

Florinda De Simini

When Lachmann's Method Meets the Dharma of Śiva. Common Errors, Scribal Interventions, and the Transmission of the Śivadharma Corpus

Abstract: The tradition of the so-called Śivadharma corpus is still largely unexplored. Scholars have so far identified a large number of manuscripts, including some very early specimens, but the relationships between them, as well as the possibility of classifying these manuscripts into groups and families, still need to be systematically assessed. However, recent critical studies of some texts of the corpus have sparked interest in the topic of their transmission. On the basis of two case studies selected from the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Umāmaheśvaraśaṃvāda*, this article aims at presenting some of the advantages and limits of applying the genealogical-reconstructive method to the study of the manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus.

This is an improved and enlarged version of a paper presented in the panel 'The Transmission of Sanskrit Texts', organized by Cristina Pecchia at the 16th World Sanskrit Conference (Bangkok, June 28–July 2, 2015). I deeply thank her for inviting me to participate in the panel, as well as for the suggestions she gave during the preparation of this article. I would also like to express my gratitude to the editors of this volume, Vincenzo Vergiani, Daniele Cuneo, and Camillo Formigatti, for giving me the opportunity to publish my paper in their book. Furthermore, I would like to use this opportunity to thank Peter Bisschop, for reading chapter 12 of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* with me in winter 2013, as well as my friends and colleagues at the University of Naples who helped me organize the *World Philologies* seminars in the spring terms of 2015 and 2016, and those who took active part in them, above all Antonio Manieri, Amneris Roselli, Serena Saccone, and Francesco Sferra. Parts of the findings expounded in the following pages have been discussed with them during those meetings, which have generally inspired the writing of this essay. Moreover, I am very grateful to Francesco Sferra for the additional comments he was willing to share with me before the submission of this article. Finally, I thank Kristen de Joseph for her help in revising the English text.

1 The Dharma of Śiva and the method of Lachmann

The ongoing critical edition of the works of the ‘Śivadharma Corpus’, as well as the reconstruction of their transmission history,¹ have confronted scholars with the study of a complex yet hitherto little-examined textual and manuscript tradition. Amid the progress of the first, current projects on this topic, several factors have emerged that highlight not only the relevance of this research to the history of early and medieval Śaivism (not to mention the Indian religious landscape in general), but also its contribution to our knowledge of the dynamics regulating the composition and transmission of texts, both locally and to geographically and culturally distant areas. The study of the transmission of the Śivadharma corpus can thus offer important methodological insights on how to select and apply the rules of textual criticism to the critical editing of texts that are transmitted and used in different regional contexts — where they nourished the local cults of Śiva and the growth of Śaiva institutions — and whose manuscripts have regularly served not just as carriers of texts, but also as supports of worship.²

For the transmission of the Śivadharma corpus is based on an imposing and varied body of manuscripts, counting ca. 85 specimens (according to a rough estimate), which were produced continuously from an early period — the earliest manuscript, N_{A12}^K, being palaeographically dateable to the 9th century — until the 20th century. Being particularly prominent in Nepal, this tradition is moreover strongly translocal, as it is attested in several different regions, such as (mainly) Kashmir, Bengal, and Tamil Nadu. This means that the texts were studied and transmitted in areas of different languages and manuscript traditions. Such consideration is not equally true of all the works, however, as the tradition presents a very clear-cut bifurcation between the two earliest works, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* — which were also studied and transmitted outside Nepal — and

1 For a brief introduction, I refer the reader to De Simini and Mirnig 2017 below. In-depth considerations on specific aspects of the Śivadharma corpus, especially concerning the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, are found in Bisschop 2014 and forth., De Simini 2016a and 2016b. The scholars who are active in this field recently discussed the initial results and prospective outcomes of their research during the ‘Śivadharma Workshop. Manuscripts, Editions, Perspectives’ (Leiden University, 26–30 September 2016).

2 I refer the reader to De Simini 2016a for considerations on the ritual uses of manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus (and, more generally, on the attestations of this practice in Sanskrit texts). Details on the manuscript tradition of the Śivadharma corpus, with special reference to the Nepalese materials, are given in De Simini 2016b, on which the following introductory lines are mostly based.

the remaining six (seven if we also include those attested only in one manuscript), which have so far been found, with rare exceptions, exclusively in Nepal and, at least in the earliest phases of their transmission, only in multiple-text manuscripts (henceforth MTM) transmitting the entire corpus. Such manuscripts were thus most likely the contrivance of the communities inhabiting the Kathmandu Valley. A further element that is emerging as a key factor in achieving a historical understanding of the transmission of these works is the scope of their secondary tradition, which finds expression in numerous quotations and reuses. From this point of view, the *Śivadharmottara* in particular is proving to have enjoyed a high level of popularity, as attested by the multiple reuses, with or without attribution, that have been traced so far in the main areas where the text was transmitted.³ Moreover, the composition of Śivadharma works also entailed the reuse of other works, as shown by the many borrowings from the *Niśvāsa* that are evident in the *Śivadhar-masaṅgraha*,⁴ or by the parallels between the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, the *Lalitavistara*, and the *Mahābhārata* that are now emerging.⁵

Making sense of this vast array of primary sources, to which the preceding lines have just provided a brief and partial introduction, is the challenge faced by those who work on these texts, and who must necessarily do so with a philological approach. Such an approach, as firmly established by a long tradition of scholarship, requires — among other things — that a systematic *recensio* help clarify inasmuch as possible the genealogical links between the manuscripts, in order to select the appropriate specimens in preparing an edition. This genealogical-reconstructive technique, based on the method of identifying common ‘monogenetic’ errors — namely, the non-original readings that cannot be produced independently by different scribes⁶ — is what is typically designated by the widely debated but still rightly iconic expression ‘the method of Lachmann’.⁷ My use of this expression in

3 On the reuses of the *Śivadharmottara*, see De Simini 2016a, especially Appendix 2, containing tables of parallels between the *Śivadharmottara* and the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭas*, the *Devīpurāṇa*, the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, and the *Uttarakāmika*.

4 See Kafle 2015.

5 On this topic, cf. below and De Simini and Mirnig 2017 in this volume.

6 The distinction between monogenetic and polygenetic errors — the latter of which are variants that do not really account for the genealogical relationships of the manuscripts, and are therefore to be disregarded in a reconstructive study — can be credited to Pasquali; see Trovato 2014, to which I refer the reader for a general introduction to genealogical textual criticism, with both a historical and a descriptive approach, as well as further bibliography on related subjects.

7 On this, see Timpanaro 2003, which gives an account of the debate regarding what constitutes this method, as well as the actual contribution of Karl Konrad Lachmann (1793–1851) and his contemporaries to the method.

the title and throughout the article is not meant to suggest that this is the most suitable approach in our case, but only to evoke the necessity of making the *recensio* phase the pillar of a philological study also in the case of the transmission of the Śivadharma corpus. This is crucial with respect to critically editing the texts, not least because it provides a fundamental tool for a more detailed reconstruction of the history of the tradition.

In this essay, I will present two case studies, selected from different parts of the Śivadharma corpus, in which the presence of macroscopic inconsistencies — the ‘separative’ and ‘conjunctive’ errors of the European tradition of textual criticism — suggests the possibility of tracing families of manuscripts, and thus speculate on their genealogical links and transmission history. In the first case (2), the study of the last chapter of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* allows us to consider the parallels and discrepancies characterizing the different regional traditions in which the text has been transmitted, and to assess their contribution to the reconstruction of the work; on the other hand, the analysis of the final part of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (3) enables us to shift the focus to the Himalayan region, and to the work of composition and preservation that surrounded the Śivadharma corpus in the intellectual communities of medieval Nepal. At the same time, these two case studies will also highlight the limits of applying the genealogical-reconstructive method to the study of a textual tradition that, because of our still-limited knowledge of the materials, and because of certain features inherent to this and other South Asian manuscript traditions, escapes mechanical reasoning and unambiguous categorization.

2 Rudra's descents to earth

The 12th and last *adhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is a miscellaneous chapter that sets out the behavioral norms of Śaiva devotees and *śivayogins*.⁸ Since this is the concluding chapter of the text, it also gives a brief account of the transmission of the Śivadharma's teachings, as well as exhortations concerning the preservation, recitation, and worship of the manuscripts of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*. Moreover, this chapter devotes ten stanzas to listing the so-called 'five ogdoads' (*pañcāṣṭaka*), five groups of eight extramundane worlds (*bhuvanas*) that correspond to pilgrimage sites on earth. Besides being relevant to the assessment of some doctrinal points emerging from the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, chapter 12 also offers a strong case for examining the textual transmission of this work, for a study of its internal consistency allows us to identify at least two relevant cases in which the sequence of the stanzas is disrupted, and which a broader knowledge of the manuscript tradition enables us to classify as monogenetic errors. Attempting to reconstruct the genesis of these mistakes allows us not only to surmise what could most likely have been the archetypical stanza arrangement of chapter 12, but also to better appraise the position, in the history of the textual transmission, of the later layers of the tradition — represented by the Kashmiri and South Indian manuscripts — compared to the bulk of the early Nepalese materials.

From a reading of chapter 12 on the basis of Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts ranging from the 11th and 12th century to more recent specimens, we can derive the sequence of topics reported in the summary below. More specifically, this arrangement is reflected (with small differences concerning a few missing or added *pādas*) by N₈₂^K (dated to 1069 CE), N₄₅^C (dated to 1138–39 CE), N₇^K (dated to 1170 CE), N₉₄^C (undated, 12th century), N₃^K (dated to 1201 CE), N₁₁^K (dated to 1396 CE), and N₂₅^K (dated by the catalogue to 1928–29 CE, though this date is unverified and seems unlikely, as the manuscript looks much earlier). These are also among the manuscripts that I used for the first collation of this chapter, which resulted in the following sequence of topics:⁹

⁸ The manuscript tradition calls this 'Chapter on the Primary and Secondary Branches of the Devotion to Śiva' (*śivabhaktyādyasākhopasākhādhyāya*): the first verse of the text refers to these two 'branches', although nowhere in the chapter is it specified what they really consist of. Note that a very similar title is given to chapter 28 of the *Lalitavistara* as transmitted in N₇₇^{so}, which however deals with different topics (see De Simini and Mirnig 2017, 615).

⁹ See De Simini 2013, Appendix 1. Although I had checked most of the palm-leaf materials to verify several dubious points, the only manuscripts that I consistently used in collating the

Stanza 1	Introduction
Stanzas 2–27	Miscellaneous rules of conduct for Śaiva devotees on the topics of <i>liṅga</i> worship, specific food and drinks to avoid, as well as rules of purity (such as rules on impure acts to avoid, or correct behaviour during rituals)
Stanzas 28–40	Characteristics and conduct of the <i>śivayogins</i> . Aspects of their asceticism
Stanzas 41–46	Main characteristics of <i>dāna</i> ; different types of gifts
Stanzas 47–48	Rules for fasting
Stanzas 49–51	Definition of <i>tīrthas</i> as the ‘places of Rudra’s descents’; merits of those who donate and finance construction works at these sites
Stanzas 52–84	Miscellaneous section on <i>dāna</i> : definition of the <i>śivabhakta</i> as the main recipient of gifts; praise of the donation of food to the Śaiva devotees; merits of those who give several everyday objects to the <i>śivayogins</i> , or offer services to them (see this section at stanzas 66–84)
Stanzas 85–91	Powers of Rudra’s rosary
Stanzas 92–95	Merits of donating and/or offering services to the <i>śivayogins</i>
Stanzas 96–103	Rules for the veneration and recitation of the Śivadharmā. Merits of those who listen to the teachings of the Śivadharmā and venerate its manuscripts
Stanzas 104–109	Concluding remarks: five typologies of people within the Śaiva community. Merits of those who protect the gifts; merits of those who teach, practice, and protect the Dharmā
Stanzas 110–19	The ‘five ogdoads’
Stanzas 120–121	Praises of those who donate and finance construction works at the <i>tīrthas</i> ; characteristics of the recipients
Stanzas 122–123	Concluding remarks: the exposition of the ‘fivefold Śivadharmā’ is declared to be over.

This is also the arrangement found in later Nepalese paper manuscripts, such as N₅₇^K (dated to 1742–43 CE), N₄₂^K, and N₁₆^W (both undated), as well as in the edition by

whole chapter were N₄₅^C (then C45); N₅₇^K (then N/C57), which is a Nepalese paper manuscript; N₁₂^K (then N/B12); and P₃₂^T (then T32), a Devanāgarī paper transcript of the IFP.

Naraharinatha 1998, based on the most recent Nepalese tradition, and in the Bengali paper manuscript B₉₉^C, dated to 1682–83 CE. When I first collated the manuscripts of chapter 12 of the *Śivadharmasāstra*, I could not access the manuscripts from the collection of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in their entirety, but I can now confirm that the text of chapter 12 is also transmitted in this order by N₅₂^{Ko}, whose date can be traced to the 12th century on palaeographical grounds.¹⁰ The table of contents given above is thus supported by a significant number of testimonia, among which the majority of the Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts. However, on closer inspection, this structure turns out to be only one of the possible variants in which chapter 12 has been transmitted, one that is most likely secondary with respect to the order that the stanzas must have had in their archetypical version. From this point on, I will refer to the structure given above as ‘version A’ of chapter 12, and append the siglum A to the stanza numbers that refer to this arrangement.

One of the main problematic points in this chapter is the position of the ten stanzas containing the list of the ogdoads, which corresponds to 12.110–119_A. Here the stanzas follow a first set of concluding remarks (12.99–109_A), and seem to introduce the very final verses of the whole work, which ends at stanza 12.123_A.¹¹

10 For information on this manuscript, see Shastri 1928, 723–744.

11 The text of chapter 12 of the *Śivadharmasāstra* reproduced in this article is a transcript from manuscript N₄₅^C. I chose this manuscript because I wanted to account for the state of the text in the 12th century, since many of the early specimens transmitting version A are dateable from the 12th century onward, when this had apparently become the best-known arrangement of the topics in chapter 12. Manuscript N₄₅^C, which is dated to 259 NS (1139 CE) on fol. 247r_[L6], transmits this chapter on fols. 34v_[L4]–38r_[L3]; high-quality pictures of this manuscript and a full catalogue record are available on the website of the Cambridge Digital Library, at the following link: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01645/1> (last accessed: 10/10/2016). I have standardized the text of my transcripts to reflect the orthography usually adopted in the edition of Sanskrit texts, thus for instance avoiding the use of homorganic nasals or that of double plosives after -r-.

Śivadharmasāstra 12.110–123_A: (fols 37v_[L3]–38r_[L1]) *bhastrāpadam rudrakoṭīr avimuktaṃ mahālayam | gokarṇaṃ bhadrakarṇaṃ ca suvarṇākṣo 'tha dīptimān || 110_A [L4] sthānviśvaraś ca vikhyātas triṣu lokeṣu viśrutah | sthānāṣṭakam idaṃ jñeyaṃ rudrakṣetraṃ mahodayam | bhastrāpadādīsthānvantaṃ rudrasāyojyakāraṇam || 111_A chagalaṅḍo duraṅḍaś ca mākoṭaṃ maṅḍaleśvaram | kālāñjaraṃ śaṃkukarṇaṃ sthaleśvaraḥ sthuleśvaraḥ || 112_A pavitrāṣṭakam ity etan mahāpūnyābhivardhanam | mṛtāḥ pra_[L5]ṅyānti tatraiva śivasya paramaṃ padam || 113_A gayā caiva kurukṣetra<ṃ> nakhalaṃ kanakhalaṃ tathā | (c.m.) vimaleśvaro 'tṭahāsaṃ mahendraṃ bhīmaṃ aṣṭakam || 114_A etad guhyāṣṭakam nāma sarvapāpavimocanam | gatvā tu puruṣaḥ śrīmān prāpnoti śivamandiram || 115_A śrīparvataṃ hariścandraṃ jalpam āmratikēśvaram | madhyamaṃ ca mahākālaṃ kedāraṃ bhairavaṃ tahā || 116_A etad guhyātiguhyaṃ ca aṣṭakam parikīrtitam | saṃtārya tu piṭṛn sa_[L6]rvān śivaṃ yānti paraṃ padam || 117_A amreśvara<ṃ> prabhāsaṃ ca naimiśaṃ puṣkaraṃ tathā | āśāḍhiḍiḍimuṅḍiś ca bhārabhūtiḥ bhavāntakam | nakulīśvaro <'>tha*

Bhastrāpada, Rudrakoṭi, Avimukta, Mahālaya, Gokaṃṇa, and Bhadrakaṃṇa, as well as the splendid Suvarnākṣa, (110_A) / And that one known as Sthāṇviśvara, famous in the three worlds: this ogdoad of sites (*sthānāṣṭaka*) has to be known as the field of Rudra, conferring great fortune. [The group] that begins with Bhastrāpada and ends with Sthāṇviśvara causes the [attainment of] identity with Rudra. (111_A) / Furthermore, Chagalaṇḍa and Duraṇḍa, Mākoṭa, Maṇḍaleśvara, Kālañjara, Śaṅkukaṃṇa, Sthaleśvara, Sthuleśvara: (112_A) / This [has to be known as] the pure ogdoad (*pavitrāṣṭaka*), where great merits are more and more increased. Those who die right there go to the supreme seat of Śiva. (113_A) / Moreover, the ogdoad [including] Gayā, Kurukṣetra, Nakhala, as well as Kanakhala, Vimaleśvara, Aṭṭahāsa, Mahendra, Bhīma: (114_A) / This [has to be known] as the secret ogdoad (*guhyaṣṭaka*), [which] enables liberation from all sins. Having gone [there], a fortunate person reaches the abode of Śiva. (115_A) / Śrīparvata, Hariścandra, Jalpa, Āmratikeśvara, along with Madhyama, Mahākāla, Kedāra, as well as Bhairava: (116_A) / This is renowned as the extremely secret (*guhyaṭiguhya*) ogdoad. Having saved all the ancestors, [those who die there] go to the supreme abode of Śiva. (117_A) / Amareśvara and Prabhāsa; Naimiśa, as well as Puṣkara; Āṣāḍhi and Diṇḍimuṇḍi; Bhārabhūti, which annihilates transmigration, as well as the one known as Nakulīśvara, the great inner [place]: (118_A) / [This] inner ogdoad (*pratyātmikāṣṭaka*) [is] the field of Rudra connected with the desire of good; all those who die there go to the supreme abode of Rudra. (119_A) / The one who makes these things — [such as] gifts, a dwelling place, a pit well, a park, a temple — in the *tīrthas* will gain an undecaying fruit. (120_A) / Patience, absence of envy, pity, truthfulness, generosity, morality, asceticism, learning: this is indicated as the supreme eightfold feature of the recipient. (121_A) / Thus this fivefold *Śivadharma* has been expounded, for the sake of Dharma, wealth, desire, and liberation, out of compassion towards all beings. (122_A) / Everybody in all situations sees auspicious things [that are] very difficult to attain, [but] everyone obtains a positive destiny, and happiness will be there for everyone. (123_A)

Mentions of *aṣṭakas* as groups of eight supramundane worlds (*bhuvana*) are very frequent in tantric literature. Among these, the *pañcāṣṭaka* represents the lowest level, its worlds corresponding to actual pilgrimage sites on earth; the lay devotee who dies there will reach the corresponding eponymous paradise after death.¹² According to Goodall, the *pañcāṣṭaka* is actually an earlier, not exclusively tantric feature.¹³ Among the evidence that he quotes in support of his hypothesis is that the *Sarvajñānottara* distinguishes the nature of these five groups by stating, only for the names of the *pañcāṣṭaka*, that they also correspond to *tīrthas* on earth; and that

vikhyātas tathā pratyātmiko mahān || 118_A (c.m.) *pratyātmikāṣṭakam* ^[38r11] *kṣetraṃ rudrasya hitakāmikam* | *tatra yānti mṛtāḥ sarve rudrasya paramaṃ padam* || 119_A *dānāny āvasathaṃ kūpaṃ udyānaṃ devatālayam* | *tīrtheṣv etāni yaḥ kuryāt so 'kṣayaṃ phalam āpnuyāt* || 120_A *kṣamāspṛhā dayā satyaṃ dānaśīlaṃ tapaḥ śrutam* | *etad aṣṭāṅgam uddiṣṭaṃ paraṃ pātrasya lakṣaṇam* || 121_A *iti pañcaprakāro <>yaṃ śivadharmaḥ prakīrtitaḥ* | *dharmārthakāma*_[12] *mokṣārthaṃ sarva-bhūtānukampayā* || 122_A *sarvatarāṃ tu durgāṇi sarvo bhadrāṇi paśyati* | *sarvaḥ sugatim āpnoti sarvasya ca bhavec chivaḥ* || 123_A.

12 See Goodall 2004, 314, n. 620, and Sanderson 2003, 403–404.

13 Goodall 2004, 315–316, n. 620.

the non-tantric *Śivadharmasāstra*, in the above-mentioned passage, does not link these sites to *bhuvanas*, most likely because this account is archaic and predates the notion of a correspondence between *tīrthas* and supramundane paradises. Sanderson also observes that ‘there is nothing specifically Mantramārgic about the list itself’, arguing that at least six of the sites of the *pañcāṣṭaka* are clearly Pāśupata.¹⁴ On the basis of the evidence provided by the original *Skandapurāṇa*, a text that is culturally and chronologically close to the *Śivadharmasāstra*, and by other textual sources, Bisschop has argued that possibly all of the sites mentioned in the *pañcāṣṭaka* originally belonged to the Pāśupata tradition.¹⁵

A first textual problem arising from the passage quoted above is that the stanzas immediately following the text on the ogdoads are redundant with respect to other stanzas in the same chapter: stanza 12.120_A is almost identical with 12.51_A,¹⁶ and stanza 12.121_A is perfectly identical with 12.52_A. Stanza 12.120_A (≈ 12.51_A) is closely connected with the preceding list of holy sites, since it refers to the high merits gained through the performance of *dāna* and the building of artifacts in the *tīrthas*. The purpose of listing the characteristics of the proper recipients at 12.121_A could, at the same time, be related to the topic of *dāna*, which has just been brought up. The same contents admittedly seem to blend much better into the general context of the stanzas surrounding 12.52_A, since there the verse was inserted within a section illustrating the features of *dāna* and its components. At any rate, stanzas 12.110–121_A do not appear to connect seamlessly with the following 12.122–23_A, but rather seem to break the continuity between the latter stanzas and those immediately preceding the passage on the ogdoads. Verse 12.122_A, which opens with a concluding *iti* (note that *iti* had already occurred with the same function at 12.99_A), introduces the proper end of the work, where the Śivadharmā — which here corresponds to the title of the work — is defined as *pañcāprakārah*, ‘[endowed] with five aspects’, and the devotees are assured that happiness is awaiting them. This reference to a fivefold classification of the Śivadharmā could be puzzling to a reader, as there are no other mentions of this in the whole text. While in the

¹⁴ Sanderson 2003, 405 and n. 201. Here he identifies Āṣāḍhi, Diṇḍimuṇḍi, Bhārabhūti, Lakuliśvara/Nakuliśvara, Amareśvara, and Prabhāsa as Pāśupata sites. The first four, used as toponyms in the text, actually correspond to the proper names of the last four incarnations of Śiva at Kārohaṇa (modern Kārvān, Gujarat), the alleged site of the Pāśupata revelation.

¹⁵ Bisschop 2006, 27–34. In his survey, Bisschop also highlights, among other things, that the lists of the *pañcāṣṭaka* sites occurring in textual sources are arranged in different orders; moreover, the original *Skandapurāṇa* does not present the *pañcāṣṭaka* as a structured list, yet still mentions the majority of these sites.

¹⁶ *Śivadharmasāstra* 12.51_A: (fol. 35_r[112–3]) *ārāmāvasathaṃ kūpa_{l3}m udyānaṃ devatāgṛhaṃ | tīrtheṣv etāni yaḥ kuryāt so 'kṣaya<ṃ> labhate phalam || 51.*

Śivadharmottara the doctrine of the ‘five great sacrifices’ (*mahāyajña*) — a Śaiva revision of those of the Brahmanical tradition — becomes a rather relevant doctrinal point (see especially chapter 3 of the work),¹⁷ which could therefore justify a possible (though never expressly attested) attempt to include it in the definition of the work itself,¹⁸ this categorization does not seem to have emerged yet in the *Śivadharmasāstra*. There are only a few possible explanations why the *Śivadharmasāstra* is defined as ‘fivefold’ — if, that is, we rule out the possibility that the ‘five aspects’ in 12.122_A consist of the four *puruṣārthas* and the ‘compassion towards all beings’ mentioned in the same stanza, which function respectively as the objectives and the motivation that prompted the composition of the work. In stanza 12.40_A the text lists the five characteristics of asceticism (*tapas*), which, however important, do not seem relevant to the definition of a text mainly addressed to lay practitioners.¹⁹ Two more references to a fivefold classification occur in close proximity to the conclusion of chapter 12_A: one is precisely the list of five ogdoads, which in version A of the chapter occurs closest to the definition of the Śivadharmas as *pañcaprakāraḥ*, while the other is the reference to the ‘five categories’ that, according to stanza 12.105_{Aff.}, reflect the main social roles in the spreading and practice of Dharma within the community of *bhaktas*. These five categories include those who teach, those who give advice, those who practice the Dharma, those who enable these activities, and those who are in charge of their protection. This subdivision, centred on the practice of dutiful behaviors, seems much more fitting as a reference for the concluding definition of the Śivadharmas as being divided into five categories, and induces us to shift our attention to the verses immediately preceding the passage on the ogdoads:²⁰

17 The ‘five great sacrifices’ according to chapter 3 of the *Śivadharmottara* are: the *karmayajña*, also known as *karmayoga*, corresponding to ritual; *tapas*, namely ascesis; *svādhyāya*, here identified with the repetition of the *śivamantra*; *dhyāna*, the continuous meditation on Śiva; and, finally, the *jñānayajña/jñānayoga*.

18 The *Śivadharmottara* defines the *jñānayoga*, one of the five great sacrifices, as *pañcaprakāraḥ* (3.14), since it consists of five different activities, namely teaching, studying, explaining, listening, and meditating (*adhyāpanam adhyayanam vyākhyā śravaṇacintanam, Śivadharmottara* 3.14ab).

19 *Śivadharmasāstra* 12.40_A: (fol. 35_{V[LS]}) *brahmacaryaṃ japo maunaṃ kṣāntir āhāralāghavam | ity etat tapaso rūpaṃ sughoram pañcalakṣaṇam || 40;* ‘Chastity, muttering prayers, silence, patience, continence as regards food: this is the fivefold aspect of asceticism, difficult to perform. (40)’

20 *Śivadharmasāstra* 12.103–109_A: (fol. 37_{V[LL1-3]}) *yāvad asyopadeśena śivadharmam samācaret | tāvat tasyāpi tat puṇyam upadeṣṭam na saṃśayaḥ || 103_A upadeṣam vinā yasmād dharmo jñātum na śakyate | na ca kartum avijñāya tasmāt tulyam phalam tayoh || 104_A upadeṣṭānumantā ca ka_[L2]rtā kārayitā ca yaḥ | kṛtānupālakaś caiva pañca tulyaphalāḥ smṛtāḥ || 105_A kartur atyadhikam*

As long as one practices the Śivadharmā in accordance with his teaching (*scil.* that of Candrātreyā), so long is his merit also taught, there is no doubt [about it]. (103_A) / Since the Dharma cannot be known without teaching, nor [is it possible] for one who ignores [the Dharma] to do [anything], for this reason these two (*scil.* the one who teaches Dharma and the one who acts according to it) gain a similar fruit. (104_A) / The teacher and the adviser, the agent and the one who provokes the action, as well as the one who protects what has been done:²¹ according to tradition, [these] five share a similar fruit. (105_A) / [The one] who protects what has been done [gets] a merit [that is] superior to [that] of the performer. Since a temple disappears quickly if it is not protected, for this reason [one] has to protect [it] with every effort (106_A) / And protection would [even] be superior to the gift of the objects taught above, [like] land, jewels, horses, elephants, cattle, gold, and so on, [or even] clothes. (107_A) / And [the one] who protects the gift [will get] a merit superior to [that of] the donor, because what is left unprotected disappears quickly. (108_A) / For this reason, [one] should teach the Dharma and practice it oneself, should cause [others] to practice [it], give advice, as well as protect what has been done by others. (109_A)

This section, due to its generic character and the exhortations to teach the Dharma and protect the results of dharmic actions, could serve perfectly as the conclusion of the entire text and, as such, could easily be connected with the last two stanzas, 12.122–23_A. In stanza 12.99_A the particle *iti* introduces the typical final statements (12.99–102_A) that state the title of the work, its approximate length, and the identity of its mythical expounders.²² Related to this are the exhortations to teach and protect the Śivadharmā, as already stated in stanzas 12.97–98_A. It is at this point that the *Śivadharmāśāstra* inserts the small group of stanzas translated above (12.103–109_A), dealing with the great merits conferred on one who protects somebody else's actions, a possible reference to the lay sponsors who are supposed to protect the Śivadharmā and promote its spreading. The transition from the preceding stanzas

puṇyaṃ tat kṛtaṃ yo 'nupālayet | yasmād āyatanaṃ kṣipraṃ nāśaṃ gacchaty apālitaṃ | tasmāt sarvaprāyatnena kurvīta anupālanam || 106_A bhūmiratnāśvanāgānāṃ gohiraṇyādivāsasām | bhavet pūrvopadiṣṭānāṃ dānāc chre_(1.3)yo 'nupālanam || 107_A dātur atyadhikaṃ puṇyaṃ dattaṃ yaś cānupālayet | apālitaṃ tu tad yasmāc chighram eva praṇasyati || 108_A tasmād upadiśed dharmāṃ svayaṃ cāpi samācāret | kārayed anumanyeta kṛtam anyaiś ca pālayet || 109_A.

21 The first two *padās* of this stanza are very closely reminiscent of *Bhagavadgītā* 13.22: *upadraṣṭānumantā ca bhartā bhoktā maheśvaraḥ | paramātmēti cāpy ukto dehe 'smin puruṣaḥ paraḥ || 22*. In the *Bhagavadgītā*, this corresponds to the definition of the functions of the supreme *puruṣa* within the material body, where the *puruṣa* is said to be 'Supervisor and adviser, supporter, enjoyer, great overlord, as well as supreme self'. Although the first *pāda* of stanza 105_A is almost identical with *Bhagavadgītā* 13.22a, and the construction of the *pādas* is similar overall, I don't believe it possible also to connect the two stanzas thematically, as the contexts appear to be very different.

22 For a digression on the traditional accounts of the transmission of the *Śivadharmāśāstra* and other works of the corpus, see De Simini 2016b, 263–268.

happens smoothly, mediated by the reference to Candrātreyā, the alleged compiler of the *Śivadharmasāstra*, and to the duty of disseminating and protecting the text whose composition has just been evoked. It thus seems possible, although admittedly not compelling, to connect the *pañcaprakāraḥ* of 12.122_A with this sketch of the different functions in the practice of Dharma within the community that the *Śivadharmasāstra* is addressing, rather than to the following five ogdoads. The whole group of stanzas, 12.110–21_A, when read in the context of the preceding and following verses, starts and ends quite abruptly, with no clear connection with what precedes or follows. Given the miscellaneous nature of this chapter, the absence of straightforward links with the surrounding verses does not, in and of itself, constitute evidence for the misplacement of a portion of the text. To this purpose, it is more relevant to observe that some of the scribes who copied the manuscripts transmitting version A of the chapter — for instance N₈₂^K, N₇^K, or N₉₄^C — marked the starting point of the list of ogdoads with a symbol, or a pair of double *daṇḍas*, separating this passage from the rest of the chapter.²³ This can be read as a hint that somebody, at a certain point, felt that the *pañcāṣṭaka* passage did not fit in, at least not with the preceding stanzas. Among the Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts, there is one that even drops this passage completely, namely N₁₂^K, which omits not only the list of *aṣṭakas*, but also the two redundant stanzas 12.120_A and 121_A (see fol. 48_r[L1]). This manuscript is not dated, but a note found immediately after the end of the *Śivadharmasāstra* states that it was copied from an exemplar produced in 1194–95 CE (315 NS).²⁴ It is not entirely surprising that, with respect to the passage on the ogdoads, this manuscript stands out as an exception among the Nepalese tradition, for ongoing critical work on the texts shows that, in several cases, the readings of N₁₂^K are in agreement with those attested in the later South Indian manuscripts. In the study of the transmission of Śivadharmā works, the passage on the ogdoads falls into the category of those significant, though not yet systematically known, inconsistencies whose study can help scholars bridge the two opposed sides of the manuscript tradition, thus proving extremely important in the attempt at a genealogical reconstruction.

The southern tradition of the Śivadharmā corpus is still little known, with several specimens having been identified only very recently. Their total number has

²³ See, for instance, N₈₂^K, fol. 40v_r[L4]ff.: the beginning of the list is marked by a pair of double *daṇḍas* with an *aṣṭara* in between. This symbol occurs again at the very end of the *Śivadharmasāstra*, fol. 41r_r[L2]ff., marking the end of the chapter as well as the beginning and the end of a short succession of praises to the deities. 12.121 is omitted; see also N₇^K, fol. 44v_r[L4], or N₉₄^C, fol. 40v_r[L6], which mark the starting point of the list with pairs of double *daṇḍas*.

²⁴ See De Simini 2016b, 256, n. 57.

grown to ca. 20 manuscripts transmitting either the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* together, or only one of the two, alone or together with texts that are not included in the Nepalese corpus, or even just a chapter or a fragment from these texts.²⁵ As the first phase of locating and identifying the materials is still ongoing, our study must therefore necessarily be limited only to some representative examples; in spite of this, the selected cases allow us to make important deductions concerning the transmission of the text, which will have to be verified against those manuscripts that prove significant in the history of the Śivadharma tradition. Of the manuscripts to which I have access, I have selected two as case studies for the southern tradition. One is G_{40}^L , a Grantha manuscript from the former van Manen Collection of the Leiden University Library, dated to 1830 CE. The other is the Pondicherry paper transcript P_{32}^T , deriving from a palm-leaf manuscript in Grantha script preserved in the library of Sri Nataraja Gurukkal in Kilvelur (Tamil Nadu). Occasionally, I will examine other paper transcripts with reference to specific points.

If we compare the order of the stanzas in version A to the one attested in G_{40}^L and P_{32}^T , to which I will refer as version D, two major differences emerge. One is that stanzas 12.110–121_A, just like in N_{12}^K , are not in fact located in the end of the chapter. However, while N_{12}^K lacks these stanzas completely, the two South Indian manuscripts place them immediately after 12.50_A. A second difference from the Nepalese tradition lies in the addition and omission of stanzas, with the most substantial addition being located at the very end of the chapter (and of the work). These two manuscripts, while inserting the passage on the ogdoads in the middle of the chapter, also avoid the redundancies of stanzas 12.51–52_A, which are completely omitted here. The arrangement of chapter 12 according to the two manuscripts is summed up in the following table, where additional stanzas are marked with a star, their number corresponding to the actual position that these hold in each individual manuscript:

²⁵ An introduction to the non-Nepalese manuscripts of the Śivadharma can be found in De Simini 2016b, Appendix II. The ongoing work of Marco Franceschini, presented at the ‘Śivadharma Workshop. Manuscripts, Editions, Perspectives’ (Leiden) on September 30, 2016, as well as of those scholars active at the Pondicherry Centre of the EFEO — Dominic Goodall, S. A. S. Sarma, and R. Sathyanarayanan — continues to reveal new specimens.

P₃₂^TG₄₀^L

12.1-5 _A	12.1-50 _A
12.6ab*	12.110-119 _A
12.6-8 _A	12.60ef*
12.10ab*	12.51-81 _A
12.9-19ab _A	12.86-99ab _A
12.20-22ab _A	12-57cd _A
12.23cd*	12.105cd-106cd _A
12.22cd-35ab _A	12.107
12.37cd*	12.108cd-109 _A
12.35cd-44 _A	12.122 _A
12.48cd-49ab*	12.115-132*
12.45-49 _A	12.123 _A
12.54cd-55*	12.134-137*
12.50 _A	
12.110-121 _A	
12.54-55 _A	
12.53 _A	
12.56-59ab _A	
12.77ab*	
12.59cd-60 _A	
12.73ab _A	
12.62cd-64ab _A	
12.82ab*	
12.65-72 _A	
12.76 _A	
12.74-75 _A	
12.77-82 _A	
12.84 _A	
12.100cd-102ab*	
12.83 _A	
12.85-87 _A	
12.89cd-97ab _A	
12.115ab*	
12.97cd-106cd _A	
12.107-109 _A	
12.122 _A	
12.129*-148ab*	
12.123 _A	

Even just a cursory glance suffices to show that P₃₂^T is the most aberrant of the two, due to its larger number of additional stanzas and omissions. However, despite these omissions, both manuscripts follow the order of the topics as found in version A, with one substantial difference in the position of the ten stanzas on the ogdoads, which in the southern manuscripts follow immediately after 12.50_A. This position of the ogdoad passage is not surprising once we recall that, in version A, stanzas 12.120–21_A, concluding the ogdoad list, were identical or almost identical with 12.51–52_A. Moreover, stanzas 12.49–50_A, immediately after which the two southern manuscripts insert the group of stanzas starting with 12.110_A, contain a reference to the sacred places of Rudra's descents:²⁶

A water flow visited by seers — knowers of all the treatises, intent on asceticism, whose senses are subjugated — and by gods: this is called a *tīrtha* on Earth. (49) / [One] should define the places of the descents of Rudra as sacred places. Identity with Rudra [is granted] to the people who die in these fields of Śiva. (50)

As pointed out by Bisschop,²⁷ the notion of the *śiva*^o or *rudrāvatāras* originated in a Pāśupata milieu and was not widely known in Indian religious literature, with the exception of Pāśupata-influenced Purāṇas and the Pāśupata work *Ātmasamarpaṇa* of Viśuddhamuni: these texts list 28 *avatāras* of Śiva occurring in different time periods, and ending with Nakulīśa/Lakulīśa, additionally giving for each of them the names of the pupils who spread the Śaiva teachings imparted in those places. According to this view, the complete list of 28 *avatāras* is a later doctrinal evolution than the story of the four incarnations of Śiva at Kārohaṇa, for all the sources attesting the complete list of *avatāras* are later than the original *Skandapurāṇa*.²⁸ The *Śivadharmaśāstra* lacks any lists of *rudrāvatāras*, but still shows knowledge of them in these two stanzas, which might be a hint that the text reflects a phase in

²⁶ *Śivadharmaśāstra* 12.49–50_A: (fol. 35r_{1,2}) *ṛṣibhiḥ sarvaśāstrajñais taponiṣṭhair jitendriyaiḥ* [em.; jitendriyaḥ Cod.] | *devaiś ca sevitaṃ toyaṃ kṣitau tīrthaṃ tad ucyate* || 49 *rudrāvatārasthānāni puṇyakṣetrāni nirāśet* | *mṛtānāṃ teṣu rudratvaṃ śivakṣetreṣu dehinām* || 50.

²⁷ Bisschop 2006, 41–44, points to the following Purāṇic occurrences of lists of *rudrāvatāras* (p. 41): *Vāyupurāṇa* 23.127–130; *Kūrmapurāṇa* 1.51.5d; *Liṅgapurāṇa* 1.7.31c and 1.24.35cd–39ab; *Śivapurāṇa Śatarudrasaṃhitā* 4.27–30, and *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* 2.9.2d.

²⁸ The only exception is the *Vāyupurāṇa*, as an early version of this work was certainly known to the redactors of the *Skandapurāṇa* (Bisschop 2006, 18), although the section on the *avatāras* in the *Vāyupurāṇa* was apparently a later adjunct. The occurrence of the names of the four incarnations of Śiva at Kārohaṇa as toponyms may be a hint that the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, like the original *Skandapurāṇa*, ignored the later theology of the 28 *avatāras*, while it was aware of the more archaic story of the spread of the Pāśupata teachings.

which this doctrine was still undeveloped. The only information that the text provides is that the ‘places of the descents of Rudra’ had become *tīrthas*, and that dying there was considered very auspicious — just as it was in the case of the *pañcāṣṭaka*. Therefore, placing the stanzas on the ogdoads after the mention of the *rudrāvātārasthānas*, like the South Indian manuscripts do, would be perfectly suitable to the context. This, along with the repetition of 12.51_A and 12.52_A as 12.120–21_A in the Nepalese tradition, can be considered an indication that the most likely place for the 10 stanzas on the *pañcāṣṭaka* to occur is exactly between 12.50_A and 12.51_A, which is where the two southern manuscripts have them. This means that two late manuscripts, one of which is a Devanāgarī paper transcript, preserve the text in what seems to be a more pristine condition, at least as regards this specific point. The corruption that had interfered with most of the Nepalese tradition from the 11th century until modern times does not appear in these much later specimens, which however have features that clearly distinguish them from all northern manuscripts, such as the addition of the final stanzas, which mostly consist of invocations to Śiva. Nevertheless, the southern tradition is very diversified: among the paper transcripts of the *Śivadharmasāstra* we find some that confirm this arrangement, like P₅₁₄^T, a paper transcript copied from T₁₅^A, a manuscript in Telugu script now preserved in Adyar;²⁹ and others that are rather aligned with version A, like P₇₂^T and P₈₆₀^T, which are nonetheless endowed with characteristics that are specific to the southern transmission.³⁰

29 This manuscript starts the enumeration of the *aṣṭakas* at its stanza 12.52cd, soon after the mention of the *rudrāvātārasthānāni* (12.51). The list concludes with a hemistich (12.64ab in P₅₁₄^T) missing both in the Nepalese manuscripts and in P₃₂^T, but available in G₄₀^L (see P₅₁₄^T, p. 144): *puṇyāṣṭakam idaṃ jñeyam śivakṣetrasya lakṣaṇam*. The last *aṣṭaka* is thus called a *puṇyāṣṭaka*. This addition may depend on the corruption of verse 12.119_{aA} (12.62c in P₅₁₄^T), where the name *pratyātmikāṣṭaka* is given as *pratyāṣṭakam idaṃ*. Like in G₄₀^L, this additional hemistich (*puṇyāṣṭakam idaṃ ...*) is connected with 12.51_{aff.}, while 12.122_A (*iti pañcaprakāro 'yaṃ [...]*), at the end of the chapter, is preceded by 12.109_A (*kārayed anumanyeta [...]*).

30 P₇₂^T, copied from the Grantha manuscript G₂₉^A, reproduces the list of *aṣṭakas* at the end of the chapter, in the same position as version A. On the other hand, 12.119_A is followed by other stanzas, not all of which are available in the manuscripts transmitting version A (P₇₂^T, p. 153): *pratyāṣṭakam idaṃ kṣetraṃ rudrasyāpi ca kāmadaṃ* || 122 *tatra yānti mṛtās sarve rudrasya paramaṃ padam* | (=12.119_A) *puṇyāṣṭakam idaṃ jñeyam śivasāyujyakāraṇam* || 123 *tirtheṣv eteṣu yaḥ kuryac chrāddhaṃ yajñam tapo japaḥ* | (=12.120cd_A) *snānaṃ dānaṃ vratam karma sokṣayam phalam āpnuyāt* || 124 *kṣamā sprhā dayā satyaṃ dāna śīlaṃ tapaḥ śrutam* | *etaḥ aṣṭāṅgam uddiṣṭaṃ paraṃ pātrasya lakṣaṇam* || 125 (=12.121_A) *dharmārthakāmamokṣārthaṃ sarvabhūtānukampayā* | (=12.122cd_A) *kartā kārayitā mantā prerakaś cānumodakaḥ* || 126 *iti pañcaprakāro 'yaṃ śivadharmah prakīrtitaḥ* || (=122ab_A). Note that the addition of hemistich 12.126cd, immediately before the definition of the Śivadharmas as *pañcaprakāra*, contributes to understanding the latter as a reference to the five functions that had been described in the stanzas immediately preceding the passage on the ogdoads,

On the other hand, the Nepalese tradition too is not consistent in the transmission of chapter 12 of the *Śivadharmasāstra*. The study of the earliest testimonia of the *Śivadharmasāstra*, still unavailable during the first collation of chapter 12, has permitted significant advances in the understanding of this chapter's transmission, and thus of the work in general. One of these early manuscripts is N₂₈^K, a multiple-text manuscript (MTM) that only transmits a limited number of works of the corpus; this manuscript is not dated, but its script suggests the late 10th to early 11th century as the most likely period for its production.³¹ A further crucial piece of evidence for the transmission of the text is provided by N₇₇^{Ko}, dated to 1036 CE (156 NS),³² and thus the earliest dated manuscript transmitting the *Śivadharmasāstra* corpus, though also in this case in a slightly different version.³³ N₂₈^K and N₇₇^{Ko}, although transmitting the same stanzas as Version A, attest to a completely different arrangement of the verses of chapter 12, both as regards the position of the passage on the ogdoads (where N₂₈^K and N₇₇^{Ko} are much closer to the late southern transmission), and that of the numerous stanzas on *dāna* in the same chapter. While these two manuscripts respect the stanza sequence

and which are now summed up in this hemistich. This is not the end of the chapter, as 12.127ab (=122ab_A) is followed by the same benedictory verses that we find in G₄₀^L and P₃₂^T. This transcript therefore shares one feature with all of the southern manuscripts, and another feature only with some of them, namely G₄₀^L and P₅₁₄^T, that is the adjunct of the final hemistich on the *puṇyāṣṭaka* (note that the variant reading attested in P₇₂^T also adds the information that this *puṇyāṣṭaka* is the cause of the attainment of identity with Śiva), along with the corruption of *pratyātmikāṣṭakam* into *pratyāṣṭakam idam* (see 12.122c = 12.119a_A). Moreover, P₇₂^T reproduces the verse *iti pañcaprakāro 'yaṃ* (=12.122a) twice, once after the list of *aṣṭakas* and once immediately before it, as 12.112ab. This happens also in P₈₆₀^T, copied from G₄₂^{Ch}, which, like P₇₂^T, can be associated with version A, from which it is however separated by this and other variants in the arrangement of the stanzas. The list of ogdoads in P₈₆₀^T ends as follows: *pratyātmikāṣṭakam idam kṣetraṃ rudrasya kāmikam | tatra yāti mṛtāḥ sarve rudrasya paramaṃ padam ||* (=12.119_A) *puṇyāṣṭakam idam jñeyam śivakṣetrasya lakṣaṇam | dānāny āvasathaṃ kūpam udyānaṃ devatālayam || tirtheshv eteshu yah kuryāt so 'kṣayaṃ phalam āpnuyāt |* (=12.120_A) *kṣāntiḥ spṛhā dayā satyaṃ dānaṃ śīlaṃ tapaḥ śrutam || etad aṣṭāṅgam uddiṣṭaṃ paraṃ pātrasya lakṣaṇam |* (=12.121_A) *iti pañcaprakāro 'yaṃ śivadharmah prakīrtitaḥ ||* (=12.122ab_A). This transcript, therefore, does attest a correct reading for 12.119_A, since it gives *pratyātmikāṣṭakam* instead of the *pratyāṣṭakam idam* attested in P₇₂^T and other manuscripts. In spite of this, it preserves the verse *puṇyāṣṭakam idam [...]*, introducing an anomaly in the transmission of the names of the *pañcāṣṭaka*. Like the manuscripts transmitting version A, P₈₆₀^T preserves the redundancy of 12.120–121_A.

31 On the peculiarity of this manuscript as regards the number of works it transmits and further considerations on its earliness, see De Simini 2016b, 244ff. as well as below, § 3.

32 See De Simini and Mirmig 2017 for text and translation of the colophon; Petech 1984, 36, verifies the date given in the final colophon as July 6, 1036.

33 The particular version of the *Śivadharmasāstra* corpus transmitted by this manuscript is the main topic of De Simini and Mirmig 2017.

12.1–41_A, they connect 12.41_A directly to 12.58_A; at this point the text proceeds uninterrupted until 12.74_A, then goes back again to 12.42_A. This means that in manuscripts N₂₈^K and N₇₇^{Ko}, the passage on the ogdoads (vv. 12.110–121_A) follows 12.50_A and is followed by 12.53–54_A, just like in the South Indian manuscripts. The sequence 12.53–57_A is respected, with small omissions, but these stanzas are then followed by 12.75_A–109_A, after which in both manuscripts the text ends with stanzas 12.122–23_A.

As dry and little appealing this whole discussion of stanza arrangement may sound, it helps in disclosing an important aspect of the transmission of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*. Before reviewing the structure of chapter 12 according to N₂₈^K and N₇₇^{Ko}, we should observe that this arrangement is not only attested in these two earliest specimens of the corpus but also, with a few minor differences, in a late-12th century Nepalese manuscript, namely N₁₅^o, dated to 1187 CE (307 NS).³⁴ Among the vast array of Nepalese manuscripts attesting the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, these three are the only ones in which the topics of chapter 12 are given in the order shown in the table below:

N ₂₈ ^K	N ₇₇ ^{Ko}	N ₁₅ ^o
12.1–41 _A	12.1–41 _A	12.1–5 _A
12.58–63cd _A	12.58–72 _A	12.5ef*
12.64–74 _A	12.74 _A	12.6cd _A
12.42–44 _A	12.42–44 _A	12.7–41 _A
12.62*	12.61*	12.58–74 _A
12.45–50 _A	12.45–50 _A	12.42–43 _A
12.110–121 _A	12.110–121 _A	12.46ab _A
12.53–54 _A	12.53–57 _A	12.44 _A
12.56–57 _A	12.75 _A	12.62*
12.75–106ab _A	12.78–109 _A	12.45–50 _A
12.108cd–109 _A	12.122–123 _A	12.110–121 _A
12.122–123 _A		12.53–54 _A
		12.56–57 _A
		12.75–96cd _A
		12.106ab*
		12.96ef–106cd _A
		12.107–109 _A
		12.122–123 _A

³⁴ On this manuscript and its dated colophon, see De Simini 2016b, 253–254. Please, note that in this publication the manuscript was wrongly referred to as Or. B 125; thanks to Yuko Yokochi, I am now aware of the proper shelf mark, which is reported below (see References).

Although N₁₅^O omits more stanzas, the sequence of the verses and of the topics remains mostly the same as in manuscripts N₂₈^K and N₇₇^{Ko}. These three manuscripts present the reader with a different version of chapter 12, to which I will refer as version P. The variation in the arrangement of the stanzas, and at the same time the consistency shown by the three manuscripts, is such that it cannot simply be arbitrary, but is revealing of the existence of a direct genealogical link between these manuscripts. Therefore, along with the position of the stanzas on the ogdoads, the arrangement of the stanzas on *dāna* constitutes another significant separating error in the transmission of the *Śivadharmasāstra*. Now, while the stanzas on the ogdoads seem to be in good order after 12.50_A, the structure of version P breaks the inner coherence of the stanzas about gifting, especially because it interrupts the sequence of donations addressed to the *śivayogins* in 12.66–84_A. This is evident if we compare the text of the stanzas corresponding to the points at which the two versions differ:³⁵

Version A	Version P	Version A
[He] who would feed a Śaiva devotee, the best among the twice-born, during the <i>śrāddhā</i> rituals and so on, having saved seven members of his lineage, is exalted in the world of Śiva. (57 _A) / At this point, what's the use of so much talking? Donate food to the Śaiva devotee! When the Śaiva devotee is fed, in that case Śiva is actually fed. (58 _A)	[He] who would feed with devotion a twice-born Śaiva devotee, during the <i>śrāddhā</i> rituals and so on, having saved seven members of his lineage, is exalted in the world of Rudra. (57 _A =74 _P) / Having donated a <i>yogapaṭṭa</i> and the sacred thread to the <i>śivayogin</i> , [he] obtains the fruit of the gift of one hundred pairs of garments. (75 _A =75 _P)	Having donated the required toothbrush to a <i>śivayogin</i> , in Heaven he will be granted a beautiful town furnished with gorgeous women and enjoyments. (74 _A) / Having donated a <i>yogapaṭṭa</i> and the sacred thread to the <i>śivayogin</i> , [he] will obtain the fruit of the gift of one hundred pairs of garments. (75 _A) / Having donated to the <i>śivayogins</i> a vessel for alms, well made, [consisting] of clay,

35 *Śivadharmasāstra* 12.57–58_A: (Fol. 35_I[_{LL4-5}]) *śivabhaktaṃ dvijaśreṣṭhaṃ yaḥ śrāddhādiṣu bhojayet | kulasaptakam uddhṛtya śivalo<ke> ma_[L5]hiyate || 57_A bahunātra kim uktena śivabhaktaṃ tu bhojayet | śivabhakto yadā bhunkte sākṣād bhunkte tadā śivaḥ || 58_A.*

Śivadharmasāstra 12.57_A; 75_A = 74–75_P: (N₂₈^K fol. 47_I[_{L5}]) *śivabhaktaṃ divjaṃ bhaktyā yaḥ śrāddhādiṣu bhojayet | kulasaptakam uddhṛtya rudraloke ma_[L5]hiyate || 57_A yogapaṭṭopavitāni nivedya śivayogine | vastrayugmasahasrasya dattasya phalam āpnute || 75_A.*

Śivadharmasāstra 12.74–76_A: (Fol. 36_V[_{LL4-5}]) *dantadhāvanam uddiṣṭaṃ nivedya śivayogine | divyastribhogasaṃyuktaṃ divi ramaṃ puram labhet || 74_A yogapaṭṭopavitāni nivedya śivayogine | vastrayugmasahasrasya dattasya phalam āpnuyāt || 75_A mṛdvaṃśālābudārvādisukṛtaṃ bhaikṣabhājānam | nivedya śivayogibhyaḥ sadā_[L5] sattraphalam labhet || 76_A.*

Version A	Version P	Version A
		bamboo, bottle-gourd, wood, and so on, [he] will always obtain the fruit of a Soma sacrifice. (76 _A)

Both stanza 12.57_A and stanza 12.75_A are much better connected with their contexts — which are the importance of donating food to Śaiva devotees and the list of objects to donate to *śivayogins* — in the arrangement given by version A. This last section amounts to 19 contiguous stanzas in version A. The same is true if we observe the position of stanza 12.58_A, which according to version P should immediately follow 12.41_A.³⁶

Version A	Version P
What is both desired and excellent, and what could be obtained in a proper manner, this is exactly what has to be donated to a [person] endowed with good qualities; thus is the [main] rule about gifting. (41 _A) / [When one] would give land measuring one thousand <i>nivartanas</i> and so on, bestowing all kinds of grains, furnished with water, this is called a gift of land (<i>bhūmidāna</i>) (42 _A)	What is both desired and excellent, and what could be obtained in a proper manner, this is exactly what has to be donated to a [person] endowed with good qualities; thus is the [main] rule about gifting. (41 _A) / At this point, what's the use of so much talking? Give food to the Śaiva devotee! Because the Śaiva devotee eats, after eating he directly becomes Bhava. (42 _P =58 _A)

The arguments asserting the misplacement of stanzas 12.110–121_A on the ogdoads are admittedly more compelling than those concerning the position of the stanzas on *dāna*. However, if we accept that the order of these verses in version P is indeed less consistent, as it seems to break the internal sequence of some groups of stanzas, we come to the conclusion that version A preserves the stanzas on *dāna*

³⁶ *Śivadharmasāstra* 12.41–42_A: (Fol. 35_V[_{LL}5–6]) *yad yad iṣṭam viśiṣṭam ca nyā_[L6]yaprāptam ca yad bhavet | tat tad guṇavate deyam ity etad dānalakṣaṇam || 41_A nivartanasahasrādyāṃ sarvasasyapraroḥinīm | dadyād bhūmiṃ jalopetām bhūmidānaṃ tad ucyate || 42_A.*

Śivadharmasāstra 12.41–42_P: (N₂₈^K, Fol. 35_V[_{LL}5–6]) *yad iṣṭam ca viśiṣṭam ca nyāyaprāptam ca yad bhavet | tat tad guṇavate deyam ity etad dānalakṣaṇam || 41_A bahunātra kim uktena śivabhaktam prabhodayet | śivabhakto yato bhūṅkte bhūṅktvā sāḥṣād bhaved bhavaḥ || 42_P.*

in a (seemingly) correct order, though not the stanzas on the ogdoads; version P, on the contrary, transmits the stanzas on the ogdoads in what should have been their pristine position, while introducing some illogical changes to the order of the stanzas on *dāna*. Version D, for which we have so far identified only southern specimens, is the version that seems to have preserved the most accurate stanza sequence for chapter 12, as regards both the passage on the ogdoads (where it complies with version P) and the order of the stanzas on *dāna* (corresponding to the one given in version A). These deductions are drawn exclusively on the basis of the previous considerations regarding these two separating errors, without considering the further question of omissions and adjuncts that characterize version D more distinctively than any other version of the chapter identified so far.

There is a further question that we need to address before drawing any conclusions, albeit provisional, on this point of the transmission of the text, namely what role to assign to the two known Śāradā manuscripts. The Śāradā tradition so far consists only of these specimens, which do not show significant internal variation. In brief, their main characteristics with reference to chapter 12 is the addition of stanzas, both in the middle and at the end of the chapter, which are not available in other specimens — neither those from Nepal nor those from the South — and can therefore be considered specific to the Śāradā tradition; barring a few omissions, the two Śāradā manuscripts reproduce the same arrangement as in the Nepalese manuscripts of version P, as illustrated by the table below:

Ś ₈₇ ^B	Ś ₆₇ ^S
12.1*	12.1*
12.1-41 _A	12.1-41 _A
12.58-59ab _A	12.58-59ab
12.44cd*	12.44cd*
12.60-61 _A	12.60-61 _A
12.47*-50*	12.47*-50*
12.62-63cd _A	12.62-63cd _A
12.64-66ab _A	12.64-66ab _A
12.67cd-68 _A	12.67cd-68 _A
12.66cd _A	12.66cd _A
12.69-71 _A	12.69-72 _A
12.74 _A	12.74 _A
12.42-44ab _A	12.42-44 _A
12.63*	12.65*
12.45-50 _A	12.45-50 _A
12.110-114ab _A	12.110-114ab _A
12.74cd*	12.76cd*

Ś ₈₇ ^B	Ś ₆₇ ^S
12.114cd–116 _A	12.114cd _A
12.77ab*	12.117ab _A
12.117ab _A	12.115cd _A –116ab _A
12.118–119 _A	12.79*
12.80*–81*	12.117ab _A
12.120–121 _A	12.118–119 _A
12.53–57 _A	12.82–83*
12.75–80ab _A	12.120–121 _A
12.82–83 _A	12.52–57 _A
12.96*	12.75–83 _A
12.84–90ab _A	12.98*
12.103cd–104*	12.84–90 _A
12.91ab _A	12.106*
12.105cd*	12.91ab _A
12.91cd–96ab _A	12.107cd*
12.96ef–98 _A	12.91cd–96ab _A
12.113–125*	12.96ef–98 _A
12.101–106ab _A	12.115–126*
12.106ef–108 _A	12.101–106cd _A
12.134–137*	12.107–108 _A
	12.135–137*

The stanzas on the ogdoads are characterized by the insertion of extra verses, in which different *tīrthas* are also mentioned; verses that are shared with the other versions are at times rephrased, a rephrasing that in certain cases is clearly the result of corruption.³⁷ These two manuscripts can therefore be associated with

37 Following is a diplomatic transcript of the relevant stanzas as transmitted in Ś₈₇^B. The variant readings attested in Ś₆₇^S are noted in square brackets; additional verses that are not available in versions A, P, and D are marked with a star following the *daṇḍa*: *[L6] rudrāvatārassthānani puṇyakṣetṛāṇi nirdīset | mṛtānām teṣu rudratvaṃ śivakṣetṛeṣu dehi[L7]nām | bhastrāpadaṃ rudrakṣetṛāṇi avimuktaṃ mahāpadam [mahālayam Ś₆₇^S] | gokarṇam rudrakarṇam ca suvarṇākṣo tha [°ākṣaś ca Ś₆₇^B] dīptimān | [L8] sthāneśvaram tu vikhyātam triṣu lokeṣu viśrutam | sthāṇvaṣṭakam idaṃ jñeyam tatra kṣetram mahodayam | bhastrāpadādi[L9]sthāṇvādirudrakṣetrādikārakam [rudradayojoya° Ś₆₇^S] | chāgalāṇḍam durāṇḍam ca sahā vā maṇḍaleśvaram | kālāñjaram sāṅku[L10]karṇam sthāneśvaram iti smṛtam | pavitrāṣṭakam etat śrīmahāpuṇyābhivardhanam | mṛtāḥ prayānti tatraiva [L11] śivasya paramaṃ padam | gayā ca kurukṣetram ca tathānyā nikhīlābhisuḥ | tatra kanakhalaṃ daivaṃ bhukti[L12]muktiphalaśucam [°pradam Ś₆₇^S] | vimalam cāṭṭhāsaṃ ca māhendram bhī ... [... bhī Ś₆₇^S] māṣṭakam | etad guhyātiguyākhyam aṣṭakam pari[L1]*

version P, but the addition of a substantial number of new verses that are not attested anywhere else induces us to consider this a Kashmiri variant of version P, just like we had a southern variant of version A.

The misplacement of the passage on the ogdoads must have been an early error, since it appears in the Nepalese tradition already in the 11th century: our manuscript from the second half of the century, N₈₂^K, attests to this interference, while the manuscripts from the first half do not. This is not to suggest that the mistake necessarily originated in this century, but only to give a time frame for its attestations. We should also recall that the two manuscripts attesting version P that are dated or datable up to the first half of the 11th century each transmit a different variant of the corpus that won't be attested in the later tradition. Thus, both versions A and P are attested in the earlier manuscripts of the collection, with N₁₅^O being the only post-12th century Nepalese manuscript attesting version P. This version, while transmitting a seemingly correct arrangement of the stanzas on the ogdoads, also differ from version A as far as the order of the stanzas on *dāna* is concerned; as observed above, the order of the stanzas on *dāna* in version P appears to be illogical with regard to the organization of the contents, to the point that one might argue that this particular arrangement had originated, in its turn, as a misplacement. Regardless of the fact that the order of stanzas in the section on *dāna* as given in version P is incorrect, this situation suggests that the manuscripts transmitting the two versions could go back to two different models. The Nepalese manuscripts that fall into these two groups behave rather consistently: those that transmit the stanzas on the ogdoads in the end of the chapter do not attest to the misplacement of the stanzas on *dāna*, and vice versa, the three that correctly preserve the stanzas on the ogdoads after the reference to the *rudrāvātārasthānas* propose a different arrangement — or, better, a disarrangement — of the stanzas on *dāna* in the same chapter. Such consistency in the transmission of two extensive variant readings can only imply the existence of two distinct models.

kīrtitam | udgatvā puruṣaḥ śrīmān prāpnoti śivamandiram | śrīparvataṃ hariścandraṃ mahākālacanaṃ [°kālardhanaṃ Ś₆₇^S] [1.2] *tathā | ādārūkeśvaraṃ* [āmṛātakeśvaraṃ Ś₆₇^S] *caivaṃ kedarabhairavaṃ tathā | janmeṣaṃ saptam eśaṃ* [saptadaiśaṃ Ś₆₇^S] *ca sarvaduḥkhaṇyaṃ saram* |* *ati*_[1.3] *guhyāṣṭakaṃ vidyād etam mokṣapradāpakam | amareṣaṃ prabhāsaṃ ca naimiṣaṃ puṣkaraṃ tathā | aṣāḍhaṃ ḍiṇḍipinḍa*_[1.4] *khyam bhārabhūtim* [°bhūmim Ś₆₇^S] *ataḥ param | nakuleśam athākhyātaṃ vidyāś cātrāṣṭakaṃ śivam | guhyāṣṭakam iti khyātaṃ rudra*_[1.5] *syāmitatejasam | tatra yānti mṛtās sarve rudrasya paramaṃ padam | sthānāny etāni yatnena vṛjed yogi śiva*_[1.6] *vṛati* |* *iṭimā sāśya te yena rudrānāṃ kṣetram uttamam* |* *yatra yatrāthavā deśe yena yena maheśvaraḥ* |* *rūpeṇāste* [1.7] *mahāpuṇyaṃ tat tat kṣetram sumokṣadam* |* *dānāny āvasathaṃ kūpam udyānaṃ devatāgṛham | tīrtheṣv etāni yaḥ ku*_[1.8] *ryād akṣayaṃ labhate phalam* |.

If we accept that the correct order of the stanzas on the ogdoads is the one reflected in versions P and D, while a more correct arrangement of the section on *dāna* is reflected in versions A and D, it turns out that the latter, only represented by southern specimens, is the only version to have preserved both sections in what could be their proper position. We are therefore faced with a situation where, with regard to the two variants in question, late Grantha and Telugu manuscripts transmit a version that could be closer to that of the archetype, prior to the emergence of the two interferences that would have heavily affected the transmission of chapter 12 since its early history. This consideration only applies to the general structure of the contents, as a common pattern of omissions and additions closely links the manuscripts transmitting version D to the regional southern tradition. One possibility is that the Indian regional transmissions and the Nepalese transmission separated early, before the first manuscript(s) reached Nepal, thus certainly before the 9th century. The most significant evidence that so far seems to suggest that the Nepalese and the Indian traditions must have developed independently after the first split is the flourishing of the corpus, of which we find no trace outside Nepal, where it played by contrast a key role also in the manuscript transmission. While it is possible that the stanza order of version D may depend on an older hyper-archetype, given its commonalities with versions A and P, only an accurate study of the variant readings in the text will enable scholars to confirm and enrich this reconstruction, or on the contrary to draw a completely different picture. At the same time, the hypothesis of a scribal conjecture that restored the correct position of the stanzas on the ogdoads in manuscripts following version D might always remain unconfirmed; as I will try to argue with the next example, the ghost of contamination has haunted the transmission of the Śivadharma corpus since early times, getting in the way of modern philological studies.

3 *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in the making

The ‘Conversation between Umā and Maheśvara’ (*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*) is typically transmitted as the fourth work in the Nepalese MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus. It is first attested in two early 11th-century specimens, N₂₈^K and N₇₇^{Ko}, and since then transmitted uninterruptedly in palm-leaf and paper manuscripts of the

Śivadharmā corpus up to modern times.³⁸ Like the other works of the corpus, with the exception of the *Śivadharmāśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* appears to only be attested in Nepal. The study of its transmission thus offers the opportunity to narrow our focus from the vast South Asian area, with its diverse local traditions and scripts, to the Nepalese region. The case that will be examined in the next pages suggests that the composition of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* was still in progress during the first stages of its manuscript transmission, thus providing a clue that this work may indeed have been composed in Nepal; at the same time, scribes have not only facilitated the transmission of this text, but also seem to have modified it significantly, for reasons that might have been connected to the contexts in which the text was used.

As I have already pointed out elsewhere,³⁹ a relevant disruption in the transmission of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* consists in how the Nepalese manuscripts appear to have divided the work into an uneven number of chapters. As a matter of fact, several manuscripts transmit the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as a work divided into 22 chapters, the final chapter consisting of only 16 stanzas that usually lack the explicit designation of 'chapter 22', being set off simply with final *iti*. Such is the division of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* according to N₄₅^C (which however has significant lacunas in this point), N₉₄^C, N₀₂^C, N₈₂^K, N₇^K, N₁₀^K, N₁₁^K, and N₂₅^K, to which I will hereafter refer as 'group V'. Note that all these manuscripts also turn out to transmit version A of *Śivadharmāśāstra* chapter 12, although this information cannot be verified for N₀₂^C and N₁₀^K, which lack the *Śivadharmāśāstra* entirely. In this group we should also include Naraharinatha 1998. Once we compare the structure of the final portion of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as in group V with the one attested in N₂₈^K, possibly the earliest manuscript to attest the corpus and, thus, the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* itself, some major differences

38 The works of the Śivadharmā corpus have also been used independently of the MTMs in which they are transmitted, a practice that in later times resulted in some of these works being transmitted as single-text manuscripts originating from the dismemberment of a former MTM (see De Simini 2016b, 260ff.). The title list of the NGMPP enumerates only four paper manuscripts with the title *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* that don't seem to be part of a larger manuscript. These are (listed by microfilm number): A 305–4, of only ten folios; E 723/14, of 33 folios; A 471–40, of 25 folios; and F 6–8, of eight folios. The catalogue information provided is too scarce to let us conclude beyond doubt that this *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* was indeed the same work (or a fragment of the same work) as in the Śivadharmā corpus. As a matter of fact, *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is a very generic title, which could rather denote a category or subgenre of texts, as shown by its various attestations in the *New Catalogous Catalogorum*.

39 Some of the considerations contained in the following lines are alluded to in De Simini 2016b, 246, n. 34.

emerge. In the following lines, I will describe this comparison by using one manuscript as representative of the entire group V, namely N_7^K , a complete palm-leaf manuscript dated to 1170 CE.⁴⁰ The first relevant discrepancy emerging from a comparison between N_7^K and N_{28}^K is that the latter, in which the *Umāmaheśvaraśaṃvāda* is also positioned as the last work in the corpus, concludes the work at chapter 20. The contents of chapter 20 in the two manuscripts are otherwise consistent, barring a few concluding verses absent from N_{28}^K :

N_{28}^K : (fol. 191_{V(L3)}) *prakāśitāni sarvāṇi dharmāṇi vividhā • ni ca | eṣa te paramaṃ yoga<ṇi> mayā tatvam udāhṛtam || ○ || iti mahābhāratasāntīparvaṇi dānadharmaeṣu u_(L4)māmaheśvarasaṃvāde viṃśamo <'>dhyāyāḥ samāptaḥ || * || samāptaṃ umāmaheśvarasaṃvādaṃ (sic!) ||*; '[...]' and all the manifold teachings have been disclosed. That supreme *yoga* has been illustrated by me to you according to truth. Thus ends the 20th chapter in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, belonging to the teachings on gifting in the *Śāntīparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. The *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is concluded.'

N_7^K : (fol. 185_{r(L2-3)}) *prakāśitā • ni sarvāṇi dharmāṇi vividhāni ca || yo <'>sau ca rati-dharmātmā sa yāti paramaṃ gatim | rudra • jñānāni puṇyāni bhāṣītāni purāṇi ca || arcitā vācakā ye ca likhāpaya_(L3)ti śradddhayā | sarve {yā} yānti pāraṃ sthānaṃ yatra vāso [vā a.c., vāso p.c.] niraṃjanaḥ || etan te paramaṃ yogaṃ ma • yā tatvaṃ udāhṛtam || || umāmaheśvarasaṃvāde viṃśatimo <'>dhyāyāḥ ||*; '[...]' and all the manifold teachings have been disclosed. / And the one who finds pleasure in the Dharma, he heads to the supreme path. The meritorious and ancient [fields of] Rudra's knowledge have been expounded: / The worshipper and [those] who recite, [as well as the one who] has [knowledge] copied with faith, all go to the supreme seat, where the pure abode is. / That supreme *yoga* has been illustrated by me to you according to truth. / [Thus ends] the 20th chapter in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*.'

The general tenor of these verses, which declare that all the teachings have been disclosed and, in the version given by manuscripts of group V, praise the role of those who worship and disseminate the text, seems to comply perfectly with the concluding remarks of the work. However, N_{28}^K is the only extant manuscript in which chapter 20 actually concludes the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. A further peculiarity of N_{28}^K is that the colophon of chapter 20 mentions the 'teachings on gifting' of the *Mahābhārata*'s *Śāntīparvan*, which is a phrasing actually used to refer to the so-called 'Section on the Teachings on Gifting' (*Dānadharmaṃparvan*), corresponding to chapters 1 to 166 in the critical edition of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, the 13th division of the *Mahābhārata*. This attribution, which does not have parallels

⁴⁰ On this manuscript, see De Simini 2016c.

in any of the extant chapter rubrics of the work, therefore seems to reconnect the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* with the *Mahābhārata*, which does contain a section that depicts a dialogue between Umā and Maheśvara exactly in the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, in chapters 127 to 134 of the critical edition, that is still within the *dānadharma* section. As Mirnig and I have argued in a further contribution to this volume (see chapter 18, 587ff.), the composition of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, along with that of the *Lalitavistara* transmitted in N₇₇^{Ko} (containing substantial parallels with the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*), seems indeed to have taken inspiration from the *Anuśāsanaparvan*. In particular, we have shown that chapter 20 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, parallel to chapter 25 of the *Lalitavistara*, contains a parallel of about 14 verses to the so-called *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra*, a text that is transmitted in the South as a sub-portion of the *Āśvamedhikaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (see De Simini and Mirnig 2017, p. 628). However, in NGMPP A 27/2, the early Nepalese manuscript that preserves the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* dated NS 169 (= 1049 CE), the title of the text is indeed given as the *Dānadharma*. This would indeed comply with the attribution that we find in the final rubric of *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter 20 in N₂₈^K, which thus shows that the agents involved in the transmission of the work were aware that part of this chapter derived from a different work, and that the reference to the 'teachings on Dharma' is meant to indicate the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* rather than the modern sub-division of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*.

The chapter rubrics of the manuscripts belonging to group V miss this connection, while on the other hand they link the contents of chapter 21, which is absent from N₂₈^K, to another work:

(N₇^K, fol. 187v_[1.3]) || || *bhagavato gītapurāṇe dharmaguhyā* (sic!) *gajendramokṣaṇam umāmaheśvarasaṃvāde: • ekaviṃśatimo <'>dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ* || ||

[Thus ends] the freeing of the king of the elephants [expounded] in the secret of Dharma (read: *dharmaguhye*), [which is] the *Purāṇa* of the hymns of the Lord; the 21st chapter in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is concluded.

While the first part of chapter 21 (stanzas 1 to 63) centres on the topic of musical notes (*svara*), the last part (corresponding to stanzas 64 to 78) indeed recounts the story of the liberation of the king of the elephants (*gajendramokṣaṇa*).⁴¹ This

⁴¹ According to this story, the king elephant, after leading his herd into a lake, gets his foot caught by a crocodile. They are thus engaged in a fight for a thousand years until the elephant, showing his devotion to Viṣṇu by offering a lotus flower to the god with the tip of his trunk and

famous episode of Vaiṣṇava inspiration is also narrated, in a more comprehensive form, in other Purāṇas, most notably in *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 8, with which the scribal tradition of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* most likely reconnects this chapter of the work.⁴² However, no notable textual parallels can be traced between this section of chapter 21 and the *gajendramokṣaṇa* episode as expounded in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, while on the other hand direct textual borrowings connect this part of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* with *Viṣṇudharmottara* 1.194, where the same story is narrated.⁴³ Other selections of Vaiṣṇava inspiration include the few stanzas that form the next and final chapter, chapter 22, as found in the manuscripts

chanting a *stotra*, is freed by the direct intervention of the god. In his previous life, the king elephant had been the king Indradyumna, a great devotee of Viṣṇu who had been cursed by the sage Agasti. The version of the story narrated in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is rather short, and proceeds from the story of another curse and animal rebirth, namely that of the crocodile that assaults the king elephant. This crocodile is actually the *gandharva* Hahāhuhū who had been cursed by the sage Devala and turned into a crocodile. The chance to recount this story is given by the mention of the seven *gandharvas* in stanza 21.63 in connection with the seven musical notes (*svara*), which are the topic of the preceding stanzas in chapter 21. The brief account of the *gajendramokṣaṇa* episode is concluded with the liberation of the king elephant and the crocodile, each under the curse of a different sage.

42 The *gajendramokṣaṇa* episode of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* is also transmitted as a separate text: see, for instance, manuscripts NAK 6/99, NGMPP A 1114–17, or NAK 6/2124, NGMPP A 1117–2. The catalogue of the NGMCP lists 71 microfilms under the title *gajendramokṣaṇa*, although it is possible that they contain texts belonging to different Purāṇas. *Gajendramokṣaṇa*, for instance, is also the title of a short work that presents itself as part of the *Mahābhārata*'s *Śāntiparvan*, and is transmitted either as a single work (UP Coll. 390, item 2664) or together with other devotional works (see Cambridge UL Or.1818). However, this episode cannot be traced in the current edition of the *Mahābhārata*. I managed to verify that the text transmitted in the Cambridge manuscript Or.1818 mostly corresponds to chapter 67 of the *Viṣṇudharma*. The catalogue information and the color pictures of this manuscript can be found at the following link: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-01818/1> (last accessed: 5/1/2017).

43 The following textual parallels can be identified by comparing the corresponding sections of the two works:

- 1) *Viṣṇudharmottara* 1.194.18ab: *tasmin sarasi duṣṭātmā virūpo 'ntarjaleśayaḥ | = Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 21.68cd (N^k 187_{1(L4)}): *tasmin sarasi duṣṭātmā virūpo 'ntarjaleśayaḥ;*
- 2) *Viṣṇudharmottara* 1.194.22cd–23: *salilam pañkajavane yūtamadhyagato vrajam || 22 gr̥hitas tena raudreṇa grāheṇāvyaktamūrtinā | paśyataḥ sarvayūthasya krośataś cātīdāruṇam || 23 = Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 21.70ab, 71 (N^k 187_{1(L5-6)}): *salile pañkajavane yūthamadhye gatas sukhī | [...] _[L6] gr̥hitas tena raudreṇa grāheṇādṛśyamūrtinā || paśyantīnām kareṇūnām krośantīnāś ca dāruṇam;*
- 3) *Viṣṇudharmottara* 1.194.26cd: *vyathitaḥ sa nirudyogaḥ paścimām āgato daśām || 26 = Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 21.72cd (N^k 187_{1(L6)}): *vyathitas anirudvegaḥ paścimām āgamad diśām;*
- 4) *Viṣṇudharmottara* 1.194.27cd–28ab: *jaḡāma śaraṇam viṣṇum tuṣṭāva ca parantapaḥ ||*

of group V: in this short chapter, Maheśvara refers to the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu (22.7–13), and praises Viṣṇu as the maintainer of the triple world. These verses then conclude with a further request from the Lord to the Goddess as to what else she would like to hear from him. His spouse poses no further questions, but a conversation between the two again provides the frame narrative for the next work in the corpus, variously called *Uttarottarasamvāda*, *Umottarasamvāda*, and the like. As shown in De Simini and Mirnig 2017, the verses forming chapter 22 of the *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda* are also traceable in *Umottarasamvāda* 7 and *Lalitavistara* 33, where they are inserted in a context that seems more suitable to the understanding of these stanzas. Chapter 22 of the *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda* thus seems to have been composed entirely on the basis of pre-existing materials, and thus to belong to a second phase in the composition of the work, in which this has been expanded by the addition of two more chapters.

In the case examined in the preceding paragraph, we observed a clear chronological split between the two earliest manuscripts, N_{28}^K and $N_{77}^{K_0}$, and the rest of the Nepalese tradition, with the sole exception of the 12th century Oxonian manuscript N_{15}^O , which could be associated with the two early 11th-century specimens. This situation changes radically as concerns the final chapters of the *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*, for $N_{77}^{K_0}$ transmits the *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda* in 22 chapters, corresponding to those of N_7^K . However, as pointed out above and argued in full detail in De Simini and Mirnig 2017, the same manuscript also contains an additional work, the *Lalitavistara*, which partly reproduces the text of the *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda* (only up to chapter 19), while also showing contaminations from the *Mahābhārata* and *Umottarasamvāda*. This can be interpreted as a further sign that, in manuscripts from the first half of the 11th century, both the formation of the corpus and the composition of some of its works — particularly the *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda* — were still regarded as an ongoing process. Concerning N_{15}^O , this manuscript is also consistent overall with the manuscripts of group V, although it adopts a different criterion for the division of the chapters, which number 23 here. However, the variation in the numeration of the chapters depends in the first place on a different internal subdivision of the contents of

27 *grhītvā sa karāgreṇa sarasaḥ kamalottamam* | = *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda* 21.73 (N_7^K 186r_[L6]–187v_[L1]): *jagāma manasā* _[187vL1] *devaṃ śaraṇaṃ madhusūdanaṃ | pragrhya puṣkarāgreṇa kāñcanaṃ kamalottamam* ||;

- 5) Viṣṇudharmottara 1.194.50cd–51ab: *mokṣayāmāsa ca gajaṃ pāśebhyaḥ śaraṇāgatam* || 50 *sa hi devalaśāpena hāhā gandharvasattamaḥ* | = *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda* 21.76 (N_7^K 187v_[L2]): *mokṣayāmāsa ca gajaṃ pāśebhyaḥ śaraṇāgataḥ | sa hi devalaśāpena hāhā gandharvasattamaḥ* ||. Note that the last *pāda* also has a loose parallel in *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 8.4.3cd: *mukto devalaśāpena hūhūr gandharvasattamaḥ* || 3.

chapter 9,⁴⁴ and not on the insertion of new materials; furthermore, the scribe of N_{15}^O mistakenly labelled ‘chapter 23’ what should have been chapter 22. As a consequence, chapter 23 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in N_{15}^O corresponds to chapter 21 in N_7^K , including the colophon with the reference to the ‘*bhāgavato gīta-purāṇam*’ (see N_{15}^O , fol. 197r_[L3]). After chapter 23, N_{15}^O adds the same 16 stanzas as N_7^K , on the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, and likewise simply concludes the work with *iti*. A reader of the text, or a scribe who used this manuscript, must have found this solution annoying, or must have seen another manuscript of the corpus in which those 16 stanzas were designated as ‘chapter 22’; therefore, he added a final rubric to this portion where he mistakenly designates this section as ‘chapter 22’ (fol. 197v_[L4]), unaware (or forgetful) of the fact that the previous chapter of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in this manuscript already bore the number 23. Another possibility is that this is a clumsy attempt made by the scribe in order to somehow fill the gap existing in N_{15}^O between chapter 21 and 23.

Therefore, as concerns the structure of the final chapters of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, the case of manuscript N_{28}^K is truly unique, since this manuscript turns out to be the only one transmitting an earlier version of the corpus, as well as of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, lacking some of the materials found in all the other specimens. On closer inspection, though, N_{28}^K might be regarded as slightly less exceptional in the history of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*’s transmission, since at least one other manuscript stands out from the bulk of the Nepalese tradition precisely due to the peculiarities concerning the composition and transmission of the final portion of this work. This is N_3^K , a palm-leaf manuscript dated to 1201 CE, the first year of the reign of Arimalla (1200–12016 CE),⁴⁵ which transmits the eight standard works of the Śivadharmā corpus. Various factors make this manuscript relevant to the transmission history of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and, more generally, to the philological study of the composition of the Śivadharmā corpus. Firstly, N_3^K divides chapter 9 into two shorter chapters, just like N_{15}^O , breaking the text approximately at the same point.⁴⁶ As a consequence, the numeration of the following chapters is altered, so that group V’s chapter 20 corresponds to chapter 21 in N_3^K . The copyist of N_3^K — whose name was Haricandra, as we learn from the final colophon (fol. 276r_[LL3-4]) — appends to chapter 21 the same rubric that was only available for chapter 20 in N_{28}^K , in

⁴⁴ See fol. 175v_[L5], where chapter 9 is split into two at stanza 9.25.

⁴⁵ On this king, see Petech 1984, 80–82.

⁴⁶ See fol. 166r_[LL1-2]. The chapter is interrupted at stanza 9.26. I take the opportunity here to correct my earlier observation, according to which it was chapter 20, not chapter 9, that had been divided into two parts in this manuscript (see De Simini 2016b, 246, n. 34).

which the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* was linked to the 'Dānadharma of the Śāntiparvan'.⁴⁷ The two manuscripts thus share a peculiarity that is not attested anywhere else in the tradition, a circumstance that makes one suspect that they could indeed be somehow linked, just like we might hypothesize a connection with N₁₅^O due to the unique chapter division that it shares with N₃^K. Most likely, manuscript N₃^K was the product of a complex contamination of different branches of the tradition, while at the same time reflecting strong authorial intervention. This becomes clear when we consider the case of group V's chapters 21 (on music and the liberation of the king elephant) and 22 (on the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu) as transmitted in manuscript N₃^K.

Immediately following N₃^K's chapter 21, which corresponds to chapter 20 in group V, we encounter a short chapter 22, called *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya* (see colophon at fol. 183r_[12]), which is not available in any of the other manuscripts. This additional chapter is certainly the most macroscopic variant distinguishing N₃^K from the entire tradition, and we might thus surmise that this chapter was either composed by the copyist Haricandra specifically on the occasion of the production of N₃^K, or that it belonged to N₃^K's lost exemplar, which has also remained disconnected from the rest of the tradition. Moreover, as shown by the table in the Appendix containing the diplomatic transcription of this chapter, 26 out of the 29 stanzas forming the *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya* have literal parallels in three chapters of the Śāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata*. Barring a few blunders and grammatical inconsistencies, which characterize this manuscript overall, the parallels of the Śāntiparvan are so close that one might assume that the *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya* was in fact modelled on the former. In this case, too, the *Mahābhārata* thus functioned as a direct source of content and stanzas for the composition of a new chapter of the work.

Haricandra's work did not finish with the insertion of this new chapter, for the *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya* is followed by chapter 23, which is nothing but an abridged version of group V's chapter 21, extending only up to stanza 21.30. After this, the text skips everything else up to the conclusion at 21.78, which means that it also skips the story of the *gajendramokṣaṇa* and, coherently, avoids any reference to it in the final rubric. Moreover, Haricandra also avoided copying the concluding chapter of group V, namely the short chapter 22 mentioning Viṣṇu's *avatāras*, which we suspected to be a later addition to the work. In brief, most of the textual materials that were absent from the early N₂₈^K, but attested everywhere else, are carefully avoided by those who were responsible for the production of manuscript

47 Fol. 182r_[12]: *iti mahābhārate śāntiparvāni dānadharmaḥ || • iti umāmaheśvarasaṃvāde ekaviṃśatīmo <'>dhyāyaḥ ||*.

N₃^K. The professional who worked on this manuscript or on its exemplar, given its date and features, must have certainly been aware of other manuscripts of group V, but then decided to intervene in a very prominent way by deleting some materials, introducing new ones, and thus altering the conclusion of the text. In the vast body of Nepalese manuscripts of the Śivadharmā corpus, I could so far identify only one that presents the same chapter division, and transmits the same text as N₃^K, namely a rare case of a single-text manuscript of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, identified with the NGMPP reel-number E 1804-9. This is a late paper manuscript in Devanāgarī script that almost certainly belonged to a former MTM, as we can deduce from the *siglum śi-dha-ca* (=śivadharmacarita) running on the left margin. N₈₄^K shares exactly the same chapter divisions of N₃^K, including the reference to the *Śāntiparvan* in conclusion of chapter 21, the addition of the *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya*, and the shortened version of chapter 21 transmitted as chapter 23. Before the final stanza of this chapter, N₈₄^K adds c. 3 stanzas that are not available in N₃^K.

The reasons behind such a choice must remain speculative for now, as we still know little of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*'s textual history. One would be tempted to argue that a copyist might have found the presence of the Vaiṣṇava materials in group V's chapters 21 and 22 to be inappropriate for the conclusion of a Śaiva work, such as the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is purported to be, and thus set about deleting and replacing them. We know that the coexistence of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava materials is one of the most striking features of the *Lalitavistara*, and to a certain extent also characterizes the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, to the point that one could surmise that the two works were composed precisely with the idea of balancing the two cults (see De Simini and Mirnig 2017). At any rate, N₃^K retains without problem the contents of other Vaiṣṇava chapters of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* — such as, for instance, chapter 4, on the *vaiṣṇavayoga* — so we cannot hypothesize that the copyist of N₃^K conducted a systematic purge of all the Vaiṣṇava materials contained in the work. On the other hand, one could also surmise that the reasons underlying the removal of portions of text from the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* transmitted in N₃^K — or in its lost exemplar — were merely philological. We observed how the verses forming chapter 22 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* are also attested in chapter 7 of the *Umottarasaṃvāda*, where they seem to be in their original context, with respect to both their internal references and syntactical connections. At the same time, the scribal tradition had consistently attributed the story of the *gajendramokṣaṇa* to a *bhagavato gītāpurāṇa*, possibly identifiable with the *Bhagavatapurāṇa*, a text that, unlike the *Mahābhārata*, is not used as a source of verses and topics in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and that — at least in the version known to us today — does not actually have literal parallels to that portion of the Śivadharmā corpus. A scribe

might thus have expunged the final chapters of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of apparent interferences in the transmission of the text; at the same time, the philological zeal of the person who intervened in the text did not restrain him — or one of his colleagues — from introducing a chapter that, in light of our current knowledge of the manuscript tradition, is not attested anywhere else, and thus seems to have been composed with the purpose of replacing the missing chapter. However, unlike the portions that were removed, this chapter had been duly composed following the model of the *Mahābhārata*, coherently with further examples from the same work.

One last factor to consider in order to fully assess the production of this manuscript and the editorial choices that might have been made by its copyist Haricandra (or the copyist of the exemplar he was using) is that, as observed above, N₃^K was penned in the first year of the reign of Arimalla, the founder of the early Malla dynasty, who is praised in the colophon with his full royal titles, including explicit statements of his devotion to Śiva Paśupati.⁴⁸ The same colophon also specifies that the manuscript was produced with the aim of granting material and immaterial benefits to its sponsor, called Somadeva, and his family. Therefore, N₃^K was not only charged with the responsibility of transmitting the texts of the Śivadharmā corpus, but was also endowed with two main kinds of agency: on the one hand, the celebration of a political power whose coming marks a significant change in the political history of medieval Nepal; on the other, the protection and spiritual welfare of a wealthy sponsor, a function that Nepalese manuscripts have served since early times. Those who were responsible for the production of N₃^K were thus well aware that their work was not just aimed at the transmission of the Śivadharmā corpus, but that their choices in dealing with the manuscript as a carrier of text must also be assessed against the ideology that surrounded the manuscript as an object of power and a protective tool.

48 For a transcript and study of the colophon of this manuscript, see De Simini 2016b, 255, and Petech 1984, 80.

4 Conclusions: ‘Gegen die Kontamination ist kein Kraut gewachsen’⁴⁹

Two main types of conclusions can be drawn from the above case studies with respect to the linkage of the different manuscripts and the methodological consequences this has. In the first place, the case of *Śivadharmaśāstra* chapter 12 highlights the existence of regional variants in the transmission, characterized by the inclusion or omission of specific groups of stanzas that might be absent from other variants, as well as by different internal arrangements. The general consistency of the Nepalese tradition is affected either by the presence of subgroups that transmit a certain variant — such as the case of version P, variously linked to the Kashmiri tradition — or by a deliberate alteration that can be attributed to a scribe or other party involved in the transmission process. Moreover, the links that connect the manuscripts within a subgroup may become weaker as we extend our analysis to other parts of the corpus. Therefore, when we work on different sections of the corpus, we find that there are different links to be established. For instance, while manuscripts N_{28}^K , N_{77}^{Ko} , and N_{15}^O can certainly be considered related on the basis of their common errors and shared variants in the arrangement of the stanzas of *Śivadharmaśāstra* chapter 12, this connection dissolves once we observe the structure of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. On this point, N_{77}^{Ko} and N_{15}^O can be associated with the ‘mainstream’ version of the Nepalese corpus, while N_{28}^K again diverges. The latter manuscript indeed qualifies as very unique, since once we dig into it we are able to find other cases in which its stanza arrangement does not comply with any of the other manuscripts. One such example is the structure of chapter 11 of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*: N_{28}^K skips from stanza 28 of the mainstream version to 69, moving back to stanza 29 only after stanza 106. If the uniqueness of this manuscript, which also transmits a shorter version of the corpus, may also somehow be related to its earliness, of which we have no further proof than its script, then we must also accept that N_{28}^K may belong to a different branch than the entirety of the Nepalese tradition. The fact that in chapter 12 of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* N_{28}^K shares with N_{77}^{Ko} and N_{15}^O both a correct reading (the position of the stanzas on the ogdoads) and a likely wrong one (the arrangement of the stanzas on *dāna*), while not sharing the other macroscopic variants that we took into consideration, makes one suspect that there are cases of contamination internal to the Nepalese tradition.

This is also hinted at by the case of N_3^K , a manuscript that respects version A in the transmission of *Śivadharmaśāstra* chapter 12, and that one would easily discard

⁴⁹ Maas 1957, 31.

from a collation due to the high number of corrupted readings and overall bad state of the text it transmits. Nonetheless, this manuscript turns out to provide an illuminating example of the open attitude that a scribe could have towards this tradition, to which they felt entitled, under certain conditions, to add and subtract text as they pleased. Although in many cases we notice that the scribes of the Śivadharmā corpus were copying mechanically from their exemplars, the possibility that the text could be altered on purpose, or on the basis of the reading transmitted by another exemplar, was certainly there, and it is the principle that inspired and authorized somebody to add two more chapters to the 20-chapter *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of N_{28}^K , or to divide chapter 9 of the same text into two chapters, as we see in N_3^K and in N_{15}^O . These examples suggest that we are likely to encounter many more such interventions in the tradition as we proceed with our critical work on the corpus.

A mechanical copying process thus alternated with a non-mechanical one in which copyists assessed the text and made decisions concerning its transmission. Philologists know that this attitude leaves the door open to the horizontal contamination of the tradition, which is one of the reasons why some manuscripts appear to be very close, to the point of suggesting a genetic link, but only inasmuch as we consider just one single segment of text. Another option that we should consider is that contamination might also have occurred if the scribes working on a MTM copied the works from different manuscripts. We don't know much about the copying process of these manuscripts, but we do know from codicological and paratextual features that the works belonging to the MTMs of the corpus could and were used independently of each other,⁵⁰ so we cannot rule out the possibility that single blocks from different MTMs were also employed as exemplars for the production of a new block of another MTM. The genealogical-reconstructive method will help us clarify this and other points, especially once we are able to systematically extend our considerations to all the works of the corpus.

The extant southern manuscripts, produced at a much later date due to the well-known defects that undermine manuscript transmission in such a hot and humid climate, otherwise prove immensely useful in the reconstruction of the history of the tradition, once again confirming that the latest layers in the transmission might in fact still preserve traces of a much earlier text. If we were to consider the southern materials as just ancillary to the Nepalese manuscripts, we would no longer be able to apply the criterion of the 'peripheral areas'⁵¹ to philology in order to evaluate a reading.

50 See De Simini 2016b and 2016c.

51 On Lachmann's introduction of this linguistic criterion in his edition of the New Testament — a concept later theorized by Bartoli and the proponents of neolinguistics at the beginning of the 20th century — see Pasquali 2014, 8.

From a methodological point of view, the so-called ‘method of Lachmann’, with its rebuttal of some of the practices that were widespread in Humanist philology — such as the acceptance of a vulgate version of the text, as well as the criterion of the *codex optimus*, and its focus on a rigorous *recensio* of the manuscripts — certainly offers some principles that turn out useful also in the study of the transmission of the Śivadharma corpus. At the same time, the features of this tradition, from the abundance and chronological distribution of its attestations to the likelihood of horizontal contamination, make it less suited to a process of mechanical *recensio* — of the sort that the reconstruction of a stemma presupposes — and better suited to a so-called ‘open’ or non-mechanical one. Scholars are thus presented here with a situation that is closer to the one envisaged by the post-Lachmannian philologist Pasquali, who highlighted the role played by the study of the history of the tradition that accompanies the reconstruction of a stemma. The author, in his analysis of contaminated traditions (see his 1934 study, reedited in 2014), proposed to rely on what he calls an open recension, a technique that proves useful in the case of traditions for which no definitive stemma can be proposed — as the tradition of the Śivadharma will probably prove to be. This is based on the principle that, during *recensio*, all manuscripts must be collated, while in the phase of *editio* the choice of the best reading cannot happen mechanically — nor on the basis of fixed criteria such as the genealogical stemma, the majority rule, or that of the ‘best’ manuscript — but necessarily has to happen by assessing each reading in terms of the principles established by the editor on the basis of the history of the tradition. The collation of the manuscripts and the choice of the best reading must therefore be preceded by a precise assessment of the place that can be assigned to each manuscript or group of manuscripts in the transmission of the text, and the impossibility of reconstructing a complete stemma can be replaced by the awareness of which forms the text assumed at different stages of its transmission. Thus the combined application of the genealogical-reconstructive method and the method of the open recension to the study of the complex transmission of the Śivadharma corpus — whose ‘vulgate’ text (Naraharinatha 1998) is furthermore deeply unreliable — not only promises the possibility of achieving a better understanding of the texts and the production of better critical editions, but also offers an important methodological contribution to the way we study Sanskrit texts and their transmission, enriching our knowledge and practice of philology and textual criticism.

References

Abbreviations

ALRC	Adyar Library and Research Centre
ASC	Asiatic Society of Calcutta
BHU	Benares Hindu University
Bodl.	Bodleian Library
CUL	Cambridge University Library
GOML	Government Oriental Manuscript Library (Chennai)
IFP	Institut Français de Pondichéry
LU	Leiden University
NAK	National Archives of Kathmandu
NGMPP	Nepalese-German Manuscript Preservation Project
ORL	Oriental Library of Srinagar
UP	University of Pennsylvania
WL	Wellcome Library

Manuscripts*

Sigla	Accession Number	Date
B ₉₉ ^C	CUL Add.1599	1682—83 CE
G ₂₉ ^A	ALRC 75429	
G ₄₂ ^{Ch}	GOML 2442	

* For the manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus, I have used the system of sigla that was agreed upon during the 'Śivadharma Workshop. Manuscripts, Editions, Perspectives'. According to this system, the first letter in the siglum denotes the script in which the manuscript is written (N for Nepālākṣara, G for Grantha, etc.); the first superscripted letter is for the place where the manuscript is kept (K stands for Kathmandu, C for Cambridge, Ko for Kolkata, L for Leiden, O for Oxford, A for Adyar), while the subscribed number indicates the last two figures of the microfilm or accession number.

Note that the Śivadharma manuscripts held at the Cambridge University Library are all photographed and catalogued in Vergiani, Cuneo and Formigatti 2011–14. Information on some of the manuscripts catalogued by the NGMPP can be found at the following link: http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/Main_Page (last accessed: 20/12/2016). The paper transcripts of the IFP can be downloaded from the website of the Muktabodha library (http://muktabodha.org/IFP_ROOT/access_page.htm; last viewing: 12/1/2017). The manuscript of the Wellcome Institute is described in Wujastyk 1985. The two Śāradā and the Telugu manuscripts are just mentioned in the lists of the holdings of the respective libraries, without description. Neither the Leiden nor the Bodleian Śivadharma manuscript are described in catalogues.

G ₄₀ ^L	LU II.40	April 22, 1830 CE
N ₀₂ ^C	CUL Add.2102	*12 th century
N ₄₅ ^C	CUL Add.1645	1139–40 CE
N ₉₄ ^C	CUL Add.1694	*12 th century
N _{A12} ^K	NAK 5-892 (NGMPP A 12/3)	*9 th century
N ₃ ^K	NAK 5–737 (NGMPP A 3/3)	January 4, 1201 CE
N ₇ ^K	NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3)	January 4, 1170 CE
N ₁₀ ^K	NAK 1/1261 (NGMPP A 10/5)	
N ₁₁ ^K	NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3)	1395–96 CE
N ₁₂ ^K	NAK 5–841 (NGMPP B 12/4)	date of the exemplar: 1194–95 CE
N ₂₅ ^K	Kesar 218 (NGMPP C 25/1)	
N ₂₈ ^K	NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4)	*late 10 th /early 11 th century
N ₄₂ ^K	NAK 2–153 (NGMPP A 1042/1)	
N ₅₇ ^K	Kesar 597 (NGMPP C 57/5)	1742–43 CE
N ₈₂ ^K	NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3)	May 24, 1069 CE
N ₀₄ ^K	E 34612 (NGMPP E 1804-9)	
N ₅₂ ^{Ko}	ASC G 3852 (cat. No. 4085)	*12 th century
N ₇₇ ^{Ko}	ASC G 4077 (cat. No. 4084)	July 6, 1036 CE
N ₁₅ ^O	Sansk. A 15 (R)	June 1187 CE
N ₁₆ ^L	WL 8 16 (I–VIII)	
P ₃₂ ^T	IFP T32	June 26, 1959
P ₇₂ ^T	IFP T72	March 9, 1963
P ₅₁₄ ^T	IFP T514	
P ₈₆₀ ^T	IFP T860	
Ś ₆₇ ^S	ORL 1467	
Ś ₈₇ ^B	BHU C1087 (cat. No. 7/3986)	
T ₁₅ ^A	ALRC 66015	

Secondary sources

Bisschop, Peter (2006), *Early Śaivism and the Skandapurāṇa. Sects and Centres* (Groningen Oriental Studies XXI), Groningen: Egbert Forsten.

Bisschop, Peter (2014), 'Invoking the Powers that Be: the Śivadharma's Mahāśānti Mantra', in *South Asian Studies*, 30.2: 133–4.1.

Bisschop, Peter (forthcoming), *Universal Śaivism. The Śivadharma Appeasement of All Gods and Powers*.

De Simini, Florinda (2013), *Ritual Aspects and Manuscript Transmission in Premodern India: A Historical Study of Vidyādāna Through Textual Sources. With a first critical edition and English translation of Śivadharmottara's chapter two "On the Gift of Knowledge"*. Università di Torino, Facoltà di Studi Orientali. Unpublished PhD Dissertation defended on May 29, 2013.

De Simini, Florinda (2016a), *Of Gods and Books. Ritual and Knowledge Transmission in the Manuscript Cultures of Premodern India* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 8.), Berlin: De Gruyter. Also available online as an open-access publication at the following link: <https://www.degruyter.com/viewbooktoc/product/472498> (last accessed: 20/12/2016).

De Simini, Florinda (2016b), 'Śivadharma Manuscripts from Nepal and the Making of a Śaiva Corpus', in Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke (eds), *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and*

- Multiple-Text Manuscripts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 9), Berlin: De Gruyter, 233–286. Also available online as an open-access publication at the following link: <https://www.degruyter.com/viewbooktoc/product/476788> (last accessed: 20/12/2016).
- De Simini, Florinda (2016c), 'Long Live the King (and His Manuscripts!)'. A Story of Ritual and Power from Medieval Kathmandu', in Andreas Janke (ed.), *Manuscripts of the Month 2015/16*. Hamburg, Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures. Available online at the following link: http://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/mom/2016_01_mom_e.html (last accessed: 20/12/2016).
- De Simini, Florinda, and Nina Mirnig (2017), 'Umā and Śiva's Playful Talks in Detail (*Lalitavistara*): On the Production of Śaiva Works and their Manuscripts in Medieval Nepal. Studies on the Śivadharma and the *Mahābhārata* 1', in Vincenzo Vergiani, Daniele Cuneo and Camillo Formigatti (eds), *Indic Manuscript Cultures through the Ages: Material, Textual, and Historical Investigations* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 14), Berlin: De Gruyter, 587–653.
- Goodall, Dominic (2004), *The Parākhyantra. A Scripture of the Śaiva Siddhānta* (Collection Indologie 98), Pondichéry: Institut français de Pondichéry/École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Goodall, Dominic (2011), 'The Throne of Worship. An 'Archaeological Tell' of Religious Rivalries', in *Studies in History*, 27.2: 221–250.
- Kafle, Nirajan (2015), *The Niśvāsamukha, the Introductory Book of the Niśvāsattatvasaṃhitā. Critical Edition, with an Introduction, Annotated Translation Appended by Śivadharmaśaṅgraha 5–9*. Universiteit Leiden, Unpublished PhD Dissertation defended on October 15, 2015.
- Naraharinatha, Yogi (1998), *Paśupatimatam: Śivadharmamahāśāstram, Paśu-patināthadarśanam*. Kāshṭhamaṇḍapaḥ [Kathmandu]: Bṛhadādhyaṅmikaparishadaḥ.
- Maas, Paul (1957), *Textkritik*. Leipzig: Teubner [3rd revised edition; first edition: 1927].
- Pasquali, Giorgio (2014), *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo. Premessa di Dino Pieraccioni*. Firenze: Casa Editrice Le Lettere [first edition: 1934].
- Petech, Luciano (1984), *Medieval History of Nepal (c. 750–1482)* (Serie Orientale Roma LIV), Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Is.Me.O.), [first edition: 1958].
- Sanderson, Alexis (2003), 'The Śaiva Religion among the Khmers. Part I', in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 90–91: 349–462.
- Shastri, Haraprasad (1928), *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection Under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. V: Purāṇa Manuscripts*. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Timpanaro, Sebastiano (2003), *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann*. Torino: UTET Libreria [first edition: 1963].
- Trovato, Paolo (2014), *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Lachmann's Method. A Non-Standard Handbook of Genealogical Textual Criticism in the Age of Post-Structuralism, Cladistics, and Copy-Text*. Foreword by Michael D. Reeve. Padova: libreriauniversitaria.it. Storie e Linguaggi.
- Vergiani, Vincenzo, Daniele Cuneo, and Camillo Formigatti (2011–14), *Cambridge Digital Library, Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts*: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/sanskrit>.
- Wujastyk, Dominik (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.

Appendix: The Text of the *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya* alongside Parallels from *Mahābhārata's Śāntiparvan*

Manuscript N₃^K, *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter 22, *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya*. Diplomatic Transcription

Mahābhārata's Śāntiparvan

22.1–6 ≈ *Mahābhārata* 12.242.12–17

Fol.182r_[L2] *idaṃ śāstra*<ṃ> *likhi*_[L3]*tam paṭhitan datta*<ṃ> *vyākhyāta*<ṃ> *śrotavyan kartavyaṃ* | *sarvveṣāṃ ślokaśaṃkhyānāṃ navaśata-ṣoḍhādhika*<ṃ> *likhitam* ||

vyāsa uvāca

[...]

tān nadīśatasrotyāni mithyālobhapravāhinī | *pañcendriyagrāhavatī* *manaḥsaṃkalparodhasām* || 1

sarvataḥsrotasaṃ ghorāṃ nadīṃ lokapravāhinīm | *pañcendriyagrāhavatīṃ manaḥsaṃkalparodhasam* || 12

bhūtdrumas tṛṇaś cchanna kāmakrodhasarīṣṛpā | *satyatīrthānṛtaḥ kro*_[L4]*dhaḥ ṣaḍkāśaridvarāṃ* || 2

lobhamohatṛṇacchannāṃ kāmakrodhasarīṣṛpām | *satyatīrthānṛtakṣobhāṃ krodhapāṅkāḥ saridvarāṃ* || 13

avyaktam aprabhā śighraṃm ahorātrāṇ ga-vāhiṇīṃ | *pratar aśvanadī buddhyā dudarātāmākṛtātma* || 3

avyaktaprabhavāṃ śighrāṃ dustarāṃ akṛtātma || 3

saṃsārasāgarāmāyāṃ yonipātanadustarāṃ | *tamo marjjanadīn tāta jihvāvartān durāsadām* || 4

saṃsārasāgaragamāṃ yonipātāladustarām | *ātmanmodbhavāṃ tāta jihvāvartām durāsadām* || 15

yā taranti kṛtā prajñā dhṛtimantro maṇīṣiṇaḥ | *nātirthasarvatomuktā vipūtātmatma*_[L5]*viśuci* || 5

yāṃ taranti kṛtaprajñā dhṛtimanto maṇīṣiṇaḥ | *tāṃ tīrṇaḥ sarvatomukto vipūtātmatmavicchuciḥ* || 16

uttamā buddhim āsthāya brahmabhūto bhaviṣyati | *saṃkīrṇṇasarvaśe kleśā prasaṃnātmā na kalāṣaḥ* || 6

uttamāṃ buddhim āsthāya brahmabhūyaḥ gamiṣyasi | *saṃtīrṇaḥ sarvasaṃkleśāṃ prasaṃnātmā vikalmaṣaḥ* || 17

Manuscript N₃^K, *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter 22, *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya*. Diplomatic Transcription

Mahābhārata's Śāntiparvan

v. 22.7 ≈ *Mahābhārata* 12.290.55

krodhaḥ satvena cchidyanti kāmam saṃkalpavarjanāt | satvasaṃsevanā nidrām aprasādā bhayaṃ tathā | chidanti pañcamāsvāsam laghvāhāratayā-ṣarā || 7

chindanti kṣamayā krodhaṃ kāmam saṃkalpavarjanāt | sattvasaṃśīlanān nidrām apramādād bhayaṃ tathā | chindanti pañcamam śvāsam laghvāhāratayā nṛpa || 55

vv. 22.8–18 ≈ *Mahābhārata* 12.29.60–70ab

*rāgyajanasubhāgatvāms tāmasāś ca yathā-
vi_[Fol.1182vL1]dhim | anyāś ca satvatāgamdhām svarg-
gadehaṅgam āśritām || 8*

*rājasān aśubhān gandhāms tāmasāś ca ta-
thāvidhān | puṇyāms ca sāttvikān gandhān
sparśajān dehasaṃśritān |*

*cchitvetāj jñānaśāstreṇa tapodaṅgena bhārataḥ |
atha duḥkhodakam ghoram cintāsokamahāhra-
dam || 9*

*chittvāsu jñānaśāstreṇa tapodaṅgena bhārata
|| 60 tato duḥkhodakam ghoram cintāsoka-
mahāhradam |*

*vyādhimṛtyumahāgrāhyatamamoham apāragam
| tamaścakrarajomīnaṃ velācāryam anuttamam ||
10*

*vyādhimṛtyumahāgrāham mahābhayamahora-
gam || 61 tamaḥkūrmaṃ rajomīnaṃ prajñayā
saṃtaranty uta |*

*snehapañkajarāduḥkhasparsādipam anuttamam
| karmāśāyam satyavi_[L2]riṃ sthiravratatirakṛtam
|| 11*

*snehapañkam jarādurgam sparsādvīpam a-
riṃdama || 62 karmāgādham satyatīram sthi-
tavrataṃ idaṃ nṛpa |*

*hiṃsādeśānānāratnamāyāmohamahoragam
| nānāprītimahāratnan duḥkhajvarasamīraṇam ||
12*

*hiṃsāśīghramahāvegam nānārasamahāka-
ram || 63 nānāprītimahāratnam duḥkhajvara-
samīraṇam |*

*naikatikṣṇamahāvarttantikṣṇavyādhijarārujam
| asthisamghātasamghāt śleṣmaphenam arin-
damah || 13*

*śokatṣṇāmahāvartam tikṣṇavyādhimahāgajam
|| 64 asthisamghātasamghātam śleṣmaphenam
arimdamam |*

*dānamuktodakam bhīmaśronidahradadhidhrumam
| amitokraṣṭanirghoṣam nānāratnasu_[L3]dustarām ||
14*

*dānamuktākaram bhīmam śoṇitahradavidru-
mam || 65 hasitokraṣṭanirghoṣam nānājñāna-
sudustaram |*

*romanāśrujalekhāram saṅgabhyām a-
parāyaṇam | punar ājamaṇālokaṃ putra-
bandhanapatṛṇam || 15*

*rodanāśrumalakṣāram saṅgatyāgaparāyaṇam
|| 66 punar ājamaṇālokaḥ putra-
bandhanapatṛṇam |*

Manuscript N₃^K, *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter 22, *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya*. Diplomatic Transcription

Mahābhārata's Śāntiparvan

*ahiṃsāsatyamaryādaṃ prāṇatyāgamahormiṇaṃ |
| velātyāgam anātitaṃ sarvvabhūtagadadhim ||*
16

*ahiṃsāsatyamaryādaṃ prāṇatyāgamahormi-
ṇam || 67 vedāntagamanadvīpaṃ sarvvabhūta-
dayodadhim |*

*mokṣadurllābhaviṣayaṃ vaṭavāmukhagauravaṃ |
| tarāṃti svatayaḥ sukhāyā na yānena bhārataḥ ||*
17

*mokṣaduṣprāpaviṣayaṃ vaṭavāmukhasāga-
ram || 68 tarānti munayaḥ siddhā jñānayogena
bhārata |*

*tatvā ca dustaraṃ sa_[L4]rīvavisanti vimalaṃ nab-
haḥ | atha tāsu kṛtīsakhyāsūryo vihati rasmibhiḥ
|| 18*

*tīrtvā ca dustaraṃ janma viśanti vimalaṃ nabhaḥ
|| 69 tatas tān sukṛtīn sām̐khyān sūryo vahati
raśmibhiḥ |*

vv. 22.19–26 ≈ *Mahābhārata* 12.179.8–15

*nasyaṃdhyai<r> yo hi nīhārād vāyur ucchvasi
sigrahā | nasyete koṣṭhabhedatvād agni<r>
paśyaty abhojanāt || 19*

*naśyanty āpo hy anāhārād vāyur ucchvāsani-
grahāt | naśyate koṣṭhabhedāt kham agnir
naśyaty abhojanāt || 8*

*vyādhivraṇā ca viśleṣair medhanī cāśaryate |
pīḍyate <'>nyatare teṣāṃ saghātaṃ yadi
pañcadhā || 20*

*vyādhivraṇaparikleṣair medinī caiva śīryate |
pīḍite 'nyatare hy eṣāṃ saṃghāto yāti
pañcadhā || 9*

*tasmin pañcatvam āpaṃno jīvakam anu_[L5]dhāvati
| kiṃ veda yadi jīvitaṃ śṛṇoti ca bravīti vā || 21*

*tasmin pañcatvam āpanne jīvaḥ kim anudhāvati
| kiṃ vedayati vā jīvaḥ kiṃ śṛṇoti bravīti vā || 10*

*eṣo gau paralokeṣv ātārayisyanti mām iti | yo
dattvā mṛyate jantuṃ sa gau kān tārayiṣyati || 22*

*eṣā gauḥ paralokasthaṃ tārayiṣyati mām iti | yo
dattvā mṛyate jantuḥ sā gauḥ kaṃ tārayiṣyati ||
11*

*gau capratigṛhīṣaś ca dātāś caiva samaṃ yadā |
iheva vilayaṃ yānti kutas teṣāṃ samāgamaṃ ||*
23

*gauś ca pratigrahītā ca dātā caiva samaṃ yadā
| ihaiva vilayaṃ yānti kutas teṣāṃ samāgamaḥ
|| 12*

*vihagair upayuktasya śailāgrapatitasya kā | nag-
ninā yo pa_[Fol.183L1]yuktaś ca kutaḥ saṃjīvina
punaḥ || 24*

*vihagair upayuktasya śailāgrāt patitasya vā |
agninā copayuktasya kutaḥ saṃjīvanam pu-
naḥ || 13*

*yadi chinnasya vṛkṣasya mūlaṃ na pratirohati |
bijānasya pravarttante mataḥ kva punar eṣyasi ||*
25

*chinnasya yadi vṛkṣasya na mūlaṃ pratirohati
| bijāny asya pravartante mṛtaḥ kva punar
eṣyati || 14*

*bijamātraṃ purā sṛṣṭiṃ pade parita varttate |
mṛtāmṛtā praṇaśyanti bijābijaṃ vivarddhati || 26*

*bijamātraṃ purā sṛṣṭaṃ yad etat parivartate | mṛtā
mṛtāḥ praṇaśyanti bijād bijam pravartate || 15*

Manuscript N₃^K, *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter 22, *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya*. Diplomatic Transcription

Mahābhārata's Śāntiparvan

duṣkramā durāścaivamalasadvyāsanākulāḥ |
viṣayādibhir mātrāntā tamasā gādhagāmiṇī || 27

ahaṃkārāva_(L2)rttamūḍhā buddhijñānavisarppinī
| tṛguṇaṃmīnaharaṇī bhūtendriyapuṭīkṛtā || 28

taṭaiś ca suviśāleś ca avyaktaḥ kṛtamekhalāḥ | evaṃ
sā parikhā bhūmi śivatattveṣu saṃsthitāḥ || 29

iti umāmaheśvarasaṃvāde bhīṣaṇādhyāyaḥ dvā-
viṃśatimaḥ ||
