bhṛgusaṃhitā* (36.109c–110b) turns Śaiva devotees into Vaiṣṇava ones.

scriptures together, and try to assess its position in relation to them.

In comparison to chapters 4 and 7, chapter 6 of the *Śivadharmottara* deals more systematically with the topic of offense and defamiation. For it, the text creates the category of the *sumahatpātakas*, of which six types are said to exist:

ye dviṣanti mahādevaṃ saṃsārāṇavatāraṇam |
sumahatpātakopetās⁴⁷ te yānti narakāgniṣu || 8 ||
dūṣayanti śivajñānaṃ ye sarvārthaprasādhakam |
sumahatpātakam teṣāṃ nirayārṇavagāminām || 9 ||
ye śivajñānavaktāraṃ vidviṣanti guruṃ narāḥ |
sumahatpātakopetās te yānti narakārṇavam || 10 ||
śivanindā guror nindā śivajñānasya dūṣaṇam |
devadravyāpaharaṇam gurudravyavināśanam || 11 ||
haranti ye ca saṃmūḍhāḥ śivajñānasya pustakam |
sumahatpātakāny āhur anantaphaladāni⁴⁸ ṣaṭ || 12 ||

Those who despise Mahādeva, the saviour from the ocean of transmigration, charged with an extreme sin, go to the fires of hell. (8) Those who corrupt the Śaiva knowledge, which accomplishes all goals, they too commit an extreme sin, and are headed to the ocean of hells. (9) Those who despise the teacher expounding the

⁴⁷ Note that the manuscripts consulted for the edition unanimously attest the reading *sumahat*^o rather than *sumahā*^o, here and in the following stanzas. While in the case of stanza 9 one could think of writing *sumahat* and *pātakam* separately and understand *sumahat* as an adjective, the other attestations in these stanzas prove that, at least in stanzas 8 and 12, it is in fact to be regarded as part of a compound. The Sanskrit commentator takes it as a compound, as it is unambiguously proven by his use of the expression *sumahatpātaka* in fol. 146r4, while Jayadratha, who only adapts *Śivadharmottara* 6.11–12, and not the immediately preceding stanzas in *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* 30.113–114, changes *sumahatpātakāny* into *sumahāpātakāny*. Naraharinath, too, changes *sumahatpātakopetās* in stanza 8 and *sumahatpātakāny* in st. 12 into *sumahāpātakopetās* and *sumahāpātakāny*, while printing *sumahat pātakam* separately in st. 9.

⁴⁸ Here I choose the reading given in N^K_{A12} (with an orthographic mistake, though, as it reads *aṇanta*^o), against *anantāni phalāni* of N^K₈₂ and N^C₄₅, *iti anantaphalāni* of G^P₄₃, and *ānantaryaphalāni* (‘immediate consequences’) of N^C₉₄. This could be considered a smoother reading than the one I choose in the current reconstruction, also considering that it is reinforced by the parallel of the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* (30.114, as per Törzsök’s edition in preparation). However, for the time being I prefer the reading that has better support in the Northern and Southern branches of the tradition, and consider the reading *ānantarya*^o a scribal improvement.

Śaiva knowledge, charged with an extreme sin, go to hell. (10) The revilement of Śiva, the revilement of the teacher, the defilement of the Śaiva knowledge, the theft of a temple's wealth, the ruin of the teacher's wealth, (11) And those fools who steal a manuscript of the Śaiva knowledge: they call these the six extreme sins, which have endless consequences (12).

In this presentation, we learn that hostility against Mahādeva and the teacher, expressed by the root $\sqrt{dviṣ}$ like in chapter 4, is equated to the spoiling ($\sqrt{duṣ}$) of the Śaiva knowledge, and these three actions are considered *sumahatpātakas* (stt. 8–10). My interpretation of the verb $\sqrt{duṣ}$ and the noun *dūṣaṇa* here in the meaning of 'corrupting' or 'defiling' is based on the list of *doṣas* of the *śivajñāna* and its manuscripts described in *Śivadharmottara* 2.6–12, where these in fact result in a loss of 'purity' (*saṃskāra*) of the teaching and deterioration of the tradition.⁴⁹ Following this, in stanzas 10–11 we read that the six *sumahatpātakas* encompass the *śivanindā*, the *gurunindā*, and again the *dūṣaṇa* of the *śivajñāna*, and then three different forms of theft that affect these three subjects. The mention of $\sqrt{duṣ}$ twice, as a verbal root in stanza 6.9a and as a noun in 6.11b, and the more active sense that it might have if one understood it as 'corrupting,' suggest in the first place that the 'hatred' against Mahādeva and the teacher mentioned in stanzas 6.8 and 6.10 makes part of the definition of the *nindā* addressed against them, and that the action of 'despising' Mahādeva and the teacher consists in active malevolence rather than just a mental state. Thus, *dveṣa* may not be regarded as a separate type of sin from *nindā*, especially if we want to stick to the definition of six types of extreme sins—a view that is also shared by the Sanskrit commentator, who identifies two connected triads.⁵⁰ At the same time, the actions described in 6.8–12 follow the definition of three types of sinful actions given in stanzas 6.3–7, where

⁴⁹ See De Simini 2016: 128.

⁵⁰ Fol. 146r4 *ye dviśantīti pañcabhiḥ atra śivanindāmukhyaṃ sumahatpātakam tatsambandhāt gu<ru>vidyayos tanninde [5] api sumahatpātake bhavataḥ evaṃ trividhaṃ sumahatpātakan tribhi<ś> slokair uktvā punas tatsambandhi dravyāpaharaṇanimittasumahatpātika<vi>vakṣayā [6] pūrvoktan trayam apaskāralakṣaṇaṃ (em.; °lakṣaṇām Cod., possibly due to attraction to the following pūjām, which is however placed after a daṇḍa and belongs to the commentary on stanzas 6.13–15).*

these had been divided into mental, vocal and bodily (*manovā-kkāyāsādhanāḥ*, 6.3). Thus, in the light of the preceding stanzas, the three actions of ‘despising,’ ‘defaming’ and ‘stealing’ could also have been intended to correspond to this tripartite categorisation, like three alterations of the same sin.

The text then goes on listing sins that are equivalent (-*sama*) to each of the three categories because they are addressed against Śiva, the teacher and the Śaiva knowledge, which in this text are said to form a triad and be venerated as such.⁵¹ We thus have a list of sins that are equal to *śivanindā* (6.13–16), which mainly include infractions in the ritual and hostility towards Śaiva devotees (*śivabhaktān dviṣanti ca*, 6.16), sins that are equal to *jñānanindā* (6.17–20)⁵²—the use of this compound here makes it clear that it must be understood as a synonym of *jñāna-dūṣaṇa*—and sins that are equivalent to *gurunindā* (6.20–24), such as not doing service to the teacher, not being willing to listen to his teachings, and the like.

Once the text is over with the *sumahatpātakas*, it carries on with the five *mahāpātakas*, and it does so using a formulation that is calqued exactly on the definitions found in the early Smṛtis:

<i>Śivadharmottara</i> 6.25	<i>Manusmṛti</i> 11.55	<i>Yājñavalkyasmṛti</i> 3.227
<i>brahmaghnaś ca surāpaś ca steyī ca gurutaḥpagah mahāpātakinas tv ete tatsaṃsargī ca pañcamah </i>	<i>brahmahatyā surāpānaṃ steyaṃ gurvaṅganāgamah mahānti pātakāny āhuḥ saṃyogaś caiva taiḥ saha </i>	<i>brahmahā madyapaḥ stenāś tathaiiva gurutaḥpagah ete mahāpātakino yaś ca taiḥ saha saṃvaset </i>

Just like the other points of connection between the *Śivadharmottara* and the early Smṛtis, what we can see here is a strong resemblance rather than a word-by-word correspondence. This stanza is then followed by a list of sins that equal the killing of a Brahmin (6.26–35); sins that equal the drinking of liquor (6.36–39); sins that equal the theft of gold (6.40–41); sins that equal the violation

⁵¹ The compound *śivavidyāguru* is attested in *Śivadharmottara* 2.15 and 2.176, and is presented as a triad of equivalent members (*yathā śivas tathā vidyā yathā vidyā tathā guruḥ*, *Śivadharmottara* 2.15ab).

⁵² These mostly include mishandling the manuscripts of the *śivajñāna*, not respecting the rules of ritual purity when copying or reading it, or spreading a different teaching. For an analysis of this passage and more considerations on this topic in the *Śivadharmottara*, see De Simini 2016: 138–139.

of the teacher's bed (6.42–43); a long list of *upapātakas* (6.44–61), followed by forty more verses that enumerate further sins that are conducive to hell, but that are not grouped into any specific categories. This chapter serves well as an introduction to chapter 7, on hells and sins, almost forming a textual unit with it.

This is the same sequence in which such topics are treated in chapters 11 of the *Manusmṛti* and 3 of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*: if we read on after the above-quoted stanzas defining the *mahāpātakas*, we see that the texts list equivalent sins for each of them, and then go on dealing with the *upapātakas* (see *Manusmṛti* 11.56–71 and *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 3.227–242). The *mahāpātakas* and *upapātakas* are in fact very common notions in the Dharmaśāstra literature, denoting a higher and lesser category of *pātakas*, literally 'causes of downfall,' sins that cause one to fall off one's caste.⁵³ In the *Śivadharmottara*'s interpretation this 'fall' seems to have been rather intended as a fall into hells, as hinted at in stanza 6.1 (*athādhaḥ patanāt puṃsām*). Since the *Manusmṛti* and the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* list these sins in chapters on *prāyaścitta*, they then devote long sections to the penances that one must undergo after committing them. The *Śivadharmottara* does not do so, at least not here, as it will then dedicate the entirety of its chapter 11 to the topic of *prāyaścitta*.

The 'equivalences' established for the *mahāpātakas*, both in the *Śivadharmottara* and in the Smṛtis of Manu and Yājñavalkya, are based on a different principle than those established for the *sumahatpātakas*. While in the latter case the sins were considered equivalent because they offended the same subject, in the case of the *mahāpātakas* the connection between the equivalent sin and the main sin category is less straightforward. What we observe in the *Śivadharmottara* is also that the sins mentioned at this point of the text are more generic and not specifically Śaiva, except for the sin of 'abandoning the *śivajñāna*,' listed as an equivalent of drinking liquor,⁵⁴ or the damages to the trees and flowers of the garden of the *śivāśrama*, listed among the *upapātakas*.⁵⁵

⁵³ On the notion of *pātaka* and the Dharmaśāstric taxonomy of sins, especially in relation to *prāyaścitta*, see Brick 2018.

⁵⁴ *Śivadharmottara* 6.36: *adhītya yaḥ śivajñānaṃ parityajati mūḍadhīḥ | surāpāna-samaṃ jñeyaṃ tasya pātakam uttamam ||*.

⁵⁵ *Śivadharmottara* 6.50: *śivāśramatarūṇaṃ ca puṣpārāmaavināśanam | yaḥ piḍām āśramasthānām ācared alpikām api ||*.

In the context of this discussion on *mahāpātakas*, both Manu and Yājñavalkya mention the sin of *vedanindā*, a possible model for *jñānanindā* in the *Śivadharmottara*: however, while Yājñavalkya in stanza 3.328 lists *vedanindā* as the equivalent of the killing of a Brahmin, along with the ‘excessive blaming’ (*adhyadhikṣepa*) of the teachers, the killing of a friend and forgetting the Veda (*adhītasya nāśanam*),⁵⁶ Manu mentions *vedanindā* in 11.57 as the equivalent of drinking liquor—just like the *Śivadharmottara* does with the sin of abandoning the *śivajñāna*—while listing in the same category the sins of abandoning the Veda (*brahmojjhatā*), giving false testimony, killing a friend, eating what is forbidden by the *śāstras* and what is not edible.⁵⁷ Vijñāneśvara, commenting upon *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 3.228 in the *Mitākṣarā*, explains the expression *gurūṇām adhyadhikṣepa*, which is very close to the notion of *gurunindā*, as a form of ‘groundless accusation,’ using a terminology that is reminiscent of the *Gautamadharmasūtra*—to which he refers—where this form of revilement of the teacher was in fact considered equivalent to a *mahāpātaka*.⁵⁸ Furthermore, Vijñāneśvara explains *vedanindā* as a form of slandering the Veda (*vedakutsanam*) ‘by asserting the erroneous doctrine of nihilism’ (*nāstikyābhiniveśena vedakutsanam*), where ‘nihilism’ is used in the sense of disbelief in the authority of the Veda. Both the use of the term *kutsanam* as a synonym of *nindā* and the association of *vedanindā* with nihilism/disbelief are strongly reminiscent of stanza 4.163 of the *Manusmṛti*, in which Manu states that one must avoid nihilism and *vedanindā* along with the slandering of the gods (*devatānām kutsanam*)—which Medhātithi explains in the *Manubhāṣya ad loc.* as a synonym of *nindā*—*dveṣa*, and other mental states.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 3.328: *gurūṇām adhyadhikṣepo vedanindā suhṛdvadhaḥ | brahmahatyāsamaṃ jñeyam adhītasya ca nāśanam ||*

⁵⁷ *Manusmṛti* 11.57: *brahmojjhatā vedanindā kautasākṣyaṃ suhṛdvadhaḥ | garhitānādyayor jagdhiḥ surāpānasamāni śaṭ ||*

⁵⁸ *Mitākṣarā ad Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 3.228: *gurūṇām ādhikyenādhikṣepaḥ anytābhīsaṃsanam | guror anytābhīsaṃsanam iti mahāpātakasamāni iti gautamasmaraṇāt |*. The quotation is from *Gautamadharmasūtra* 3.3.10.

⁵⁹ *Manusmṛti* 4.163: *nāstikyam vedanindam ca devatānām ca kutsanam | dveṣaṃ stambhaṃ ca mānaṃ ca krodhaṃ taikṣṇyam ca varjayet ||*. The connection between *vedanindā* and disbelief is expressed by Medhātithi in the commentary *ad loc.*: *vedapramāṇakānām arthānām mithyātvādhyavasāye nāstikyam*.

In a similar context, Medhātithi remarks the difference between *dveṣa* and *nindā*, which in the *Śivadharmaottara* almost seems to vanish, and does so exactly with reference to the sin of *vedanindā*. In chapter 3, Manu mentions a *brahmadviś* (3.154, corresponding to 3.144 in the *Manubhāṣya*) and a *vedanindaka* in 3.161 (3.151 in the *Manubhāṣya*) in a long list of people to avoid as unfit invitees (3.150–166).⁶⁰ The first compound is explained by Medhātithi as referring both to the Veda and to a Brahmin;⁶¹ in the case of the *vedanindaka*, he specifies that this is different from the *brahmadviś* because *dveṣa* denotes a mental attitude (*cittadharmā*), while *nindā* is a form of slandering (*kutsana*) ‘by means of language that expresses displeasure against that’ (*taduparyapṛitīśabdena*).⁶²

One more remark by Medhātithi expands the notion of *vedanindā* to encompass all the scriptures acknowledged as a source of Dharma, thus including the Smṛti. He does so in chapter 2, in the context of the famous definition of the accepted sources of Dharma: after stating that the Śruti corresponds to the Veda and the Smṛti to the Dharmaśāstra, and these should never be doubted as Dharma arises from them (*Manusmṛti* 2.10), Manu affirms that if someone doubted them on the basis of treatises on logic (*hetuśāstra*), this person should be excluded as a *nāstika* and a *vedanindaka* (*Manusmṛti* 2.11).⁶³ The two notions are thus once again presented together; besides connecting *nāstikas* to the authors of the *hetuśāstras*, Medhātithi argues that the word *vedanindaka* should also be understood to include the Smṛti.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ *Manusmṛti* 3.154 (*Manubhāṣya* 3.144): *yakṣmī ca paśupālās ca parivettā nirākṛtiḥ | brahmadviṣṭ parivittīś ca gaṇābhyanantara eva ca ||*; *Manusmṛti* 3.161 (*Manubhāṣya* 3.151): *bhrāmari gaṇḍamālī ca śvītry atho piśūnas tathā | unmatto ’ndhas ca varjyāḥ syur vedanindaka eva ca ||*.

⁶¹ *Manubhāṣya ad 3.154/144*: *brahmadviṣṭ brāhmaṇānām vedasya vā dveṣṭā brahmaśabdasyobhayārthavācītvāt brahmajñō brāhmaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ iti*.

⁶² *Manubhāṣya ad 3.161/151*: *nanu ca brahmadviṣṭśabdenaiva brahmaśabdasyañekārthakatvāt vedanindako gṛhīta eva | naivam | anyā nindā anyo dveṣaḥ | cittadharmo dveṣaḥ taduparyapṛitīśabdena kutsanaṃ nindā*.

⁶³ *Manusmṛti* 2.10–11: *śrutis tu vedo vijñeyo dharmasāstraṃ tu vai smṛtiḥ | te sarvārtheṣv animāmsye tābhyāṃ dharmo hi nirbābhau || 2.10 || yo ’vamanyeta te tūbhe hetuśāstraśrayād dvijāḥ | sa sādhubhir bahiṣkāryo nāstiko vedanindakaḥ || 2.11 ||*.

⁶⁴ *Manubhāṣya ad Manusmṛti* 2.11: *vedanindaka iti smṛtigrahaṇaṃ na kṛtam | tuḷyatvenobhayoḥ prakṛtatvād anyataranirdeśenaiva siddham ubhayaṅpi grahaṇam ity abhiprāyaḥ |*

As for *gurunindā*, in the *Manusmṛti* the notion is mentioned among the observances of the *brahmacārīn* (*Manusmṛti* 2.200); the latter, similarly to what the *Śivadharmottara* prescribes in the case of the defamation of the *śivayogin* in chapter 4, should neither speak ill nor listen to somebody else defaming the *guru*, otherwise he will get a degraded rebirth as an animal or an insect (2.201).⁶⁵

To sum up, the *Manusmṛti* and the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, with parallels in the early Dharmasūtras, know of categories that are very close to the three types of *nindās* that the *Śivadharmottara* includes under the umbrella of the *sumahatpātakas*, with the notion of *vedanindā* being given special relevance, as it is included in the same definition of their own scriptural tradition. Considering that chapter 6 of the *Śivadharmottara* deals with this topic in a way that strongly resembles the contents and style of *Manusmṛti* 11.55–71 and *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 3.227–242 on the *pātakas*, in which both Manu and Yājñavalkya mention more types of such *nindās*, we can safely conclude that the author of the *Śivadharmottara* willingly composed the disquisition on the *pātakas* in chapter 6 using these early Smṛtis as their model. The similarity is such that the connection with the Dharmasāstra must have been not only rather obvious to an audience learned in this scriptural tradition, but was perhaps devised exactly in order to attract such an audience. Furthermore, we can observe that the method employed to ‘śaivize’ this topic is only slightly different from what they do with the four *āśramas*: the basic concepts are preserved, but they are either given a Śaiva meaning or something Śaiva is added on top. In this way, the *vedanindā* is turned into the *jñānanindā* or the *śivajñānasya dūṣaṇam*, and the category of the *mahāpātakas*, which is here accepted literally, is preceded by a higher set of crimes, which solely concern Śaiva matters. In any case, even if they try to implement the teachings of the Dharmasāstra, we do not seem to find in the *Śivadharmottara* anything that goes against them.

That the contents of *Śivadharmottara* 6.26 onwards were mainly based on the Dharmasāstra was certainly clear to the reception of

⁶⁵ *Manusmṛti* 2.200–201: *guror yatra parivādo nindā vāpi pravartate | kaṃsau tatra pidhātavyau gantavyaṃ vā tato 'nyataḥ || 200 || parivādāt kharo bhavati svā vai bhavati nindakaḥ | paribhoktā kṛmir bhavati kīto bhavati matsarī || 201 ||*.

the text that I was able to study so far. For instance, the Sanskrit commentator introduces stanza 6.25 saying that ‘now the text expounds the classes of great sinners, as they are established in all treatises’ (fol. 147r2 *atha sarvasāstrasiddhān mahāpātakibhedān āha*). Similarly Jayadratha, in his summary of the *Śivadharmottara* in *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* chapter 30, while still keeping some of the initial stanzas and those in which the *sumahatpātakas* are defined, completely dismisses the long, less original Dharmasāstric portion that follows from stanza 6.25, saying that the Great Lord had described many other sins and subcategories of sins in other scriptures, and these ‘are not written down here for fear of making this work too lengthy, but they must be known by the wise from various places.’⁶⁶

Now, prohibitions concerning *nindā* against Śiva, the teacher, the scriptures and Śaiva devotees form four out of the eight traditional *samaya* rules attested in the Śaivasiddhānta since its earliest scriptural attestations. Such rules are imparted after the *samaya* rite, which precedes *dīkṣā* and introduces a new member to the community; according to the prescriptions found in several scriptures for Śaiva initiates (such as the *Kiraṇatantra*, the *Parākhyatantra*, or the *Svacchandatantra*), some categories of people are exempted from practicing them.⁶⁷ Those include people who were deemed incapable, such as children, the elderly, women, or too busy, like kings. In a recent contribution, Törzsök (2019) has examined the scriptural occurrences of the *samayas* and made several observations concerning their links with the Dharmasāstra, as well as the development of such rules in the history of the Tantric traditions. Besides the four rules about *nindā*, the set of eight *samayas* of the Śaivasiddhānta includes: rules concerning the *nirmālya*, which should not be eaten, touched or stepped over; rules about not accepting food from women who are menstruating or are otherwise impure; rules about not stepping on the shadow of the *liṅga* or any Śaiva sacrificial area. Thus these rules inclu-

⁶⁶ *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* 30.116: *bhedopabhedā eteṣāṃ granthagauravabhūtitaḥ | likhyante neha dhīmadbhir jñātavyās te tatas tataḥ ||*.

⁶⁷ On the topic of the so-called *nirbijadīkṣā*, namely the initiation that does not bind the initiated to post-initiatory observances, see Goodall 1998: 363 ff, and 2013.

de some that have parallels in the Dharmaśāstra, such as the rule about food being contaminated by impure women,⁶⁸ and others that seem to have originated in a specific Śaiva context. An early formulation of these eight *samaya* rules, to which the tradition will add more, is found in the *Nayasūtra* of the *Niśvāsattattvasamhitā*, which is useful to quote in full:

nandir badhnāti vai śiḅhram <caṅḁīśaḅ sa>mayāṣṭasu |
yo nindati śivam devam tadbhaktam deśikam tathā || 1.103 ||
nirmālyabhakṣaṇe vāpi balidānapaśor api |
adatte vārtaviṣṭam śāstranindām karoti ca || 1.104 ||
liṅgacchāyāvilaṅghī ca caṅḁīśo bandhate bhṛśam |
pratiñāvratam ārūḁhaḅ punas tyaktvā śivam vratam || 1.105 ||

In the case of [transgression of] the eight post-initiatory rules of conduct, [it is] Caṅḁīśa [who punishes]. If one reviles the Lord Śiva (i), a devotee of His (ii) or a guru (iii), or in the case of eating the *nirmālya* (iv), or of giving it as a *bali* to a bound soul [or perhaps to a beast?] (v), or if one takes what has been touched by a menstruating woman (vi), or reviles scripture (vii), or steps in the shadow of a *liṅga* (viii), Caṅḁīśa vigorously punishes him/binds. (Tr. by Goodall *et al.* 2015: 429–430)

We have already seen at least four of them in the *Śivadharmottara*, namely all of the *nindā* rules. Coherently with its context, the *Śivadharmottara* conceives them for the entire community and not for the initiated, as none of the Śivadharmā texts seem to contemplate any form of initiation for the laity. On this point, as observed by Goodall (2013) and Törzsök (2019), the earliest Śaivasiddhānta Tantras, among which the *Niśvāsa*, as well as Śākta scriptures, do not differentiate between the initiated who should follow the *samayas* and the initiated who are exempted from them, and thus seemingly understand *samayas* as applying to the entire community of initiated. This brings us closer to the idea underlying the numerous rules imparted by the Śivadharmā texts, meant to be respected by all members of a community, and not just by some.

⁶⁸ Törzsök (2019: 213) points to an identical rule in *Manusmṛti* 4.232, while *Manusmṛti* 5.85 instructs people that touching such women, just like touching a corpse or an outcaste, is contaminating and requires a purificatory bath.

Samayas keep developing, as Törzsök observes discussing their occurrences in the Śākta scriptures: these texts, while retaining some of the Śaivasiddhānta *samayas*, add more rules that are in keeping with the Dharmasāstra tradition and are clearly derived from it; at the same time, they also dictate rules of behaviour that are in open disagreement with Vedic orthodoxy, thus marking the more transgressive nature of Śākta Tantrism. For instance, she observes how the *Svacchandatantra*, the *Tantrasadbhāva* and the *Brahmayāmala* have their own versions of the *nindā* rules, which are extended to include also categories of people and scriptures that the Dharmasāstra tradition intentionally ignored.⁶⁹

Thus, the Dharmasāstra tradition works as a reference point in the elaboration of many such rules even for the Tantric traditions, both when they want to show their compliance with it, and when they overturn orthodoxy in favour of an alternative ideology. In contrast to this, the Śivadharmas seems to have adopted an attitude that can be defined as innovation without contradiction, with the *Śivadharmottara* being especially outspoken on marking its ties to the Dharmasāstra. However, given the strong connection that the Śivadharmas establishes with the Dharmasāstra, the question arises as to whether the Śivadharmas played a role in the formulation of some rules and their adoption into the Śaiva communities, which also opens up the topic of the relationships between the Śivadharmas and the initiatory forms of Śaivism.

While finding an answer to these questions might take time and will have to wait until more pieces can be added to our picture, we should further explore the textual evidence and see whether it offers more relevant data on this point. To begin with, it would be important to understand if all the eight *samayas* mentioned in the *Niśvāsa* and that become standard in the Śaivasiddhānta, both those derived from the Dharmasāstra and the Śaiva ones, are also attested in the early Śivadharmas texts. For the Śaivasiddhānta, it is the Tantric tradition that so far has proven to have more connections with our texts—not surprisingly, given its higher level of orthodoxy. Now, while the four rules on *nindā* are all attested and dealt with in chapter 6 of the *Śivadharmottara* (and partly also in

⁶⁹ Törzsök 2019: 214–221.

chapter 4), to the best of my knowledge the other *samaya* rules about not eating the *nirmālya* or letting anyone else eat it, about avoiding the food touched by a menstruating woman or not stepping in the shadow of the *liṅga*, are not found anywhere in the text. The *Śivadharmottara* does not give any prescriptions on the *nirmālya*, which is in fact never mentioned, while the *liṅga*-cult, which is a major topic in the *Śivadharmasāstra* and is certainly practiced by the communities depicted by the Śivadharmasāstra, does not play a major role in the *Śivadharmottara*. However, once we turn our attention to the *Śivadharmasāstra*, not only do we find that the *samaya* prescriptions concerning *nirmālya*, food and *liṅga* are there, but they are also presented together, albeit not forming a proper set. This happens once again in chapter 12, which devotes its first half to listing rules of behaviour for the community of the *śivabhaktas*.

After some mixed rules of worship, such as those related to worshipping a *liṅga*, a sanctuary, or other sacred spaces and people—including a *śivayogin*—that one has randomly encountered on the path (12.4–5), some food items to avoid (12.6–8), and prescriptions about doing a *pūjā* at the *tīrthas* in order to increase one's merits (12.10), the *Śivadharmasāstra* reads the following:

garbhādijanmasaṃskāraśmaśānāntādibhojanam |
rajasvalābhisaṃspṛṣṭaṃ śivabhakto vivarjayet || 12.10 ||
na gobrāhmaṇabhasmāgniliṅgacchāyāṃ padā spṛṣet |
na laṅghayīta nirmālyam apsu tiṣṭhet anagnakaḥ || 12.11 ||
dhārayec chivanirmālyam bhaktyā lobhān na bhakṣayet |
bhakṣaṇān narakam gacchet tadvilaṅghya adhogatim || 12.12 ||
na tatra snānapūjādyam pratigrhṇāti saṅkaraḥ |
yatra naivedyanirmālyamalabhuk pūjayec chivam || 12.13 ||

A Śaiva devotee should avoid eating food [in the place where] a rite of passage connected to birth, such as the *garbhādāna*, is taking place, as well as in the proximity of a cremation ground;⁷⁰ he

⁷⁰ My translation relies on the commentary, which is however based on a slightly different text: fol. 108v5 *garbhāditi garbhādānādiṣu ca catvāriṃśaṃ saṃskāra[6]reṣu varttamāneṣu tasmim gṛhe tadannabhojanam śivabhakto vivarjayet śmaśānānte śmaśānasamīpe ca bhojanam vivarjayet*. Clearly, the commentator did not read °janma° before *saṃskāra*, which is well attested in the early Nepalese tradition and may denote here all the prenatal *saṃskāras*, up to birth and *nāmakaraṇa*. He

should avoid the food touched by a menstruating woman.⁷¹ (10) He should not touch with his foot the shadow of a cow, of a Brahmin, of [a heap of] ashes, of the ritual fire, and that of a *liṅga*; he should not step over the *nirmālya*; he should not stay naked in water. (11) [A Śaiva devotee] should preserve the *nirmālya* of Śiva with devotion and not let anyone eat it out of greediness. Having transgressed this [command] by eating [the *nirmālya*], one will go down to hell. (12) Śāṅkara does not accept a ritual bath, a *pūjā*, and the like, in the same place where a person who has fed on forbidden items, such as the oblations offered to Śiva and the *nirmālya*, will worship Śiva. (13)

The text goes on for three more stanzas with similar considerations about the consequences that infringing the *nirmālya* rule will have on the place where this happens, which becomes unfit for worship because Śiva will no longer reside there. After this, we find another by now familiar prescription:

mūrtayo yāḥ śivasyāṣṭau tāsu nindāṃ vivarjayet |
guroś ca śivabhaktānāṃ nṛpasādhutapasvināṃ || 12.17 ||

One should avoid any offence against those eight *mūrtis* that belong to Śiva, as well as towards the teacher, the Śaiva devotees, the king, the learned people, and the ascetics. (17)

This *nindā* rule, extended to cover also the king, is then followed by other rules about *pūjā*. Its occurrence at this point makes the Śaivasiddhāntic *samaya* list complete, although the *Śivadharmasāstra* does not identify them as forming an independent group, nor singles them out in any other ways but, perhaps significantly, lists them one after the other.

The *Śivadharmasāstra* thus knew of all those rules, while the *Śivadharmottara*, as it does for other topics,⁷² picks up on some of

rather gives us the total number of *saṃskāras* known to him—which is forty, according to a tradition that goes back to the *Gautamadharmasūtra* (see Michaels 2018: 86–87)—a sign that he was probably reading °*sarvasaṃskāra*°, as it is attested in the Southern transmission (see manuscript D₃₂^P, p. 142).

⁷¹ The commentator reads *rajasvalādi*° (fol. 108v6), again like manuscript D₃₂^P, and explains the °*ādi* to mean *aṣṭṛīyāt*.

⁷² This is the case, for instance, of topics such as those of the book-cult, the *śaḍaṅgayoga*, or the six-syllabled mantra, which are mentioned but not described

them and provides a more detailed treatment. In this case, it attempts to connect the *nindā* instructions back to their original Dharmasāstric roots, presenting them as the culmination of a world-order now firmly under the Śaiva seal.

3. Conclusion

The overview I attempted in this article has further anchored the composition of the *Śivadharmottara* to three spheres of normative and religious literature that were influential in the early medieval: the Dharmasāstra, early Vaiṣṇava devotional currents, and initiatory Śaivism. While more data need to be collected and studied in order to answer with confidence the crucial question of the position of the *Śivadharmasāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* in this articulated context, I believe that such a study points to some fruitful directions to take and relevant perspectives from which the question can be addressed.

To begin with, one should deepen and broaden the scope of this research in order to further clarify the extent to which the entire *Śivadharmottara* depended on and reacted to the early Dharmasāstra and the *Bhagavadgītā*, but also with a view to extend this study to further related sources. Just to mention one example, other portions of the *Mahābhārata* that are very dense with Dharmasāstric teachings should certainly be next in line among the sources to examine for the influence they might have had on the teachings of the *Śivadharmottara*. On the other hand, the composition of the *Śivadharmottara* and its doctrines should also be read in the context of its relationship to the *Śivadharmasāstra*, a text to which almost the entire manuscript tradition associated it. The related topics of yoga and the centrality of the *śivayogins* are certainly a point on which the two texts seem to differ, if only for the space that they devote to them—minor in the *Śivadharmasāstra*, mainly concerned with *bhaktas*, and clearly more central in the *Śivadharmottara*. Was then the *Śivadharmottara* just fulfilling its

in full in the *Śivadharmasāstra*, while they receive a detailed account in the *Śivadharmottara*. On the book-cult and the six-syllabled mantra see De Simini 2016 and 2021; a study on chapter 10, which deals with the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*, is now being prepared by Goodall.

function to complete the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, or does it reflect a change in the society and audience which justifies a choice of different topics, and a higher focus on the ascetics and their practice? And even if we come to the conclusion that the two texts just reflect the same worldview and speak to the same audience, should we imagine a unity of composition—namely, was a ‘second instalment’ on yoga, punishment of sins and *dāna* to the *śivayogins* already planned when the *Śivadharmaśāstra* was being composed, or did the need for it arise at a later point, and why? Furthermore, were these two texts meant to be read together, as their manuscript transmission somehow forces us to do and part of the reception has certainly done (see, for instance, the Sanskrit commentary on both works), or were they conceived as independent works? On the basis of the reception of the *Śivadharmottara* in India, we can observe that the text certainly seems to have enjoyed a certain level of independence, an example thereof being its adoption as an *upāgama* into the Śaivasiddhānta tradition, which channeled its introduction to the realm of Tamil Śaivism, where we have so far found no traces of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*.⁷³

The *Śivadharmottara*’s dependence on the Dharmaśāstra and its effort to reinterpret its teachings through the lens of Śaiva devotion also raises the question as to how this aspect should be read in the broader context of the Nepalese Śivadharma corpus, in which several important works are emerging as concerned with Dharmaśāstra-style teachings, such as for instance the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*. Particularly the latter, in which the topic of internalized sacrifice is prominent and which contains references to most of the key subjects reinterpreted by the *Śivadharmottara* (the *mahāyajñas*, the *āśramas*, yoga), promises to be a relevant term of comparison, especially in the light of Kiss’s observation that this work balances Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and general brahmanical contents.⁷⁴

In conclusion, our texts and the circumstances of their transmission call for a study that appraises their composition on a par

⁷³ The first studies appeared on the Tamil adaptation of the *Śivadharmottara* are Trento 2021 and Nachimuthu 2021, to which I refer the reader for further information.

⁷⁴ See Kiss 2021 for a first study and assessment of this work.

with their immediate reception, in a constant oscillation between their past and their future, as the sole way to envision their full historical development.

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<i>Haracaritacintāmaṇi</i> by Jayadratha	Ed. in prep. by Törzsök

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D ^P ₃₂	Institut français de Pondichéry. Paper transcript in Devanāgarī No. T. 32
G ^P ₄₃	Institut français de Pondichéry. RE43643. Palm-leaf
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 _{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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