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Śivadharma Manuscripts from Nepal and the Making of a Śaiva Corpus

1 Manuscript transmission of the 'Śivadharma corpus': An overview

This article aims at examining the process of corpus formation from a codicological perspective in an early body of Śaiva literature for the laity. This collection, commonly known to specialists as the 'Śivadharma corpus', grew around two more ancient works, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara,* until forming a fixed set of eight or nine texts that is widely attested in Nepalese multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs), both ancient palm-leaf and more recent paper copies. While the two earliest works have an independent and well documented transmission history in India, the formation of a 'corpus' as we know it seems to be an invention of Nepal. The Nepalese MTMs, the sole documents in which the Śivadharma corpus is attested, are responsible not only for the preservation and transmission of this innovation, but also for its own identity as a corpus. I am not aware of any strong evidence external to the manuscript tradition that could be used to confirm that these eight texts had in fact formed a closed collection, and very rarely do the works make explicit reference to each other (one case is examined in par. 3 of this study). It is therefore essentially on account of the features of the Nepalese manuscript tradition that one can rightly resort to the category of 'corpus' with reference to this collection of works.

The *Śivadharmaśāstra,* ('Treatise on Śaiva Religion') and the *Śivadharmottara* ('Continuation [of the Treatise] on Śaiva Religion'), both in twelve chapters, are among the earliest extant specimens of prescriptive literature addressed to lay Śaiva devotees. The environment that produced these two texts was clearly connected with the non-Tantric Śaiva traditions, as shown by internal references and further supported by the *argumentum ex silentio* of the absence of Tantric elements.[1] Nonetheless, it can be argued that these texts were

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1 As argued by Bisschop (2010, 485), these texts could be considered, like the *Skandapurāṇa,* a 'third segment' of the Pāśupata community, reflecting the needs and worldview of groups of uninitiated, non-ascetic devotees. On the Pāśupata background of the original *Skandapurāṇa*, see Bakker 2014, 137 foll.

As an example, we may refer to the 12th and last chapter of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* ('On the primary and secondary branches of the devotion to Śiva' *Śivabhaktyādyaśākhopaśākhādhyāya*), containing norms of behaviour for *śivayogin*s and lay followers that in many points recall the prescriptions for the Pāśupata observance. The same chapter also gives a list of forty sacred places arranged in five groups of eight, well-known in Śaiva literature as the *pañcāṣṭaka* (on which see Sanderson 2003–04, 403–406; Goodall 2004, 314–316, fn. 620; Bisschop 2006, 27–34). While later Tantric sources present a more developed theology of the *aṣṭaka*s, in which the *pañcāṣṭaka* corresponds to a hierarchy of worlds matching the five different realities (*tattva*s), the *Śivadharmaśāstra* significantly lacks this feature, a circumstance that hints at the earliness of its account (Sanderson 2003–2004, 405). This list of sacred places has clear connections with the Pāśupata tradition, as shown by the mention of toponyms like *Āṣāḍhi, Ḍiṇḍimuṇḍi, Bhārabhūti* and Lakulīśvara, corresponding to the last four incarnations of Śiva at Kārohaṇa (Gujarat), the alleged site of the Pāśupata revelation according to the *Skandapurāṇa* (167.118–149). Expanding on these arguments, on the basis of textual evidence internal and external to the original

considered authoritative also by initiated Śaivas of the Mantramārga (the 'Path of Mantras'); later works of the corpus, moreover, show textual connections with Tantric literature.[2] Cornerstones of the religious observance prescribed for lay followers by the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* were devotion (*bhakti*) towards Śiva, mostly worshipped in the form of a *liṅga*, and material support offered to the religious community through the practice of *dāna* (lit. 'gift'). The fulfilment of these deeds granted the devotees the enjoyment of mundane and ultramundane rewards, which would eventually lead them to a rebirth on earth as kings or Brahmins.

The title *Śivadharmottara* in and of itself establishes a chronological sequence as well as a doctrinal connection between the two works, suggesting that this text followed the same tradition as the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and was arguably composed later. Critical editions of both works have been announced more than once,[3] but nothing has been concretely achieved so far.[4] The two

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Skandapurāṇa, Bisschop argues that 'most, if not all, of the forty sites listed belonged to the Pāśupata tradition' (2006, p. 34).

2 On both these points, see Sanderson forthc. b, 88.

3 Giorgio Bonazzoli and Paolo Magnone have reportedly been engaged in editing the *Śivadharmottara* (see Bonazzoli 1993 and Magnone 2005). Magnone's 2005 study quotes from a text established on the basis of a collation between two manuscripts (referred to as Kathmandu no. 1, 1975/VI, 43 and Thanjavur no. B1725/D10555), to which a few other Devanāgarī transcripts and Grantha manuscripts were added 'at places' (Magnone 2005, 575, fn. 1). His disregard of the earliest palm-leaf materials results in an incorrect dating of the text, for which Magnone seems to suggest the 12th century as *terminus post quem* (see 2005, 591), considerably later than the earliest attested manuscripts.

Long summaries of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* were published by Hazra (1983 and 1985, originally appeared in 1952 and 1953), who also tried to speculate on the date and provenance of the texts.

4 A partly handwritten transcription of the so-called 'Śivadharma corpus', with a partial commentary, appeared in Nepal with a commentary of Yogī Naraharinātha (1998). This text is not provided with a critical apparatus nor with an introduction, and is probably just the transcript of one of the many Nepalese manuscripts, to which the editor silently added his own conjectures. A comparable case is that of the printed edition of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* that very recently appeared for the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series (see Jugnu 2014): the editor accompanies the Sanskrit text with a Hindī commentary and a few explanatory notes, only providing a very generic reference in the preface to the use of a manuscript from Adyar (Jugnu 2014, IX), whose variants are sometimes reported in the footnotes; he, however, does not further discuss the philological criteria which have been followed in establishing the text. As Peter Bisschop kindly informed me in a personal communication, the variants adopted by the editor turn out to be identical with the readings of the Pondicherry transcript T32 (for which see Appendix II), which was copied from a manuscript held in Kilvelur. Besides providing an original introduction in Hindī, the editor also reprinted Hazra 1985 (Jugnu 2014, XI–XXX).

texts are thus still little studied, so that attempts at placing them in time and space have to be considered provisional. Recent developments in this field of study, however, allow us to justly believe that progress will be made within the next few years.[5] Taking into consideration the broader context of the early Śaiva milieu, a tentative dating from the 6th to the 7th century has been considered plausible.[6]

A combination of the direct evidence of the manuscript transmission (for which see Appendix II) and the indirect evidence consisting of references and quotations from these works in later textual sources — both literary and epigraphical — convincingly demonstrates that these two texts were widely known all over India in medieval times. This sort of evidence proves their knowledge in various Indian regions like Kashmir,[7]

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5 Useful introductions on the topic can be found in Sanderson forthc. a, 3–10, and forthc. b, 82–90. Critical editions of portions of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* are currently being prepared by Peter Bisschop (Leiden University) and Nina Mirnig (Austrian Academy of Sciences). The former is working on a critical edition of chapter 6 (*Śāntyadhyāya*), containing a long *mantra* for the performance of the Great Appeasement rituals (*mahāśānti*), which due to its contents and ritual uses had a peculiar transmission history (see Bisschop 2014 and *infra*). Mirnig is working on chapters 1–5 and 7–9, within the framework of broader research on *liṅga*-worship in early Śaivism. As for the *Śivadharmottara*, I have prepared a critical edition of its second chapter (*Vidyādānādhyāya*) for a study on the cult of the book in Hindu sources (see De Simini 2013 and forthc.); this edition will appear alongside chapters one, three and four, and a comprehensive study of the manuscript tradition. As for the other texts belonging to the Śivadharma corpus, a critical edition of the first three chapters of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* was the topic of the doctoral thesis of Anil Kumar Acharya (Institut Français de Pondichéry), still awaiting publication (Acharya 2009); a critical edition of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, chapters 5–9, has moreover been presented by Nirajan Kafle in the appendix of his doctoral thesis (Kafle 2015). Acharya and Kafle are also engaged in preparing a critical edition of the *Dharmaputrikā* (personal communication). The study of works from this corpus is also one of the aims pursued by the European Research Council Synergy Grant 'Beyond Boundaries: Region, Language and the State' (2014–2019), hosted at the British Museum, British Library and SOAS.

6 As in Bisschop 2010, 483, fn. 35.

7 For the evidence provided by the Kashmiri manuscripts of these works, see Appendix II. Knowledge of the *Śivadharmottara* in Kashmir is also testified by the literal quotations and textual reuses traceable in the 30th chapter of the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, a Śaiva work of the 13th century ascribable to the Kashmiri author Jayadratha. This chapter is a brief compendium of the *Śivadharmottara*, since almost the entirety of its verses are based on lose or literal parallels from this earlier Śaiva work (on this and more parallels from the *Śivadharmottara* traced in later literature, see De Simini forthc.).

As evidence for the knowledge of the Śivadharma in Kashmir, Sanderson (forthc. b, 84) also adduces verse 511cd of the Kashmiri *Nīlamatapurāṇa,* presumably composed during the period of the Karkoṭa dynasty (7th–8th century); this verse prescribes as a duty of Śaiva devotees during the

Bengal,[8] Tamil Nadu[9] and Karnataka.[10] As shown by Sanderson, a quotation from the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is also traceable in a 10th century Old Khmer inscription, thus pointing at the knowledge of this text also overseas.[11]

With the sole exception of the Bengali manuscripts, in which the two texts are associated, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* have been transmitted in India by means of independent single-text manuscripts, although sources quoting from both texts (like the Talagunda inscription mentioned in fn. 10) do testify that these works were considered culturally and traditionally related. Moreover, an overall look at the extant Indian manuscripts demonstrates that these are fairly recent, postdating the earliest indirect pieces of evidence provided by southern inscriptions. The situation changes dramatically once we turn our attention to the far North.

The fundamental contribution of Nepal to the preservation of a high quantity of manuscripts, among which are a number of precious early palm-leaf sources, does not need further remarks for scholars of classical indology. For the non-specialist, it suffices here to say that, due to favorable geographical and climatic reasons, the extant manuscript production from this area is ear-

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annual Śivarātri festival the listening to recitations of the *śivadharmāḥ*. The word is here used in the plural, which is a usual way to refer to the teachings contained in these works; as Sanderson argues, the use of the plural may also refer to the 'corpus headed by the *Śivadharmaśāstra*'.

8 Long passages from *Śivadharmottara*'s chapters 1, 2 and 12 have been copied or readapted by the *Devīpurāṇa*, which most likely originates from Bengal, in chapters 91, 127 and 128 of the Devanāgarī edition. The *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* are moreover attested in two manuscripts in Bengali script, for which see Appendix II.

9 For manuscript evidence from the Tamil-speaking regions, see Appendix II. The knowledge of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* in the South during the Middle Ages is furthermore testified by indirect tradition: the southern *Uttarakāmika* reuses *Śivadharmottara*'s second chapter in its chapter 67, and quotations from the *Śivadharmottara* are available in the ritual manual (*paddhati*) titled *Jñānaratnāvalī* by Jñānaśiva (second half of the 12th century). The *Śivadharmottara* is moreover amply quoted by Vedajñāna II in his 'Ritual Manual of Private Worship' (*Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati*, 16th century).

As regards the testimony of inscriptions, to the best of my knowledge the earliest epigraph from this area witnessing public readings of a *Śivadharma* is ascribed to the reign of Rājendra Coḷa I (r. 1012–1044 CE), as in ARE no. 214 of 1911 (appeared as ARE no. 919, 16).

10 Among the evidence for the knowledge of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* in Karnataka, a bilingual Kannada-Sanskrit inscription from the Prāṇaveśvara temple in Talagunda (Rice 1902, EC VII, Skt. 185), dated to 1157 CE, not only quotes stanzas from the *Śivadharmaśāstra,* but also refers to ritual procedures taught in the *Śivadharmottara*, like the public reading of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s sixth chapter (*Śāntyadhyāya*). For a more in-depth study of this epigraph, see De Simini forthc.

11 Sanderson forthc. b, 86, fn. 222.

ly,[12] abundant and, in certain cases, shows continuity over the course of time, a combination of circumstances that have considerably contributed to our knowledge of Indic texts and textual transmission. In the case of the works under investigation, the importance of their Nepalese transmission does not only lie in the circumstance that their earliest specimens are attested there (see below), nor in the abundance and continuity of this tradition, which counts more than sixty manuscripts ranging from old palm-leaf to recent paper ones. There is in fact more to this: since their earliest attestations in Nepalese manuscripts, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* have been constantly arranged in MTMs containing up to eight works on Śaiva topics. The set of works contained in these manuscripts is fixed, apart from some oscillations concerning their number, and the arrangement tends to follow a fixed pattern.

The titles of the works thus transmitted are, according to one of their most common arrangements:

Śivadharmaśāstra	'Treatise on Śaiva Religion'
Śivadharmottara	'Continuation [of the Treatise] on Śaiva Religion'
Śivadharmasaṃgraha	'Compendium of Śaiva Religion'
Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda	'Dialogue Between Umā and the Great Lord'
Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda	'Great Dialogue [Made of] Questions and Answers'
Śivopaniṣad	'Essential Teachings of Śiva'
Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha	'Compendium of the Essence of the Bull [of Dharma]'[13]
Dharmaputrikā	'Daughter[14] of Dharma'

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12 Harimoto 2011, 87–90, points out that the earliest verifiable dated manuscript from Nepal is Kesar 699, NGMPP C 80/7, *Suśrutasaṃhitā,* dated to April 13, 878 CE, alongside a *Skandapurāṇa* manuscript (NAK 2–299, NGMPP B11/4) dated to March 10, 811 CE and used as S¹ in the critical edition of the 'original *Skandapurāṇa*'. He further points out that among the earliest pieces of the Nepalese collections are a manuscript of the *Daśabhūmīśvarasūtra* (NGMPP A 38/5 and A 39/13), possibly ascribable to the 6th century, and a few more fragments, including the oldest Pāli manuscript, that could be contemporary or even earlier than the *Daśabhūmīśvarasūtra* manuscript (Harimoto 2011, 93–95 and fn. 6).
13 As noted by Sanderson (forthc. b, 83, fn. 203), this title can have a double meaning, since the 'bull' (*vṛṣa*) is both a synonym of 'religious practice' and the traditional mount (*vāhana*) of Śiva. For a possibly comparable reading of the figure of the bull in iconography, see Bakker 2014, 68–69, dealing with some seals attributed to the Maukhari dynasty. As recalled by Bakker, the story of the bull becoming Śiva's mount is recounted in *Skandapurāṇa* 33.102–129.
14 The term *putrikā* is mostly used for denoting a daughter who is charged by her sonless father with the duty of raising a male offspring. These sons, though born to her husband, are to be legally considered as their grandfather's direct male descendants. The *Manusmṛti* defines the institution of the *putrikā* at 9.127–128 and warns against marrying one at 3.11.

In all Nepalese MTMs, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* are significantly placed at the beginning, immediately followed by the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*. This work recalls the first two texts by title and structure, since the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* is also divided into twelve chapters.[15] Another constant is the presence of the *Dharmaputrikā* in the last place, as well as the sequence *Śivadharmasaṃgraha-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda,* which is however not always respected in earlier manuscripts, where the *Śivopaniṣad* can instead be placed immediately after the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (see below the arrangement of ULC Add. 1645).

As observed above, the existence of such MTMs transmitting this collection of works, which have been referred to as the 'Śivadharma corpus', has so far proven to be a peculiarity pertaining only to the Nepalese region. Moreover, none of the other six works seems to have been transmitted outside Nepal, except at a late date.[16] That the six works added to the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara,* or some of them, could have been produced in Nepal as a response to the vast popularity attained by Śaivism in this region during the Middle Ages (see par. 4) must by now be considered nothing more than a working hypothesis.[17] A deeper knowledge of the texts of the collection, anticipated from ongoing and future studies, will have to prove this hypothesis true or false.

What is culturally significant is that the choice of MTMs was clearly prevalent in medieval times: of the approximately eighteen still extant Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts attesting the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* — distributed among the collections of the Kathmandu libraries (above all the National Archives and the Kesar Library), the University Library of Cambridge, the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, the Bodleian Library of Oxford, the Universitätsbibliothek of Tübingen[18] and the Collège de France in Paris — seventeen transmit them in

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15 The other works of the collection are of different lengths: the shortest ones are the *Śivopaniṣad* (seven chapters) and the *Dharmaputrikā* (16 short chapters). The number of chapters of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* varies from a minimum of 20 to a maximum of 24 — 21 being the most frequently attested quantity in early palm-leaf manuscripts (see *infra* fn. 34 for a discussion). The *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* has ten chapters, while the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 24.

16 The *Adyar Library Catalogue*, for instance, lists a paper transcript of the *Śivopaniṣad* (Pandits of the Adyar Library vol. 1, p. 103). This transcript may have been the basis for the printed edition of the *Śivopaniṣad* published in Adyar (Kunhal Raja 1933).

17 Note that a Nepalese origin for the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* has been already put forward as a hypothesis by Diwakar Acharya (Zotter 2013, 274). I owe this reference to Nina Mirnig in a personal communication.

18 I thank Harunaga Isaacson for drawing my attention to the existence of this manuscript, described as Ma I 582.

MTMs together with the aforementioned works.[19] The only possible exception in the Nepalese tradition among the earliest materials seems to be a fragmentary palm-leaf manuscript of forty-two folios attesting the *Śivadharmottara* (NAK 5-892, NGMPP A 12/3). This is a very significant piece of evidence, since it is the earliest extant manuscript of a text belonging to the Śivadharma collection, dateable on palaeographical grounds from the late 9th to early 10th century. It is severely damaged, and its bad state of preservation makes it difficult to prove with certainty that it was not part of a broader collection of texts. Damages in the margins prevent one from reading the page numbers; the beginning point is not extant, but the last page of the *Śivadharmottara* is preserved, which makes it possible to observe that this work was not immediately followed by another one, at least not directly on the same folio.

The production of palm-leaf manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus, of which NAK 5-892 (NGMPP A 12/3) is the first attested specimen, will cover a time span of at least six centuries, since the latest dated palm-leaf copy of our texts known so far is ascribed to NS (*nepālasaṃvat*) 516, corresponding to 1395–96 CE.[20] Nepa-

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19 Palm-leaf MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus are: NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4); ASC G 4077 (cat. no. 4084); ULC Add. 1645; NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3); NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3=A 1082/2); Bodl. Or. B 125; NAK 5–841 (NGMPP B 12/4); UBT Ma I 582; ULC Add. 1694; ASC G 3852 (cat. no. 4085); ULC Add. 2102; NAK 5–737 (NGMPP A 3/3=A 1081/5); NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3); NAK 1–1261 (A 10/5); Kesar 218 (NGMPP C 25/1).
To these fifteen we shall further add ASC G 4076 *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (cat. no. 4083). Shāstrī (1928, 716) reports that the folios of this work, completely extant, are numbered from 210 to 251, which is incontrovertible evidence for arguing that it was extracted from a MTM. For other cases like this in more recent paper manuscripts, see below. The total number of discovered palm-leaf manuscripts includes a MTM of the Śivadharma corpus in the library of the Collège de France whose existence was brought to my attention by the late Kamaleshwar Bhattacharya. I was unfortunately not able to directly inspect this copy, but I suppose this should correspond to one of the manuscripts brought from Nepal by Sylvain Lévi, and more precisely to the one described by him as 'un très bel exemplar du Çivadharma, une énorme encyclopédie du culte çivaïte, qu'aucune collection publique, en Inde aussi bien que en Europe, ne possède encore' (*Mémorial Sylvain Lévi* 1937, 265). Manuscripts microfilmed by the NGMPP are listed and/or described in the NGMCP catalogue (see the online version at: <http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/Main_Page>), while the Cambridge manuscripts are described in Vergiani, Cuneo and Formigatti 2011–2014. Regarding the contents of all the examined manuscripts, see Appendix I; for the conventions followed in their citation, see par. 10.
20 NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3), the most recent palm-leaf manuscript of the corpus. Note however that the latest palm-leaf manuscript transmitting a portion of the texts of the collection is NAK 1–1376 (NGMPP A 1158/8), a MTM transmitting *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s sixth chapter (*Śāntyadhyāya*) together with other Purāṇic excerpts. This manuscript is dated to NS 522, 1401–02 CE (fol. 20v[L3]). To

lese paper manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus on the other hand are attested until the 20th century.[21] While later paper production witnesses the existence of single-text manuscripts of some works of the corpus (see below), on the basis of the extant palm-leaf manuscripts we do not know whether these works were transmitted independently also before their attestation in the collection. All we can say on the sole account of the positive evidence is that the earliest and most frequent attestations of these works are in Nepalese MTMs, and that they have been understood and labelled as a corpus chiefly due to their being so transmitted. Our idea of a Śivadharma corpus is therefore strongly dependent on the Nepalese production of MTMs, which in this case can be said to be actual 'corpus-organizers'.[22]

2 Nepalese MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus: Description and terminology

The terminology that will be used in describing the most representative items of the collection is partially inspired by the one employed in Western codicology for the same purposes, although a few adaptations were needed. The main problem with the detailed definitions given, for instance, by J. Peter Gumbert regarding the different elements of what he calls 'the stratigraphy of the non-homogeneous codex' (2004) is that they are based on minimal units, the quires, which do not have an exact counterpart in Nepalese manuscripts, nor in the majority of extant manuscripts from Indian cultural areas, except in later cases which are however

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the year 516 it is also possible to date the palm-leaf manuscript ULC Add. 2836, again a MTM containing, among other works, the *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadha-rmaśāstra*.

Still unsolved to me is the case of Kesar 218 (NGMPP C 25/1), a palm-leaf manuscript that according to the catalogue should be dated to VS 1985 (1928–29 CE). Probably also due to the poor quality of the images in my possession, I was unfortunately not able to confirm what however seems to be too late a dating.

21 The latest dated Nepalese paper manuscript I have examined so far is Kesar 597 NGMPP C 57/5, dated to NS 863 (1742–43 CE; see fol. 213r[L8]), but the NGMCP catalogue records a few paper manuscripts dated to the 20th century under the title *Śivadharma*. See for instance NGMPP M 3/8, a MTM of 135 folios possibly transmitting the *Śāntyadhyāya* along with other brief texts, dated to VS 1994 (1937–38 CE); or NGMPP E 341/16, a manuscript of 20 folios dated to VS 1998 (1941–42 CE).

22 On the notion of 'corpus-organizers', see Bausi 2010.

ascribable to external influences.[23] The most attested format for palm-leaf manu-scripts, which was later adopted also for a variety of writing supports, among which paper, is the one that is usually designated with the Hindī word *pothī* (from Sanskrit *pustaka/pustikā*, 'book', via the Prakrit *potthiā*): this format does not re-quire the use of quires, nor of a fixed binding, since loose leaves, which are thus the sole minimal units, are piled on each other and kept together just by the use of removable strings, as well as by upper and lower covers.[24] This is the sole for-mat in which the Nepalese manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus, both the palm-leaf and the paper specimens, are attested. Therefore, when Gumbert defines a codicological unit as 'a discrete number of quires, worked in a single operation and containing a complete text and/or set of texts',[25] he uses a category that is not applicable to the manuscripts under investigation, nor to the majority of other MTMs from the same cultural area. As a consequence, all his other definitions dependent on that of codicological unit, when taken literally, fail to be directly useable in this context. A good example is that of 'blocks', at the basis of the dis-tinction between 'unarticulated' and 'articulated' units. Referring to the bounda-ries that define sections within the unarticulated codicological unit — like the end of a text and the beginning of another, or the switch to a different hand — Gumbert states that 'places where a quire boundary coincides with any other boundary are

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23 An example is provided by the introduction of codices into the valley of Kashmir by Muslims, a fact which strongly influenced the local production of manuscripts, so that, as early as the 15th century, this region attests the manufacture and use of codices bound with leather and made of quires, consisting both of local birchbark and of paper (Losty 1982, 8–9). Moreover, as Alexis Sanderson informed me in a private communication dated to July 5, 2016, 'we have a Kashmirian Śāradā birchbark manuscript bound in the western manner and covered with tanned leather dated in Laukika / Saptarṣi year 29 in the reign of Anantadeva, that is to say, in 1054 CE and containing a number of Buddhist Tantric texts. It is on display in the Tibet Museum adjoining the Norbulingka Palace in Lhasa'. The University Library of Cambridge owns a Kashmiri codex of the *Bṛhannāradīyapurāṇa* (Add. 2465) that still shows traces of its original binding, making it possible to observe that quires were sewn according to the Persian style (I thank Camillo Formi-gatti for drawing my attention to this piece of evidence). A sort of compromise between the codex and the traditional so-called *pothī* format was reached in the 17th and 18th century with the pro-duction of manuscripts consisting of a single big quire in which long paper sheets were sewn together by means of a strong cord (Losty 1982, 12–13 and 130–31). The introduction of European books also played a role in influencing the Indian production of manuscripts based on quires.
24 I do not account here for the variety of forms and solutions attested in this format, nor for other formats of Indic manuscripts; for a brief introduction to the topic, the reader may refer to Losty 1982, 5 foll; a broader discussion, with remarks on the composite manuscripts, can be found in Formigatti 2011, 26–39.
25 Gumbert 2004, 23.

caesuras, and the quires between caesuras are blocks'.[26] When this happens, a unit can be considered 'articulated'. Essential to this definition, however, is that the blocks do not correspond to a complete work and, as a consequence, are not separable from the torso without affecting the whole manuscript. As we shall see, the concept of block can be very useful if applied to the manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus, provided only that we overcome the limitation represented by the lack of correspondence of the blocks with whole works.

In partial contrast to Gumbert's definitions, I would like to argue that the majority of the Nepalese Śivadharma manuscripts can be analysed as consisting of a single codicological unit (they would therefore be considered 'monomerous' according to this terminology),[27] even though they are often divided by caesuras into blocks corresponding to different works, which thus become separable from the torso of the manuscript. These blocks can in fact be mutually independent, and there are hints that the different parts of the manuscripts have sometimes been used separately. Describing the MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus as monomerous, when possible — in spite of the mutual independence of the works — is however suggested by the internal uniformity of their physical features as well as by the information provided by paratexts. These sets of evidence confirm that two of the constitutive features of a codicological unit — the unity of production and of purpose — are present. Internal subdivisions do not affect the cohesion of the manuscripts nor their intent of creating and preserving a corpus of texts.

A good starting point for a closer examination of the MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus is a manuscript held at the University Library of Cambridge and catalogued as Add. 1645. This is a palm leaf manuscript consisting of 247 folios and dated in the final colophon to NS 259 (1139–40 CE), a circumstance that makes it one of the earliest dated manuscripts of the Śivadharma collection.[28] The ruling monarch in Nepal at that time was Mānadeva (r. ca. 1136–1140 CE).[29] This manuscript attests that by then all the eight works which constitute the canonical corpus existed and were transmitted together in the following arrangement:

Śivadharmaśāstra	fols. 1r–38r
Śivadharmottara	fols. 38r–87r

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26 Gumbert 2004, 24.

27 Gumbert 2004, 26.

28 The dated colophon is at fol. 247r[L6], immediately after the final heading of the *Dharmaputrikā*. Pictures of this manuscript are available on the website of the Cambridge Digital Library under the following link: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01645/1>.The earliest dated manuscript of the Śivadharma corpus identified so far is ASC G 4077 (see below).

29 Petech 1984, 58–59.

Śivadharmasaṃgraha	fols. 87r–132r
Śivopaniṣad	fols. 132r–150v
Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda	fols. 150v–180v
Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda	fols. 180v–201v
Vṛsasārasaṃgraha	fols. 201v–238v
Dharmaputrikā	fols. 238v–247r

The works contained in this manuscript are copied one after the other, the only caesuras being the final and initial headings of each text. The conclusion of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is marked not only by a simple conclusive statement like all the other texts, but also by a series of invocations (*mantra*s) in which Śiva is invoked in his famous eight aspects. These *mantra*s are reproduced, as if they were an integral part of the text, by almost all palm-leaf Nepalese and paper manuscripts, with the significant exception of NAK 6-7 (NGMPP A 1028/4), one of the earliest MTMs ascribable to the Śivadharma corpus (see below).[30] These auspicious statements had most likely been introduced by a scribe and then copied by others as if they were part of the text. Regardless of their origin, the final *mantra*s manage to create a sort of barrier between the first and earliest text of the collection and the following ones.[31] The works contained in ULC Add. 1645 are not di-

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30 Note that ASC G 4077, from what one can deduce on the basis of the catalogue information, lacks this *mantra* as well. Its description however is not as exhaustive as the one provided in the same catalogue for the other Śivadharma corpus manuscript (ASC G 3852).

31 The text of the *mantra* runs as follows (note that the transcripts presented here and elsewhere are done verbatim):

ULC Add. 1645, fol. 38r[LL2–4]: || ○ || *oṃ mahādevāya candramūrttaye namaḥ | oṃ īśānāya sūryamūrtta<ye> namaḥ | oṃ <u>grāya vāyumūrttaye • namaḥ | oṃ rudrāya agnimūrttaye namaḥ | oṃ bhavāya jalamūlamūrttaye namaḥ | oṃ sarvāya kṣitimūrttaye nama[L3]ḥ | oṃ paśupataye yajamānamūrttaye namaḥ | oṃ bhīmāya ākāśamūrttaye namaḥ | mūrttayo 'ṣṭau śivasyai: • tāḥ pūrvādikramayogataḥ | agnayāntaḥ prayojyasya tebhyaḥ śivāṅgapūjanaṃ || ○ || iti śiva: • dharmaśāstre nandīkeśvaraprokte* (sic!) *śivabhaktyādyaśākhāpaśākhādhyāyo* (sic!) *dvādaśas samāptaḥ || ○ || iti* [L4] *śivadharmaḥ samāptaḥ || ○ ||*; 'Oṃ, obeisance to the Great God, whose embodiment is the moon. Oṃ, obeisance to the Ruler, whose embodiment is the sun. Oṃ, obeisance to the Fierce, whose embodiment is the wind. Oṃ, obeisance to Rudra, whose embodiment is fire. Oṃ, obeisance to Bhava, whose embodiment is water (read *jalamūrttaye* instead of *jālamūlamūrttaye*). Oṃ, obeisance to Śarva, whose embodiment is earth. Oṃ, obeisance to Paśupati, whose embodiment is the sacrificer. Oṃ, obeisance to the Fearful, whose embodiment is ether. These are the eight embodiments of Śiva according to a sequence which starts from the east and ends with the south-east. [...] Thus, in the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, which has been exposed by Nandikeśvara, the twelfth chapter [entitled] *Śivabhaktyādyaśākhopaśākhā* is completed. Thus, the Śivadharma is completed'.

visible, since neither blank space nor blank pages are inserted in order to separate them. Foliation runs uninterrupted from the first until the last page. This case thus literally complies with Gumbert's 'unarticulated' monomerous, i.e. a manuscript corresponding to a single unarticulated codicological unit not divided in blocks. More precisely, this manuscript is consistent with what is defined as 'homogeneous' monomerous, i.e. an unarticulated codicological unit which still has some internal boundaries — in this case, the use of slightly different hands — distinguishing physically indivisible sections.[32] Parallel to ULC Add. 1645, only one other palm-leaf MTM of the Śivadharma corpus arranges the texts one after the other, thus testifying that they were in fact conceived as forming a textual unit since early times. I am referring to the already mentioned NAK 6-7 (NGMPP A 1028/4), an early fragmentary palm-leaf manuscript of which 157 folios are extant. Though being undated, this may be the earliest piece of evidence for the existence of the collection, given that its script can be dated between the late 10th and the beginning of the 11th century.[33] Like ULC Add. 1645, this manuscript does not mark the end of works with a blank space, but just with final headings and auspicious invocations. The foliation runs uninterrupted, with only one exception that we will examine soon. The initial portion of the manuscript is severely mutilated, as shown by the following table of contents:

Note that only this manuscript attests the variant *jalamūla*° instead of the simple *jala*° that is to be expected here and that is attested in the other manuscripts. The final heading of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is placed after the *mantra*s, so that they are also formally included in the text. The same text in the same position, preceding the final heading of the work, is found, among others, in NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3), ULC Add. 1694, NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3), ASC G 3852, Kesar 218 (NGMPP C 25/1), WI δ 16. This *mantra* is also found in a MTM in Bengali script (ULC Add. 1599), whereas it is absent from all the catalogued Kashmiri manuscripts and from the southern manuscripts that I could check.

Bodl. Or. B 125 and NAK 5–841 (NGMPP B 12/4) present a longer version of the final *mantra*, which in both cases is inserted between the final heading of *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s last chapter and the general final heading of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*. Folios belonging to this section are missing in ULC Add. 2102, NAK 5–737 (NGMPP A 3/3) and NAK 1–1261 (NGMPP A 10/5).

32 Gumbert 2004, 25. Note that the definition of homogeneous codicological unit is contrasted with that of 'uniform' unit, in which the only boundaries correspond to text boundaries.
In ULC Add. 1645, besides the boundaries represented by the use of different hands, a few, blurred folios not originally belonging to the manuscript have been added at the beginning and the end, presumably with a protective function.

33 I thank Kengo Harimoto for helping me confirm this and other estimates on the sole basis of palaeographical features. My colleague Nirajan Kafle has pointed out, during a workshop held at the University of Hamburg, that this manuscript is more likely to belong to the beginning of the 11th century.

Śivadharmaśāstra	fols. 34r*–48v
Śivadharmottara	fols. 48v–109v
Śivadharmasaṃgraha	fols. 109v–162r
Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda	fols. 162r–191v
Śivopaniṣad	fols. 1v–13v*

Although the initial folios of the manuscript are missing, the folio with the concluding colophon of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fol. 191) is extant. This work ends here with chapter 20, unlike the rest of the tradition where the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is divided into 21, 22 or even 23 chapters. [34] The verso side of fol. 191 contains only three and half lines (opposed to the five lines per page of the other folios), then the remaining quarter of the page following the final colophon is left blank (Fig.1). Since the habit of the scribe was not to separate the works from each other with a blank space, we can deduce that this was the actual end of the manuscript.

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34 The manuscript tradition is rather varied on this point, and a detailed account of this diversity can be found in De Simini forthc. a. In brief, part of the palm-leaf tradition divides the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* into 21 chapters plus a few stanzas added after the colophon of chapter 21, to which however the manuscripts do not append the heading of 22, but end the chapter — and the work — by means of a simple concluding *iti*. This part of the tradition includes very early items, such as NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), dated to 1069 CE, ULC Add. 1645 (dated to 1138–39 CE), ULC Add. 1694 (12th century), ULC Add. 2102 (12th century), NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3), dated to 1170 CE and NAK 1/1261 (NGMPP A 10/5), but also later manuscripts like NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3), dated to 1396 CE and Kesar 218 (NGMPP C 25/1). We can regard NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3) as representative of this 'group' — the early stage of the study of these manuscripts does not allow us yet to identify proper 'branches' — in order to observe their arrangement of *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*'s final portion in contrast with the earlier NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4). If we compare the final portion of chapter 20 in NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3), which inserts another chapter right after it, with the corresponding section in NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4), for which chapter 20 is also the last one, we will notice that *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*'s chapters 20 of the two manuscripts are consistent with each other, although NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4) misses a few verses that NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3) and other similar manuscripts attest at the very end of the chapter. The arrangement proposed by other palm-leaf manuscripts may vary substantially. NAK 5–737 (NGMPP A 3/3), a later palm-leaf manuscript dated to 1201 CE, divides chapter 20 into two shorter chapters, numbered 20 and 21, and appends to the latter the same colophon that NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4), but not the others, attached to chapter 20. This is followed by a chapter 22 (the *bhīṣaṇādhyāya*, 'chapter on the Horrific [Śiva]'; see fol. 183r[L2]) that is not extant in the rest of the tradition, and a chapter 23, which is an abridged version of NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3)'s chapter 21. Still different is the situation of Bodl. Or. B 125 (dated to 1187 CE), whose chapter 23 corresponds to chapter 21 of NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3). The different numeration of the chapters depends here on a different subdivision of the contents and not, like for NAK 5–737 (NGMPP A 3/3), on the insertion of a new chapter. Bodl.

What seems to be the earliest manuscript of the collection therefore originally contained only four works, possibly reflecting an initial stage in the formation of the corpus. After the final statements and the auspicious *mantra*, a different hand has, at a later point, added a traditional *anuṣṭubh* stanza which was also added — in this case, by the same scribe of the manuscript — at the end of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*.[35] The stanza added on fol. 191$_v$ therefore had the primary function of filling a line left partially blank, and a secondary function — which is rather a consequence of the first — of creating a connection with the preceding work through the repetition of the same paratext.

The loose folios of this manuscript are not preserved in their original sequence, so fol. 191 is inserted in the middle of the manuscript, between two folios numbered one and two; these do not contain the beginning of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, but that of the *Śivopaniṣad*, a work that is usually attested in the other versions of the corpus but is missing from the 191 folios of which NAK 6–7 originally consisted. The text of the *Śivopaniṣad* runs from fol.1 until fol. 13, where it is interrupted before the completion of its sixth and penultimate chapter. The hand attested in the *Śivopaniṣad* is very close, though not identical, with that used for the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* — the latter, in turn, was written by a slightly different hand than the one used for copying the first three works — and the page layout and writing support are also the same. In spite of that, the section containing the *Śivopaniṣad* has to be considered a different codicological unit for two reasons: the foliation, which was running continuously in what we can now call the kernel of the manuscript, is started anew in this second unit; this one, moreover, is separated from the preceding *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* by the blank space on

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Or. B 125 concludes the work without a final colophon. A scribe must have found this solution quite annoying, so he added a final heading to this portion, where he however mistakenly calls it 'chapter 22' (see Bodl. Or. B 125, fol. 197v[L4]), while according to the correct numeration it should have been the 24th.

35 The concluding paratextual statements of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* of NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4) read as follows: fol. 172r[L3] *iti sivadharmasaṃgrahe dvādasamaḥ • paṭalaḥ* || ✳ || *oṃ namaḥ sivāya* || *pāpo <'>haṃ pāpakarmāṇāṃ pāpātmā pāpasaṃbhava<ḥ> | trāhi māṃ • devam īsānaṃ sarvapāpaharo hara iti* || ○ || *oṃ namaḥ sivāya* ||; 'thus [ends] the twelfth chapter of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*. Oṃ, obeisance to Śiva. I am sin, I am one whose actions are sin (read *pāpakarmāhaṃ* instead of *pāpakārmāṇāṃ*), a sinner, who is born from sin. Save me, o sovereign god (read *deva īsāna* instead of *devam īsānaṃ*)! The Seizer [god] is the remover of all sins. Oṃ, obeisance to Śiva'. The same verse is attested in this manuscript at the end of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*: fol. 191v[L3] || ○ || *iti mahābhāratasāntiparvaṇi dānadharmeṣu u*[L4]*māmahesvarasaṃvāde viṃsamo <'>dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ* || ✳ || *samāptaṃ umāmahesvarasaṃvādaṃ* || *oṃ nama sivā • dityo gu*[[..]]*ḥ* || *oṃ nama sarvajñāya* || *pāpo <'>haṃ pāpakarmānāṃ pāpātatmā* (sic!) *pāpasabhava* (sic!) *trāhi • māṃ devam īsānāṃ sarvvapāpaharo harā* (sic!) *iti* ✳ *namaḥ sarvajñāya* ||

fol. 191v, in contrast to the practice attested in the kernel, and by leaving a blank page (fol. 1r). For these reasons, NAK 6–7 can be defined as a composite, since the unity of production is interrupted by the introduction of these two different techniques. The writing used in this manuscript shows only small differences in the ductus, which can be probably considered just synchronic variants. The secondary, incomplete unit corresponding to the *Śivopaniṣad* might therefore have been produced in the same circle and at about the same time as the kernel to which it was added. In other words, the two units can be considered 'homogenetic' or even 'monogenetic'.[36] It is difficult to tell whether this is a paratactic or a hypotactic composite. The new foliation seems to suggest that the second unit was not produced in order to fit the already existing kernel. However, the remaining options — that this was a single-text manuscript of the *Śivopaniṣad* or that it was extracted from another MTM and then associated with a new kernel — still leave unsolved questions. In the first case, this would have been the only attested palm-leaf single-text manuscript of the *Śivopaniṣad*; in the second, we should postulate the existence of a still unidentified MTM in which foliation was started anew with every work, and that was deprived of the *Śivopaniṣad* or completely dismembered. At present, neither option can be proved.

Among the Nepalese MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus, there is another composite that reproduces a very similar situation as that of NAK 6–7. This is a palm-leaf manuscript of which 258 folios are extant, held at the University Library of Cambridge and catalogued as Add. 1694. The manuscript is undated and incomplete, since the beginning and the end are missing, and severely damaged at some points. Despite these defects, it is possible to reconstruct the order of the works that were contained in it:

Śivadharmaśāstra	fols. *3v–41v
Śivadharmottara	fols. 42r–89r
Śivadharmasaṃgraha	fols. 90r–136r
Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda	fols. 137r–167v
Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda	fols. 170r–192v
Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha	fols. 193r–238v
Dharmaputrikā	fols. 240v–244v*
Śivopaniṣad	fols. 126r[1] –142v[1]

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36 See Gumbert 2004, 27. The difference between 'homogenetic' and 'monogenetic' units is that in the first case the units have been produced by the same circle or workshop, whereas in the second case they have been produced by exactly the same person.

In the case of this manuscript, we can distinguish a first codicological unit corresponding to a MTM with uninterrupted foliation, but in which the different works are separated by means of caesuras consisting of a blank space left at the end of each work and one blank page (typically the recto side of the following folio) separating it from the following work. The texts are therefore potentially divisible, although the foliation is uninterrupted from the beginning of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* until the end of the *Dharmaputrikā*. This description agrees with the arrangement of the majority of the manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus, with the sole exception of the aforementioned ULC Add. 1645 and NAK 6–7.[37] It would be misleading to interpret the kernel of ULC Add. 1694 and similar manuscripts as composites by describing the different works as belonging to distinct codicological units. Their works have been copied with the intention of arranging them in the same MTM from the beginning, and therefore must rather be considered as articulations of the same codicological unit. This can be argued first of all on the basis of the frequency with which the same works are transmitted together in contemporary manuscripts — and, we shall recall again, the absence of single-text manuscripts of the same works belonging to this time span. The seven works of the kernel are, moreover, arranged in a precise order, comparable to that of many other manuscripts (see references); they cannot therefore be likened to the carriages of a train, 'simply put one behind the other', and to which one can give 'any desired order', as Gumbert eidetically describes composite manuscripts.[38] The physical features of the manuscripts are coherent: material, page layout and writing are kept constant, and the foliation is uninterrupted. The comparison with remarks extracted from colophons of contemporary Śivadharma MTMs help in strengthening this point. We can therefore call the kernel of ULC Add. 1694 a single codicological unit, adapting Muzerelle's broader definition according to which a codicological unit is a 'Volume, partie de volume ou ensemble de volumes dont l'exécution peut être considérée comme une opération unique, réalisée dans les mêmes conditions de lieu, de temps et de technique'.[39]

The set of works contained in the kernel of ULC Add. 1694 lacks the *Śivopaniṣad*. Possibly because of this omission, another smaller codicological unit containing only the *Śivopaniṣad*, now described in the catalogue as Add. 1694², has been added to the bigger manuscript. From its foliation (here marked by ¹),

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37 Note also the exception of NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), which starts the foliation anew at the beginning of each work (see below).

38 Gumbert 2004, 31.

39 See Muzerelle 1985, *s.v.*

running from page 126r[1] to page 142v[1], we can deduce that this unit had been extracted from, or produced for, another (still unidentified) manuscript. ULC Add. 1694 is therefore a case of 'paratactic composite', because the production of the independent codicological unit of the *Śivopaniṣad* was not primarily intended to be joined with the present kernel.[40] This second codicological unit was in all probability produced by the same circles which produced the kernel, if not even copied by one of the scribes who worked on the kernel. A closer examination of the hands traceable in ULC Add. 1694 can in fact prove that the ductus attested in all the works of the kernel but the *Śivadharmottara* is different than the type used for the *Śivadharmottara*, which at the same time is extremely close to that employed in the *Śivopaniṣad*. The features taken into consideration in distinguishing the two types concern the dimension and shape of single letters (*akṣara*s) and clusters, number of *akṣara*s in a line, as well as orthographic peculiarities,[41] page layout and scribal habits.[42]

Once again we come across a MTM of the Śivadharma corpus to which a missing work was subsequently added, though still in the same period in which the main manuscript was produced, and in both cases the added work was the *Śivopaniṣad*. That there might have been some doubts whether to include this text in the corpus cannot be proven only on the basis of these two cases; however, the text itself seems to give hints that it had to beat other competitors in order to be recognised by the tradition of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* (see par. 3).

Extant colophons of palm-leaf MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus confirm that this collection of works was looked at as a unit at the time of their production and by the first consumers of this literature. This is true already for the oldest known

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40 Gumbert 2004, 27.

41 The most striking among the orthographical peculiarities of what I call 'type A' (the hand used in the whole manuscript with the exception of the *Śivadharmottara*) is that it systematically marks the *visarga* preceding the initial consonant *pa-* (*upadhmānīya*) as a small circle on the top-left part of the occlusive. This happens very rarely in the Nepalese scripts, being by contrast a very well attested feature in the *śāradā* manuscripts from Kashmir (see Slaje 1993, 28).

Pictures of this manuscript are available on the website of the Cambridge Digital Library under the following link: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01694-00001/1>.

42 An example of these scribal habits is that, at the end of the *Śivadharmottara* and of the *Śivopaniṣad* (unlike all other works), the scribe notes a number corresponding to the total amount of stanzas copied in the work. The *Śivadharmottara* is further distinguished from the rest of the kernel because, soon after the final heading of the last chapter, it features a 'guest-text', possibly an original composition by the scribe, titled *Yogasārastava* (see ULC Add. 1694 fols. 89r[LL4–6]–89v[LL1–5]).

dated attestation of the corpus, a palm-leaf manuscript preserved at the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, identified as G 4077.[43] This manuscript has, according to the catalogue record, a total amount of 334 folios.[44] The final colophon[45] dates it to NS 156 (1035–36 CE), during the reign of the *paramabhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirājaparameśvara* Lakṣmīkāmadeva,[46] and assigns the manuscript to the work of the scribe Ratnasiṃha.[47] The book that had just been copied is further referred to as a *pustakaṃ śivadharmam*, a 'book [named] Śivadharma'. Thus, since its earlier attestations, this collection of texts was designated by a collective noun qualifying it as a coherent unit rather than as a simple assemblage of works.

In several other cases, the colophons of the Śivadharma MTMs refer to the single texts as forming a whole, even as single parts of one treatise. A good example is provided by NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3). This palm-leaf manuscript of 274 extant folios transmits all eight works of the collection in the following arrangement:

Śivadharmaśāstra	fols. 1v–41r
Śivadharmottara	fols. 1v–52v

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43 All the information about manuscripts of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta is based on the catalogue records (Shastri 1928, 714–744).

44 The number can be explained by the fact that this manuscript also exhibits the unique feature of missing the *Dharmaputrikā*, which is replaced by a longer work titled *Lalitavistara*, a dialogue between Śiva and the Goddess which, at least in part, possibly corresponds to the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, though being substantially longer. This last work, of which 23 chapters are extant, is called *Lalitavistara* in all colophons with the exception of the last one. This last colophon, recording the title of chapter 23, calls the work *Umāmāheśvarottarottarasaṃvāda*. It seems possible to identify two different works here, rather than only one as Shastri hypothesises, since the last two colophons are both referred to two different chapter 23, the first attributed to the *Lalitavistara* and the second one to the *Umāmāheśvarottarottarasaṃvāda*. The chapter titles reported for the *Lalitavistara* do correspond to those of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, divided into 23 chapters. Chapters 24–33 of this *Lalitavistara* are given in the catalogue as the ninth work of the collection, although one can interpret it as the continuation of the preceding work. I thank Alexis Sanderson for providing me with digital reproductions of *Lalitavistara*'s last chapters.

45 Shastri 1928, 721.

46 According to Petech (1984, 37–39), Lakṣmīkāmadeva's reign can be tentatively dated to NS 150 to 161 (1030–1041 CE); the beginning of his co-rulership with Rudradeva should start from ca.1010 CE (NS 130).

47 ASC G 4077: *saṃvat 156 śrāvaṇaśukladvādaśyāṃ paramabhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirājaparameśvaraśrīlakṣmīkāmadevasya vijayarājye śrītaittirīyaśālāyā<m a>dhivāsinā kulaputraratnasiṃhena likhitam* |; 'year 156, in the twelfth [lunar day] of the bright [fortnight] in [the month of] Śrāvaṇa, during the victorious reign of the supreme lord, paramount king, highest sovereign, glorious Lakṣmīkāmadeva; [this was] written by Ratnasiṃha, son of a noble family, resident in a glorious Taittirīya school'. Petech (1984, 36) verified this date as July 6, 1036 CE.

Śivadharmasaṃgraha	fols. 1v–57v
Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda	fols. 1v–32v
Śivopaniṣad	fols. 1v–19r
Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha	fols. 1v–46r
Dharmaputrikā	fols. 1v–12r
Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda	fols. 1v–24r

Among the palm-leaf manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus, this is the only one using a non-continuous foliation, a circumstance that could have facilitated the removal of a work from the manuscript in order to be read or copied. A hint that this was the case lies in the fact that the last two works are misplaced: while we have other attestations of the sequence *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* and *Dharmaputrikā,* in no case is the *Dharmaputrikā* placed in a position other than the last one. This and other cases prove that these works could at times have had an autonomous life outside the corpus as 'severed units'.[48] In spite of the potential autonomy of the single works, highlighted by the independent foliations, the concluding colophon of NAK 3–393 confirms that they were seen and produced as a single unit. This colophon is placed immediately after the final heading of the *Dharmaputrikā* (Fig. 2), another hint that this work was most likely conceived as the last one, and dates the completion of the manuscript to the the 'third lunar day of the bright [fortnight] of [the month] Āṣāḍha', NS 189 (May 24, 1069 CE).[49] The scribe then inserts a self-praising stanza in which he states that 'the abode of Dharma, whose origin derives from a noble family, [a man] fond of good qualities, whose name is Rāghavasiṃha, brought to completion the light of knowledge [which is] the treatise on Śaiva religion (*Śivadharmaśāstra*), the basis of [all] good. Thanks to this meritorious action of the scribe (lit. 'the agent'), may there be supreme fortune

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48 Gumbert 2004, 30. There are cases of MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus that are missing an entire work, like ULC Add. 2102 of the University Library of Cambridge, from which the *Śivadharmaśāstra* has been entirely removed. We have already drawn attention to the case of ULC Add. 1694, again from the University Library of Cambridge, to which a *Śivopaniṣad* extracted from another MTM has been joined. A more recent example is that of a paper manuscript catalogued as Kesar 537 (NGMPP C 107/7), dated to NS 803 (1682–83 CE), which is missing folios 1–88, containing the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*. More examples of severed codicological units from recent paper manuscripts will be presented below.

49 NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), fol. 12r[L2]: *navottarāsītiyute sa • te bde āṣāḍhaśuklasya tithau tṛtīye*; 'in [the year] 189, in the 3rd lunar day of the bright [fortnight] of [the month] Āṣāḍha'. This colophon is also reported under the title *Dharmaputrikā* by Petech 1984, 46, where the date is verified as May 24, 1069.

[for all]. The word of Śiva, worshipped in the three worlds, is always victorious!'.[50] The title *Śivadharmaśāstra* is therefore used here as a collective noun referring to all the works contained in this manuscript. At a later time, the fourth line of this page was filled with two less original eulogistic stanzas written in a more recent script: 'the one who, having his senses refrained, would study this treatise [to the extant of] only a single quarter of a stanza, has studied the whole teaching, there is no doubt about it. This meritorious treatise on politics (*arthaśāstra*), this supreme treatise on religion and law (*dharmaśāstra*), this treatise on emancipation from re-birth (*mokṣaśāstra*) has been taught by Śiva, whose light is unmeasured.'[51]

The colophon of Bodl. Or. B 125 allows us a further step in these considerations. This palm-leaf manuscript of 335 extant folios contains the usual set of eight works, organised in what is the most typical arrangement for Śivadharma MTMs: the works are separated by leaving a blank space, then a full blank page after the end of each text, so that they are demarcated, although the foliation runs uninterrupted throughout the manuscript. We should however take note of an alteration in the layout of the works on fol. 159v. Here the end of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha,* in line 2, was immediately followed by the beginning of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda,* in con-trast with the habits of the scribe. Somebody noticed this incongruence and tried to make this portion conform to the rest of the codex. As a consequence, lines 2–5 of fol. 159v, containing the first stanzas of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, were care-lessly deleted; then a new folio was added after the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha,* its recto side left blank while on the verso side the first stanzas of the *Umāmaheśva-rasaṃvāda* were copied again. Fol. 160v thus contains only four lines, correspond-ing to those four lines deleted from fol. 159v — unlike all the other folios in this manuscript, which have five lines on each page. Since the page number has not

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50 NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), fol. 12r[L2]: *dharmāsayaḥ* (sic!) *satkulalabdhajanmā guṇapriyo raghavasinhanāmā jñānapra*[L3]*kāsaṃ sivadharmaśāstraṃ śubhapratiṣṭhaṃ kṛtavān samagraṃ || kartur etena puṇyena bhūyā | • l lakṣmīr anuttarā | trailokyapūjitaṃ śaivaṃ vākyaṃ jayati sarvadā ||* Note that these lines are metrical. The first stanza (until *samagram*) is an *upajāti*, while the sec-ond one is an *anuṣṭubh.*

51 NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), fol. 12r[L4]: *pādamātram idaṃ śāstraṃ yo 'dhyīta jitendriyaḥ | tenādhītaṃ sarvvadharmmam iti nā • sty atra saṃśayaḥ || arthaśāstram idaṃ puṇyaṃ dharmmaśāstram idaṃ paraṃ | mokṣaśāstram idaṃ proktaṃ • śivenāmitatejasā ||* Note that these couplets are also found on fol. 251v[LL6–7] (final of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*) of the paper MTM Kesar 537, NGMPP C 107/7 (dated on fol. 262v[L5] to NS 803 = 1682–83 CE), and on fol. 243v[L9] of the fragmentary paper MTM NAK 4–93 (NGMPP A 1341/6), again after the end of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*. The second stanza is clearly modelled on *Mahābhārata* 1.56.21: *arthaśāstram idaṃ puṇyaṃ dharmaśāstram idaṃ param | mokṣaśāstram idaṃ proktaṃ vyāsenāmitabuddhinā.* The only difference lies in the final clause, in which the *Mahābhārata* is said to have been 'taught by Vyāsa, whose intellect is unmeasured'.

been altered by this intervention and the script of fol. 160v is only slightly different, we can hypothesize that this alteration was done when the manuscript was still in the making.

The initial part of Bodl. Or. B 125 has undergone severe damage, which caused the loss of the first eleven folios and their replacement by means of more recent ones. The junction between the replacement unit (here indicated by [1]) and the torso of the manuscript can be found by comparing fol. 15[1] and fol. 12, the last extant folio of the replacement and the first extant folio of the kernel respectively.[52] From this point on, the torso shows no other substantial alteration; the presence of a second layer of annotations and corrections added *in margine* by a different hand makes it an enriched unit.

After the final heading of the *Dharmaputrikā*, the scribe records that the manuscript was penned in the month Āṣāḍha of the NS 307 (June 1187 CE), 'during the victorious reign of the great king, highest sovereign, the glorious Guṇakāmadeva'.[53] In the next sentence on line 6, the scribe then refers to the manuscript he has just copied, calling it 'the eight sections of the Śivadharma' (*śivadharmāṣṭakhaṇḍa*). Such a statement proves that in the 12th century, which is the period from which most of the extant palm-leaf Śivadharma MTMs originate, these texts were thought of as different parts of a single unit, and their number was fixed as eight; it confirms that these eight works had, in brief, become a corpus, by means of a formative process in which the production of MTMs had played a pivotal role.

This view of the Śivadharma corpus as being an *aṣṭakhaṇḍa*, a body with eight sections, is confirmed verbatim by NAK 5–737 (NGMPP A 3/3), a slightly later palm-leaf MTM of 215 extant folios. This manuscript is severely mutilated: the end of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is completely missing and only a few folios of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* are extant, just to mention a few remarkable lacunas. From fol. 100v,

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52 Fol. 15[1] contains a portion of *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s chapter five. The last hemistich that can be read on the verso side, fifth line, is *punnāganāgavakulair aśokotpalacampakaiḥ*. Fol. 12, immediately following, begins on its recto side with *°kotpalacampakaiḥ*, revealing that the junction between the two units was not perfectly accomplished, as also testified by the different foliation. An editor of the manuscript expunged the redundant *akṣara*s from fol. 12r by adding dashes on the top of the letters.

53 Bodl. Or. B 125, fol. 312r[L5]: || o || *saṃvat 307 āśāḍhaśuklapaṃcamyāṃ puṣyanakṣatraguruvāsare rājādhirājaparameśvara*[L6]*śrīguhyakāmadevasya vijayarājye*; 'year 307, on the fifth [lunar day] of the bright [fortnight] in the [month] Āṣāḍha, under the asterism of Puṣya, a Thursday, during the victorious reign of the great king, highest sovereign, the glorious Guṇakāmadeva'. The king's name is misspelt here as Guhyakāmadeva. His name is mentioned in the correct form in line 5, alongside a slightly abridged version of the date, in a section immediately preceding the one translated in the text.

reporting the final heading of the *Śivadharmottara*, as well as from fol. 152v, reporting the beginning of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, it is possible to deduce that also in this case the works were organised so as to be clearly divided. The recto page of fol. 152 is in fact completely blank, and a blank space follows the concluding statements of the *Śivadharmottara* on fol. 100v. The foliation is continuous and also holds a feature that will be typical of paper MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus: there is in fact a double system of foliation, one in the left margin (verso side) reporting the page number in relation to the whole manuscript, and another one in the right margin (verso side), counting the pages of each single work. A long, informative colophon is preserved entirely on fol. 276r, after the conclusion of the *Dharmaputrikā*. Before considering the information provided by this colophon, we shall notice that 15 more folios are added after fol. 276r, which must originally have been conceived as the last folio of the manuscript (the colophon, ending on the verso side, is followed by a blank space). Of these additional folios, the first six may originally have belonged to the kernel and been misplaced here because they are broken; the others are a more recent production.

The text of the final colophon informs us that the manuscript was penned in the 'year 321, on the 13th [lunar day] of the dark [fortnight] in the [month] Pauṣa, a Thursday, under the asterism of Mūla, in coincidence with the Vyāghātayoga, [...] during the victorious reign of the paramount king, highest sovereign, entirely devoted to Śiva, [favoured by] the supreme Lord Paśupati, the glorious Arimalladeva; in the time of the glorious Rāṇaka Haridharasiṃha, head of the district (read: °*ādhipateḥ*) bordering the glorious Pañcāvata; for the twice-born Somadeva [...], possessing the glory[54] of daughters and sons, longing for Heaven, pleasures, wealth and liberation for [his] mother, father, teachers and their sons and grandsons; the supreme book consisting of the 12,000 stanzas of the Śivadharma, made of one hundred chapters [divided] into eight sections, has been copied until completion.'[55] The date has been verified as January 4, 1201 CE.[56] During the reign of Arimalladeva,

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54 I keep the reading °*śirīkasya* as a corruption from Prakrit of the Sanskrit *śrīkasya*.

55 NAK 5–737 (NGMPP A 3/3), fol. 276r[LL3–4]: [L3] *samvatsaraśatatraya ekaviṃśatyādhike pauṣakṛṣṇatrayodaśyāyāṃ • gurudine mūlanakṣatre vyāghāt{r}ayoge śrīnepārthe* (?) *rājādhirājaparameśva<ra>paramamāheśvarapaśupatibhaṭārakasya{ḥ} • || || śrīmat* (sic!) *arimalladevasya vijayarāj<y>e | śrīpañcāvanadeśīyaviṣayādhipatiḥ* [L4] *|| || rāṇakaśrīharidharaśiṃhasya varttamāne dvijaśrīpathamodhara* (?) *somadevasya putrī • tanayaśirīkasya* (sic!) *mātāpitāgurusaputrapautrādisvarggakāmārthamokṣārthinaḥ śivadharmadvādaśasāhasrikagra • nthaṃ aṣṭo* (sic!) *khaṇḍaśatādhyayam uttamapustaka<m> susaṃpūrṇṇaṃ likhitam iti |*

56 I give here the estimate proposed by Petech (1984, 80), who transcribed this colophon among the documents of Arimalla's kingdom (1200–1216 CE), though wrongly reporting the title of the work as *Vṛttasārasaṅgrahadharmaputrikā*.

the founder of the early Malla dynasty whose name is accompanied here by the full royal titles as well as epithets highlighting his devotion to Śiva, a copy of the Śivadharma corpus was therefore commissioned as a meritorious deed by the lay devotee Somadeva from the scribe Haricandra (we read his name further in line 4). The brief mention of the 'supreme book [...] of the Śivadharma' given in this colophon is truly remarkable, since here the corpus is regarded as one single work, for which the scribe gives a rough total amount of stanzas and chapters and which he depicts as divided into eight sections, which actually correspond to the eight works.

Colophons do not only provide the reader with practical information about the date and author of the copy.[57] At times they also help in shedding light on some of the functions fulfilled by manuscripts. In this sense, a very intriguing case is that of NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3), a MTM of the Śivadharma corpus from the National Archives of Kathmandu. This is a complete palm-leaf manuscript consisting of 289 folios transmitting the same eight 'canonical' works.[58] Unlike ULC Add. 1645, NAK 1–1075 opts for articulating its codicological unit in different blocks, just like other MTMs analysed so far. The foliation runs uninterrupted from the beginning to the end. This manuscript has a final colophon (fol. 290v[LL1–2]) in which a verifiable date of composition is given in metrical lines as follows:

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57 Note, however, that at least in one case the date recorded by a manuscript of the Śivadharma corpus seems to refer not to its own composition but to that of the apograph. This occurs in NAK 5–841 (NGMPP B 12/4), an incomplete palm-leaf manuscript containing only three works of the collection (see Appendix I). On fol. 47v[L2], after the final heading of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, a different hand wrote: *samvat 315 anyādṛṣṭapustake samvatsarapramāṇaṃ dṛṣṭvā likhitaṃ* ||; 'year 315. Having seen [this] date (lit. 'year measurement') in another examined manuscript, [it] was copied [here]'. The year NS 315 corresponds to 1194–95 CE.

This is not an isolated case. I thank Francesco Sferra for drawing my attention to a similar colophon in the St Petersburg manuscript MS Ind. 172 of the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā*, described as Pt in the critical edition of the text (Isaacson and Sferra 2014). The copyist of this manuscript reproduces the colophon of the apograph — including the date, place and author of the copy — immediately before his own (see Isaacson and Sferra 2014, 140). Also in this case the scribe makes it clear that he has extracted the preceding information from another manuscript, by stating in the end of the colophon that he writes upon 'having seen [this] in a manuscript whose old palm-leaf pages are worn-out' (*jīrṇṇībhūtaprācīnatāḍapatrapustake dṛṣṭvā*).

58 This manuscript is also provided with a table of contents on the recto side of the first folio. This table is written in a different, later ductus, reporting the titles (sometimes in abridged version, like *Nandikeśvara* for the *Śivadharmaśāstra,* which in the manuscript tradition is also called *Nandikeśvarasaṃhitā* after the first, mythical expounder of the work; or *Dharmottara* for the *Śivadharmottara*), the number of leaves (*patraka*) and chapters (*paṭala*), as well as a short version of the incipit of each work. Note that there are in fact two such tables, one in the left margin, damaged and slightly faded, not reporting the incipits of the works, and one in the middle of the page, agreeing with the description given above.

In the expired Nepalese year named 'ether-planet-hand' (290), in the month of Pauṣa and in the 15th lunar day in the bright [fortnight], on the day of the sun, when the king [was] the celebrated Rudradeva, who has obscured the rays of the moon through the breaking forth of [his] fame, the treatise on the doctrine of Śiva copied by a distinguished [scribe] named Rāma has been then concluded. Obeisance to Śiva! Oṃ, obeisance to Śiva![59]

This date corresponds to January 4, 1170 CE.[60]

Again we find a case of MTM designated by a collective noun, but this is not the only feature which deserves our attention. A peculiarity of this manuscript is that it is possible to detect another dated colophon on fol. 254v, after the concluding heading of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*. While it may not be uncommon that a manuscript records two slightly different dates in two distant places in the manuscript, corresponding to two different phases in its production,[61] it is noteworthy

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59 NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B7/3), fol. 290v[LL1–2]: *ākāśagrahahastasaṃjñini gate nepālasamvatsare pauṣe māśe tithau ca pañcadaśame śukle raver vāsare | kīrttisphūrtti:*[L2]*tiraskṛtendukiraṇe śrīrudradeve nṛpe śrīrāmāhvayalekhitaṃ śivamataṃ śā • straṃ samāptaṃ tadā || || nama<ḥ> sivāya{ḥ} || oṃ na<maḥ> śivāya{ḥ} ||*

The text of this colophon is written in the *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. Immediately after the final heading of the *Dharmaputrikā* (fol. 290r[L4]), the scribe of this manuscript inserts a short metrical composition in which he sings Rudradeva's praise by means of three *śārdūlavikrīḍita* stanzas. The verses reporting the date are the fourth and concluding stanza of this original scribal composition.

60 As in Petech 1984, 68. The dates of king Rudradeva's reign are ca. 1167–1175 CE (Petech 1984, 68).

61 See the case of the palm-leaf MTM NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3), with 253 extant folios, in which two dates are reported in as many colophons, referring to different days of the same year. Fol. 171r[L6] reads: *samvat 516 jeṣṭhaśuklacaturdaśyāṃ somadine likhitam iti ||*; 'year 516, copied on the fourteenth [lunar day] of the bright [fortnight] in the [month] Jyeṣṭha, a Monday' (May, 1396 CE). A further colophon on fol. 211v[L3] reads: *samvat 516 aśviṇīśuklaprati<pa>dyātithau || somadine likhitam iti ||*; 'year 516, copied on the first lunar day of the bright [fortnight] in the [month] Āśvinī, on a Monday' (September, 1396 CE). This last colophon follows the conclusion of the *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, which however is not the last work in the manuscript (see Appendix I). The two dates must refer to two different phases in the composition of the manuscript. Another case is that of E 6489 (NGMPP E 321/26), a palm-leaf MTM of 63 folios transmitting the *Śāntyadhyāya* together with Purāṇic chapters, attributed to the *Ādivārāhapurāṇa* and the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*. After the final heading of the *Śāntyadhyāya* the copyist dates his work to 'year 316, on the 13th [lunar day] of the bright [fortnight] of the [month] Māgha, a Monday, during the victorious reign of the paramount king, the glorious Vijayakāmadeva, [this] manuscript was copied for the glorious Trikamanandanajiva' (fol. 18v[L2]: *samvat 316 māgha<śu>*[L3]*klatrayodaśyāṃ somavāre || mahārājādhirā<ja> śrīvijayakāmadevasya vijayarājye śrītrikamanaṃdanajivasya pustakaṃ li<khi>tam iti ||*). The copying thus happened in January, 1195 CE. Another colophon on fol. 44v[LL2–3], following the final heading of *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*'s *Devīmāhātmya*, dates it to the same month and year, but ten days later: 'year 316, on the 9th [lunar day] of the dark

here that the colophon on fol. 254v, patently written by a different hand, records a much later date than the one of the copying. This colophon (Fig. 3) attests that the manuscript was used for a public reading (*pārāyaṇa*) that took eleven days, under the reign of the king Pratāpamalladeva of Kathmandu, in the 'year 772, on the full-moon day of the bright [fortnight] in the [month of] Kārttika, under the asterism of the Aśvin' (November 1651 CE).[62]

The name of king Pratāpamalladeva (1641–1674 CE)[63] also emerges from other comparable records. The date of a public reading is reported in a colophon of a complete manuscript of the *Mahābhārata*'s *Śāntiparvan* (the 'Section on Peace') listed in the catalogue of the Durbar Library of Kathmandu (no. 738) and used in the critical edition of the *Śāntiparvan* as V1.[64] This is a palm-leaf manuscript in Maithili script which was produced in the year 1592 CE. According to the editor of the work, the concluding colophon further attests that a public reading (*pārāyaṇa*) of this manuscript happened in NS 767 (1646–47 CE), again under

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[fortnight] in the [month] Māgha, on Thursday, during the victorious reign of the glorious Vijayakāmadeva' (*samvat 316 māghakṛṣṇanavamyāṃ bṛhaspati[L3]dine śrīvijayakāmadevasya vijayarājye*). A secondary repair hides a few *akṣara*s, but by comparison with the former colophon it is easy to guess a toponym (*śrīcamp<āgutsa>madhyamaṭolake*). The donor is again Trikanandanajīva, the same as indicated by the other colophon.

A more 'extreme' case is that of the paper MTM NAK 4–1352 (NGMPP B 218–6), registering up to four different dates. These are all referring to different months of the same year, thus allowing us to reconstruct the correct arrangement of the works, which in this manuscript are placed in the following, unusual order: *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*; *Śivopaniṣad*; *Śivadharmaśāstra*; *Śivadharmottara*; *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*. This arrangement, however, is the consequence of a misplacement that might have happened because the works were temporarily separated from the MTM. The presence of a foliation that starts anew with each work has certainly not helped the curators of the manuscript in restoring the correct placement. From the concluding remarks added by the scribe we learn that the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* was completed in the month of Śravaṇa (see fol. 36r[L5]), corresponding to July–August, the *Śivopaniṣad* in the month of Bhādrapada (see fol. 20v[L4]), corresponding to August–September, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Śivadharmottara* (a colophon with a date is found only at the end of the latter) in the month of Caitra (see fol. 65v[L4]), corresponding to March–April, and the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* in the month of Vaiśākha (see fol. 60v[L4]), corresponding to April–May, all in NS 814 (1693–94 CE).

62 The full text of the colophon reads:

NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3), fol. 254v[L4]: *śrīśrījayapratāpamalladevena ekādaśadivaśābhyantarena pārāyanena • samāptaṃ kṛtaṃ || samvat 772 kārttikaśuklaḥ || pūrṇṇamāsyān tithau aśvinina-kṣatrasudvijā [[...]] śubhavāsare etadinena saṃpūrṇṇaṃ kṛtaṃ || śubham astu sarvadāra ||.*

The text of this colophon has been transcribed verbatim, without proposing the emendations that would be required if we were to adapt it to standard Sanskrit.

63 The figure of Pratāpamalla is sketched by Lévi 1905, 250–256.

64 Belvalkar 1966. This manuscript is discussed in vol. XVI, pp. XLV–XLVIII. See also Dunham 1991, 7, and Pollock 2006, 232, fn. 15.

king Pratāpamalladeva, on the occasion of his coronation. A *pārāyaṇa* of the *Virāṭaparvan*, another portion of the *Mahābhārata*, is further ascribed to the same year in the final colophon of the corresponding manuscript.[65] The main difference between the attestations in the *Mahābhārata* manuscripts and the colophon we find in our Śivadharma manuscript is that, in the *Mahābhārata* case, the public reading of the manuscript happened on a date that was closer to that of the transcription of the manuscript. In the case of NAK 1–1075, by contrast, the *pārāyaṇa* took place 482 years after the manuscript was completed. Another element to take into consideration is that the information about the public reading is not added to the final colophon, but at the end of the sixth work of the collection. We could assume that this happened because the manuscript was read up to that point; alternatively, one can surmise that this was done in order to reserve a unique space for a recording which included the name of king Pratāpamalladeva. The colophon however is a precious piece of evidence that these early palm-leaf manuscripts were also used centuries after their production, and that this particular collection of texts was employed in such a way.

The information provided by the paratextual statements of NAK 1–1075 is perfectly coherent with what we know both from the texts of the Śivadharma collection and from other parallel evidence. The *Śivadharmaśāstra* refers to a public event during which its own manuscript was placed on a throne, worshipped and then taught by a teacher.[66] The *Śivadharmottara,* for its part, pays particular attention to public ceremonies involving the use of manuscripts: chapter two of the work is dedicated to the description of a ceremony called the 'gift of knowledge' (*vidyādāna*), during which a manuscript was copied, brought in procession to a temple and handled to the resident *guru*.[67] Here one chapter of the book was read in the performance of a ceremony of appeasement (*śānti*), and several other references are made to public reading sessions of manuscripts of the '*śivajñāna*', a notion that is most likely identifiable here with the same Śivadharma texts. The topic is treated again in the last chapter of the *Śivadharmottara*, where it is prescribed that public readings of the *Śivadharmottara* should take place in courts (*sabhā*), shrines (*āyatana*), sacred places (*tīrtha*s), residences of the king (*narendrabhavanā*), private houses (*gṛha*), villages (*grāma*) and towns (*pura*).[68]

Documentary evidence of the public readings of the Śivadharma texts is mostly available from southern India (see above, par. 1). As regards Nepal, we

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65 See the final colophon of NAK 1–933 (NGMPP B 19/8) according to the NGMCP online catalogue.

66 See NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), fol. 40r[LL3–5].

67 On this topic, see De Simini 2013 and forthc.

68 See NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), fol. 51v[L5].

should mention a Nepalese *thyasapū* (folded book), dated only a few years later than the reign of the king Pratāpamalladeva, that among the events of the year NS 796 (1675–76 CE) also records a public reading of the Śivadharma (*śivadharma pārāyaṇa*); on the same date, it records the recitation of *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s sixth chapter (*Śāntyadhyāya* or *Śāntikādhyāya*).[69] This was most likely the chapter that, according to the prescriptions contained in *Śivadharmottara*'s chapter 2, had to be read for the performance of the appeasement rite which took place soon after the manuscript had reached the temple. The success of this chapter due to its liturgical usages and auspicious character is attested by the large number of extant manuscripts transmitting only this portion of the Śivadharma corpus, both from Nepal and other areas.[70]

The Śivadharma corpus is also preserved in a variety of later Nepalese paper manuscripts, which show features similar but not identical to their palm-leaf antecedents. The main difference consists precisely of the ratio between MTMs and single-text manuscripts. While in the case of the palm-leaf materials, the choice of MTMs was strikingly prevalent, with only one (however dubious) case of single-text manuscript attested, the proportions are more balanced in the case of paper manuscripts. Alongside the usual MTMs,[71] a higher quantity of paper single-text manuscripts is extant, a circumstance from which we may not however

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69 Regmi 1966, 332. I thank Alexis Sanderson for bringing this piece of evidence to my attention. On this topic, see also Sanderson forthc. b, 83 and fn. 203.

70 Besides the already mentioned Bengali manuscript (see fn. 8), there are several other Nepalese manuscripts catalogued as *Śāntyadhyāya*. Those I have directly examined and for which I can confirm that the transmitted text corresponds to the *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* are: NAK 6–2301 (NGMPP A 1120/12), NAK 1–1376 (NGMPP A 1158/8), NAK 5–7344 (NGMPP A 1174/14), NAK 1–1108 (NGMPP A 1299/9), E 6489 (NGMPP E 321/26), 366 (G 19/16), I 963 (NGMPP I 54/4). It is possible, however, that many short manuscripts attributed to the *Śivadharmaśāstra* with no further details in fact only transmit its *Śāntyadhyāya* (see below).

Among the aforementioned manuscripts, only NAK 6–2301 (NGMPP A 1120/12), 366 (G 19/16) and I 963 (NGMPP I 54/4) are single-text manuscripts, while all others insert the *Śāntyadhyāya* in collections of Purāṇic chapters. This is also the case of ULC Add. 2836, a palm-leaf MTM produced in July 1396 CE: 'year 516, on the seventh [lunar day] of the dark [fortnight] of the [month] Śrāvaṇa' (see fol. 33r[L4]: *samvat 516 śrāvanakṛṣṇasaptī*). Pictures of this manuscript are available on the website of the Cambridge Digital Library under the following link: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02836/1>.

The oldest manuscript of the *Śāntyadhyāya* I was able to identify so far is E 6489 (NGMPP E 321/26), dated to 1195 CE (see fn. 61).

71 The paper MTMs that I have directly inspected are: WI δ 16; Kesar 537 (NGMPP C 107/7); Kesar 597 (NGMPP C 57/5); NAK 2–153 (NGMPP A 1042/12 and A 1043/01); NAK 4–93 (NGMPP A 1341/6); NGMPP NAK 4–1352 (NGMPP B 218/6 and 219/1); NAK 4–1567 (NGMPP B 219/8); NAK 4–1604 (NGMPP A 1365/3); NAK 4–2537 (NGMPP B 219/3); E 25521 (NGMPP E 1272/4); NGMPP E 1402/9; G

deduce that a larger number of such items was produced; in many cases it is possible to prove, mainly due to the presence of a double foliation (see below), that quite a few single-text manuscripts were originally part of MTMs.[72] Although the increasing production of single-text manuscripts of the Śivadharma texts may have responded to a functional need, or reflected the greater success achieved by some of the works to the detriment of others, on the other hand there is only slim evidence to prove that this corresponded to a weakening of the idea of a corpus. On the contrary, even recent paper manuscripts, at times even those that transmit a single text, testify that a strong connection between the Śivadharma texts was felt, and that this connection was reinforced through codicological habits. Two manuscripts preserved at the National Archives of Kathmandu and transmitting only the *Dharmaputrikā*, which was usually the last text of the collection, provide evidence for this.[73] NAK 1–882 (NGMPP A 62/10) consists of 15 folios, which are numbered starting from fol. 1. It is complete and contains the whole *Dharmaputrikā*. A hint that this was not produced as an independent manuscript is given by the colophon following the final heading of the work, on fol. 15, listing the

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65946–7 (NGMPP G 36/27). Of these, NAK 4–1567 (NGMPP B 219/8) has proven to be a composite made up of two long fragments: the first one, numbered from fol. 1 until fol. 227, and containing the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, the *Śivadharmottara* (both complete) and an incomplete *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*; the second fragment starts with fol. 163 and contains again the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (incomplete), the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, the *Uttarottaramāhasaṃvāda* and the *Śivopaniṣad*. The last folio of the second fragment is numbered 359.

There are a few more paper manuscripts from the huge Nepalese collections microfilmed by the NGMPP that I have not accessed yet. In the case of these manuscripts we are sometimes only provided with very scanty catalogue information, so that all one can do is deduce, mainly on the basis of features like page-dimensions and total amount of folios, whether those were MTMs or not. Among these, the following elements are catalogued under the mere title *Śivadharma* and, on the basis of the aforementioned features, one can expect them in all probability to be MTMs: NAK 2–48 (NGMPP A 1163/2), 263 fols.; NAK 4–1604 (NGMPP B 220/3), 136 fols.; NAK 5–5370 (NGMPP B 219/2 = A 1363/7, dated to NS 816, i.e. 1695–96 CE), 194 fols.; NGMPP A 1322/3 (1–3), 255 fols.

72 Since the catalogue information available for these manuscripts is not always complete, in the absence of direct inspection we can only have a superficial idea of how many of these were produced as single-text manuscripts and how many are just severed codicological units deriving from complete MTMs. An overview of the identifications of paper single-text manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus is given in Appendix III.

73 The description of NAK 1–882 (NGMPP A 62/10) and NAK 5–5365 (NGMPP A299/9) is based on the information provided by the catalogue, available online at the following URLs: <http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A_62-10_Dharmaputrikā> and <http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A_299-9_Dharmaputrikā>.

titles of the eight works of the corpus, alongside ordinal numerals which determine their position in the collection (so the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is qualified as *prathamaḥ* 'the first', the *Śivadharmottara* is *dvitīyaḥ* 'the second', and so on). This table of contents is opened by the statement *asyānukramaḥ* 'its (*scil.* 'of the manuscript') sequence [of works]:', and closed by *śivadharmo nāma mahā-śāstram iti,* 'Thus [is concluded] the great treatise titled *Śivadharma*'. This manuscript is therefore plainly a severed codicological unit originally belonging to a MTM.

A very close example is that of NAK 5–5365 (NGMPP A 299/9), a manuscript dated to NS 845 (1724–25 CE) and attributed to the reign of king Yogaprakāśamalla of Patan (ca. 1722–1729 CE).[74] This manuscript is again described as *Dharmaputrikā* and, like in the former example, a table of contents after its final colophon lists the fixed set of eight titles accompanied by the total amount of folios for each work. Another hint that this single-text manuscript was originally part of a collection is that there is a double foliation system: the foliation in the left margin runs from 279 to 290, and is therefore clearly referred to a bigger manuscript, while the foliation added in the right margin numbers the folios from 1 to 12 — thus referring only to that single work.

This style of double foliation is a common feature of many paper MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus, being a clear indicator of the inner coherence and, at the same time, empirical independency that the works of the corpus might have enjoyed. When attested in a single-text manuscript, it thus can be considered evidence that the manuscript had originally been conceived as part of one MTM.[75] An example of a still complete paper MTM with a double foliation system is Kesar 597 (NGMPP C 57/5). This paper manuscript consists of 257 folios and contains the entire collection with the exception of the *Dharmaputrikā*. It was completed in NS 863 (1742–43 CE), as stated in the final colophon of the *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* on fol. 213.[76] The verso sides of its folios show, in the left margin, the abbreviated title of each work, below which is the folio number of that single text; in the right margin, another numeral indicates the page number of the whole manuscript. The works are, as usual, separated by a blank page. On the verso of the last folio, on whose recto side is the final heading of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, somebody added a table of contents in Telugu script, in which however all eight works are

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74 See Lévi 1905, 261.

75 Some examples of these attributions are listed in fn. 71.

76 See fol. 213v[L8]. The year is expressed by means of symbolic words: *guṇartvibhe*, meaning 'quality (3) – season (6) – elephant (8)'. The numbers thus obtained have to be read backwards.

counted, including the missing *Dharmaputrikā* of 16 chapters. This table of contents was surely written by a different person than the scribe, possibly a southern reader who must have had in mind or in front of him at least one other, complete copy of the corpus.

In the colophons of palm-leaf manuscripts, we observed a tendency to consider the different works forming the Śivadharma corpus as members of the same body of texts: the paper MTMs can easily be included in this trend. Let us consider the case of NAK 2–153 (NGMPP A 1042/12 and A 1043/01), an undated paper manuscript transmitting only four works of the Śivadharma collection, i.e. the *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–58r), the *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 1v–75v), the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 1v–70v) and the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 1v–47r). The pages of each work are independently numbered, and they are made separable by leaving a blank folio between the end of a work and the beginning of the next one. This folio however is not left completely blank: written by a hand that is arguably the same as the one used in the rest of the manuscript, the recto and verso sides of these folios contain the final and initial headings of the preceding and following works, respectively. In these additional headings (they are additional since each work regularly has its final heading appended immediately after the last verse), the works are called 'sections' (*khaṇḍa*) and numbered with ordinal numbers according to the position they have in the manuscript. The idea of a corpus therefore never became weaker, and it is still possible to observe how both layout and paratexts confirm that each work was seen as just a subdivision of a bigger, unitary treatise.

3 Traditional accounts on the emergence of a corpus

The testimony of the manuscript tradition shows beyond doubt that this group of eight works was regarded as a fixed corpus in medieval Nepal. It would now be relevant to enquire whether traces of the process of corpus formation can also be spotted in the texts themselves, or if their association in a collection did not affect the composition of the works, but is solely discernible from codicological features. A rare example of intertextual references in the Śivadharma corpus is offered by the *Śivopaniṣad*, one of the works whose attachment to the corpus might, in a few cases, have been debatable. This text depicts the situation of a growing textual corpus, making explicit reference to other works of the collection with

which it tries to establish a strong link. In its final stanzas, at the end of the seventh chapter, the *Śivopaniṣad* alludes to the composition of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara,* placing them and their respective authors in a sequence that is ideally concluded by the *Śivopaniṣad* itself:

> Thus, Kṛṣṇātreya obtained from Mahākāla this divine [and] well ascertained nectar of knowledge, in detail and due succession. / Having churned the big ocean of the knowledge of Śiva with the churning-stick of wisdom, Kṛṣṇātreya announced this very short teaching after extracting [it from there]. / If anything was left unsaid in the great *Śivadharmaśāstra* and in the *Continuation of the Śivadharma* (*scil.*: the *Śivadharmottara*), this was proclaimed in the present [work]. / This treatise, addressed to three deities, was spoken by the descendant of Atri (*scil.* Kṛṣṇātreya), a king amid ascetics, and confers liberation to the three [classes] of animals, men and gods. / Nandi, Skanda and Mahākāla are celebrated as the three deities, Candrātreya, as well as Agasti and Kṛṣṇātri as the triad of sages. / The teachings of the Śivadharma have been fully expounded by these great souls for the sake of all living beings. Obeisance to them, obeisance always! / And by their pupils, and pupils of pupils who were expounders of the Śivadharma, the lake of the knowledge of Śiva was entirely covered, like by means of blossoming lotuses. / Those who always allow the devotees of Śiva to listen to the Śivadharma, they are Rudras, and they are kings amid sages, they have to be bowed to with individual devotion. / Those who, rising up, listen to the Śivadharma day by day, they are Rudras, supreme lords of the Rudras, they are not ordinary human beings. / This *Śivopaniṣad*[77] has been transmitted in seven chapters by the sage belonging to the lineage of Kṛṣṇātreya, out of desire for the benefit [of other people].[78]

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77 Note that here and in the following passage of the *Śivopaniṣad* the text is literally called *Śivopaniṣada* and treated like a neuter in *−a*.

78 The texts quoted in the next pages have been established on the basis of a collation between three Nepalese MTMs: one 11th-century palm-leaf manuscript, namely NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3) = A; one 12th-century palm-leaf manuscript, which is NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3) = B; and the paper manuscript Kesar 597 (NGMPP C 57/5) = C. I decided to work exclusively on the Nepalese tradition in closer accordance with the aims of this paper. The reader may have noticed the exclusion from this collation of NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4), which is possibly the oldest MTM attesting the collection and, therefore, a very relevant specimen. This manuscript has been omitted only because it lacks one of the passages presented in the next pages, corresponding to the incipit of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*; moreover the *Śivopaniṣad,* from which the following stanzas are quoted, figures most likely as a secondary addition in NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4). At this point I preferred to prioritise internal coherence between the selected passages, all resulting from the collation of the same manuscripts, with the awareness that the Nepalese tradition of the Śivadharma texts is however rather uniform, and that the most remarkable discrepancies concern passages that are not relevant to this study.

I have standardized the readings based on the current orthographical standards. Hence, the reported variants do not account for differences in the use of sibilants, homorganic nasals and geminated consonants.

The revelation of the *Śivopaniṣad* is thus attributed to the sage Kṛṣṇātreya, who accessed the 'ocean of knowledge' revealed by Śiva, here portrayed as Mahākāla, who is the ultimate author of the teachings. The text reconnects itself with the two works whose authority had most likely already been acknowledged, i.e. the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, adopting a strategy that is typical of Indian religious texts seeking authoritativeness. The *Śivopaniṣad* creates this connection by making explicit reference not only to the preceding works, but also to the different phases of their mythical transmission history. By putting on the same level 'Nandi, Skanda and Mahākāla', the three expounders respectively of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, the *Śivadharmottara* and the *Śivopaniṣad*, alongside their three human recipients 'Candrātreya, as well as Agasti and Kṛṣṇātri', the author of the *Śivopaniṣad* is telling his audience that those three texts belong to the same tradition, and that they ultimately have to be considered as a single unit. The actual composition of the *Śivopaniṣad* as a work in seven chapters seems not to be attributed to Kṛṣṇātri, but to a member of his clan. A similar feature occurs in the account given by the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, though in a different phase of the transmission.

The *Śivadharmaśāstra* relates the transmission of its teachings both in the prologue and in its last chapter. The initial verses depict a scene of teaching in which Śiva expounds the Śivadharma to his consort Pārvatī and an assembly composed of Nandikeśvara, Skanda and the Gaṇas.[79] Nandikeśvara, mentioned

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The next passage is based on: A fol. 19r[LL3–6], B fols. 208r[LL5–6]–208v[LL1–3], C fol. 188r[LL1–6].

[AL3, BL5, CL1] *iti jñānāmṛtaṃ divyaṃ mahākālād avāptavā*[BL6]*n* [avāptavān B] | *vistareṇānupūrvyā* [anupūrvya *a.c.* anupurvyā *p.c.* C] *ca kṛṣṇātreyaḥ* [kṛṣṇātreya° B] *suniścitam* [saniścitam B] || *pra*[CL2]*jñāmathnā vinirmathya* [prajñāmathnāti nirmathya A; prajñām arthyaṃ vinirmathya C] *śivajñānamahodadhim* | *kṛṣṇātreyaḥ samuddhṛtya prāhedam aṇumātrakam* || *śivadharme* [śivadharma° C] *mahāśāstre śivadha*[AL4]*rmasya cottare* | *yad anuktaṃ* [avukta *a.c.*, anuktaṃ *p.c.* B] *bhavet kiṃcit tad atra parikīrtitam* || *tridaivatyam* [tridevatyam B] *idaṃ* [CL3] *śāstraṃ munīndrātreyabhā*[B208vL1]*śitam* [munīndrāmuya° *a.c.* munīndrātrāya° *p.c.* C] | *tiryagmanu-jadevānāṃ* [triryag° B] *trayāṇāṃ ca vimuktidam* || *nandiskandamahākālāḥ* [-skandha° *a.c.* -skanda° *p.c.* C] *trayo devāḥ prakīrtitāḥ* | *candrātreyas tathāgastiḥ kṛṣṇātriś ca munitrayam* || *etair mahātmabhiḥ proktā*[CL4]*ḥ śivadha*[AL5]*rmāḥ samāsataḥ* |*sarvalokopakārārthaṃ namas* [na *a.c.*, namaḥ *p.c.* B] *tebhyaḥ sadā namaḥ* [sadā sa namaḥ B] || [BL2] *teṣāṃ śiṣyapraśiṣyaiś ca śivadha-rmapravaktṛbhiḥ* | *vyāptaṃ jñānasaraḥ śārvaṃ vikacair* [vikaccair B] *iva paṅkajaiḥ* || *ye śrāvayanti satataṃ śivadha*[CL5]*rmaṃ śivārthinām* [śivārthinaḥ A] | *te rudrās te munīndrāś ca* [munīndrāya A] *te namasyāḥ svabhaktitaḥ* || *ye samutthāya śṛṇvanti śivadha*[AL6]*rmaṃ dine dine* | *te rudrā ru-dralokeśa na te prakṛti*[BL3]*mānuṣāḥ* || *śivopaniṣadaṃ hy etad adhyāyaiḥ sapta*[CL6]*bhiḥ smṛtaṃ* [smṛtaḥ A] | *kṛṣṇātreyasagotreṇa muninā hitakāmayā* ||

79 The following passage is based on: A fol. 1v[LL4–6], B fols. 1v[LL5–6]–2r[L1]; C fol. 1r[LL6–8].

in the *Śivopaniṣad* by the name Nandi as a member of the triad of gods, had then taught the Śivadharma in its entirety, as he had learned it from Śiva, to Sanat-kumāra, a son of Brahmā. This passage is not referred to in the simple sketch given by the *Śivopaniṣad*, which instead refers only to the final stage of *Śivadha-rmaśāstra*'s transmission. Chapter 12 of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* explains that Sa-natkumāra had transmitted an abridged version of the Śivadharma to a Śaiva dev-otee, 'member of the lineage of Candrātreya'. Candrātreya himself eventually composed the *Śivadharmaśāstra* in twelve chapters, having once again extracted the best part from the teachings transmitted by Sanatkumāra.[80]

The *Śivadharmottara* claims a simpler textual transmission. In the incipit of the text the sage Agasti requests of Skanda the teachings he had heard from Śiva.[81] Skanda was one of the eyewitnesses of the dialogue between Śiva and his

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[AL4, BL5, CL6] *paramaṃ sarvadhar*[BL6]*māṇāṃ śivadharmaṃ* [śivadharma° C] [AL5] *śivātmakam | śivena ka*[CL7]*thitaṃ pūrvaṃ pārvatyāḥ ṣaṇmukhasya* [khaṇmukhasya C] *ca | gaṇānāṃ devamu-khyānām asmākaṃ ca* [cā° B] *viśeṣataḥ || ajñānārṇavamagnānāṃ sarveṣām prāṇinām ayam* [ātmabhāvinām B C] / *śivadharmoḍupaḥ* [śivadharmati° *a.c.*, śivadharmoḍu° *p.c.*] *śrīmān u-ttārārtham u*[CL8]*dāhṛtaḥ* [uḍadā° *a.c.*, udā° *p.c.* C] || *yair ayaṃ* [B2rL1] *śāntacetaskaiḥ* [°cetaḥ skaiḥ A] *śivabhaktaiḥ śivārthibhiḥ | saṃsevyate paro dharmas te rudrā* [AL6] *nātra saṃśayaḥ* |; 'Supreme among all the dharmas, the Śivadharma ensouled by Śiva was revealed in the past by Śiva to Pārvatī and to the six-faced God, / To the Gaṇas, to the best among the Gods and in particular to us. / For all the living beings who are sinking in the flood of ignorance this raft, which is the Śivadharma, illustrious, has been taught, in order to [facilitate their] crossing over. / Those who, having a tranquil mind, devoted to Śiva, supplicants of Śiva, devotedly resort to this supreme Dharma, [are] Rudras, no doubt about it.'

80 The following passage is based on: A fol. 40v[LL1–2], B fols. 44r[L6]–44v[L1], C fols. 40v[L9]–41r[LL1–2] [AL1, BL6, CL9] *śrutvaivam akhilaṃ dharmam ā*[C41rL1]*khyātaṃ brahmasūnunā | ca*[B44vL1]*ndrātreyasa-gotrāya śivabhaktāya sāravat || sārāt sāraṃ samuddhṛtya candrātreyeṇa dhīmatā | uktaṃ* [uktā B] *ca dvādaśādhyāyaṃ dharmaśāstraṃ śivātmakam || yāvad asyopadeśena śiva*[CL2]*dharmaṃ samācaret | tāvat tasyāpi tatpuṇyam upa*[AL2]*deśān na saṃśayaḥ* ||; 'Having thus heard the Dharma that was entirely announced, complete with its essence, by the son of Brahmā (scil. San-atkumāra) to a devotee of Śiva, member of the lineage of Candrātreya, / And having extracted the best of the best, the wise Candrātreya taught the Dharmaśāstra belonging to Śiva in twelve chapters. / As long as [one] will practice the Śivadharma according to the teaching of this [work], then from the teaching the merit [contained] in it [will emerge] for him as well, no doubt.'

81 The following passage is based on: A fol. 1v[LL1–2]; B fol. 46v[LL1–2]; C fol. 42r[LL1–3] [AL1, BL1, CL1] *jñānaśaktidharaṃ śāntaṃ* [CL2] *kumāraṃ śaṅkarātmajam | devāriskandanaṃ skandam agastiḥ paripṛcchati || bhagavan darśanāt tubhyam antajasyāpi* [antayasyāpi C] [AL2, BL2] *sadgatiṃ* [saṅgatiḥ A saṃgatiḥ C] / *saptajanmāni vipras tu svargād bhraṣṭaḥ prajāyate | yenāsi* [tenāsi A C] *nātha bhūtānāṃ* [CL3] *sarveṣām anukampakaḥ | ataḥ sarvahitaṃ dharmaṃ saṃkṣepāt prabravīhi me || dharmā bahuvidhā devyā devena kathitāḥ kila | te ca śrutās tvayā* [tayā C] *sarve pṛcchāmi tvām ahaṃ tataḥ* ||; 'Agasti asks Skanda, the holder of the spear of knowledge, the pacified youth, born from Śiva, slayer of the Asuras: / O Bhagavān, [just] by seeing you a good rebirth

consort, and had therefore listened to the 'multiform *dharmas*' taught by the god. He reveals those teachings to Agasti in a concise form, and from these Agasti will successively extract the version of the *Śivadharmottara* in twelve chapters.[82] The transmission and composition of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* thus happened in three main steps (Śiva-Nandikeśvara; Nandikeśvara-Sanatkumāra; Sanatkumāra-Candrātreya, the last passage mediated by a unspecified member of Candrātreya's clan), those of the *Śivadharmottara* in two (Śiva-Skanda; Skanda-Agasti), while the *Śivopaniṣad* had first been abridged by Kṛṣṇātreya, who had learned the teachings directly from Śiva, and then composed by a member of his family. By associating its divine and human authors with those of the earlier and well-known texts, the author(s) of the *Śivopaniṣad* thus attempt to construct a canon in which the revelation of the 'Dharma of Śiva' has not only a beginning, but also an end. Although the text makes explicit reference only to these works, the existence of other teachers of the Śivadharma is alluded to by the mention of those 'pupils, and pupils of pupils who were expounders of the Śivadharma'. A similar reference to other teachers who taught the Śivadharma in their books is in the final statements of the first chapter:

> After worshipping according to procedure [and] with devotion the glorious Mahākāla, destroyer of death, who sits on the peak of mount Kailāsa [and] is venerated by all gods, the Lord [who] has crossed over knowledge, Kṛṣṇātreya, endowed with great self-control, the great ascetic, for the welfare of all beings, asked this: / 'How are those slow-minded people, who cannot understand the *jñānayoga*, liberated from the frightful ocean of existence, o Bhagavān?' / Being thus asked by the wise Kṛṣṇātreya, Mahākāla, well-disposed, spoke for the sake of the liberation of the slow-minded people. / Mahākāla said: 'The eternal teachings of the Śivadharma, expounded in the past by Rudra to the Goddess and all the Gaṇas, [have been expounded] in brief with tens of millions of stanzas. / Having considered the

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[comes to pass] even for a man of the lowest caste. Once he then falls from Heaven, he is reborn as a Brahmin for seven lives. / Since, o Lord, you are compassionate towards all beings, therefore concisely tell me the Dharma that is beneficial to all. / People say that many kinds of *dharmas* have been taught by the God to the Goddess, and they have all been heard by you. For this reason I ask you.'

82 The following passage is based on: A fols. 51r[L6]–51v[L1], B fol. 100r[LL3–4], C fol. 50r[LL4–5].

[AL6, BL3, CL4] *uktaṃ dvādaśasāhasraṃ śivadharmottaraṃ mahat | agastaye munīndrāya kumāreṇa mahātmanā ||* [A51vL1] *itīha karmayogasya jñānayogasya ta*[BL4]*ttvataḥ | dharmādharmagatīnāṃ ca svarūpam upavarṇi*[CL5]*taṃ || ity etad akhilaṃ budhvā saṃkṣipyāgastir abravīt | dvādaśādhyāyasaṃyuktam iti sāraṃ vimuktidam ||* 'The great *Śivadharmottara*, consisting of 12,000 [stanzas], has been expounded to Agasti, king amid sages, by Kumāra, the great-souled one. / In this way, here [he] truly described the nature of *karmayoga* [and] *jñānayoga*, [and] of the paths of Dharma and Adharma. / Having learned this in its entirety and having abridged [it], Agasti thus spoke in twelve chapters the essence that confers emancipation.'

[finite] life-span of men, [their limited] knowledge as well as [their meagre] power in this [mundane existence], and [their] affliction by means of a triad of torments, as well as the thirst for enjoyment [and] the delusion, / Those teachings have been taught by Skanda and Nandi, as well as by other very venerable ascetics, having taken just the essence [of them], in different independent compositions. / I will expound to you, for the benefit of the world, the great essence [extracted] from the essence [of these teachings], [namely] the supreme *Śivopaniṣad,* which is small as regards the number of stanzas, but [treats] very important topics.'[83]

The *Śivopaniṣad* therefore acknowledges the existence not only of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara,* but also other independent books, other *śivadharmā*s attributed to unspecified 'venerable ascetics' whose teachings ultimately go back to Śiva. The work sketches here a situation in which various texts claiming their affiliation to the same tradition had been composed — roughly the same situation which seems to emerge from the codicological features of the early Nepalese MTMs.

4 Conclusions: The Śivadharma corpus, history and manuscript studies

The creation of the Śivadharma corpus and the production of manuscripts which established and organised this corpus are intrinsically connected with the cultural and religious environment of medieval Nepal, which saw the constant popularity of Śiva Paśupati in the Kathmandu valley and its connection with royal power from at least the 7th century. At that time, the king Aṃśuvarman (d. 639/640 CE) was the

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83 The following passage is based on: A fol. 1v[LL1–3], B fol. 189v[LL1–4], C fol. 171v[LL1–5].
[AL1, BL1, CL1] *kailāsaśikharāsīnam aśeṣāmarapūjitaṃ | kālaghnaṃ śrīmahākālam* [śrīmaha° B] *īśvaraṃ jñānapāragam || saṃpūjya vidhivad bhaktyā kṛṣṇātreyaḥ susaṃyataḥ | sarvabhūtahitārthāya papracchedaṃ* [prapracchedaṃ A B] *mahāmu*[CL2]*niḥ || jñānayogaṃ na vindanti ye narā mandabuddhayaḥ |* [BL2] *te mucyante kathaṃ* [katha B] *ghorād bhagava*[AL2]*n bhavasāgarāt || evaṃ pṛṣṭaḥ prasannātmā kṛṣṇātreyeṇa dhīmatā | mandabuddhivimuktyarthaṃ* [°artha *a.c.,* °arthaḥ *p.c.* C] *mahākālaḥ prabhāṣate ||* [CL3] *mahākāla uvāca || purā rudreṇa gaditāḥ śivadharmāḥ* [śivadharmaḥ *a.c.,* śivadharmāḥ *p.c.* C] *sanātanāḥ* [śivadharmasanātanāḥ B] *| devyāḥ sarvagaṇānāṃ ca saṃkṣepād* [saṃkṣepā B] *granthakoṭibhiḥ || āyuḥ* [āyu° B] *pra*[BL3]*jñāṃ tathā śaktiṃ prasamīkṣya nṛṇām iha | tāpa*[AL3]*trayaprapīḍāṃ ca bhogatṛ*[CL4]*ṣṇāñ ca mohinīṃ* [bhogatṛṣṇā ca mohinī A B] *|| te dharmā skandanandibhyām anyaiḥ ca munisattamaiḥ* [munisattamaḥ B] *| sāram ādāya nirdiṣṭāḥ pṛthakprakaraṇāntaraiḥ* [°prakarāṇāntaraiḥ A] *|| sārād api mahāsāraṃ śivopaniṣadaṃ param* [śivopaniṣada° B] *| alpagranthaṃ* [alpagrantha° A] *mahārthaṃ ca prava*[CL5]*kṣyā*[BL4]*mi jagaddhitam ||.*

first to be referred to in epigraphs by means of the epithet 'favoured by the feet of Lord Paśupati'.[84] In one of the examined documents (see colophon of NAK 5–737, NGMPP A 3/3) an abbreviated form of this epithet was attested in the year 1201 CE and referred to the king Arimalla. Devotion towards Paśupati is in fact also claimed in the standard epithets chosen in Malla times (13th–18th century) and by the subsequent Shah dynasty.[85] However strong the connection between monarchical power and Śaivism, surveys of historical documents have shown that since the Licchavi kings (attested in inscriptions from the 5th until the 8th century), devotion towards Śiva was parallel to the large and well-documented royal support granted to Buddhism.[86] As is often the case for Indian religious traditions and their connection to power, the support granted to one did not automatically imply the rejection of others; the establishment of Buddhist *vihāra*s by monarchical supporters is therefore not incompatible with the attestations of the Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava faith of those same kings. An example is the figure of Guṇakāmadeva I (ca. 980–998 CE), to whom sources attribute both the foundation of Buddhist monasteries and sumptuous donations to Paśupati.[87] Various forms of religious coexistence are documented for the Licchavis, for Aṃśuva-rman's reign and for the Mallas, as well as for the lesser known Ṭhākurī kings, who ruled between the 8th and 13th century. This corresponds to the period in which palm-leaf manuscripts start being attested and are mostly in use, and as a consequence this is when the earliest manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus are chiefly documented. The production of such manuscripts responded not only to the practical need of transmitting the rules of behaviour to the lay Śaiva community, but also to the donors' will of accumulating merit: the sponsor who commissioned the copy of the manuscript is explicitly mentioned, in the genitive case, in the colophons of E 6489 (NGMPP E 321/26) of 1195 CE and NAK 5–737, (NGMPP A 3/3) of 1201 CE, and in the last case the colophon specifies that the donor Somadeva was 'longing for Heaven, pleasures, wealth and liberation' (see par. 2). The texts of the collection, not unlike many other Indian texts, exhorted the followers and devotees to copy and donate the manuscripts in exchange for religious merits. Besides this,

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84 *bhagavatpaśupatibhaṭṭārakapādānugṛhītaḥ / °pādānudhyātaḥ*. See Sanderson 2003–2004, 417, fn. 254, and Mirnig 2013.

85 A standard epithet among the Malla kings of the region was *paśupatipaticaraṇakamaladhūli-dhūsaritaśiroruha*, 'with their hair made grey with the pollen of the lotuses that are the feet of Glorious Paśupati' (Sanderson 2003–2004, 417, fn. 254).

86 Sanderson 2009, 74–77.

87 Petech 1984, 32–34; Sanderson 2009, 77–78 and fn. 120.

these texts were also used for liturgical purposes, both in the performance of appeasement rites and in ritual readings on the occasion of public festivities, as pointed out in par. 2. Their production therefore represents a further evidence of the liveliness of Śaivism until more recent phases of Nepalese history.

Besides the undated manuscripts that can be ascribed to this same time span (for which see Appendix I; it is unfortunately impossible to give a precise dating on the sole basis of palaeography), palm-leaf manuscripts related to the Śivadharma corpus provide historical evidence both for the Ṭhākurī kings, especially in the later phases of their history, and for the emergence and dominance of the Malla power, testifying that their production was kept constant over the course of time. To partially sum up part of the data expounded in the preceding pages, we recall that, among the dated palm-leaf manuscripts examined so far, the earliest (ASC G 4077) is attributed to Lakṣmīkāmadeva I (ca. 1010–1041 CE); the colophon of manuscript NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3) does not mention any ruling monarch, but can be ascribed to the first year of Śaṅkaradeva's reign (1069–1082 CE).[88] Another early dated manuscript is ULC Add. 1645, which does not explicitly mention the current ruling king either, who however at the time of its composition (1138–39 CE) is supposed to be Mānadeva (1136–1140 CE). This was a little known sovereign possibly belonging to the line of Indradeva (ca. 1126–1136 CE), successor of the more famous Śivadeva (1098–1126 CE).[89] Mānadeva was associated with the erection of the Buddhist monastery of Cakravarṇamahāvihāra (Cūka Bāhaḥ).[90]

One of our dated palm-leaf manuscripts was completed during the reign of Rudradeva II, namely NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3, dated to 1170 CE), which even praises the king in its elaborate metrical colophon (see par. 2 and fn. 59).[91] Older chronicles do not report anything about Rudradeva, whereas in the more modern *vaṃśāvalī*s, whose value as historical document is however questionable, he is even said to have been a Buddhist monk.[92] His connection with Buddhism may however be considered historical, as two Buddhist monasteries in the Kathmandu valley are possibly attributed to him.[93] A few years after Rudradeva's reign, a manu-

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88 Petech 1984, 46.

89 Petech 1984, 51–59.

90 Sanderson 2009, 78.

91 Petech places Rudradeva's coronation in 1167 CE, basing his dating on a conjecture of a reading transmitted by a local chronicle (Petech 1984, 69).

92 Petech 1984, 70.

93 These monasteries are, as in Sanderson 2009 (77–78), the Jyotirmahāvihāra (Jyo Bāhāḥ) and Dattamahāvihāra (Dau Bāhāḥ). There is however the possibility of a confusion with a former Rudradeva (ca. 1007–1018 CE).

script of the Śivadharma corpus (Bodl. Or. B 125) is dated to the reign of Guṇakāmadeva II. According to chronicles his coronation took place on December 11, 1184 CE, and his reign lasted only three years.[94] Our Śivadharma manuscript penned in 1187 CE therefore belongs to what is possibly the last year of his reign; the scribe attributes to him the royal titles of *rājādhirājaparameśvara*, 'great king, highest sovereign'. As Petech notes, most of the documents he examined for this reign address Guṇakāmadeva in a much simpler way.

Guṇakāmadeva II and his successors are the latest kings preceding the inception of the Malla dynasty, a passage that is well attested by the colophons of our palm-leaf manuscripts. E 6489 (NGMPP E 321/26), a MTM containing the *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and dated by two colophons to 1196 CE (see fn. 61), is attributed to the rather obscure reign of Vijayakāmadeva, possibly a relative (or son) of Guṇakāmadeva II. This manuscript is remarkably ascribed to a time span (1192–1197 CE) to which documents also assign the rulership of Lakṣmīkāmadeva II.[95] To the same period (NS 315, 1194–95 CE) also belonged another manuscript of the Śivadharma corpus, i.e. the apograph of NAK 5–841 (NGMPP B 12/4. See fn. 57).

The production of Śivadharma MTMs was much supported during the Malla kingdom, and their attestations grow as the use and production of paper increase until surpassing that of palm-leaf.[96] Some of the examined palm-leaf materials witness pivotal moments in the history of the Mallas. One is certainly NAK 5–737 (NGMPP A 3/3), attributed to 1201 CE, the first year of Arimalla's reign (1200–1216 CE). It has already been observed (see par. 2) that Arimalla is afforded here the full royal title and epithets which underline his devotion to Śiva and in particular to Paśupati, who will be a paramount deity during the Malla era. Starting with the reign of Jayasthitimalla (1382–1395 CE), however, documents also attest to the growth of the cult of the goddess Māneśvarī, as well as an increasing support granted to Vaiṣṇavism, as also witnessed by royal epithets.[97] This was not, however, to the detriment of support for Śaivism, so that under the reign of Pratāpa-malla (1641–1674 CE) the Śivadharma corpus was still used in public ceremonies,

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94 Petech 1984, 73.

95 Petech 1984, 74, hypothesises that also Lakṣmīkāmadeva might have been a son of Guṇakāmadeva.

96 As pointed out by Losty (1982, 11), although paper-making was attested in Nepal already by the 12th century (the first extant paper manuscripts being dated to 1105 and 1185 CE), it is only starting with the 16th century that paper manuscripts outnumber those on palm-leaf.

97 Petech 1984, 204–205.

and a huge number of paper manuscripts of the corpus is produced under the rulership of the Mallas (see par. 2).

Two of the latest palm-leaf manuscripts related to the Śivadharma corpus are dated to the same year, NS 516 (1395–96 CE). These are the Śivadharma corpus manuscript NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3, for which see fn. 61) and ULC Add. 2836, a MTM attesting the *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* in an anthology of chapters from Purāṇic works (its dating is treated in fn. 70). This year marked a delicate passage in Nepalese history, since it corresponds to the beginning of the co-rulership of Jayasthitimalla's three sons. Such event marked the succession to a sovereign who was celebrated by later chronicles as an influential reformer, and whose reign is believed to represent 'the end of a period of division and the re-storation of order'.[98] While the colophons of NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3) do not mention any ruling kings, the colophon of ULC Add. 2836 explicitly refers to the triarchy (°*trayasaṃmate rājye*) of Jayadharma, Jayajyoti and Jayakīrtti.[99] These political conditions persisted when NAK 1–1376 (NGMPP A 1158/8) of the *Śāntyadhyāya* was produced, in the month of Bhādrapada of the NS 522, corre-sponding to August–September 1402 CE (see fol. 20v[L3]).

The information that can be extracted from the study of the MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus is rich and varied, covering purely codicological issues as well as offering glimpses into the cultural practices and political life of medieval Nepal. These manuscripts are a great example of how all the elements that sur-round and organise a text are functional to its contents and uses, and that the two levels of analysis are mutually connected. The knowledge of this tradition will be much improved as the critical work on the texts proceeds, making it possible to establish relationships between manuscripts not only on the basis of textual vari-ants, but also taking into account the various codicological features which were essential to the making of this corpus.

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98 Petech 1984, 144.
99 ULC Add. 2836, fol. 33r[LL2–4]: *likhita<ṃ> pustaka<ṃ> sāntikā • dhyāyaṃ || tasmin samaye śrīrājādhi<rā>jajeṣṭha{ḥ}* [L3] *jorāyadharmmadevamadhyaśrīja • yajotimaladeva{ḥ}kaneṣṭha-jayakīrttimala*[L4]*devatrayasaṃmate rājye kṛtaṃ ||*
This colophon is also examined by Petech 1984, 147.

5 Appendix I: Nepalese MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus

This section provides information only on those Nepalese MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus that have been directly inspected and have been discussed or mentioned in this study. For other manuscripts not falling into this category — like those at the Asiatic Society of Calcutta — the reader is referred to the pertinent catalogues. Nepalese MTMs transmitting the *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* have been included in the following entries.

— Bodl. Or. B 125. Palm-leaf, dated to NS 307 (1186–87 CE), 335 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v^1–15v^1/12r–49v); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 50v–113v); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 114v–159v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 160v–197v); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 198v–219v); *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 220v–247r); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 248v–299r); *Dharmaputrikā* (fols. 300v–312r).
— E 25521 (NGMPP E 1272/4). Paper, 134 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–60v), *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 61r–134v).
— E 6489 (NGMPP E 321/26), palm-leaf, dated to NS 316 (1195–96 CE), 63 extant folios. The *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is at fols. 1v–18v.
— Kesar 218 (NGMPP C 25/1). Palm-leaf, 298 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–57r); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 57v–134v); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 135r–215v);
  Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda (fols. 216v–255r); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 256v–278r); *Umottara°/ Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 279v–299v*); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (?*–?*); (?–?*).
— Kesar 537 (NGMPP C 107/7). Paper, dated to NS 803 (1682–83 CE), 174 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 89r–133v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 134r–163v); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 164r–181r); *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 182r–206v); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 207r–251v); *Dharmaputrikā* (fols. 252r–262v).
— Kesar 597 (NGMPP C 57/5). Paper, dated to NS 863 (1742–43 CE), 257 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–41v); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 42v–92r); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 93v–138v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 139v–170v); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 171v–188r); *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 189v–213r); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 214v–257r).
— NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3= A 1082/2). Palm-leaf, dated to NS 290 (1169–70 CE), 289 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–45r), *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 46v–101r), *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 102v–162v), *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*

(fols. 163v–188r), *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 189v–208v), *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 209v–264v), *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 265v–278v), *Dharmaputrikā* (fols. 279v–290v).

— NAK 1–1108 (NGMPP A 1299/9). Paper, *thyāsapu*, 109 folios, no foliation. Contents: various works, among which the *Śukrastuti* of the *Skandapurāṇa*, the *Bhīmasenastotra* of the *Varāhapurāṇa,* and the *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*.

— NAK 1/1261 (NGMPP A 10/5). Contents: *Śivadharmottara* (fol. 34v*–?*); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 119v–146v); *Śivopaniṣad* (?*–?*); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (?–?).

— NAK 1–1376 (NGMPP A 1158/8). Palm-leaf, dated to NS 522 (1401–02 CE), 28 folios. Contents: *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* at fols. 1v–20v.

— NAK 2–153 (NGMPP A 1042/12 and A 1042/1). Paper, 270 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–58r); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 1v–75v); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 1v–70v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 1v–47r).

— NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3). Palm-leaf, dated to NS 189 (1068–69 CE), 274 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–41r), *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 1v–52v), *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 1v–57v), *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 1v–32r), *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 1v–19r), *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 1v–46r), *Dharmaputrikā* (fols. 1v–12r), *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 1v–24r).

— NAK 4–1352 (NGMPP B 218/6). Paper, dated to NS 814 (1693–94 CE), 258 folios. Contents: *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 1r–36r); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 1r–20v); *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–49v)*; Śivadharmottara* (fols. 1v–65v)*; Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 1r–60v).

— NAK 4–1567 (NGMPP B 219/8). Paper, 433 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–68r); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 69r–157r); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 158r–227r*); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 163r*–238v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 239r–292r); *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 293r–329r); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 330v–359r).

— NAK 4–1604 (NGMPP A 1365/3). Paper, 90 folios. Contents: *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 166v–184r); *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 185v–210r); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 211v–255r). For a description of this manuscript, see the record in the NGMCP online catalogue: <http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki /A_1365-3(1)_Śivopaniṣad>

— NAK 4–2537 (NGMPP B 219/3). Paper, 339 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–58r); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 59v–123v); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 124v–161v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 162v–238v); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 239v–338v).

— NAK 4–93 (NGMPP A 1341/6). Paper, 82 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 91r*–135v); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 204r*–243v).
— NAK 5–7344 (NGMPP A 1174/14). Paper *thyāsapu*, dated to NS 799 (1678–79 CE), 39 folios, no foliation. Contents: various works, among which *Hariharastava*, *Durgāstotra*, and the *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*.
— NAK 5–737 (NGMPP A 3/3 = A 1081/5). Palm-leaf, dated to NS 321 (=1200–01 CE), 215 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–46r); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 45v–100v); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* missing (only a few folios extant, like 124 and 143); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 152v–184v); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 185v–204r); *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 204v–226v); *Vṛṣasārasaṅgraha* (fols. 227v–264v*); *Dharmaputrikā* (fols. 275r*–276r). For a description of this manuscript, see the record in the NGMCP online catalogue: <http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A_3-3(1)_Śivadharma>.
— NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3): Palm-leaf, dated to NS 516 (1395–96 CE), 253 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–43r); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 4v–95r); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 96v–139v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 140v–171r); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 172v–189r); *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 190v–211v); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 212v–257v). For a description of this manuscript, also see the record in the NGMCP online catalogue: <http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A_11-3_Śivadharmottara>.
— NAK 5–841 (NGMPP B 12/4). Palm-leaf, 142 folios; it dates its apograph to NS 315 (1194–95 CE). Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–47r); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 48v–109v); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 110r–150v*).
— NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4). Palm-leaf, 157 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 34r*–48v); *Śivadharmottara (*fols. 48v–109v); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 109v–162r); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 162r–191v); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 1v–13v*).
— NGMPP E 1402/09. Paper, 176 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 2r*–44v); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 44v–98v*); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 100r–151v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 151v–177r*).
— NGMPP G 36/27. Paper, 79 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–45v); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 45v–78v*).
— ULC Add. 1645. Palm-leaf, dated to NS 259 (1138–39 CE), 247 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1r–38r); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 38r–87r); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 87r–132r); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 132r–150v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 150v–180v); *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 180v–201v); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 201v–238v); *Dharmaputrikā* (fols. 238v–247r). For a description of this manuscript, see the online record on the Cambridge Digital Library website: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01645/1>.

— ULC Add. 1694. Palm-leaf, 258 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 3*v–
   41v); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 42r–89r); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 90r–136r);
   Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda (fols. 137r–167v); *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols.
   170r–192v); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 193r–238v); *Dharmaputrikā* (fols. 240v–
   244*v); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 126r–142v), described as Add. 16942. For a descrip-
   tion of this manuscript, see the online record on the Cambridge Digital Li-
   brary website: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01694-00001/1>.
— ULC Add. 2102. Palm-leaf, 96 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 41r–
   113r); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 115r–173v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols.
   174v–212v); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 215v–236r); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 237r–
   322v); *Dharmaputrikā* (only fol. 322v). For a description of this manuscript,
   see the online record on the Cambridge Digital Library website:
   <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02102/1>.
— ULC Add. 2836. Palm-leaf, dated to NS 516 (1395–96 CE), 62 folios. The
   Śāntyadhyāya of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is at fols. 1v–32v.
— WI δ 16 (I–VIII). Paper, 406 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (serial no. 634),
   fols. 1v–63r; *Śivadharmottara* (s. no. 635), fols. 64r–143v; *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*
   (s. no. 633), fols. 144r–217v; *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (s. no. 652), fols. 218v–
   263v; *Śivopaniṣad* (s. no. 636), fols. 264r–297v; *Uttarottarama-hāsaṃvāda* (s. no.
   654), fols. 298r–324r; *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (s. no. 657), fols. 325r–390r; *Dharmapu-
   trikā* (s. no. 608), fols. 391r–406r. Described in: Dominik Wujastyk (1985). *A
   Handlist of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Wellcome
   Institute for the History of Medicine, vol. 1.* London, The Wellcome Institute for
   the History of Medicine.

6 Appendix II: Manuscripts of the *Śivadharma-* *śāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* outside Nepal

As observed in paragraph 1, the two works opening the Nepalese MTMs of the
Śivadharma corpus are well attested in manuscript sources outside Nepal, both
in the northern regions of Kashmir and Bengal and in the Tamil-speaking South.

As regards Kashmir, there are three paper single-text manuscripts in *śāradā*
script transmitting the *Śivadharmaśāstra*,[100] two of which are preserved in the Ori-

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100 I thank Alexis Sanderson for bringing to my attention the existence of these manuscripts,
on which see also Sanderson forthc. b, 84, fn. 210.

ental Library of Shrinagar (ORL 913 and 1467, *Śivadharmacarita*), and one at Benares Hindu University (BHU 7/3986 *Nandikeśvarasaṃhitā Śivadharmaśāstra*).[101] Moreover, an incomplete Devanāgarī paper manuscript of the *Śivadharmottara* is mentioned in the list of purchases made by Georg Bühler in Kashmir in the years 1875–1876.[102]

From Bengal, I have examined a paper MTM in Bengali script containing the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, preserved at the University Library of Cambridge (Add. 1599 *Śivadharmottara*), dated to *śaka* 1604 (1682–83 CE). Another manuscript in Bengali script was furthermore noticed by Mitra.[103] This manuscript, which I have not been able to locate yet, shows some peculiarities: it is apparently a work consisting of 21 chapters bearing both the title *Nandikeśvarasaṃhitā* — an alternative name for the *Śivadharmaśāstra* — and *Śivadharmottara*. The initial verses quoted by Mitra do correspond to the incipit of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, as well as the brief summaries of the contents, which unfortunately are not carefully matched with the corresponding chapters. As for the rest of the work, on the basis of Mitra's summary, it seems possible to spot analogies with the topics treated by the *Śivadharmottara*, although their arrangement is different. Supposing that the large number of chapters (21) would encompass the 12 chapters of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* followed by those of the *Śivadharmottara*, the total amount should then equal 24. Moreover, the last colophon quoted by Mitra does read 'thus [ends] the 21st chapter of the *Śivadharmottara* belonging to the composition of Nandikeśvara' (*iti nandikeśvarasaṃhitāyāṃ śiva-dharmottare ekaviṃśatimo 'dhyāya<ḥ>*), but the stanzas quoted as the final verses of this 21st chapter are not traceable in the *Śivadharmottara*. Shastri accounts for another manuscript in Bengali script containing only the sixth chapter of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and dated to *śaka* 1563 (1641–42 CE).[104]

Both the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* are well attested in the South. The Adyar Library in Chennai owns a few manuscripts in Telugu and Grantha script catalogued as *Śivadharmottara*,[105] whereas one Grantha and one Tel-

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101 I thank Peter Pasedach for sending me a few pictures of the Benares manuscript, thus allowing me to confirm its identification with the *Śivadharmaśāstra*.

102 See Bühler 1877, VII, Appendix 1, where this manuscript is listed as number 96.

103 Mitra 1882, vol. 6, 272–274, no. 2208.

104 Shastri 1928, 714.

105 Pandits of the Adyar Library 1926, 158, and 1928, 191. Following the list of the manuscripts catalogued as *Śivadharmottara* along with their descriptive sigla according to the old system (1926) and the one currently in use in the Adyar Library (in brackets): palm-leaf manuscript, Telugu script, described as 30 C 20 Ā 332 (= 73890); palm-leaf manuscript, Telugu script, described as 19 H 4 Ā 338

ugu manuscript are catalogued respectively as *Śivadharma* and *Śivadharmaśāstra*.[106] The Government Oriental Manuscript Library of Chennai holds, according to the catalogue, one palm-leaf manuscript and four paper manuscripts of the *Śivadharma*, and two paper manuscripts of the *Śivadharmottara*.[107] Furthermore, the Institut Français de Pondichéry (IFP) owns a manuscript of various Śaiva works in Grantha script (RE 43643)[108] which also contains the *Śivadharmottara*;[109] this manuscript has been copied in the Devanāgarī paper transcript T281 of the IFP. My colleague Marco Franceschini, who is now studying the transmission of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* in Tamil Nadu, pointed out to the existence of several other manuscripts in Grantha script owned by the IFP.[110] The IFP Devanāgarī paper transcripts of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Śivadharmottara*, all realised on the basis of palm-leaf manuscripts in southern scripts, are: T32 *Śivadharmaśāstra*, T72a *Śivadharma*, T72b *Śivadharmottara* (actually containing the *Śivadharmaśāstra*), T75 *Śivadharmottara*, T281 *Śivadharmottara* (alongside

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(= 66474); palm-leaf manuscript, Telugu script, described as 19 A 15 Ā 156 (= 66014); palm-leaf manuscript, Grantha script, described as 33 K 5 Gra 78 (= 75425).

106 Pandits of the Adyar Library 1928, p. 191. Following the list of the manuscripts catalogued as *Śivadharma* and *Śivadharmaśāstra* along with their descriptive sigla according to the old system (1926) and the one currently in use in the Adyar Library (in brackets): palm-leaf manuscript, Telugu script, '*Śivadharmaśāstram*', described as 19 A 16 Ā 144 (= 66015); palm-leaf manuscript, Grantha script, '*Śivadharma*', described as 33 K 9 Gra 10 (= 75429).

107 The details given in the alphabetical list (Subrahmanya Sastri 1940, p. 804) are as follows: with the title *Śivadharma*, the catalogue lists one incomplete palm-leaf manuscript in Telugu script, no. R. 1100 (a); one complete paper manuscript in Grantha characters, no. R. 2442 (a); one incomplete paper manuscript in Malayala characters, no. R. 2822 (b); one incomplete paper manuscript in Telugu characters, no. D. 5507; one incomplete manuscript in Telugu characters, no. D. 5508. Under the title *Śivadharmottarakhaṇḍaḥ*, lit. 'Śivadharmottara section', two complete paper manuscripts in Grantha characters are listed as R. 1356 and R. 2442 (b). Manuscript R. 2442 thus contains both the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*. As Franceschini pointed out during a workshop held in Hamburg on the manuscript tradition of the Śivadharma corpus (23/6/2016, *Śivajñānapustakāni – 'Books of Śaiva Knowledge': The 'Śivadharma' tradition and its contribution to the study of Indian manuscript cultures*), in Tamil Nadu the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* are often considered two 'portions' of the same work, a notion that also emerges in the colophons of the manuscripts in Grantha script: in the final colophon of the manuscript RE47849, the Śivadharmaśāstra is explicitly called the 'first part' (pūrva) of the Śivadharma.

108 See no. 757 of the manuscript handlist.

109 I thank Dominic Goodall for making available colour pictures of this and other manuscripts from the marvellous collections of Pondichéry.

110 These are RE47849, RE12650, RE35178, RE53247, RE25374 and RE47669. The latter is however entirely devoured by insects. I thank Marco Franceschini for kindly sharing this information.

other works), T449 *Puṇyāhavidhi* (containing various works, among which only the fifth chapter of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*), T451 *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fifth chapter), T510 *Śivadharmottara*, T514 *Śivadharma*, T779 *Śivadharmaśāstra*, T860 *Śivadharma*, T887 *Śivadharma*, T912 *Śivadharma*. All these transcripts can be consulted and downloaded from the digital library of the Muktabodha Indological Research Institute: http://www.muktabodha.org.

The collection of Thanjavur owns a further palm-leaf manuscript of the 'Śivadharma by Nandikeśvara' (i.e. *Śivadharmaśāstra*) in Grantha script, catalogued in the section on 'Nibandhas or Digests and Compilations'.[111] This must have been part of a bigger codex, since the foliation is reported as starting from fol. 99 and ending with fol. 150. The same library also owns two Devanāgarī paper transcripts of the *Śivadharmottara*.[112]

A palm-leaf manuscript of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* in Grantha characters belonging to the former Van Manen Collectie is kept at the University Library of Leiden and catalogued as II.40. The date of this manuscript is verified as April 22, 1830 CE.[113]

I was recently able to photograph a palm-leaf Malayala manuscript of the *Śivadharmottara* held in London at the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland: Winternitz[114] reports it as Whish no. 162, but it is now described as South Indian MS 156A. According to Aufrecht, this manuscript is dateable approximately from the 17th to the 18th century.[115] Other Malayala single-text manuscripts of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Śivadharmottara* are held at the Oriental Research Institute and Manuscript Library in Thiruvananthapuram. Among these manuscripts, there is also an unpublished *Śivadharmavivaraṇa*.[116]

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111 Burnell 1880, 138, manuscript no. 9470. This is no. 15300 in Subrahmanya Sastri 1934, 8452. It seems to be a fragment from a bigger manuscript (leaves are counted from 99 to 150) and, according to the information provided by the colophon, the surviving portion only contains the *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*.

112 Burnell 1880, 195, manuscripts nos 1725 and 1726. These correspond to 10555 and 10556 in Subrahmanya Sastri 1932, 7156.

113 I thank Giovanni Ciotti and Marco Franceschini for verifying the date of this manuscript.

114 Winternitz 1902, 214, no. 156.

115 Aufrecht 1891, 649.

116 Schwartz 2012, 227.

7 Appendix III: Paper single-text manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus from Nepal

It is sometimes possible to find out that Nepalese single-text manuscripts transmitting works of the Śivadharma corpus had originally been conceived as part of MTMs (see par. 2, fn. 72). Single-text manuscripts that, on the basis of direct inspection, have proven (mainly due to their foliation systems) to be severed units originally belonging to MTMs are: E 34657 (NGMPP E 1811/14), *Śivadharmaśāstra*; H 6722 (NGMPP H 375/1), *Śivadharmottara*; E 32604 (NGMPP E 1667/5), *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*; H 120/25 (fragment of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*). Paper single-text manuscripts that, on the basis of catalogue information, can be assumed to be severed units are: NAK 1–882 (NGMPP A 62/10), *Dharmaputrikā*; NAK 5–5365 (NGMPP A 299/9), *Dharmaputrikā*. Among those I could directly inspect, it was furthermore possible to identify (sometimes just verify) as independent single-text manuscripts the following items, listed here together with the title of the work they actually transmit: E 34657 (NGMPP E 1811/14), *Śivadharmaśāstra*; NAK 5–5367 (NGMPP A 296/12), *Śivadharmottara*; E 15940 (NGMPP E 723/11), *Śivadharmottara*; E 34820 (NGMPP E 1821/13), *Śivadharmottara*; H 1591 (H 119/5), *Śivadharmottara*; H 6722 (NGMPP H 375/1), *Śivadharmottara*; E 15941 (NGMPP E 723/12), *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*; E 38630 (NGMPP E 2069/3), *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*; E 34612 (NGMPP E 1804–9), *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. As for the latter, we should however notice that fol. 4, written by what is apparently the same hand as the other folios, belongs to the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* and reports on the verso side the final colophon of chapter 16 of this work. The manuscript is full of lacunas and some portions were left blank by the scribe, who at places would skip lines and fill the blank spaces with dashes (see examples at fols. 25v–26r, or 29v–31v). We can assume that the scribe was copying from an original he could not perfectly read.

A plethora of single-text manuscripts are allegedly attributed to the *Śivadharmaśāstra* or to the *Śivadharmottara,* but according to catalogues, these are too short to contain the whole works, their length ranging from the 11 folios of E 635/17, dated to NS 715 (1594–95 CE), to the 33 folios of G21/10. In the cases where it was possible to check, like that of I 54/4 (29 fols.), it turned out that this manuscript, which the catalogue attributes to the *Śivadharmottara,* actually contains the *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*. I suspect this could very often be the case also with the other entries.

Abbreviations and sigla

A	(in the collated texts) Manuscript NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3)
ARE	*Annual Report on Epigraphy*
ASC	Asiatic Society of Calcutta
B	(in the collated texts) Manuscript NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3)
BHU	Benares Hindu University
	Bodl. Bodleian Library
C	(in the collated texts) Manuscript Kesar 597 (NGMPP C 57/5)
EC	*Epigraphia Carnatica*
Kesar	Kesar Library, Kathmandu
NAK	National Archives of Kathmandu
NGMCP	Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project
NGMPP	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
NS	*nepālasaṃvat* = year given according to a lunisolar calendar attested in Nepal, starting in the month of Kārtika (October–November), 878 CE
ORL	Oriental Research Library (Srinagar)
UBT	Universitätsbibliothek of Tübingen
ULC	University Library of Cambridge
UP	University of Pennsylvania
VS	*vikramasaṃvat* = year given according to the lunisolar calendar attested in India and Nepal, starting in the month of Vaiśākha (April–May), 58 BCE
WI	Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London

Symbols

< >	enclose expected letters
[ ]	enclose foliation and line numbers; in the collated texts, they enclose variant readings
{ }	enclose *akṣara*s that should be left out
[[..]]	enclose unreadable *akṣara*s
|	*daṇḍa*
||	double *daṇḍa*
•	stringhole
:	linefiller
✴	*puṣpikā*
O	decoration
*	it is added to the number of the first or last extant folio of a work, when this folio does not correspond to the first or last page of that work
?	in the transcripts, it denotes uncertain readings; in the tables of contents, it denotes a folio whose page number could not be read nor deduced.

Conventions followed for the citation of manuscripts

The manuscripts cited throughout the paper are identified by two series of sigla: the first is the acronym of the name of the institution where the manuscript is kept (like ULC for University Library of Cambridge, or NAK for the National Archives of Kathmandu), while the second — which may consist only of numbers (1–1075), or of another abbreviation followed by a number (Add. 1645) — is the accession number identifying the manuscript in the pertinent catalogue. In the case of the many manuscripts microfilmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, I added a further siglum corresponding to the microfilm number preceded by the acronym NGMPP. When the accession number was not provided in the title list, I have made use only of the microfilm number (see for instance NGMPP M 3/8). Only in the passages resulting from the collation of more manuscripts I have referred to the latter by means of shorter and more intuitive sigla, as specified in fn. 77.

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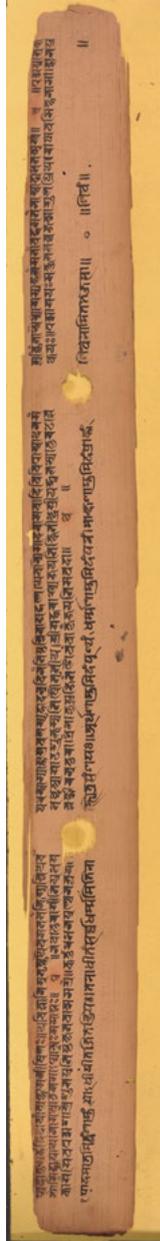**Fig. 1:** NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4), fol. 191v.
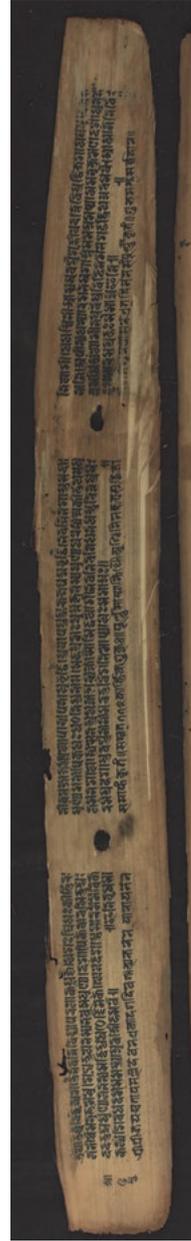
Fig. 2: NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), fol. 12r.

Fig. 3: NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3), fol. 254v.