

Florinda De Simini and Nina Mirnig

Umā and Śiva's Playful Talks in Detail (*Lalitavistara*): On the Production of Śaiva Works and their Manuscripts in Medieval Nepal

Studies on the Śivadharmā and the *Mahābhārata* 1

Abstract: This article offers insights into the processes and context of production, in medieval Nepal, of the so-called 'Śivadharmā-corpus', a collection of eight works revolving around topics related to the practices and beliefs of lay Śaiva householders and the establishment of a Śaiva social-religious order. Our focus is on the earliest extant manuscript containing a version of the entire corpus, namely manuscript G 4077 of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, dated to 1036 CE. What is exceptional about this manuscript is that it contains a unique work called *Lalitavistara* as the final member of the corpus, while missing the *Dharmaputrikā*, which from the second half of the 11th century onwards was always transmitted as the last work in 'mainstream' versions of the Śivadharmā corpus. While giving some insights into the production of the corpus shortly before it reached its stable form by the 12th century, we also offer an overview of the contents of the *Lalitavistara*, as well as a study of its topics and sources, proving its connections with the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of the Śivadharmā corpus. We also show how both works heavily draw on and are inspired by the *Mahābhārata*, and how the compositional strategies may reflect the socio-religious and cultural milieu of the Kathmandu Valley at the time.

1 Early stages of corpus formation

The Śivadharmā corpus is a collection of eight early Śaiva works whose study is proving to be crucial for our understanding of the formation of lay Śaiva religion in the early medieval period. Their titles, following the arrangement given by the manuscript of the Cambridge UL Add.1645, are: *Śivadharmāśāstra*, *Śivadharmottara*, *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, *Śivopaniṣad*, *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, and *Dharmaputrikā*. Mainly addressing the sphere of lay householders, these works provide rules of behaviour in the practice of rituals and towards religious institutions, setting out a normative and doctrinal system

that defines the lay devotees' adherence to the Śaiva religion. Systematic studies of these texts, including critical editions, have only recently been initiated, and deal particularly with the earliest of them, namely the *Śivadharmasāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*. In this article, we will focus our attention on the emergence and shaping of the Śivadharm corpus through the analysis of its earliest dated manuscript, preserved at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, with the accession number G 4077. Dated 1036 CE, this palm-leaf manuscript, according to the catalogue of Shastri (1928), contains nine works, instead of the eight that typically comprise the mainstream version of the corpus that is most widely attested in Nepalese sources from the second half of the 11th century onwards. This additional work, titled *Lalitavistara*, can be deemed particularly unsuccessful, as it was never again transmitted in any of the numerous Nepalese manuscripts of the corpus, nor seems to be attested anywhere else in the vast body of South Asian manuscripts that have come down to us. It thus appears that something must have gone wrong in the composition of the *Lalitavistara*, and in the attempt made by the producers of manuscript G 4077 to include it in the corpus. While the story of the *Lalitavistara* is thus one of failure, this point of rupture offers us the opportunity to examine a specific moment in the textual production linked to the assemblage of a fixed Śivadharm corpus, in which we may more closely trace key aspects and motivations that have led to the composition of more works on Śaiva topics following the model of the *Śivadharmasāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*. In particular, we aimed at assessing the structure of the *Lalitavistara* and identifying its possible sources, as well as understanding the social and religious dynamics that underpinned its composition and determined its fate. This study was made possible by the direct inspection of manuscript G 4077, but above all by the recent acquisition of high-quality colour pictures that enabled us to see more clearly through the *Lalitavistara*, and thus make some well-grounded considerations concerning its contents, models, and historical context.¹

1 It took three trips to Calcutta and a good dose of persistence before we managed to get a hold of the pictures of all the folios of the *Lalitavistara* of manuscript G 4077, plus those of a few more works transmitted in the same manuscript. During the first trip, in January 2012, Florinda De Simini was only allowed to see manuscript G 4077 from a distance, and to have a quick look at the microfilm of the same. Later on, a few digital reproductions of that microfilm, limited only to the folios of 'Lalitavistara 9' (see below), had been kindly made available by Anil Kumar Acharya, and reached the authors of this article via Alexis Sanderson; we are deeply grateful to both for sharing their material so generously. Things have changed for the better in the management of the library and of the museum section of the Asiatic Society, so that the visit that Florinda De Simini and Nina Mirnig paid to this institution in February 2016 was more fruitful than the previous one, and led to the

We have no detailed knowledge concerning the time frame of the composition of the works of the Śivadharmā corpus. We know that the *Śivadharmasāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* must have reached Nepal some time between the 7th century, a possible date for their emergence in northern India, and the 9th, to which the earliest manuscript of the *Śivadharmottara* can most likely be dated. We assume that the remaining six or seven works were composed in Nepal, as they are attested and known for most of their transmission history solely in this region. Further, in the earliest phases of their manuscript transmission, they feature exclusively in multiple-text manuscripts of the Śivadharmā corpus.² Even though we don't know exactly when these works were composed, we can still attempt a

acquisition of pictures of the *Śivadharmasāstra*, the *Śivadharmottara*, and of *Lalitavistara* 8 of manuscript G 4077, as well as the *Śivadharmasāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* of manuscript G 3852. In large parts, we owe this success to the new curator of the museum section, Keka Banerjee, to whom we are extremely grateful for having offered us guidance and support during our research in the library. We are also grateful to the former General Secretary of the Asiatic Society, the late Manabendu Banerjee, who was very supportive of our work. Finally, a third trip in January–February 2017 resulted in the acquisition of colour pictures of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and *Lalitavistara* 9 of manuscript G 4077, which allowed us to form a much better understanding of the text than the digitized microfilm pictures we had been using until then. Again, the support of Mrs Banerjee and of the entire staff at the reprographic office, as well as the authorization that was kindly provided by the current General Secretary, Satyabrata Chakrabarti, have proved immensely helpful in pursuing our research objectives. We thus express our deepest gratitude to the library and museum sections of the Asiatic Society, without which we would never have been able to properly study these materials.

We would also like to use this opportunity to thank the members of the team of the AHRC-funded *Sanskrit Manuscripts Project* (2011–2014), Vincenzo Vergiani, Daniele Cuneo and Camillo Formigatti, for assisting us in our study of the Śivadharmā manuscripts preserved in the collection of the Cambridge University Library, and inviting us to give lectures and participate in the workshops organized in the frame of this project, as well as for funding within the project for three months (March–June 2014) in the case of Nina Mirnig. We are happy that our research on the *Lalitavistara* and the early stages in the formation of the Śivadharmā corpus can now appear in this volume, and grateful to its editors for all the work they have done. Our thanks also go to Harunaga Isaacson, Yuko Yukochi and Somadeva Vasudeva for their comments on some points of this article, as well as to Kristen de Joseph for her help in revising and proofreading the English text.

Further, we would like to thank our respective funding bodies, which enabled us to do the research and travel undertaken for this article: in the case of Florinda De Simini, the project was funded by the Italian Ministry for Education and Science at the 'Orientale' University of Naples and titled 'Political Power and Religious Groups in Early Medieval India: A study of epigraphic materials and unpublished manuscripts concerning the Śaiva traditions (VI–XII cent.)'; in the case of Nina Mirnig, the research was funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF): P 27838–G15 'Śivaliṅga Worship on the Eve of the Tantric Age', hosted in the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna.

2 On this, and for more information on the Nepalese manuscripts of the Śivadharmā corpus, see De Simini 2016b, to which we will give more specific references throughout this introduction.

rough estimate for the time frame of the corpus's formation, since we can trace the process in the earliest extant manuscripts of the collection. With all due caution—as our observations only take into account the limited number of surviving specimens—we can state that, beginning in the second half of the 12th century, manuscripts of the Śivadharmā corpus started to take on the homogeneous shape that they would preserve throughout the centuries; in comparison, the three manuscripts that we can place before that period all contain some peculiar features that are absent from subsequent manuscripts. These three early specimens are (1) N^K_{A12},³ which transmits only the *Śivadharmottara* and has been dated to the 9th century on the basis of its palaeographic features; (2) N^K₂₈, which is also undated, but possibly constitutes our earliest attestation of a multiple-text manuscript of the corpus, if the current estimate of its dating towards the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century is confirmed; and (3) manuscript G 4077, which is the first one to have a dated colophon. The difference between these first attestations, on the one hand, and the version of the corpus that later becomes mainstream in the dated (or datable) specimens from the second half of the 11th century onwards is easily illustrated by the following table, in which we have collected basic data on the five earliest manuscripts of the Śivadharmā corpus that have so far been identified, all of which are from Nepal:

3 Throughout this article, we have partly adopted the system of sigla that was agreed upon during the 'Śivadharmā Workshop: Manuscripts, Editions, Perspectives' at Leiden University, 26th–30th September 2016. According to this system, the first letter in the siglum denotes the script in which the manuscript is written (N for Newari, 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. Here we have only used this system in order to refer to the manuscripts microfilmed by the Nepalese-German Manuscript Preservation Project, in order to avoid the use of overly long sigla. Manuscripts from the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and from the Cambridge University Library are referred to by means of their usual accession numbers.

N^K_{A12} (9th cent.)	N^K₂₈ (10th-11th cent.)	G 4077 (1036 CE)	N^K₈₂ (1069 CE)	Add.1645 (1138-39 CE)
<i>Śivadharmottara</i>	<i>Śivadharmasāstra</i>	<i>Śivadharmasāstra</i>	<i>Śivadharmasāstra</i>	<i>Śivadharmasāstra</i>
	<i>Śivadharmottara</i>	<i>Śivadharmottara</i>	<i>Śivadharmottara</i>	<i>Śivadharmottara</i>
	<i>Śivadharmasamgraha</i>	<i>Śivadharmasamgraha</i>	<i>Śivadharmasamgraha</i>	<i>Śivadharmasamgraha</i>
	<i>Umāmaheśvara-saṃvāda</i>	<i>Umāmaheśvara-saṃvāda</i>	<i>Umāmaheśvara-saṃvāda</i>	<i>Śivopaniṣad</i>
—		<i>Śivopaniṣad</i>	<i>Śivopaniṣad</i>	<i>Umāmaheśvara-saṃvāda</i>
	<i>Śivopaniṣad</i>	<i>Umottarasamvāda</i>	<i>Vṛṣasārasamgraha</i>	<i>Uttarottaramahā-saṃvāda</i>
		<i>Vṛṣasārasamgraha</i>	<i>Dharmaputrikā</i>	<i>Vṛṣasārasamgraha</i>
		<i>Lalitavistara</i>	<i>Uttarottaramahā-saṃvāda</i>	<i>Dharmaputrikā</i>
		<i>Lalitavistara</i>		

The difference between G 4077 and N^K₂₈, the other early manuscript of the corpus, is striking. N^K₂₈ encompasses only the first four works up to the *Umāmaheśvara-saṃvāda*, with the *Śivopaniṣad* most likely being a later addition to the manuscript, at least based on what we can deduce from its codicological features.⁴ In the case of G 4077, the corpus has expanded to the extent that it not only ‘legitimately’ includes the *Śivopaniṣad*, but also four more works that are attested for the first time in this manuscript. Besides the increased number of works, what also catches the observer’s attention is the presence of two texts bearing the same

⁴ See De Simini 2016b, 245–248. It is most likely that the position of the *Śivopaniṣad* within the Śivadharm corpus was a debated issue, as also another manuscript, UL Add.1694.1, possibly written in the 12th century, originally lacked the *Śivopaniṣad*; a unit containing the *Śivopaniṣad*, severed from another, yet unidentified manuscript, was then added to the end of this specimen, and is now catalogued as Add.1694.1². See De Simini 2016b, 248–250; a detailed description of Add.1694.1, accompanied by digital colour pictures, is available at this link: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01694-00001/1>.

title, namely *Lalitavistara*, a ‘Detailed Account of the Playful [Conversation]’. For reasons of clarity, we will distinguish these ‘two *Lalitavistaras*’ by adding to their titles the numbers by which they are identified in the catalogue, namely 8 and 9, throughout this article.

The case of the *Lalitavistaras* is unique inasmuch as these are the only texts that are attested in such an early manuscript of the corpus that later appear to have been rejected by the entire subsequent tradition. In comparison, all the other works transmitted in the two early manuscripts N₂₈^K and G 4077 went on to have a long transmission history as part of the Śivadharmā corpus, with only some of them appearing as separately transmitted works at a later time.⁵ For instance, the *Umottarasamvāda* of G 4077, titled *Uttarottaramahāsamvāda* in the other manuscripts, is also attested for the first time in this manuscript but—unlike the two *Lalitavistaras*—continued to be transmitted. The same applies to the *Vṛśasārasaṃgraha*. However, the pre-mainstream version of the corpus reflected in N₂₈^K and G 4077 still lacks one further work that would become a stable element of the corpus from that point onwards, namely the *Dharmaputrikā*, attested for the first time only in N₈₂^K. Manuscript N₈₂^K is thus the first point in the extant manuscript tradition at which we can consider the composition of the works of the corpus of the Śivadharmā and the formation of the corpus itself to be closed: in spite of the variation in the number of works attested in the different manuscripts, no other works would be added, and later colophons expressly confirm that the Śivadharmā is made of ‘eight members’,⁶ almost as if to purposely fix the number of texts in order to avoid and contrast possible attempts to further expand the corpus.

The general concluding colophon of manuscript G 4077 not only dates the manuscript to a specific day, but also places its production under the reign of a specific king, namely Lakṣmīkāmādeva, who is praised in the colophon with his full royal titles (see below). G 4077 thus belongs to that group of manuscripts that, by establishing a firm connection with the political power, help us glean more historical information on the context of their production, and gain a better understanding of the manuscript culture of the time. Petech lists the colophon of G 4077 among the sources that contain a reference to king Lakṣmīkāmādeva,

⁵ On the creation of single-text manuscripts of works of the Śivadharmā corpus from the dismemberment of original multiple-text manuscripts, see De Simini 2016b, 261 and n. 72.

⁶ This expression (*aṣṭakhaṇḍa*) is found in the colophon of N₃^K, a palm-leaf manuscript dated 1201 CE, but similar expressions have also been found in the colophons of later paper manuscripts (see De Simini 2016b, 254ff.).

whose rulership he dates to c. 1010–1041 CE.⁷ The earliest reference to him features in a manuscript belonging to the collection of the Cambridge University Library, namely Add.1643, an illustrated manuscript—‘the earliest illustrated manuscript from Nepal’⁸—containing the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* along with two shorter texts,⁹ and whose date Petech verifies as March 31, 1015 CE.¹⁰ In the colophon of this manuscript, Lakṣmīkāmādeva is mentioned next to two other kings, namely Bhojadeva and Rudradeva. By tallying this information with an inscription in Patan, Petech deduces that in this year all three kings ruled over Nepal, with Rudradeva from Patan as the senior partner of his successor Bhojadeva, while Lakṣmīkāmādeva ruled the other ‘half of the kingdom’ (see Patan inscription), which could possibly correspond to the modern Kathmandu area. However, in later manuscripts, Lakṣmīkāmādeva is mentioned independently from other monarchs, namely in (1) NAK 3-359, transmitting the *Bhagavatyaśvedāyā yathālabdhatantrarāja*, dated NS 1044, second day of the bright fortnight in the month of Śrāvaṇa (July 10, 1024 CE, following Petech);¹¹ (2) NAK 5-877, of the *Kulālikāmnāya*, dated NS 158, i.e. 1037/1038 CE, just one year after our Śivadharma manuscript;¹² and (3) Cambridge UL Add.1683, containing the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, dated NS 159, thirteenth day of the bright fortnight in the month of Vaiśākha (March 30, 1039 CE, according to Petech’s reading).¹³ This situation reflects a tendency of this period by which the production of Buddhist

7 The scant extant information on the king Lakṣmīkāmādeva, and the study of the sources documenting his kingdom, can be found in Petech 1984, 37–39.

8 Kim 2013, 48. Note that this statement is true only if we limit our considerations to the illustrations on the folios, excluding the paintings decorating the covers. For if we also consider the latter, then the earliest example of manuscript painting from Nepal must be attributed to the early *Śivadharmottara* manuscript N^K_{A12}, provided that we also establish that the decorated wooden covers encasing this manuscript are contemporary with the manuscript—something that we have not yet managed to verify beyond doubt.

9 On the contents of this manuscript and its features, see the detailed description given by Formigatti in Vergiani, Cuneo and Formigatti 2011–2014, available online, along with the colour pictures of the manuscript, at the following link: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01643/446>.

10 Petech 1984, 37.

11 The microfilm identification number of this manuscript is A 47/16; its description can be found at the following link: [http://134.100.29.17/wiki/A_47-16_Bhagavat\(%C4%AB\)_sved%C4%81_y%C4%81_yath%C4%81labdhatantrar%C4%81ja](http://134.100.29.17/wiki/A_47-16_Bhagavat(%C4%AB)_sved%C4%81_y%C4%81_yath%C4%81labdhatantrar%C4%81ja). (last accessed 18/2/2017)

12 This manuscript, microfilmed by the NGMPP as A 41/3, is described at the following link: http://134.100.29.17/wiki/A_41-3_Kul%C4%81lik%C4%81mn%C4%81ya. (last accessed 18/2/2017)

13 Colour pictures of this manuscript are available at the following link: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01683/1>.

manuscripts—at the time preciously illustrated objects used for worship and produced for accruing religious merit—was flanked by the production of manuscripts of Śaiva works, with Śaivism being the main religious current with which monarchical power was identified. This does not mean that there is no trace left of the manuscripts of Vaiṣṇava works produced in the 11th century. We have, for instance, three manuscripts of the *Viṣṇudharma* dated to this time,¹⁴ as well as a unique manuscript of the so-called *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra*, dated NS 173 (1051–52 CE), to which we will call attention later.¹⁵ Further, we have the earliest extant samples of Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra works, which substantially contribute to our understanding of the earliest phase of this stream. One of these, the manuscript of the *Svāyambhuvapañcarātra* (NAK 1-648, NGMPP A 54/9), which also interpolates part of the *Aṣṭādaśavidhāna*, is dated NS 147 (1027 CE), and thus also during the reign of Lakṣmikāmadeva.¹⁶

Returning to manuscript G 4077, according to the catalogue information,¹⁷ and as direct inspection has confirmed, the manuscript contains the following nine works, for a total of 345 extant folios: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra* (47 folios); 2) *Śivadharmottara* (65 folios); 3) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (58 folios); 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (35 folios); 5) *Śivopaniṣad* (22 folios); 6) *Umottarasamvāda* (24 folios); 7) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (52 folios); 8) *Lalitavistara* (25 folios); 9) *Lalitavistara* (17 folios). Note that the *Umottarasamvāda* lacks three folios, corresponding to folios 43 to 45, two of which can be identified in exposures 23B/24A and 24B/25A of *Lalitavistara* 8. At least two of the 25 folios of this work thus belong to a different text, so that the total number of extant leaves for *Lalitavistara* 8 drops to 23. Shastri counted 30 folios for the same work, seven more than those extant today, while he only had 11 leaves for *Lalitavistara* 9.

Both the ductus of the script and other codicological features, such as the scribal decorations, the constant number of lines on a page (five), as well as the

¹⁴ These are microfilmed by the NGMPP as B 5/8 (NAK 1-1002), dated NS 167 (see Petech 1984, 40, and the information at: http://134.100.29.17/wiki/B_5-8_Viṣṇudharma); C 1/2 (Kesar 2), dated NS 197 (see Petech 1984, 49, and the information at: http://134.100.29.17/wiki/C_1-2_Viṣṇudharma); A 1080/4 (NAK 1-1002/2), dated NS 210 (see http://134.100.29.17/wiki/A_1080-4_Viṣṇudharma). (last accessed 18/2/2017)

¹⁵ See NGMPP A 27/2, http://134.100.29.17/wiki/A_27-2_Mah%C4%81bh%C4%81rata. (last accessed 18/2/2017)

¹⁶ Acharya 2015, xvi-xvii.

¹⁷ Shastri 1928, 718–723; this manuscript is numbered 4084.



Fig. 1: Asiatic Society G 4077, original wooden covers (inner sides).

habit of reporting the total number of stanzas at the end of each work, confirm the unity of production of the different blocks forming this manuscript. The measures of a folio are, on average, 52.5×4.4 cm, with c. 107 *akṣaras* per line. Each of the texts transmitted in ms. G 4077 is now divided into separate bundles, wrapped together in the same envelope, and identified by paper slips with the numbers that Shastri (1928) had attributed to the works based on their sequence in the manuscript. However, at a certain point, *Lalitavistara* 8 and 9 were separated from the main bulk and preserved, along with the decorated wooden covers that must have originally belonged to the whole manuscript (Fig. 1), in a different envelope, as if forming a separate manuscript, which is now identified as G 4077 R.¹⁸ No note of the wooden covers is made in Shastri's catalogue. The separation of the two texts can probably be attributed to the initiative of a curator, or of a scholar who was puzzled by the occurrence of the two *Lalitavistaras*. For if one were to compare the list of works contained in G 4077 with the one transmitted by all the other manuscripts in the tradition of the Śivadharmā corpus as known so far, one would quickly notice that neither of the two *Lalitavistaras* has actually been accepted. Our Calcutta manuscript is in fact the sole attestation of these two works; their being foreign to all the other known versions of the Śivadharmā corpus is what must have prompted a zealous scholar to alter the actual composition

¹⁸ Note that in the catalogue there is no trace of this separate manuscript, which is just a portion of the original G 4077. The split must certainly have occurred after the compilation of the catalogue, but also after (or maybe on the occasion of) the microfilming, since the old microfilm reproductions in our possession still describe *Lalitavistara* 9 as part of G 4077. Therefore, when the authors of this article were granted access to manuscript G 4077 for the first time, in February 2016, they found themselves in front of a rather anomalous case, as the manuscript was lacking the last two works described in the catalogue, and nobody in the library seemed to know what had happened with them. Fortunately, after a day-long search, the librarians were able to identify the remaining portion, manuscript G 4077 R, which is now preserved together with G 4077, although they are still divided and kept in two different envelopes.

of the manuscript, even despite the information provided by the catalogue, and split one manuscript into two. Moreover, the title *Lalitavistara* itself may have called into mind the popular Buddhist work of the same title, and caused further confusion.

A certain hesitation about the constitution of G 4077 may also be deduced from Shastri's description of the manuscript, which is not as detailed and uniform as the one of G 3852 (entry no. 4085), which largely serves as the basis for the catalogue record of G 4077. For instance, Shastri transcribes all the final rubrics of the twelve chapters of the *Śivadharmasāstra*, while referring the reader to the following entry for analogous information concerning the other works of the manuscript. By contrast, in the case of manuscript G 3852, Shastri also transcribed the beginning and concluding portions of each chapter of the eight works contained in that manuscript, and gave the exact folio numbers corresponding to the beginning and end of each work. This was not entirely possible for manuscript G 4077 because, as he states, in this manuscript 'many leaves have lost their leaf marks'. However, the overall impression we had while examining the manuscript is that the loss of many folio numbers is not only due to the natural deterioration of the margins, as Shastri seems to imply, but also because the right and left margins were intentionally cut during restoration. This process consisted in the lamination of the manuscript, whose string-holes were closed, while the most fragile leaves were restored, and the margins made uniform by cutting. As a result, folio numbers are absent in many cases, while being partially or completely visible in others.

From the little we are able to see of the extant folio numbers of this manuscript, we can deduce that the foliation was not continuous, as is the case in manuscript G 3852 and other early manuscripts of the *Śivadharm* corpus, but was started anew with each work. The works were thus separated by leaving a blank space and a blank page after the concluding colophon of each text and before the beginning of the next one, starting at fol. 1v. The only exception is the sequence *Śivopaniṣad-Umottarasamvāda*. The *Śivopaniṣad* ends at fol. 23v, with the final rubric of the last chapter in lines 1–2. No general colophon applying to the whole work is extant; the final rubric of the last *adhyāya* on line 2 (after the word *samāptaḥ* ||) is followed by line fillers occupying almost one third of the page, corresponding to the first block of text before the first string-hole. Following the string-hole and a flower decoration, the *Umottarasamvāda* begins, its conclusion on fol. 49v_[L5] marking the end of this block of text. The next work in the corpus is the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, which is separated from the preceding ones by a blank page and the interruption of the foliation, as is the practice for all the other works. However, upon closer inspection, fol. 23v, containing the end of the *Śivopaniṣad*

and the beginning of the *Umottarasaṃvāda*, shows clear traces of having been partially reused, as the first one and a half lines—those occupied by the conclusion of the *Śivopaniṣad* and the line fillers—used to host a different text, which was erased and then covered by the one that is still readable today. This also justifies the use of line fillers, which in this case have no decorative purpose but were just meant to cover the pre-existing text. The direct inspection of the manuscript allowed us to identify a few of the *akṣaras* belonging to the first layer of text, but not enough to help identify the text. This situation is only limited to the first one and a half lines, since neither the remaining part of the page, containing the first chapter of the *Umottarasaṃvāda*, nor the preceding page show any signs of being a palimpsest.

The use of a non-continuous foliation, despite the above-mentioned exception, makes G 4077 the earliest example of a manuscript of this corpus in which the works were clearly distinguished from each other, viz. by the use of an interrupted foliation, and suggests that the different texts could be used independently. In this respect, ms. G 4077 can be associated with the only other manuscript of the Śivadharmā corpus dated to the 11th century, N₈₂^K, so far the only known example of a palm-leaf manuscript of these texts to use non-continuous foliation. The device of interrupted foliation is thus limited to the specimens produced in the 11th century: N₂₈^K, of uncertain date but most likely earlier than these two, used a continuous foliation, which in this manuscript is also the only feature that allows the reader to understand that the four works of the corpus transmitted there are conceived as a unitary block, since the manuscript lacks a general concluding colophon. In N₂₈^K, the foliation starts anew with the *Śivopaniṣad*, a circumstance that most likely indicates that this text had been added to the main bulk of the manuscript after this was produced.¹⁹ On the other hand, in the case of G 4077 and N₈₂^K, a final colophon asserts the internal coherence of the works contained in these manuscripts, despite the lack of unity in the foliation, which allowed for removing and adding works without creating visible gaps in the production of the manuscript.

The general concluding colophon of G 4077 is located at the end of *Lalitavistara* 8, immediately following the final colophon of the individual work (Figs 2 and 3). This general colophon is transcribed in its entirety by Shastri 1928, as well as partially transcribed and translated by Petech 1984. Since neither transcript is devoid

¹⁹ On this manuscript and its characteristics, as well as the terminology used in the description of the multiple-text manuscripts, see De Simini 2016b, 245–248ff.

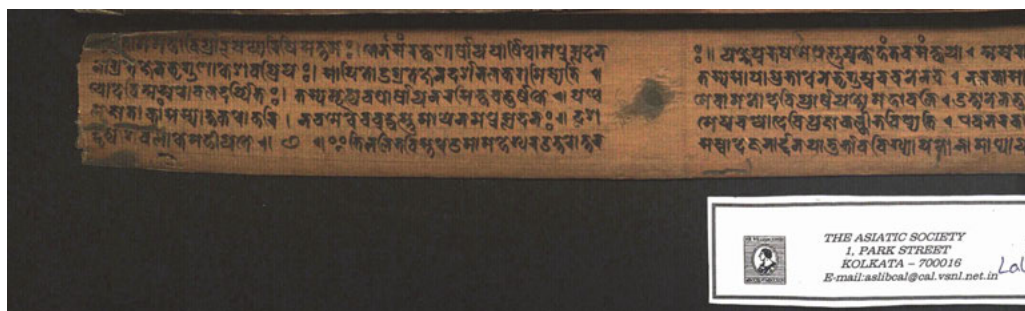


Fig. 2: Asiatic Society G 4077, 'Lalitavistara 8', exposure 26B.

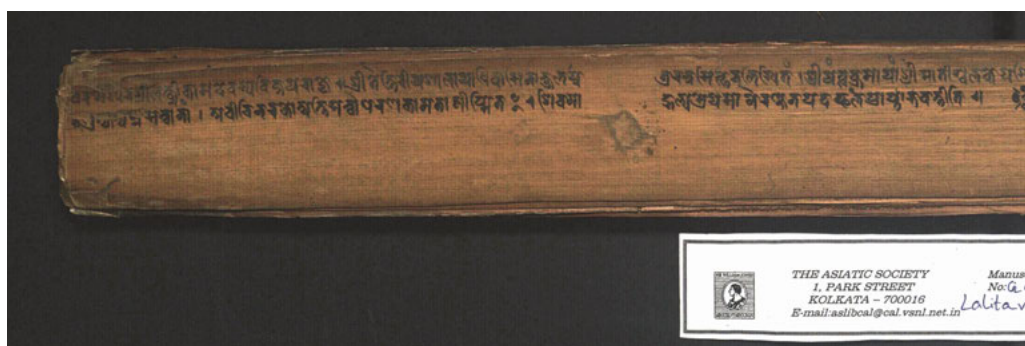
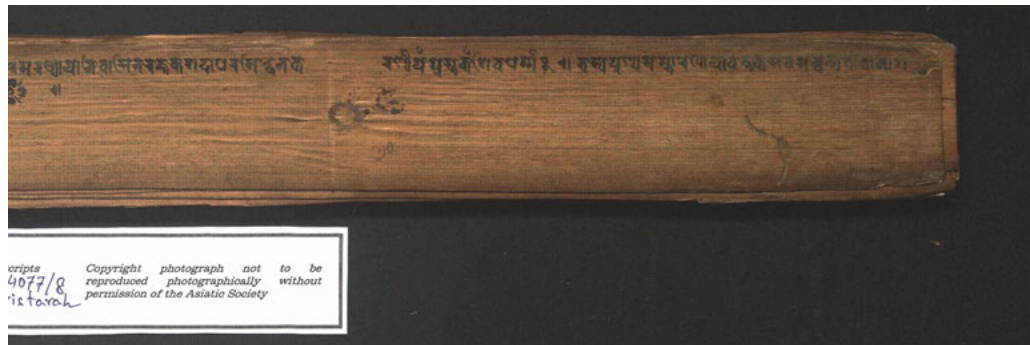
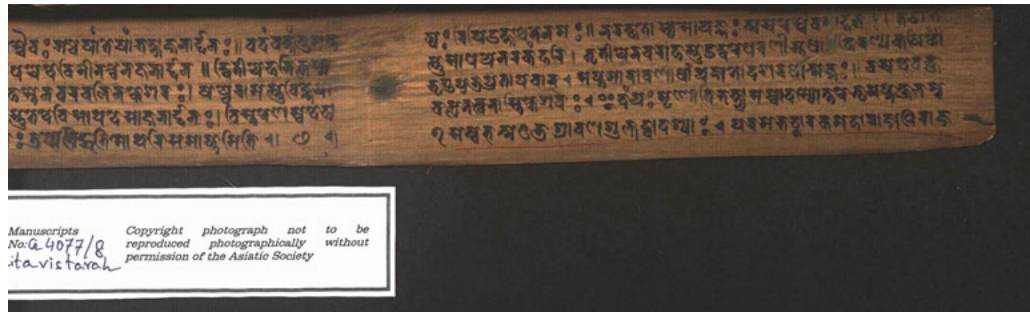


Fig. 3: Asiatic Society G 4077, 'Lalitavistara 8', exposure 27A.

of misreadings, we offer here a new diplomatic transcription and interpretation of the colophon:²⁰

²⁰ Since colophons often reflect a less standardized and more contaminated use of the language, we have not emended the text of this and other transcriptions of colophons and chapter rubrics. The necessary corrections are noted in the following translation.



[exp. 26B_{L5}] || Q || • samvat 156 śrāvaṇaśukladvādaśyām | paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja^[27AL1]paramśvaraśrīlakṣmīkāmādevasya vijayarājye || śrītaittirīyaśālāyādhivāsina kulapu • traratnasinhena likhitaṃ | śrīyaṃbūkramāyām²¹ śrīśātiśvalake paścimarathyāyā nivāsina rajakagadādharaśinhena²² ka • raṇīyaṃ pustakaṃ²³ śivadharmaṃ || tasya puṇyasambhāreṇa yāvantaka sarvasatva atītānāga^[12]apratyutpannasatvānām²⁴ | avicīnarakotpattisatvodharaṇakāmanām ipsitaṃ | śivamā • ṅgalyasreyasā nairāñjanapadaphalaṃ prāpto bhavanti || ❖ ||

21 Note that the two existing transcripts of this colophon substantially disagree at this point. Shastri (1928, 721) reads *śrīpañcakramāyām* instead of *śrīyaṃbūkramāyām*, while Petech 1984, 38, reads *śrīyambukramāyām śrīpañcakramāyām*, thus *de facto* adding one word to the text of the colophon.

22 Both Shastri 1928 and Petech 1984 read *rajakarādādhara*^o.

23 Petech's transcription stops here, dropping the word *śivadharma*.

24 This compound is incorrectly given in Shastri as *atītānāgatapratyāsanna*^o.

The manuscript had thus been ‘copied in the year [NS] 156, on the twelfth [lunar day] of the bright [fortnight] of the [month] Śrāvaṇa, during the victorious reign of the supreme lord, paramount king, highest sovereign, the glorious Lakṣmīkāmadeva, by Ratnasimha, son of a respectable family, a resident of the glorious Taittirīya school. The book of the Śivadharmā has been commissioned (read: *kāraṇīyaṃ*) by the prince (read: *rājaka*^o) Gadādharaśimha, who resides along the western road (read: *paścimarathyāyā<ṃ> nivāsinā*) ...’. The date is verified by Petech as July 6, 1036 CE.²⁵ The remaining text of the colophon gives further geographical details, in a syntactically and morphologically irregular Sanskrit, while also dwelling on the motives that prompted the production of this manuscript, namely the accumulation of merit, through which the sponsor wishes to benefit all creatures, including those that lived in the past, those that would be born in the future, and those that existed at the present time. The production of this manuscript was moreover urged by a desire to save those who are born in the *avīcinā* hell: ‘thanks to the highest good, which is Śiva’s favour, they earn the fruit of the immersion in the [river] Nairāñjanā’. Parallel to many of the Buddhist manuscripts that are extant from this historical period, and some of the Śivadharmā manuscripts,²⁶ the final colophon thus emphasizes the apotropaic and salvific agency of the manuscript, which helps to channel the grace of the God towards all living beings.

The function of transmitting texts was thus enhanced by the specific powers attributed to this manuscript by those who sponsored its production and possibly made use of it. Given the widespread dissemination of the manuscripts of the Śivadharmā corpus, and their popularity especially in medieval Nepal, it is remarkable that one of the earliest specimens—the earliest one whose date we can ascertain—comes with an explicit declaration of the meritorious functions attributed to its production, which could be one of the main factors accelerating the copying of a high number of Śivadharmā manuscripts in this and the following

²⁵ Petech 1984, 38.

²⁶ A colophon expressly mentioning the attainment of merit, for the sponsor or the sponsor’s family, as a reason for the production of the manuscript, is found in N₃^K, dated 1201 CE (see De Simini 2016b, 255–256, and 2017, § 3). A further manuscript, N₇^K, dated 1170 CE, contains a short panegyric of the king Rudradeva in the colophon, suggesting that he might have sponsored the production of the manuscript and been the person who would benefit from it (De Simini 2016b, 256–260, and De Simini 2016c). On the wooden cover of an unspecified Śivadharmā manuscript of the 12th century, Pal (1978, 123, fig. 52) discerns a portrait of a royal couple, who could be the sponsors supporting the production of this particular manuscript. On the production of manuscripts for cultic and propitiatory purposes, both in Śaiva and in Buddhist sources, see De Simini 2016a.

centuries. At the same time, this colophon exhibits another of the features that would firmly characterize the transmission of the Śivādharma in Nepal, namely its association with monarchical power. King Lakṣmikāmadeva is praised in the colophon of G 4077 with his full royal title, and the same will happen with future monarchs of Śaiva faith, such as Rudradeva, Guṇakāmadeva and Arimalladeva, all of whom are praised in various manuscripts of the Śivādharma corpus.²⁷ The importance attributed to the manuscript as a salvific tool for the donor and all living beings is probably what justified the production of the two richly decorated wooden covers which, following a trend that is typical of the covers of the Śivādharma manuscripts, display several scenes of *līṅga* worship (Fig. 1).

Unfortunately, the colophon of G 4077, which makes reference to the ‘manuscript of the Śivādharma’ as a single unit, does not specify how many smaller parts this unit was composed of, leaving room for doubt as to whether *Lalitavistara* 9, whose extant folios follow the colophon, was in fact originally included in the manuscript. This doubt is reinforced by the unlikely circumstance that the same manuscript would transmit two works with the same title, one after the other, at least judging from the order in which the works comprising G 4077 have been transmitted and preserved. At the same time, the block containing *Lalitavistara* 9 is by all means identical to those transmitting all the other works, thus pointing to the unity of production of the parts that form this manuscript. This suggests that *Lalitavistara* 9 was produced at the same time, possibly by the same hand, as the other works constituting the corpus, but does not imply that it was actually meant to be included in the manuscript right from the start. The almost complete absence of folio numbers, and the use of a non-continuous foliation, contribute to making it very hard, if not impossible, to establish beyond a doubt the actual composition of G 4077 solely on the basis of its codicological features, especially as far as *Lalitavistara* 9 is concerned. Only a study of the two controversial works could help us understand whether it is possible that just one of them had been conceived of as part of the Śivādharma corpus by those who compiled this manuscript, and why both of them were ultimately rejected by later tradition.

The relevant information found in the existing catalogue is indeed rather suspicious. Concerning *Lalitavistara* 8, Shastri transcribes 18 final rubrics of as many chapters, ranging from 1 to 23; the missing rubrics correspond to chapter 3 and to chapters 6 to 10. The final chapter of the work, the one immediately followed by the dated colophon referring to the whole manuscript, is numbered 23. However, this number is not coherent with the sequence of the extant chapters reported by Shastri, as this alleged chapter 23 is preceded by another chapter 23. Therefore,

²⁷ See De Simini 2016b, 268–272.

either the final chapter of the work does not correspond to chapter 23, or it must belong to a different work. This question is crucial because, as we have just pointed out, it is the colophon immediately following the final chapter that contains both the date and the information concerning the ruling king and the sponsorship of the manuscript. Thus, by resolving the discrepancy pertaining to the sequence and numeration of the chapters of *Lalitavistara* 8 we will be able to safely interpret the information contained in the final general colophon. Before shifting our attention to the information that Shastri gives for *Lalitavistara* 9, we must observe that all the rubrics of *Lalitavistara* 8 attribute titles to their chapters. This does not happen regularly with the works of the corpus composed after the *Śivadharmasāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*. The *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, for instance, only gives titles to its chapters in very few cases. We may take the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as an example, since this work is evoked in the rubric of the final chapter of the *Lalitavistara*, the supposed chapter 23, in which the work is actually called *Lalitavistara Umāmaheśvarottarottarasamvāda* (Fig. 2):

[exp. 26B₁₅] || Q || iti lalitavistare umāmaheśvara uttarottara • saṃvāde janārddanap[r]ādurbhāvavikhyāpano nāmādhyāyaḥ trayaviṃsatimo²⁸ parisamāptam iti || Q || •

The other rubrics, in contrast, always refer to the text simply as *Lalitavistara*. This might sound like one more reason to believe that the final colophon does not belong here—the title of the work is different, and the chapter number does not make sense in the order—but if we look closely, we will notice that the mention of the dialogue between Umā and Maheśvara is in fact less random than it appears. To start with, this rubric calls the work an *uttarottara* dialogue, which could mean two things: firstly, that it comes after the *Umottarasamvāda* (in turn a continuation of, or just a later addition to, the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*); and, secondly, that the conversation consists of a sequence of replies by the Lord to the questions asked by the Goddess. This is indeed the structure of all the chapters that in the preceding rubrics are attributed to the *Lalitavistara*. Moreover, if we compare the titles of the chapters of the *Lalitavistara* to those surviving for the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in the same manuscript, we can easily observe that the titles of the first and fifth chapters are the same for both works. There must indeed be a connection between the *Lalitavistara* and the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* that goes beyond the simple frame narrative of the two works, and that may justify why the same work can sometimes be called *Lalitavistara* and at other times *Uttarottarasamvāda*.

²⁸ For our emendation concerning the correct reading of this word see below.

Shastri presents *Lalitavistara* 9 as a fragmentary work, of which only 'leaves marked from 28 to 38' survive. Again, he transcribes all the extant chapter rubrics of this other *Lalitavistara*, which in this case range from 24 to 32. The numeration of the chapters of *Lalitavistara* 9 thus seem to perfectly reconnect with the one of *Lalitavistara* 8, which had stopped at 23, as if one were the extension of the other, or as if the two were, in fact, the same work. The latter would indeed seem the easiest and most intuitive way to interpret the two *Lalitavistaras* transmitted in manuscript G 4077 according to the available catalogue. In order to take this supposition into consideration and make it our working hypothesis over the next pages, we need to find a solution for the double chapter 23, which so far seems to be the only obstacle to reading these 32 chapters in sequence as belonging to the same work. Luckily, the acquisition of new colour pictures has enabled us to inspect that concluding colophon more closely, and identify one essential detail that allowed us to propose a solution to the issue of the repetition of chapter 23. For the *akṣaras* that Shastri reads as *trayoviṃsa*⁹ have clearly been written on other *akṣaras* that appear to have been rubbed out, or which had just faded away, becoming less legible. Although the first layer of text is now completely covered by the newly inscribed *akṣaras*, the trace of a short vertical stroke extending from the *akṣara* -*va*- is still visible. Our hypothesis is that this stroke belongs to a pre-existing -*tra*-, that the current -*i*- has been inscribed on a preexisting -*s*-, and that the fading stroke seemingly (and wrongly) connecting what is now the long -*a*- with the syllable -*vi*- is nothing but the still visible trace of a former -*i*- which would indicate that the original reading here was *trayastrīṃsati*, namely 33, instead of *trayoviṃsati*, 23. This would solve all the contradictions in the chapter sequence of the 'two' *Lalitavistaras*, as we could thus avoid the repetition of chapter 23 and, at the same time, identify the final chapter of the work as chapter 33, which would comply perfectly with the sequence that Shastri reports for *Lalitavistara* 9, extending up to 32 (but then continuing into a new chapter). Moreover, the correction of -*yovi*- to -*yastri*-, for whatever reason it happened, is palaeographically very easy, as it only requires closing the open left side of the *akṣara* -*tra*- and connecting the top vertical stroke to the *s*- on the left. The following pictures show a detail of the final rubric of what we assume was chapter 33, compared to the rubric of chapter 31, which highlights the similarity between the two *akṣaras*, as well as the evident signs of corrections in the case of the colophon of chapter 23/33:



Fig. 4: Asiatic Society G 4077, exp. 26B, final colophon of chapter 33, detail: *trayo(yas?)-vi(tri?)ṇsatimo*

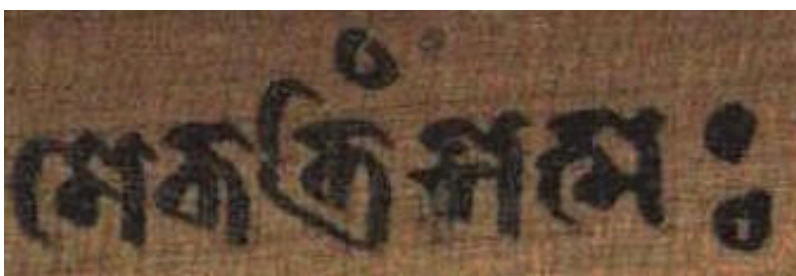


Fig. 5: Asiatic Society G 4077, exp. 51A_[L1], final colophon of chapter 31, detail: *ekatriṃsatmaḥ*

On this basis, we could thus hypothesize that the two *Lalitavistaras* identified by Shastri in manuscript G 4077 are actually one single work in 33 chapters, which was titled both *Lalitavistara* and *Umāmaheśvarottarottarasamvāda*. The codicological features of the folios belonging to the two bundles are perfectly consistent, just like the general structure of the text, which in both cases is designed as a dialogue between the Goddess and the Lord. Now that we have found a possible solution for the formal contradiction concerning the presence of two chapters labelled 23, we can proceed to a systematic analysis of this work, which will allow us to confirm or reject our hypothesis on the reconstruction of the text, as well as clarify several aspects regarding the composition of this and other works of the corpus amidst the cultural context of medieval Nepal.

2 The *Lalitavistara*: An outline

Our attempt at reconstructing the *Lalitavistara* on the basis of the extant folios preserved and catalogued as two different works has proven successful. We can thus confirm that the two bundles actually contain the same text, which in its current form only lacks the beginning, one folio belonging to chapter 2 and a folio or two for chapter 26. On the other hand, some of the folios that are found among those of the *Lalitavistara* must actually be discarded, since they belong to other works in the same manuscript, or to unidentified works that are not in this manuscript.²⁹ The work is thus mostly complete. As for the chapter rubrics that Shastri had not identified in his catalogue, we were able to find what must have been the final colophon of chapter 3 in the folios collected as *Lalitavistara* 9; the rubrics of chapters 6 and 7 were contiguous with the other folios of this chapter, in the bundle containing *Lalitavistara* 8. The situation is more complicated for chapters 9 and 10, not simply because the folios with the final rubrics of these chapters are missing, but because this work seems to lack these chapters altogether, skipping from chapter 7 straight to chapter 11. We cannot account for this sudden change in numbering, since the beginning of chapter 11 is on the same folio as the end of chapter 7, and we have checked the consistency of the whole chapter so as to exclude the possibility that folios had gone missing. Although there are no folio numbers to confirm the correct arrangement of the pages, we do have extensive parallel passages in other works, as we will point out shortly, that have helped enormously in reconstructing the correct sequence of the stanzas. This numbering is also reflected in the numbering of the chapters from now on, thus moving the chapter numbers up three. The work thus contains only 30 chapters, but we will keep referring to them with the number by which each of the chapters is identified in the extant rubrics.

²⁹ As pointed out in the preceding paragraph, exposures 23B/24A and 24B/25A correspond to two of the three missing folios from the *Umottarasamvāda* contained in the same manuscript. Other folios that do not belong to the *Lalitavistara* are a folio in Bengali script, corresponding to our exposure 57B/58A, as well as exposure 42A/41B. The latter contains the beginning of a Śaiva work, and is written only on one side (corresponding to exp. 42A), the other one left blank. Shastri transcribes it in its entirety in his catalogue (1928, 722), rightly pointing out that this folio does not belong to the *Lalitavistara* nor, we can add, to any other work contained in the same manuscript. The script is very similar, though not exactly identical, to the one used in the *Lalitavistara*, while the material features of the leaf seem to be perfectly consistent with those of the other leaves of the manuscript (although, after restoration, our understanding of the material aspects of these pages has been deeply altered). This folio might thus belong to a manuscript that was copied in the same period, maybe in the same scriptorium, as our G 4077.

The most relevant trait emerging from the study of the contents and structure of the *Lalitavistara* is the imposing number of verses that can be identified in other works. More specifically, chapters 1 to 25 of the *Lalitavistara* parallel, in due sequence, chapters 1 to 20 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, another work of the Śivadharmā corpus. While we were not able to identify any parallels to *Lalitavistara* chapters 27 to 28, chapters 26 and 29 to 32 show extensive literal borrowings from the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, the thirteenth book of the *Mahābhārata*. Chapter 33, concluding the work, has parallels to chapter 7 of the *Umottarasaṃvāda*, yet another work of the corpus that is attested for the first time in this manuscript. The passage that the *Lalitavistara* shares with the *Umottarasaṃvāda* is moreover partly featured in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as chapter 22. Before moving on to a more in-depth analysis of the contents and nature of these parallels, as well as of the compositional techniques that this intricate textual situation seems to hint at, we should stress that also some passages contained in both the *Lalitavistara* and the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* can ultimately be traced to the *Anuśāsanaparvan*. It is not entirely surprising that, of all 18 books of the *Mahābhārata*, the composers of the *Lalitavistara* and the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chose to draw materials exactly from the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, since this book contains a whole section that is presented as a conversation between the Lord and the Goddess. This ‘*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*’ provides a model and functions as a source of textual material for the composition of the later works of the Śivadharmā corpus that adopt the same frame-narrative and deal with identical or similar topics as their epic antecedent. These texts can thus be placed at the crossroad of the Śivadharmā corpus and the Sanskrit epics; as a consequence, the activity of selecting, borrowing, and rearranging sources transcends the technical aspects of textual composition, and suggests a more complex cultural operation aimed at establishing the Śivadharmā as part of a broader Brahmanical—not necessarily nor exclusively Śaiva—tradition. We will come back to this point in the following paragraphs, after completing a first sketch of the contents of the *Lalitavistara/Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. Despite the textual variants emerging from the comparison between these chapters of the *Lalitavistara* with the corresponding sections in the current critical edition of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, the texts are so close that manuscript G 4077 can in fact be counted among the earliest manuscript evidence of the circulation and transmission of the *Mahābhārata*.

Our work of reconstruction of the *Lalitavistara* has been complicated by the absence of folio numbers for this section, although Shastri in his catalogue still seems to be able to read folio numbers at least for the pages of *Lalitavistara* 9.

Nevertheless, with some patience, and thanks to the help of the parallel passages,³⁰ we have been able to produce the following table, which illustrates the chapter sequence and the contents of the *Lalitavistara*, with reference to the folios preserved for each chapter, a transcript of the extant chapter rubrics, and the parallel texts. We reproduce it here for the benefit of the readers, and as a device to foster further discussion in the coming pages. For practical reasons, we have used the superscript numerals 8 and 9 in order to indicate whether the chapters or exposures are to be found in *Lalitavistara* 8 or 9. We know that this makes less sense now that we have established that these actually form one single work, but nevertheless we thought that preserving some traces of the catalogue record might be helpful for scholars who would like to go back to the original manuscript, as well as show the reader how the text is actually distributed in the manuscript. Note that the summaries of chapters 1 and 2 of the *Lalitavistara* are partly based on the parallel of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (UMS), which helps integrate the contents of the *Lalitavistara*'s missing folios.

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	Parallels	Topic
Chapter 1 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 3A _[L5] ❖ <i>iti lalitavista • re cāturvarṇṇavibhāgo nāmādhyāyaḥ prathamah</i> ❖	UMS 1	The first chapter opens with the description of the God and Goddess sitting on the Himavat mountain, where he conveys his teachings to her. The Goddess asks him about the <i>dharma</i> s and goals pertaining to the various classes and types of religious practitioners: Brahmins, <i>kṣatriyas</i> , <i>vaiśyas</i> , <i>śūdras</i> , ascetics (<i>tāpasa</i>), those who desire initiation (<i>dīkṣābhikāṅkṣin</i>), those who survive off grain left over from the harvest (<i>uñchavṛttī</i>), seers (<i>ṛṣi</i>), divine sages (<i>devarṣi</i>), and women. Further, she asks how Brahmins attain Brahmaloka. The God obliges and conveys his teaching, describing the various categories; however, he doesn't explicitly address the <i>dīkṣābhikāṅkṣin</i> nor the <i>ṛṣi</i> and <i>devarṣi</i> categories. Instead, he introduces the wandering religious mendi-
Exps. 2A–3A; incomplete.		

³⁰ We thank Anil Kumar Acharya for having produced and circulated an e-text of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* based on the Naraharinath edition (1998). This resource has been extremely helpful in the process of identifying parallel passages, despite the flaws of the edition itself that, as we will have to point out several times throughout this article, has changed its text in several crucial passages as if to make it sound more Śaiva-oriented. After realizing this, we double-checked the text of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* edition against the one attested in the earlier manuscripts.

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	Parallels	Topic
		cant (<i>parivrājaka</i>), who is said to attain <i>mokṣa</i> . It is noticeable that none of the material is specifically Śaivite or refers to Śaiva principles. Brahmaloḥka, an auspicious rebirth (in the same <i>varṇa</i>), and eternal Brahman seem to be the main objectives.
Chapter 2 ⁸⁻⁹ . Rubric: exp. 4A _[L1] Q <i>iti lalitavistare duritabhedavibhāgo nāmodhyāya dvitīya • ḥ</i> ❖	UMS 2	This chapter is dedicated to the fate of those who do bad deeds, namely those who injure (<i>himsaka</i>), steal (<i>paradravyahārin</i>), behave badly in romantic matters (<i>kāmamithyopacārin</i>), slander (<i>durbhāṣin</i>), are overcome with envy (<i>matsarāpahata</i>), neglect their service to others (<i>aśuśrūṣākārin</i>), are affected by pride (<i>mānahata</i>) and those who have made minor mistakes (<i>alpāparādhakṛt</i>).
Exps. 3A, 55B, 54B, 55A, 3B, 4A; incomplete.		
Chapter 3 ⁸⁻⁹ . Rubric: exps. 54A _[L5] –5B _[L1] ❖ <i>iti lalitavistare suśrūṣa</i> _[SAL1] + + +... <i>gā nāmādhyaṃya tṛtīyaḥ</i> Q	UMS 3.1–43	In contrast to the preceding chapter, this section talks about meritorious actions that lead to spiritual gains: not hurting others (<i>ahimsaka</i>), behaving in accordance with the norms (<i>nyāyavṛttin</i>), always telling the truth (<i>satyavādin</i>), abstaining from drinking alcohol (<i>madyapānavivarjita</i>), serving the Guru (<i>guruśuśrūṣaka</i>), and not stealing (<i>anasteya</i>). It is noteworthy that the rewards are again not particularly connected to Śaivite goals, but rather contain generic prescriptions for reaching heaven and enjoying an auspicious rebirth once one's merit in heaven is exhausted.
Exps. 4A, 53B–54A, 5B; complete.		
Chapter 4 ⁸⁻⁹ . Rubric: exp. 7A _[L4] ❖ <i>iti lalitavistare dhyānadhāraṇādhyaṃya caturthaḥ</i> _[L5] Q	UMS 3.43–56 + chapter 4	The chapter begins with general remarks praising virtues, in particular emphasizing the importance of <i>ahimsā</i> , which is said to confer eternal Brahman. The following stanzas contain a <i>phalaśruti</i> , praising the merits of hearing and reciting the scripture's teaching, here even referred to as the secret <i>śāstra</i> (<i>śāstraṃ rahasyaṃ</i>). Note that in the <i>Umāmaheśvaraśāstravāda</i> , this portion, 3.43–56, forms the end of chapter 3.
Exps. 5B–7A; complete.		Hereafter follows a discourse on the topic of meditation (<i>dhyāna</i>). The Goddess asks about what is prescribed for those who have committed bad deeds or not performed religious activities such as austerities or <i>śrāddha</i> rituals. The God's answer is that meditation has the power to remove all bad deeds, so that at death they are freed of them and attain heaven, just as those who have carried out

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	Parallels	Topic
		good deeds. After that, the Goddess wishes to know the procedure for meditation and what kinds of meditation there are, upon which the God essentially teaches her two kinds. Of these, the first is referred to as <i>adhyātman</i> and <i>vaiṣṇava</i> , which has the power to open the doors to liberation (for a description of the procedure, see § 3). The second one is a meditation that has to be performed in secluded places. There follows a description of the <i>saṃsāra</i> , possibly being the object of meditation (see also chapter 30, which contains the same procedure). Referring to this, the text stresses both the possibility of achieving liberation from <i>saṃsāra</i> and the attainment of the <i>brahmaloka</i> .
Chapter 5 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 8A _[L1] Q <i>iti lalitavistare tīrthayā- trādhyā • ya pañcamah</i> Q Exps. 7A–8A; complete.	UMS 5	The fifth chapter starts by praising the merit of sacred sites (<i>tīrtha</i>) and lists various sacred places, including standard locations such as Prayāga and Kanakhala, as well as a long list of holy rivers, featuring also those specific to the Kathmandu Valley, such as the Vagmatī. Then follows a short description of the procedure of bathing and meditation at the sacred water sites and their purificatory qualities. At the same time, offerings (<i>ijyā</i>), austerities (<i>tapas</i>), fasts and observances (<i>sopavāsavrata</i>) are also given as options. The God also teaches about the possibility to attain the supreme <i>siddhi</i> through constant meditation on him, as well as the eventual attainment of liberation (<i>mokṣa</i>), described as the supreme state pertaining to Śiva (<i>śaivaṃ paraṃ padam</i>). The chapter closes on a cosmological note, describing how everything is emitted by the <i>liṅga</i> and reabsorbed by Viṣṇu.
Chapter 6 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 9A _[L4] Q <i>iti lalitavistare ekaika- dharma • vibhāgo nāmodhyāya ṣaṣṭhamah</i> Q Exps. 8A, 9A; complete.	UMS 6; AP, ap- pendix no. 15, lines 779–803	This chapter deals with various topics. At the beginning, the God condemns any form of slandering, particular of Brahmins, as well as egotism, all of which leads to hell. He also makes the point that his devotees should not slander <i>viṣṇubhaktas</i> . At the same time, it is stated that those who are of a singular devotion attain particular merits and reach heaven even if they have carried out bad deeds. Then follows a discourse on the importance of catering to guests, particularly when they arrive in some unfortunate condition, such as afflicted by hunger or thirst. A large part

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	Parallels	Topic
		then revolves around the obligation to take care of post-mortuary procedures should a guest die, regardless of his social background. Then follows a discourse on the merit of giving and the importance of doing so with a happy mind. This leads to a long list of different meritorious categories, such as the gift of land, the adherence to truth, and respect for one's parents, eventually arriving at the praise of the <i>grhāśrama</i> , stating that, of all the <i>āśramas</i> , it is the best. This gives rise to the God's announcement that he shall teach about the merits of the <i>grhāśrama</i> .
Chapter 7 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 10A _[L1] Q <i>iti lalitavistare bhūmī(?)dānagrhāśramo varttanodhyāya saptam</i> _[L2] Q	UMS 7; AP, appendix no. 15, lines 803–855	Picking up from the previous chapter, the Goddess asks the God about the conduct, observances and rules of the householder. He first commends obedience to one's parents and family and praises the importance of worshipping one's ancestors. Then the Goddess asks what is prescribed to those who have no parents or are widows. The God answers with a list of virtuous characteristics and deeds, such as non-violence, giving, feeding cows and certain processes of bodily purification. The chapter also includes a section on abstinence on certain occasions. The final section revolves around declaring the <i>grhāśrama</i> to be the foundation for all living beings and the entire system.
Exps. 9A, 8B, 10A; complete.		
Chapter 11 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 10B _[L2] Q <i>iti lalita • vistare kaliyugavarṇaṇano nāmādhyāyakaśamaḥ</i> Q	UMS 8	This chapter describes the inadequate behaviour that constitutes defects of the cosmic age and the decline of <i>dharma</i> . The Goddess wants to know how the <i>kaliyuga</i> comes about and what happens once the cosmic cycle reaches this point. In reply, the God alludes to the <i>Mahābhārata</i> war and further describes the conditions of the <i>kaliyuga</i> .
Exps. 10A, 9B, 11A, 10B; complete.		
Chapter 12 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 12A _[L3] Q <i>iti lalitavistare yugāntanī<r>deśodhyāya dvādaśamaḥ</i> Q	UMS 9	The ninth chapter continues the topic of the <i>kaliyuga</i> and describes various faults of that age (<i>yugadoṣa</i>), which include the terrible behaviour of people as <i>dharma</i> declines. Much of the chapter also revolves around the various inauspicious signs that will forebode the end of the <i>yuga</i> , with the constellations collapsing, kings raging war and various unsettling natural phenomena such as huge, dark, thundering clouds approaching and forest animals entering the city.
Exps. 10B, 11B–12A; complete.		

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	Parallels	Topic
<p>Chapter 13⁸. Rubric: exp. 13A_[L4] Q <i>iti lalitavistare yugāntādīlakṣaṇo nāmādhya tra • yodaśamaḥ</i> ❖ </p> <p>Exps. 12A, 25B–26A, 13A; complete.</p>	<p>UMS 10</p>	<p>The Goddess asks how it is possible that some men and women, as the corruption of time (<i>yugadoṣa</i>) progresses, can lose their sense of shame (<i>luptalajjā</i>). The God replies that, in this most unfavourable of aeons, the world works the other way around: old people are under the influence of the youth, while the young and inexperienced are consulted as teachers. Thus, during the <i>kaliyuga</i>, even vile, old men long for young wives, just as old women wish for young husbands. However, in this <i>kaliyuga</i>, all those who respect <i>dharma</i>, even just a little, will gain enormous fruits, like becoming wealthy, rightful people, generous and hospitable. Then, after practising <i>tapas</i> for a hundred years, men will return to the <i>kṛtayuga</i>. At the end of the <i>yuga</i> there is general, widespread corruption: medicines and alchemic preparations lose their powers, so that people become weaker, and old age, ailments and death start spreading. The heterodox rise to prominence, and they teach their way to liberation as if they were teachers, and live in monasteries. However, the offerings made to them are fruitless due to the faults of the recipients (<i>pāradoṣa</i>). The God remarks that, for this reason, one should always donate to the proper, orthodox recipients, whose conduct will quickly lead to emancipation, and who alone are worthy of devotion. On the contrary, the heterodox will lead to the corruption of <i>dharma</i> and the confusion of <i>varṇas</i> (<i>varṇasaṃkara</i>). Prompted by a question of the Goddess, the God explains which actions are appropriate for each <i>varṇa</i>, and which ones are not.</p>
<p>Chapter 14⁸. Rubric: exp. 14A_[L3] ❖ <i>iti lalita • vistare mṛtyuvañcano nāmādhya caturdaśamaḥ</i> ❖ </p> <p>Exps. 13A, 12B, 14A; complete.</p>	<p>UMS 11</p>	<p>The topic of this chapter is the origin of the <i>jīva</i>, how it enters the womb and develops into an embryo, then a body, and so on. After replying to this request from the Goddess by explaining the process of conception, growth and birth, the God—here generically called Devadeva, which in chapter 24/19 is a synonym for Viṣṇu—shifts the focus of the conversation to the inevitability of death, listing the possible causes and circumstances for somebody's passing. At the end of the chapter, the God remarks that the destiny</p>

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	Parallels	Topic
		(<i>gati</i>) of the <i>jīvas</i> in the realm of transmigration is caused by the fruits of their actions
Chapter 15 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 14B _[L2] : Q <i>iti lalitavistare rasā • yananiṅṛ>deśo nāmādhyāya pañcadaśamaḥ</i> Q	UMS 12.1–31	The first question of the Goddess concerns the purposes of appeasement spells, medicines, herbs and <i>mantras</i> , provided that the course and length of one's life is entirely determined by their previous actions. The God replies that there are thousands of remedies and spells, and the gods are pleased by the doctors who manage to apply the right remedy to extend a patient's life. But all these remedies, like herbs, benedictions and appeasement spells, can also make one perish, as it is the <i>karman</i> that is ultimately responsible for the ailments of the body and, thus, for the length of the lives of humans and animals. After this, the Goddess asks about those who practice alchemy (<i>rasāyanika</i>). The God praises the proper use of the 'divine <i>rasāyanas</i> ': if one is protected by these remedies, he will have a long life even if he eats improper food or drinks poison.
Exps: 14A, 13B, 14B; complete.		
Chapter 16 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 15A _[L1] Q <i>iti lalitavistare kālavañcano nāmādhyāya śaṣṭyādasamaḥ</i> Q	UMS 12.32–42	The Goddess now asks about the topic of untimely death (<i>akālamṛtyu</i>). The God answers that time is impartial towards everybody; nobody is dear or despicable to <i>kāla</i> . Therefore, once their time has elapsed, it is not possible for a person to live any longer. Death is thus 'untimely' (<i>a-kāla</i>) for all living beings.
Exp. 14B; complete.		
Chapter 17 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 16A _[L4] Q <i>iti lalitavistare citraguptavyākhyāno nāmādhyāya saptadaśamo • dhyāyaḥ</i>	UMS 13	Chapter 17/13 starts with a request by the Goddess to learn the ways of obtaining a long life; the God replies that this can only happen by the grace of God or of the <i>ṛṣis</i> , while contemplation of the Lord will grant immortality. The discussion then moves on to the nature and origin of time—which ultimately derives from Maheśvara—the cycles of creation and reabsorption of the universe, as well as the destiny of human beings after death. The mention of Yama's servants, who lead the souls to the after-life, and Citragupta, who will judge them, provides the title for this whole chapter of the <i>Lalitavistara</i> .
Exps. 15A, 16A; complete.		
Chapter 18 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 17A _[L5] <i>iti lalitavistare yatheṣṭāṅgabhūtaṇi</i> _[17BL1] <i>dhi</i>	UMS 14	The chapter is dedicated to explaining the origins of various celestial and demonic beings: <i>yakṣas</i> , <i>kiṃnaras</i> , <i>gandharvas</i> , <i>piśācas</i> , <i>nāgas</i> , <i>raṁśasas</i>

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	Parallels	Topic
<i>nāmādhyāya aṣṭādaśamaḥ</i> Q		and <i>gaṇeśvaras</i> . The original question of the Goddess had stressed the richness of these figures, asking by means of which actions they ended up being born rich and prosperous.
Exps. 16A, 15B, 16B-17A; complete.		
Chapter 19 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. UMS 17B _[L3] Q <i>iti lalitavistare</i> <i>narasinhadivavarṇṇa</i> <i>nāmādhyāya</i> : _[exp.18AL1] <i>m e-</i> <i>konaviṃśatimaḥ</i> Q	15.1–15	The first stanzas of chapter 19/15 deal with the origins of lion-men (<i>narasimhas</i>), who dwell in the mountains and other remote places.
Exps. 17A-17B; complete.		
Chapter 20 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. UMS 19B _[L3] Q <i>iti lalitavistare</i> <i>nirayārṇṇavavañcano</i> <i>nāmādhyāya</i> _[L4] <i>vinsatimaḥ</i> Q	15.16–97	In this section the God, prompted by a question of the Goddess, describes the eight hells (<i>avīci</i> , <i>raurava</i> , <i>kālasūtra</i> , <i>kumbhīpāka</i> , <i>yamalaparvata</i> , <i>kūṭaśālmaliṣṭka</i> , <i>asipattravana</i> , <i>mahāraurava</i>), specifying who are the sinners who head to each of them after death, and what happens to them once their sin is redeemed.
Exps. 18A-19B; complete.		
Chapter 21 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. UMS 16 20B _[L1] Q <i>iti lalita</i> _[L2] <i>vistare</i> <i>śrāddhāvidhināmādhyāyam</i> <i>ekaviṃsatimo dhyāyaḥ</i> Q		The Goddess asks how the sinners, after burning in hell, can again perform good actions, and how one manages to save their ancestors. The God's reply is that one can save his or her own ancestors by donating certain gifts to the Brahmins or to the Lord, by the performance of <i>bhakti</i> , which includes ritual gifting, as well as by the performance of <i>śrāddha</i> ceremonies in Kurukṣetra, Prayāga and in the residences of Rudra (16.13). The following verses are devoted to detailing the performance of the <i>śrāddhās</i> , while the chapter concludes with a praise of the well-behaved <i>brahmacārin</i> .
Exps. 19B-20B; complete.		
Chapter 22 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. UMS 17 21B _[L3] O <i>iti lalitavista</i> • <i>re</i> <i>svapnottaranirdeṣo dhyāya</i> <i>dvāviṃsatimaḥ</i> Q		The Goddess wants to hear about the good actions that allow people not to go to hell, but rather to move towards an auspicious destiny after death, and what these auspicious destinies are in the first place. The God first lists the rightful behaviours; the discussion then moves on to the impurity of a house in which somebody has died at night. The Goddess further asks about the phenomenology of dreams, to which the God replies that it is the mind (<i>manas</i>) that moves places while dreaming, as the <i>jīva</i> stays and protects the body. The following stanzas are
Exps. 20B–21A, 22A, 21B; complete.		

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	Parallels	Topic
		devoted to the topic of inauspicious dreams (<i>duḥsvapna</i>).
Chapter 23 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 23A _[L3] Q <i>iti lalitavistare pañcavedaprasaṃso nāmādhyāya trayoviṃsati-maḥ</i> Q	UMS 18	Chapter 18 is a praise of the <i>Mahābhārata</i> as the utmost scripture and source of all knowledge. The <i>Mahābhārata</i> , the fifth Veda, has been created for the benefit of the <i>śūdras</i> ; the constant recitation of this text will allow them to be reborn either as Brahmins or as kings on earth after spending time in <i>brahmaloka</i> . As this scripture is worthy of worship and meditation, <i>śūdras</i> become worthy of worship as well.
Exps. 21B, 22B-23A; complete.		
Chapter 24 ⁸⁻⁹ . Rubric: exp. 43A ⁹ _[L4] Q <i>iti lalitavistare trai • guṇyavarṇaṇano nāmādhyāya caturviṃsatimo dhyāyaḥ</i> Q	UMS 19	The Goddess asks how it is possible to satisfy Viṣṇu, the <i>ṛṣis</i> and Vyāsa. This question is not answered by Maheśvara, but by Viṣṇu, with a brief interruption by Dharma. Viṣṇu says that he is upset about any offence caused to the Brahmins, while on the contrary, what pleases him are acts of devotion towards Brahmins, as well as towards himself and his own <i>avatāras</i> , of which Vāmana and Vārāha are expressly mentioned. The knowledge that has been imparted by Vyāsa is celebrated as the utmost Veda, capable of destroying the sins of those who recite it and meditate upon it. Actions are classified into different groups based on their capacity to lead to different ultramundane realms. Towards the end of the chapter, Viṣṇu briefly illustrates the doctrine of the two paths of transmigration: the path of the ancestors (<i>pitṛyāna</i>), associated with the moon, and the path of the gods (<i>devayāna</i>), associated with the sun.
Exps. 23A, 42B-43A; complete.		
Chapter 25 ⁹ . Rubric: exp. 44A _[L1] <i>iti lalitavistare śānti-dhyāne pitarāṃ tu prasambho nāmādhyāya pañcaviṃsatimaḥ</i> • Q	<i>Vaiṣṇava-dharma-śāstra</i> (ĀŚP, appendix no. 4, lines 1688-1717); UMS 20	This brief chapter contains a list of the corporal faults (<i>vṛṣāla</i>) of the different <i>varṇas</i> , that are 6 for the Brahmins, 7 for the <i>kṣatriyas</i> , 8 for the <i>vaiśyas</i> , and 25 for the <i>śūdras</i> . This is followed by a eulogy of the Brahmins, whose faith and devotion satisfy their parents and ancestors, as well as the gods. The chapter ends by stating that all the various secret teachings have now been revealed.
Exps. 43A-44A; complete.		
Chapter 26 ⁹ . Rubric: exp. 45A _[L3] Q <i>iti lalitavistare</i>	AP, appendix no. 15, lines	The first passage preserved on exp. 44A parallels much of the beginning of Maheśvara's speech in the <i>Mahābhārata</i> about the king and hunting, stressing

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	Parallels	Topic
<i>mṛ_[L4]gavyādhapaśubandha-vidhi nāmādhyaṃ śa-ḍviṃsatimaḥ Q </i>	lines 1268–1281; 1251; and 1253	that in this case no sin is incurred and the deer go to heaven if killed by the king. The last stanzas of chapter 26 preserved on 45A may contain verses concerning <i>rājadharmā</i> . The very first preserved stanza uses a common idiom to express the merit one attains from listening to some recitation with devotion, which suggests that the previous context is that of recitation and listening to some work. Then follow some verses on the <i>rājadharmā</i> , and how important it is that the king guards his subjects and worships Brahmins who keep up their duties. It is stressed that only if he keeps up his <i>svadharmā</i> will all the subjects in his kingdom follow his good conduct.
Exps. 44A, 45A; incomplete.		
Chapter 27 ⁹ . Rubric: exp. 46A _[L2] Q <i>iti lalitavistare saptaviṃsatimo dhyāyaḥ Q </i>	No parallels identified	This chapter is dedicated to the question of animal sacrifice and the eating of meat, especially during the sacrifice for the ancestors, which is the only context in which eating meat appears acceptable. Even though not direct parallels could be established so far, note that this topic also features in the AP, even though in a section which contains a dialogue of Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīṣma rather than in the <i>Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda</i> section.
Exp. 45A, 44B, 45B, 46A, complete.		
Chapter 28 ⁹ . Rubric: exp. 48A _[L1] Q <i>iti lalitavistare śākhopasākhādhyaṃ aṣṭaviṃsatimaḥ </i>	No parallels identified	This chapter is dedicated to descriptions of the fate of those who killed cows, Brahmins and women, or took the property of Brahmins and women etc. Their fate includes hell, but also a range of terrible rebirths, which the chapter expounds upon. Note that the title of the rubric is puzzling, especially as it is the same as given to <i>Śivadharmasāstra</i> chapter 12, but is of different content.
Exp. 46A, 46B, 47A, 48A, complete?		
Chapter 29 ⁹ . Rubric: exp. 48B _[L3] Q <i>iti lalitavistare vaiṣṇavayogo prathamānām ādhyaṃ ekonatriṃsatmaḥ Q </i>	UMS 4.1–31	The Goddess asks what is the best religious conduct (<i>vrata</i>) to assure the destruction of sins. She mentions a few (<i>tapas, caraṇa, dāna</i> and <i>ahyāyana</i> , but also <i>ahiṃsā, satyavākya</i> and <i>guruśuśrūṣaṇa</i>); the God replies that of all the <i>vratas</i> , the best one is <i>dhyāna</i> , which has no equal on earth. In his long praise of <i>dhyāna</i> , the God stresses its role as a remover of all sins and as a practice conducive to heaven. After this, the Goddess asks for more details on how to practice this <i>dhyāna</i> , to which the God replies by detailing what the text calls both
Exps. 48A, 47B, 48B; complete.		

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	Parallels	Topic
<i>dhyānayoga</i> and <i>vaiṣṇavayoga</i> (see the contents of chapter 4, as the two texts are identical).		
Chapter 30 ⁹ . Rubric: exp. 50A _[L3] Q <i>iti lalitavistare trikarāṇaya • jñādhikāro nāmādhyāya triṃsatmaḥ</i> Q	UMS 4.32–39; AP 132.1–29	The God now describes a second type of meditation, that of the <i>vanastha</i> , who, in a secluded place, should meditate upon <i>saṃsāra</i> and his personal experiences with it, both the positive and the negative ones. One should meditate on transmigration as being an ocean of greed, ignorance and fear. As the God announces that he will now expound on the third type of meditation, the Goddess asks him to explain how one can be freed from the bonds that are created by actions, mind and words. The God replies to this question by listing, in due order, the rightful behaviours, as well as the correct uses of speech and thought that will lead men to heaven.
Exps. 48B–50A; complete.		
Chapter 31 ⁹ . Rubric: exp. 51A _[L1] <i>iti lalitavistare cāturmukhapinākatri-ṇetrādhyāyam ekatriṃsatmaḥ</i> Q •	AP 131.40–47, 127.51, 128.1–12	The Goddess asks about the purpose of the God's third eye on his forehead, and why the big mountain—presumably Mount Kailāsa, where Śiva and the Goddess reside and have their conversations—burnt down and was then restored to its natural condition. The God expounds on the powers of his third eye, then recounts that the mountain had been destroyed by the heat that emanated from his third eye, only to be restored by Śiva for the sake of the Goddess. The reference to the four faces (of the mountain) also occurs in the title of this short chapter, and allows a comparison with the four-faced <i>liṅga</i> . However, following a further question of the Goddess, the Lord narrates the story of Tilottamā, and how he developed his four faces in order to look at her from all directions. The Goddess then asks why he chose the bull as his mount, and Śiva replies that his bull is a calf of the cow Surabhī, donated to him by Brahmā.
Exps. 50A–50B; complete.		
Chapter 32 ⁹ . No extant rubric.	AP appendix 15, lines 4.325–27	The Goddess asks the Lord about the ways in which devotees can please him. The God replies first by mentioning offerings of food (<i>naivedya</i>), as well as of <i>mantras</i> and different incenses, and then by proclaiming a <i>stotra</i> to Harihara. Following this, the Goddess asks for more details about the practice of fasting (<i>vratopavāsa</i>). The God first explains to her the offerings to make on the eighth and fourteenth days of each fortnight, those associated with ritual
Exps. 51A–52A; complete.		

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	Parallels	Topic
		fasting. In the second part of his reply, the Lord praises the worship of cows as the mothers of all beings, as well as the supreme purifiers and the sources of <i>yajña</i> . Their cult is associated with that of the Brahmins. The next topic brought up by the God is that of the gift of the cows.
Chapter 33. ⁹⁻⁸ Rubric: exp. 26B _{L5} : <i>iti lalitavistare umāmaheśvara uttarottara • saṃvāde janārdanap[r]ādurbhāvavikhyāpano nāmādhyāyaḥ trayastrīṃsatimo parisaṃāptam iti Q •</i>	US 7; UMS 22	The Goddess asks the reason for her existence as Sītā. The God explains that Sītā existed in order for Ravaṇa to be killed by a Vānara, thus fulfilling the curse that Nandi had placed on him. After this, the Goddess asks who Rāma and his father were, as well as who the most eminent of the Vānaras were. The God tells the story of the birth of Rāma, along with his brothers Lakṣmaṇa, Śatrughna and Bharata. In order to kill Ravaṇa for having kidnapped Sītā, they were joined by the most powerful of the Vānaras, like Vāli, Sugrīva and Hanumān. When the Goddess asks why there was a need for a human being (such as Rāma), if Viṣṇu is the Lord of the world, the God replies by narrating the story of the birth of Viṣṇu as Janārdana following the curse put on the ṛṣi Bhṛgu, as well as the story of Viṣṇu's ten <i>avatāras</i> .

3 Patterns of texts and devotion

The table on the preceding pages shows that the parallels between the *Lalitavistara* and the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* are extensive, and in fact concern the vast majority of the stanzas of those *Lalitavistara* chapters for which it was possible to establish a direct equivalent. These parallels are literal, although the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* systematically adds stanzas that are not present in the *Lalitavistara*, while the latter shows variant readings that do not belong to the tradition of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. The nature of these parallels is crucial to the understanding of the reciprocal connections between the two works, and between them both and the *Anuśāsanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. At the same time, along with the differences and inconsistencies that occur between these sources, the textual connections account for the specific cultural aims that the authors and redactors of these texts seemed to have, and give us clues as to how the composition of these texts might have proceeded.

By way of example, consider the incipit of *Lalitavistara* chapter 17—a chapter on the possibility of obtaining a long life, the nature of time and what happens when a person dies—which is transcribed below. This chapter is parallel to *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13. We have compared the text of *Lalitavistara* 17 with that of the corresponding chapter in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* transcribed from the same manuscript; in this case, we have also collated the text against the evidence of other early manuscripts of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, namely N^K₂₈ (fol. 181r_[LL2-4]) and N^K₈₂ (fol. 19v_[LL2-5]), whose variants are reported in the footnotes. The text of the *Lalitavistara*, in this and in the following transcriptions, is based on a diplomatic edition of manuscript G 4077. We have not corrected the text as far as orthographical and grammatical inconsistencies are concerned, but have tried to make it more readable by silently reintroducing the correct sibilants (as the three varieties are often confused), replacing homorganic nasals with *anusvāras*, and by reintroducing the missing *anusvāras* and *visargas*, marked in angle brackets. The peculiar arrangement of the lines, here and in the other tables included in this article, is due to the attempt to place parallel stanzas at the same level:

<i>Lalitavistara</i> chapter 17	<i>Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda</i> chapter 13 (G 4077)
Exp. 15A _[L1] <i>devy uvāca</i> <i>garbhasambhavamānasya yathāpūrvakṛtena vaiḥ karmapratyayiko hy āyur alpadīrghaś ca dehināḥ</i> LV 17.1 <i>alpāyuso • naro yas tu nīrvāṇenaiva nirmite śrotum icchāmi dīrghāyu<ḥ> katham bhūyo bhaviṣyati</i> LV 17.2 <i>bhaga</i> _[L2] <i>vān uvāca</i>	Exp. 20A _[L5] <i>apī cālpāyusā kaścid bhaved dīrghāyuso naraḥ</i> ³¹ <i>garbhasambhavamā</i> _[22L1] <i><nasya yathā>pūrvakṛtena vai karmapratyayikaṃ</i> ³² <i>hy āyur alpadīrghaś ca dehināḥ</i> UMS 13.1 <i>alpāyuso naro • yas tu nīrmāṇenaiva</i> ³³ <i>nirmite śrotum icchāmi dīrghāyuh katha<ṃ> bhūyo bhaviṣyati</i> UMS 13.2 <i>deva uvāca</i> ³⁴

31 N^K₂₈, like the *Lalitavistara*, drops these two *pādas* and starts the chapter with: *devy uvāca* || *garbha*^o. N^K₈₂, on the other hand, is analogous to G 4077, except that it does not drop the reference to the Goddess: *devy uvāca* || *apī cālpāyusā kaścid bhaved dīrghāyuso naraḥ* |.

32 *pratyaikā* N^K₂₈

33 *nirmāṇyaṃ yoga* N^K₂₈

34 *maheśvara uvāca* N^K₂₈, *devadeva* N^K₈₂

Lalitavistara chapter 17**Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda chapter 13 (G 4077)**

śrūyatā<ṃ> karmaṇā yeṇa tathā dīrghāyūṣo
naraḥ | dīrghāyūṣatva<ṃ> prāpnoti • naranārī
yaśasvini || LV 17.3

yasya brahmavaran dadyād indrognivaruṇo
yamaḥ | trailokyādhipativīṣṇu<ṛ> ṛṣayaś ca ta-
po • dhanāḥ || LV 17.3

teṣāṃ varaprāsādena yathā dīrghāyūṣo
narāḥ | ātmabhāvena mām paśye<n> nā_[L3]rī
vā yadi vā naraḥ | LV 17.4

devy uvāca ||

sakālo dānavo devo gandharvā<ḥ> ragarākṣa-
sā<ḥ> | pi • śācā kinnaro vāthaḥ kṛtakālasya
sambhavaṃ || LV 17.5

pitā mātā ca kālasya ki<ṃ> vā kālo hy ayojitaḥ
| etad icchā • mi vijñātum bhagavām vaktum
arhasi || LV 17.6

bhagavān uvāca ||

śrūyatām karmaṇā • kena³⁵ yathā dīrghāyūṣo
narāḥ | dīrghāyūṣatvaṃ prāpnoti naro nārī³⁶ ya-
śasvini || UMS 13.3

yasya_[L2] brahmavaran dadyād indrognir³⁷ var-
uṇo yamaḥ | trailokyādhipatir viṣṇu ṛṣayaḥ ca
tapodhanāḥ || UMS 13.4

teṣāṃ varapradādena³⁸ yathā dīrghāyūṣo narāḥ
| anyathā tan na paśyāmi yas tu kālaṃ vyatikra-
met ||³⁹ UMS 13.5 ātmabhā • vena mām paśyen
nārī vā yadi vā naraḥ |

anudhyā yo ca⁴⁰ mām devi bhavanti⁴¹ hy ajarā-
maraḥ⁴² || UMS 13.6

de_[L3]vy uvāca ||

kaḥ⁴³ kālo dānavo devo gandharvo⁴⁴ ragarākṣa-
sāḥ | piśācā⁴⁵ kinnaro vātha • kṛtaḥ kālasya sa-
mbhavaḥ || UMS 13.7

pitā mātā ca kālasya kiṃ vā kālo hy ayonijaḥ | e-
tad icchāmy ahaṃ śrotum⁴⁶ bhagava<n> • va-
ktum arhasi || UMS 13.8

bhagavān uvāca ||⁴⁷

35 yeṇa N₂₈^K N₈₂^K

36 naranārī N₂₈^K

37 indrogni° N₂₈^K N₈₂^K

38 prasādena N₂₈^K

39 vyatikramaṃ N₂₈^K

40 anudhyāto ya N₂₈^K anudhyā ya N₈₂^K

41 bhavate N₂₈^K bhavati N₈₂^K

42 ajarāmarāḥ N₈₂^K

43 sa N₂₈^K

44 gandharvo N₈₂^K

45 piśāca N₈₂^K

46 vijñātum N₂₈^K

47 maheśvara N₂₈^K

The two texts are nearly identical, but still show important differences. The most evident of these is the presence of six more *pādas* in the version of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* contained in G 4077, which however are not confirmed by manuscript N₂₈^K, whose starting point is identical with that of the *Lalitavistara*. As a matter of fact, this manuscript shares more variant readings with the *Lalitavistara* than the others, such as *varaprasādena* in G 4077 *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.5a (*varaprasādena* in *Lalitavistara* 17.4), where other manuscripts have *varapradānena*, as well as *sa°* instead of *kaḥ* in *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.7a, or *vijñātuṃ* (*Lalitavistara* 17.6) instead of *aham śrotum* (G 4077 *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.8). Some of the variant readings belonging to the parallel text of the *Lalitavistara* are thus also part of the tradition of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, which makes the connection between the two works even tighter.

In the incipit of *Lalitavistara* 17, the Goddess asks how men can obtain a long life, and the God's first answer is that this is only possible by the grace of the gods. The additional stanzas of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* do not add different content, but are only meant to reinforce the previous or following statements of the text. One therefore has the impression, here as well as at other points, that these are secondary additions made by the authors of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, which could reflect a slightly later text than that of the *Lalitavistara*. In the example above, the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* transmitted in G 4077 does not expressly attribute the first stanzas to the Goddess; here the *Lalitavistara* has thus preserved a more original arrangement of the stanzas, as have the other early manuscripts of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, N₂₈^K and N₈₂^K. However, these two use different names to refer to the God, who in the introduction of *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.6 is designated as *maheśvara* by N₂₈^K, *devadeva* by N₈₂^K, while in G 4077 he is called *deva* (*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*) and *bhagavan* (*Lalitavistara*). This reflects a tendency attested so often in the parallels between the *Lalitavistara* and the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* that we believe it really constitutes a pattern, namely that the God is typically called *bhagavan* or *devadeva* in the *Lalitavistara*, while the manuscripts of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* may replace this with *maheśvaraḥ*. This last appellation, very frequent in the manuscripts of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as a designation of the divine male speaker, is on the contrary hardly found in the *Lalitavistara*. The same applies to the Goddess, who in the *Lalitavistara* is regularly called *devī*, while the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* more often designates her as *Umā*. In brief, the names used in the *Lalitavistara* allow for greater ambiguity in identifying the two speakers with either Śiva and Umā, or Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. It is very likely that this ambiguity in the identification of the divine couple is linked to a specific strategy to weaken the differences between the two main gods, and thus blend the two figures into one

single deity. As we will point out in more detail in the following pages, the text offers support for this interpretation, in light of which the use of the names designating the speakers also appears less random but rather a systematic choice.

The promotion of the unity of Śiva and Viṣṇu is a trait that also emerges from the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. If we move on from the first stanzas of chapter 17/13 to read the words of Bhagavan, we will be able to find an initial confirmation of this statement. The God briefly illustrates the nature of time and, in verses that are only partly attested in the *Lalitavistara*, states:⁴⁸ *śarīram arddhaṃ viṣṇoś ca mama cārdha<ṃ> yaśasvini* ||⁴⁹ UMS 13.9 *dvāv etāv*⁵⁰ *ekasaṅghāt<au>*⁵¹ *rūpa<ṃ> kālasya nirmitaṃ | mahākālasya rūdrāyaṃ*⁵² *yasya sarvagataṃ jagat*⁵³ || UMS 13.10. The *Lalitavistara* lacks both 13.9cd and 13.10cd; the other two manuscripts have variants that do not alter the main point, namely that the body that constitutes time is half Śiva and half Viṣṇu. The Nepalese printed edition, which is still the only resource that makes this text accessible to readers, has completely corrupted the text of these stanzas in order to reject the role of Viṣṇu, without any basis in the manuscript transmission. The stanzas thus read (Naraharinath 1998, pp. 482–83): *śarīram ardhāṃ te devī mama cārthāṃ yaśasvini* || *dvāv etāv ekasaṅghātāṃ rūpāṃ kālasya nirmitaṃ | mahākālasya tadrūpāṃ yasya sarvagataṃ jagat* || 13.10. The modern editor must have found the attribution of a prominent role to Viṣṇu abnormal, and thus replaced it with the Goddess. Another example of the modern Śaiva normalization of what was a Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava hybrid is offered by *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.13ab, two *pādas* that are also attested in chapter 5 and 17 of the *Lalitavistara*. Here Viṣṇu is expressly mentioned as the God who reabsorbs all creatures, who were previously emitted by the *liṅga*: *liṅga<ḥ> sṛjati bhūtāni viṣṇuḥ saharate punaḥ* |. Again, the current printed edition has replaced *viṣṇu* with *rudra*, introducing a reading that is not confirmed by any of the known specimens, not even the most recent paper manuscripts.

The table of contents of the *Lalitavistara* shows that the textual materials shared with the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* are rather evenly distributed, with an almost perfect chapter-to-chapter correspondence, although the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* has significantly more stanzas in each chapter. However, there are

48 These verses are transcribed from ms G 4077, exp. 22A_[LL3-4]. See also N₂₈^K fol. 181r_[LL4-5], and N₈₂^K fol. 19v_[LL5-6].

49 *śarīradharmaviṣṇoś ca mayā cārdha yaśasvini* N₂₈^K. These two *pādas* are lacking in the *Lalitavistara*.

50 *etān* N₂₈^K

51 *ekasaṅghātāṃ* N₈₂^K

52 *mahāraudraś va tad rūpa* N₂₈^K

53 *Lalitavistara* om. the sequence from *mahākālasya* to *jagat*.

three relevant cases in which the verses are distributed differently, one being that of chapter 3 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, corresponding in part to chapter 3 of the *Lalitavistara*, and in part to chapter 4, where however it forms a whole unit with *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4. What constitutes the last section of chapter 3 in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, namely stanzas 3.43–56, forms the beginning of *Lalitavistara*’s fourth chapter, though counting only eleven-and-a-half stanzas instead of 14. There are various scenarios that could have led to this situation. If we look at the structure of the floating passage in question and its immediate context, it is possible to see why a redactor may have been confused about the beginning and the end of the chapters. *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 3.42 appears to end one discourse (3.42c *etat te sarvaṃ ākhyātam*), which may cause a redactor to see this as the end of the chapter. The next stanza, 3.43, appears to introduce a new topic, since the God calls upon the Goddess to listen again, a feature that we would expect at the beginning of a section (3.43ab *śṛṇu devi rahasyaṃ te manuṣyāṇāṃ sukhāvaham*). The passage in question contains what Śiva proclaims to be the secret that brings happiness to men, mainly focusing on the virtue of non-violence (*ahiṃsā*), but also featuring other categories such as obedience and abstention from drinking. The final verses of this passage then proclaim that reading out and listening to this teaching leads to heaven and an auspicious rebirth, the sort of *phalaśruti* we would expect at the end of a chapter. On the other hand, if we turn to the stanzas that constitute the beginning of *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*’s chapter four, we find that to a redactor this may have not been an obvious starting point, as the first three verses have the God plunge straight into the next topic, namely the supreme quality of meditation (*dhyāna*, *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4.1–3). Only after this follows a question from Umā, which at first appears unrelated, since she asks how people who have committed bad deeds may attain freedom from sins (*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4.4–5). Only with the God’s answer at this point can the reader realize the connection to Śiva’s first three stanzas, since the answer to Umā’s question is that meditation has the power to purify even those who have committed crimes. Thus, one can see how the boundaries between chapter 3 and chapter 4 could have been perceived as unclear, and how a redactor may have been tempted to start a new chapter with the God’s new discourse on the ‘secret’ in *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 3.43.⁵⁴ However, it seems that this section fits better in chapter 3, where the overall topic is

⁵⁴ Note that the section on the happiness-yielding secret of *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 3.43–47ab could have been inspired and loosely modeled on another section of the *Mahābhārata*’s *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, namely the text of the appendix to 13.15, lines 1020–1033, which contains a similar discourse and in which one can locate echoes of the text of *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 3.43–

that of meritorious activities, while chapter 4 deals with meditation only. Nevertheless, neither chapter division is absolutely compelling, so one could put forward arguments for both solutions.

Similar arguments can be made for chapter 12 of the *Umāmaheśvaraṣaṇvāda*, whose text is split between chapters 15 and 16 of the *Lalitavistara*. While the first two topics on which the God is questioned in *Umāmaheśvaraṣaṇvāda* 12—namely the use of medicines and curative spells and the merits of alchemists (*Umāmaheśvaraṣaṇvāda* 12.1–31)—are substantially coherent with each other, the connection with the third topic brought up by the *devī*, that of untimely death, is slightly less consequential. It is at this point that the *Lalitavistara* starts a new chapter; however, given the typically miscellaneous nature of these texts, the beginning of a new topic is no compelling reason to account for an alternative chapter division. We can only observe that the authors/redactors of the *Lalitavistara* preferred to arrange the text in shorter chapters, and this stylistic choice might have prompted the different arrangement of the text. A similar case is that of *Lalitavistara* 19/20, paralleling *Umāmaheśvaraṣaṇvāda* 15. The break happens at stanza 15.16, corresponding to a point at which the God had completed his exposition of the first topic—the origins of the lion-men—and the Goddess questions him on a completely different issue, namely the number and types of hells. At stanza 15.15, the *Umāmaheśvaraṣaṇvāda* adds two *pādas* that lack in *Lalitavistara* 19, and whose function is that of concluding the exposition of the first topic (*sambhavo narasiṃhānām eṣa te parikīrtitaḥ*). This is immediately followed by the next question of the Goddess, which is reproduced with some variants by both texts without additional *pādas*, namely in the *Umāmaheśvaraṣaṇvāda* as stanzas 15.16–18 and the *Lalitavistara* as stanzas 20.1–3.⁵⁵ *devy uvāca || yadā śarīram⁵⁶ utsrjya mṛtyulokam upadyate [prapadyate UMS] | • śrūyate [śrūyatā UMS] narakās tatra pāpakarmakarāś [°ka-*

56. In the *Mahābhārata*, this teaching of the God is, in fact, the answer to Umā's question, which explains why the God asks for the Goddess' attention in the first stanza (thus 13.15.1020 *rahasyaṃ śrūyatām devī mānuṣāṇām sukhāvaham*). However, the parallel discourse would in that case only be restricted to this short section, as in the *Mahābhārata* this passage leads to a longer discourse on how various aspects of *dharma* that require killing, such as the king's waging war, may be reconciled with the teaching of non-violence. In such a scenario, the oversight of failing to remove the structural feature of the God demanding the Goddess' attention in the *Umāmaheśvaraṣaṇvāda*/*Lalitavistara* could be taken as an argument that the section is slightly awkwardly placed, thus easily giving rise to the intervention of a redactor on the side of the *Umāmaheśvaraṣaṇvāda* or the *Lalitavistara*.

55. The text in the next lines is a transcript of *Lalitavistara*, exp. 18A_[L.1], collated with *Umāmaheśvaraṣaṇvāda*, ms. G 4077, fol. 25r_[L.5]–25v_[L.2]. The folio numbers are still preserved in this section of the *Umāmaheśvaraṣaṇvāda*.

56. *śarī*^o cod.

rmaratās UMS] *ca ye* || *kīḍṣā narakās tatra pāpaṃ yatra kṣayīyate* [pāpakarmaratās *ca ye* UMS] | *kiṃ tatra* [kim eko UMS] *nara • kā hy ete bahavo vā na saṃśayaḥ* || *etad icchāmy ahaṃ śrotu<ṃ> bhagavāṃ* [bhagavan UMS] *vaktum arhasi* | *bhagavā*^[1,2] *n* [maheśvara UMS] *uvāca* || *aṣṭau te narakā devī mṛtyuloke yaśasvini* [vidhīyate UMS] ||. The version of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* shows a clear case of dittography, with the repetition of the final clause *pāpakarmaratās ca ye*. However, besides the typical replacement of *bhagavān* through *maheśvara*, there are no significant variants that could change our understanding of the text, especially none that would account for the different arrangement of the text in the two works. Again, we can speculate that if the borrowing happened from the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* to the *Lalitavistara*, the redactor of the latter may have felt that stanza 15.16 was the beginning of a completely different topic, and must therefore have started a new chapter at this point. Otherwise, the redactors of both works may have drawn materials from a common source, and opted for different arrangements. The *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* also has a section on hells, prompted by a question of Umā: *bhagavaṃs te kathaṃ tatra daṇḍyante narakeṣu vai* ||.⁵⁷ The contents are comparable to those of *Lalitavistara* 20/*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 15, but there are no direct parallels between the latter and the *Anuśāsanaparvan*. Therefore, this portion of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* can have surely inspired the composition of the corresponding chapters in the two works, but was not the direct source of their textual material.

On the other hand, in at least two cases we can prove that there was an external source being used in the composition of the text that both the *Lalitavistara* and the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* share. In one of these cases, the source was precisely the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*. As a matter of fact, the Śivadharma's *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 6.8–27 and the *Lalitavistara* 6.7–22, in both cases the last verse of the passage constituting the end of the chapter, as well as the entirety of chapter 7 of both works, are based on the text of the supplement to the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, appendix no. 15, lines 779–855, with the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* containing more verses paralleled with the *Anuśāsanaparvan* than the *Lalitavistara* (see additional verses of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in the footnotes). In terms of structure, the parallel passage of chapter 6 starts with the last part of a longer speech of the God in the *Anuśāsanaparvan*. The chapter eventually ends with the statement that the *gṛhāśrama* is the best of *āśramas* and that Śiva wishes to teach the Goddess about it, which sets up the topic for the following chapter 7, which is entirely occupied with the immediately following text of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of the *Mahābhārata*:

57 See *Anuśāsanaparvan* 13.15.2682–83.

Anuśāsanaparvan, appendix no. 15, lines
779–803

Lalitavistara 6.7–22⁵⁸

bubhukṣitam pipāsārtam atithim śrāntam [exp. 8A_[L3]] *kṣudhārtto vā tṛṣārtto vā* _[L4] *atithim*
āgatam | *arcayanti varārohe teṣām api phalaṃ* *ārttam āgataḥ* | *ye bhavanti varārohe mahāpu-*
mahat | *ṇyaphalaṃ labhet* ⁵⁹

pātram ity eva dātavyaṃ sarvasmai dharmā-
kāṅkṣibhiḥ |

āgamiṣyati yat pātram tat pātram tārayiṣyati | *āga • miṣyati yat pātram tat pātra<ṇ> tārayiṣya-*
ti ||
pātram eva hi dātavyaṃ kāle kālāgato 'tithi | *vi-*
sṛṣṭam iva ma • nyante viśeṣānām [sic!] *tu cinta-*
yet ||⁶⁰

kāle saṃprāptam atithim bhoktukāmam upa-
sthitam | *cittaṃ saṃbhāvayet tatra vyāso 'yaṃ*
samupasthitaḥ |

tasya pūjām yathāśakti saumyacittaḥ prayoja- *tasya pūjā yathāśaktya saumyacittaṃ tu bhāva-*
yet | *cittamūlo bhaved dharmo dharmamūlaṃ* *yet* | _[L5] *++ + lo bhaved dharmāḥ dharmam*
bhaved yaśaḥ |

tasmāt saumyena cittaena dātavyaṃ devi sa- *tasmāt saumyena cittaena dātavyaṃ • devi nitya-*
rvadā | *śaḥ* ||⁶¹

saumyacittas tu yo dadyāt tad dhi dānam anu-
ttamam |

dāna<ṇ> pradīyate yatra ta<d> dānam iti cotta-
maḥ | *putradāradhana<ṇ> dhānyaṃ mṛtānām*
anutiṣṭha • ti ||

58 In the footnotes, the readings as well as additional passages of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* are given following the manuscript N₈₂^K, fols 10V_[L6]–11V_[L1]. The readings of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as preserved in our G 4077 could not be included here, as thus far we were only able to acquire the second half of the work in the manuscript.

59 Note that the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, as preserved in N₈₂^K, has two further *pādas* at this point: *pātram uddiṣya dātavyaṃ dharmāṃ ity eva nityaśaḥ*.

60 N₈₂^K has two additional *pādas* at this point: *na pṛcched gotracaraṇaṃ svādhyāyaṃ deśajanmani* || *cittaṃ + bhāvayet etad vyāsaḥ svayam ihāgataḥ* |

61 Note that the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as preserved in N₈₂^K has the following four *pādas* at this point, echoing *Anuśāsanaparvan*, lines 788 and 793: *saumyacittas tu yo dadyāt tad dhi dānam anuttamaṃ* | *āpīḍayaṃs tu dārāṇāṃ bhṛtyānām atha bandheṣu*.

Anuśāsanaparvan, appendix no. 15, lines
779–803

Lalitavistara 6.7–22⁵⁸

*yathāmbubindubhiḥ sūkṣmaiḥ patadbhir me-
dinitale | kedārās ca taṭākāni sarāṃsi saritas
tathā |*

*toyapūrṇāni dṛśyante apratarkyāṇi śobhane |
alpam alpam api hy etad dīyamānaṃ viva-
rdhate |*

*pīḍayāpi ca bhṛtyānāṃ dānam eva viśiṣyate |
putradārā dhanaṃ dhānyaṃ na mṛtān anuga-
cchati |*

*śreyo dānaṃ ca bhogaś ca dhanaṃ prāpya ya-
śasvini |*

*śreyo dātuṃ ca bhoktuṃ ca dhana<ṃ> prāpya
yaśasvini |*

*dānena hi mahābhāgā bhavanti manujādhi-
pāḥ |*

[exp. 9A_[L1]] + + + + dīyantam ahany āhani va-
rddhate |⁶² tathā puṇyena pūrṇās te svarge krī-
ḍanti māna • vā<ḥ> ||

*mānuṣyam āgatā bhūyo bhavanti bahusaṃca-
yaḥ [sic!] |*

*nāsti bhūmisamaṃ dānaṃ nāsti dānasamo
nidhiḥ | nāsti satyāt paro dharmo nāṇtāt
pātakaṃ param |*

*nāsti bhūmisamaṃ dānaṃ nāsti dānasamo nid-
hiḥ || nā • stī satyasamo dharmah nāṇtaṃ pāta-
kaṃ param |*

*mātāpitṛsamo bandhu<r> na ca rājasamo gu-
ru<ḥ> ||*

[L2] *nāsti krodhasamo śatru mitraṃ vidyāsamo
na ca | duḥkha<ṃ> kṣudhāsamo nāsti na cāhā-
rasama<ṃ> su • khaṃ ||*

⁶² Note that in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* N₈₂^K adds six *pādas* at this point; these parallel the text of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* lines 789ff: *yathāmbubindavo devi patantiha mahitale | kedārās ca tadāgās ca saraṃsi vananimnagāḥ || toyapūrṇāni dṛśyante avagāhyāni strīvare.*

Anuśāsanaparvan, appendix no. 15, lines
779–803

Lalitavistara 6.7–22⁵⁸

*na cārogyasamo bhogya vyādhiś ca nidhanopa-
maḥ | na cāpatyasamo sneho na ca daivā<t> pa-
raṃ balam ||*⁶³

*brāhmaṇe • bhyaḥ paraṃ nāsti tapo nāśānā<t>
param | grhāśramasamo devi āśramo neha vi-
dyate ||*

āśrame yas tu tapyeta tapomūlaphalāśanaḥ | [L3] *āśrame ye tu tapyante tapo mūlaphalāśana |
ekapādena ya<s> tiṣṭhed ūrdhvābāhur avacchi-
raṃ || •*

ādityābhimukho bhūtvā jaṭāvalkalasaṃvṛtaḥ | *ādityam abhivardhantā cīravalkaladhārīṇaḥ |
maṇḍūkaśāyī hemante grīṣme pañcatapā maṇḍūkayogī hemante grīṣmapañcā tapās
bhavet |* *tathā ||*

*samyak tapaś carantīha śraddadhānā vanā-
śrame |* *ye yathokta • ṃ carīṣyanti śraddhā vā varjiten-
driyaḥ |*

grhāśramasya te devi kalām nārhanti ṣoḍaśīm *grhāśramasya ya<d> devi phalaṃ vakṣyāmi tatt-
vataḥ ||*

va[L4]*rṣe dvādaśame devi*⁶⁴*tat phala<ṃ> pratipa-
dyate*⁶⁵

Another portion of the *Lalitavistara/Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* for which we can *ra* identify a direct parallel with the *Mahābhārata* is *Lalitavistara* 25, paralleling the short chapter 20 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. This time the source is not the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*; rather, a substantial parallel of about 14 verses is shared with the so-called *Vaiṣṇavadharmasāstra*, a text framed

63 The *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, as represented in N₈₂^K, adds the following four *pādas* at this point: *na vijñānasamaṃ cakṣur nna bhāratasamaṃ śrutiḥ | nāsti gaṃgāsamaṃ tīrthan na bhūtaṃ keśavāt paraṃ*.

64 The manuscript is not very legible at this point, reading something along the lines *svādaśa*[bhiyena?]; the text supplied is conjectured on the basis of the parallel passage in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as represented in N₈₂^K.

65 These two *pādas* are found at the end of the passage in the *Mahābhārata*'s *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* that parallels the Śivadharmas' *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in chapter 7.

as a conversation between Yudhiṣṭhira and Viṣṇu, and associated with some recensions of the *Mahābhārata*. Amounting to 1723.5 verses in the Poona edition, the text is recorded to have been added after the last chapter of the fourteenth book, the *Āśvamedhikaparvan*, in the so-called ‘southern transmission’ (i.e. the Telugu, Grantha and Malayālam versions). However, as Grünendahl has pointed out,⁶⁶ the text is not only preserved in the south but also exists in an as-yet single palm-leaf manuscript dated NS 169 (= 1049 CE), thus almost contemporary with manuscript G 4077 of the Śivadharmā corpus. The *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* manuscript was microfilmed by the NGMPP with the reel number A 27/2, and was first recorded by Shastri, even though he had not identified the text as the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra*, since the colophon of the manuscript proclaims it to be the *Dānadharma*, that is to say the first sub-*parvan* of the modern *Anuśāsanaparvan*.⁶⁷ On the basis of these two different traditions of placing the text within the *Mahābhārata*, neither of which are particularly meaningful regarding the immediate context, Grünendahl argues that the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* should be considered as a separate tradition.⁶⁸ As such, it appears to have been a rather influential text and part of the Vaiṣṇava literary world; the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* also integrates 20 chapters of the *Viṣṇudharma*, as Grünendahl shows in his edition.⁶⁹

Without a certain dating of the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* we cannot be sure whether the *Umāmaheśvaraṣṇvāda* and *Lalitavistara* used the text as a direct inspiration or whether both shared a common source, though the former seems more likely. As of yet we have only identified this single passage, which is however substantial. An indicator that may point to the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* as the source could be that the *pādas* that mention the vocative *pāṇḍava*, ‘son of Pāṇḍu’ (see table), are rewritten in our works, thus removing the contextual indication that this is a conversation featuring Yudhiṣṭhira. As for the structural framing of the text, we can note that the beginning appears rather abrupt, with no introduction or question from the Goddess to prompt Śiva’s teaching, nor any dialogue following. The *Umāmaheśvaraṣṇvāda* even lacks the indication of the speaker, which is, however, added in the *Lalitavistara* (*bhagavān uvāca*).

Regarding the topic of the parallel passage, which comprises more than the first half of the chapter, the text moves on to the different vices of human beings, in particular those related to the various *varṇas*. In the context of the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra*, the passage appears in the middle of Viṣṇu’s answer to Yudhiṣṭhira’s

⁶⁶ Grünendahl 1984, Part II: 52–54.

⁶⁷ Grünendahl 1984, Part II: 52–54.

⁶⁸ Grünendahl 1984, Part II: 52–53.

⁶⁹ Grünendahl 1984, Part II: 53.

question about the qualities of the devotees, in which he explains the different observances his devotees adhere to and their virtuous behaviour, followed by a discourse on the various types of people that exist according to the *guṇas* (i.e. *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa*). This leads to the passage on the vices. The choice of using a Vaiṣṇava text as source for this chapter matches the position of the chapter within the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and *Lalitavistara*, since it follows the chapter dedicated to Viṣṇu's teaching about his devotees, in line with the immediate context of the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra*. The last verse that parallels the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* passage teaches that a Brahmin of the purest sort, i.e. the *sāttvika* kind, is one that particularly pleases the ancestors. The context is presumably that of the *śrāddha* rites, so the text advocates such a Brahmin as the ideal recipient for *śrāddha* offerings. In fact, while the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* continues with a different question of Yudhiṣṭhira, on religious giving, the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*/*Lalitavistara* use the opportunity to present seven more verses related to the *śrāddha* procedure before ending the chapter.

As of yet, we cannot definitively establish the direction of influence between the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the *Lalitavistara*. However, the current chapter offers some observations that indicate an important fact, namely that it is unlikely that our *Lalitavistara* manuscript contains the original composition, but is rather a copy, probably produced by a less knowledgeable scribe. As is common and noted above, the *Lalitavistara* contains fewer verses than the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in this chapter, even though the difference here is less than in other chapters. However, some of the stanzas that we can trace in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* but not in the *Lalitavistara* indicate that the latter contains some defective text that is likely to be the result of scribal errors, and unlikely to have occurred on an authorial level. Thus, when the passages give the various list of vices connected with the different *varṇas*, all three sources state that there are 8 in the case of the Vaiśyas and 25 in the case of the Śūdras, though the individual items on this list differ in some places between the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*/*Lalitavistara* and the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra*. Within the two lists immediately leading up to these numbers, the *Lalitavistara* lacks crucial *pādas* for both groups, and thus ends up with shorter lists that don't add up to the final number of vices announced in both cases. The *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, on the other hand, contains the full lists. It does appear that the scribe had difficulties in understanding some passages or had a bad copy in front of him. For instance, the phrase *ity ete dehe ṣaḍ vṛśalāḥ smṛtāḥ* in both the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* and the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is given as *ity ete deva saḥ vṛśalaḥ smṛtaḥ* twice in the *Lalitavistara*, concluding the list of six vices. This mistake is most likely due to an error in reading combined with a poor understanding of the text. We can note

that this mistake appears to have also caught the attention of a later reader, as the second instance is marked in red in the manuscript. In establishing further patterns based on the number of verses in both texts, we must therefore keep in mind that our copy may also be defective in some places due to scribal error. The following table illustrates connections and divergences characterizing the parallel passages of these three texts.

<i>Mahābhārata</i> 14, <i>Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra</i> , Appendix no. 4, lines 1688–1717	<i>Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda</i> 20 ⁷⁰	<i>Lalitavistara</i> 25
<i>ekastambhe navadvāre trīṣṭhūne pañcadhātuke </i>	[exp. 33B _[L1]] <i>ekastambhe navadvāre trīṣṭhūne</i> ^[L2] <i>pañcaśākhike </i>	[exp. 43A _[L4]] <i>bhagavān uvāca ekastambhānavadvāre • ṣṭhūne pañcasākṣike (un-metr.) </i>
<i>etasmīn dehanagare rājasas tu sadā bhavet </i>	<i>etasmīn antare devi sadvṛtyas</i> ⁷¹ <i>tu sadā vaset </i>	<i>etasmīn antare devi savṛtas tu sadā bhavet </i>
<i>udite savitāryasya kriyāyuktasya dhīmataḥ </i>	<i>uditoditavipra • sya kriyāyukta-sya dhīmataḥ </i>	<i>uditodi</i> _[L5] <i>+ yuktasya kriyā-yuktasya dhīmataḥ </i>
<i>caturvedavidaś cāpi dehe ṣaḍ vṛṣalāḥ smṛtāḥ </i>	<i>vindanti</i> ⁷² <i>sakhilān vedāṃ dehe ṣaḍ vṛṣalāḥ smṛtāḥ </i>	
<i>kṣatriyāḥ sapta vijñeyā vaiśyās tv aṣṭau prakīrtitāḥ niyatāḥ pāṇḍavaśreṣṭha śūdrāṇāṃ ekaviṃśatiḥ </i>	<i>kṣatriyāś ca smṛtā sapta vaiśyā • ś cāṣṭau samāvṛtāḥ pañcaviṃśas tathā śūdrā yac cheṣa</i> ⁷³ <i>so 'tra brāhmaṇaḥ </i>	<i>kṣatriyā smṛtā sapta vaiśyā cāṣṭau samā • smṛtāḥ pañcaviṃśa tayā śūdrā yac cheṣa so 'tra brāhmaṇā </i>
<i>kāmaḥ krodhaś ca lobhaś ca mohaś ca mada eva ca </i>	<i>kāma</i> _[L3] <i>ś ca lobhaś ca</i> ⁷⁴ <i>rāgo dveṣaś ca pañcamāḥ [c.m.] </i>	<i>kāmakrodhāś ca lobhāś ca rāga dveṣaś ca pañca</i> • <i>maḥ</i> ^{[exp. 43B_[L1]]} <i> </i> ⁷⁵

⁷⁰ In addition, the readings of N₈₂^K fols. 28r_[L1]–[L6] are reported in the footnotes.

⁷¹ *sadvṛtas* N₈₂^K

⁷² *vidanti* N₈₂^K

⁷³ *cheṣaṃ* N₈₂^K

⁷⁴ *kāmaḥ krodhaś ca lobhaś ca* N₈₂^K

⁷⁵ There is a dittography regarding the last two stanzas, probably caused by an eyeskip after the last syllable. The text as reproduced in the table omits the dittography for better reading,

Mahābhārata 14, Vaiṣṇavadhar- Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda 20⁷⁰ Lalitavistara 25
maśāstra, Appendix no. 4, lines
1688–1717

mahāmohaś ca ity ete dehe ṣaḍ mahābhogaś ca⁷⁶ ity ete dehe mahābhogaś ca ity ete deva
vṛṣalāḥ smṛtāḥ | ṣaḍ vṛṣalāḥ smṛtā • ḥ || saḥ vṛṣala smṛtaḥ |

kāmaḥ krodhas tv ahaṅkāra ab- kāmakrodham ahaṁkāraṁ
himānas tv amatsaraḥ | abhimāni tv amatsaraḥ |

garvaḥ stambho hy ahaṁkāra ī-
rṣyā ca droha eva ca |

pāruṣyaṁ krūrātā ceti saptaite pāruṣya<ṁ> krūrātā caiva pari- [L2] paribhuktvā ninidrā ca pai-
kṣatriyāḥ smṛtāḥ | vṛttiś ca kakṣayoḥ⁷⁷ || śunṣyāmā nṛśaṁsatāḥ | aśra-
dadhānā śaṭhā ātmāślāghyā •
praśa<ṁ>satāḥ ||

tikṣṇatā nikṛtir māyā śāṭhyam ḍa- ślakṣṇatā ni • kṛti<ṁ> māyā
mbho hy anārjavam | 'sūyā śāṭhyam anārjavam⁷⁸ |

nṛśaṁsatā⁷⁹ vai kārppaṇyaṁ nṛśaṁsṛtā paribhūtā vaiśā-
vaiśyasyāṣṭau⁸⁰ pra ++[L4]tāḥ⁸¹ ṣṭau parikīrtitāḥ ||
||
tṛṣṇā bubhukṣā nidrā ca

paīṣunyam anṛtaṁ caiva vaiśyās paīṣunyam anṛtan tamaḥ | [L2] paribhuktvā ninidrā ca
tv aṣṭau prakīrtitāḥ | aśraddadhānaṁ śaṭhatā ātma paīṣunṣyāmā nṛśaṁsatāḥ |
• ślāghyā⁸² praśaṁsatā || aśradadhānā śaṭhā
ātmāślāghyā •
praśa<ṁ>satāḥ ||

tṛṣṇā bubhukṣā nidrā ca ālasyaṁ
cāghṛṇādayā |

restoring the missing syllable 'ñc', which does feature after the right stringhole on exp. 43A_[L5], complementing the 'pa' to the left of the stringhole, givine 'pañcamaḥ'; whereas on exp. 43B_[L1], due to the dittography only 'ma' righ of the stringhole is preserved, with 'pañca' on the left of it.

76 *mahāmohaś ca* N₈₂^K

77 *kṣatriyāḥ* N₈₂^K

78 *anārjavaḥ* N₈₂^K

79 *nṛśatā* N₈₂^K

80 *vaiśyās caṣṭhau* N₈₂^K

81 *prakīrtitāḥ* N₈₂^K

82 *ātmāślāghya* N₈₂^K

Mahābhārata 14, Vaiṣṇavadhar- Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda 20⁷⁰ Lalitavistara 25
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ādhiś cāpi vivādaś ca pramādo anivṛttaviśādaś ca pramādo hī-
hīnasattvatā | nasattvatā |

bhayaṃ viklabatā jāḍyaṃ pāpa- bhayaṃ viklavatā kṣudraḥ pā-
kaṃ manyur eva ca | patām anyase • vatā⁸³ ||

āśā cāśraddadhānatvam anava-
sthāpy ayantraṇam |

nilajānāśakāhiṃsā anavasthā nilajjatāś ca hiṃsāś ca
na yantratā | anavasthā na yantraṇā |

āśaucaṃ malinatvaṃ ca śūdrā hy ete śudrā<ḥ> pañcaviṃśat ti- ete śudrā pañcaviṃśa
ete prakīrtitāḥ | ṣṭha_(L5)nte deham āśritāḥ | tiṣṭhante deham āśītāḥ • |

yasminn ete na dṛśyante sa vai yasminn ete na dṛśyante sa vi-
brāhmaṇa ucyate | dvān brāhmaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ ||

yeṣu yeṣu hi bhāveṣu yatkālaṃ yeṣu • yeṣu ca bhāveṣu yatkā- yeṣu yeṣu ca bhāveṣu yatkā-
vartate dvijaḥ | la<ṃ> varttate dvijaḥ | la varttate dvijaḥ ||

teṣu teṣu ca tatkāla<ṃ> na li- teṣu teṣu ca tatkāl<e>na
ṅgatir⁸⁴ ucyate | liṅgaṃ matir ucyā_(L3)te |

yāva<d> juhōti japati tāva • <d> yāva juhōti japate yāva
dānaṃ prayacchati || dāna prayacchati ||

tattatkālaṃ sa vijñeyaḥ
brāhmaṇo jñānadurbalaḥ ||

brāhmaṇo bhavate tāva śe- brāhmaṇo bhavate tāva śe-
ṣaṃ⁸⁵ kālaṃ yathetaraḥ || ṣaṇ kāla • yatherataḥ⁸⁶ |

prāṇān āyamyā yatkālaṃ yena
mām cāpi cintayet | tatkāle vai

83 anyasevakāḥ N^K₈₂

84 Eyeskip for liṅgagatir.

85 tāvac cheṣa N^K₈₂

86 Read yathetaraḥ.

Mahābhārata 14, Vaiṣṇavadhar- Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda 20⁷⁰ Lalitavistara 25
maśāstra, Appendix no. 4, lines
1688–1717

dvijo jñeyah śeṣakālo hy athe-
tarah ||

tasmāt tu sāttviko bhūtvā śuciḥ
krodhavarjitaḥ | mām arcayet tu
satataṃ matpriyatvaṃ yad ic-
chati ||

alolajihvaḥ samupasthito dhṛtir | alolajihvā sa_[35AL1]maloṣṭakā- alolajihvā sa-
ñcanaṃ⁸⁷ | gatasprho • rāga- maloṣṭakāñcana || gata-
vivarjito vaśī || sprho rāgavivarjito vaśī |

nidhāya cakṣur yugamātram eva
ca ||
manaś ca vācaṃ ca nigṛhya ca-
ñcalaṃ |

jitendriya saṃgavimuktadoṣa- jitendriyo saṅgaviva • rjito
vān | sadā ||

bhayān nivṛtto mama bhakta u- bhagāṃ nivṛtto bhagavāṃn i- bhagā nivṛto bhagavān
cyate || hocyate || ihocyate |

īdṛśādhyātmino ye tu brāhmaṇā īdṛśādhyānayukte⁸⁸ • hi brā- idṛśaṃ dhyānayuktena
niyatendriyāḥ | hmaṇāḥ⁸⁹ _[L2] saṃśritavratāḥ⁹⁰ | brāhmaṇa saṃśrī_[L4]tav-
rataḥ ||

teṣāṃ śrāddheṣu tṛpyanti tena tṛ- yeṣāṃ śrāddhe niyujyante teṣāṃ śrāddhe niyujyante
ptāḥ pitāmahaḥ || tṛptās teṣā<ṃ> pitāmahaḥ || tṛptā teṣā pitāmahaḥ |

The influence of the *Mahābhārata* was therefore far-reaching, and systematically impacted the composition of the *Lalitavistara/Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. If we shift our analysis to the chapters of the *Lalitavistara* that are not shared with the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, we can observe that direct parallels with the *Anuśāsanaparvan* become more frequent, extensive and literal. Far from being

87 *kāñcano N^K₈₂

88 *yukto N^K₈₂

89 brāhmaṇaḥ N^K₈₂

90 *vrataḥ N^K₈₂

just a model of inspiration and source of topics, portions of the text of Śiva and Umā's conversation from the *Anuśāsanaparvan* are firmly embedded in chapters 30 to 32 of the *Lalitavistara*, as well as a part of chapter 26 (note that the same also applies to chapters 6 and 7 of the *Lalitavistara* and *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, as discussed above). However, the *Lalitavistara*'s use of the text of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, though faithful, turns out to be more productive when compared to the parallels with the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. In the latter case, the *Lalitavistara* shows a simpler, less convoluted text, at times even missing important pieces of information. In the case of the parallels with the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, we see that the *Lalitavistara* may add pieces that are not in the *Mahābhārata*, as well as combine stanzas from different, non-consecutive chapters of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, as is the case of *Lalitavistara* 31, or even join the *Anuśāsanaparvan* with other texts.

The topics of the text borrowed from the *Anuśāsanaparvan* in chapters 26 and 30 to 32 are rather miscellaneous, although from a more general look at this section it is possible to detect the broader motive underpinning their selection. Chapter 26 contains a more general discourse on *rājadharmā*, particularly in connection with hunting,⁹¹ while *Lalitavistara* chapter 31 is deeply Śaiva in nature: the stanzas of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* that form this chapter—131.40-47, 127.51, 128.1–12—deal with such etiological myths as the reason for Śiva's third eye, the appearance of his four faces and the choice of Nandi as his mount. There is no room here for any hybrid form of a half-Śaiva, half-Vaiṣṇava god, nor is any other deity given prominence. This situation is symmetrical to that of *Lalitavistara* chapter 24 (parallel to *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 19) and 33 (parallel to *Umottarasaṃvāda* 7 and *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 22), which deal with topics that are solely related to Vaiṣṇava devotion. When we read these chapters in the broader context of the work, the textual material loses its sectarian exclusiveness, and contributes to the construction of the amalgam of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism that this text seems to promote. This applies perfectly to chapter 31, whose significance can truly be assessed by examining the contents of that portion of text in which it is inserted, which forms a sort of triad with chapters 30 to 32.

⁹¹ Chapter 26 parallels 17 *pādas* of the *Mahābhārata*'s *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, in the passage between the appendix to 13.15, lines 1268–1281 in the Poona edition. It appears that the topic of *rājadharmā* is not addressed in such a systematic manner in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the text of the *Lalitavistara* that runs parallel to it. These chapters may have been designed to integrate the topic into the work, and were either rejected by the former or added by the latter.

The most intricate case from the point of view of the construction of the text and its being intertwined with other parts of the work is offered by chapter 30. This chapter is unique inasmuch as it joins some stanzas that are paralleled by chapter 4 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* together with a long portion of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*. Moreover, the stanzas that are also found in *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter 4 actually continue a longer parallel with this chapter that had already started in chapter 29 of the *Lalitavistara*, which is entirely parallel to *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4. The two chapters 29 and 30 of the *Lalitavistara* must therefore be read together, the text of *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter 4 flowing into that of *Anuśāsanaparvan* chapter 132. This situation is further complicated by the circumstance that the *Lalitavistara* had already used the text of chapter 4 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in its own chapter 4; however, that time the text was not followed by anything else, but preceded by the final part of *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 3, which the *Lalitavistara* had included into the same chapter (cf. below).

To sum it up: the *Lalitavistara* twice uses the same text, which also corresponds to *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4 (but which has not been identified in the *Anuśāsanaparvan*), in three different chapters, chapter 4 and chapters 29 to 30; the first time, this text is contained in one single chapter, while the second time it is split into two, the second part being joined with a text from the *Mahābhārata*. This circumstance seems to speak in favour of the idea that the *Lalitavistara* is a compilation of pre-existing materials drawn from different sources. However, even though it is the same text that is used twice in the same work, it is also clear that this portion, while redundant, serves different purposes in the two distinct loci.

The text used in chapter 4 and in chapters 29 to 30 deals with the topic of *dhyāna*, of which the God describes two main types. In the first one, referred to as *adhyātman* and *vaiṣṇava*, the process starts with perceiving the various parts of the body with the divine eye, gradually moving inward until reaching the heart. In the middle of that, within the moon and sun disk, the soul rests on the flame of the sacrificial fire. Then one is to visualize the process of the soul leaving the body at death, for which a very graphic description is given, starting with the hissing sounds the soul makes while travelling through the throat and eventually leaving through the palate. Having seen the state of things, the *yogin* resorts to meditative *yoga* (*dhyānayoga*), in which he is constantly meditating on Viṣṇu, and constantly perceives himself through his Self. This leads to the attainment of supernatural powers. This description corresponds to the text of *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4.1–31. This form of meditation is thus expressly centred on Viṣṇu, and for this reason the text, in a stanza featured in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as well as in the two chapters of the *Lalitavistara*, also calls it *vaiṣṇavayoga* (exp. 6B_[L5]): *e • tat me paramaṃ dhyānaṃ vaiṣṇavaṃ parikīrtitaḥ ||*. Barring a few

grammatical inconsistencies, these *pādas* also suggest that the speaker of this chapter is Viṣṇu in person; however, the same *pāda* in chapter 29 has *te* instead of *me* (exp. 48B_[L3]), while the text transmitted in manuscripts of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* confirms the use of *me*.

The text of *Lalitavistara* 4 and *Lalitavistara* 29 is not exactly identical, presenting variants that, despite not altering the main contents of the text, still seem to point at a different transmission, as though they were drawn from different sources, or at least presupposed the use of different manuscripts. As a general rule, the text transmitted as chapter 4 has proved to be closer to that of the manuscript tradition of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. The discrepancies, as we observed, do not change the nature of the text, as the modern Nepalese editor does once again, changing a Vaiṣṇava form of *yoga* into a purely Śaiva one.⁹² At the same time, there is one key point in which the two texts of the *Lalitavistara* differ. In chapter 29 (exp. 48B_[L2]), the *pādas* *dhyanayoga*<ṃ> *samāśṛtya tanmana*<s> *tatparāyaṇaḥ* are followed by *pradīpenaiva dīpena paśyaty ātmā • nam ātmanaḥ*; in chapter 4, these two hemistichs are reworded and non-contiguous, being separated by two more *pādas* expressly prescribing meditation on Viṣṇu (exp. 6B_[L4]): *dhyanayoga*<ṃ> *samāśṛtya dhyātavya*<ḥ> *yaḥ tapasvini || dhyāyeta bhagavā*<n> *viṣṇu*<s> *tanma • <nas> tatparāyaṇaḥ | pradīptenaiva dīptena paśyaty ātmātmānam ātmanā*. This is the version of the text that is also featured in *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter 4, confirming again that the two texts are closer. In light of the omission of Viṣṇu as an object of meditation in chapter 29, one could perhaps speculate that the occurrence of *te* instead of *me* in the *pāda* quoted above (*e • tat te paramaṃ dhyāna*<ṃ> *vaiṣṇava*<ṃ> *parikīrtitaḥ*) is not coincidental, but is consistent with this version of the text, in which Viṣṇu is not expressly mentioned as the focus of meditation—and, therefore, the ‘supreme *dhyanā*’ is not qualified by the possessive ‘my’. At the same time, the text of chapter 29 confirms that this meditation is called *vaiṣṇava*, so we are not dealing with a text of a different religious orientation. We could however hypothesize that, given also its lesser length, chapter 29 may reflect an earlier version of the text, to which a later redactor made the additions that are attested in *Lalitavistara*

⁹² Without any basis in the manuscript tradition, Naraharinath’s edition deletes all references to Viṣṇu, and replaces them with Śaiva-related expressions. For instance, in 4.31cd, this form of *dhyanā* is not called *vaiṣṇava*, but *māheśa*: *evaṃ me paramaṃ dhyānaṃ māheśaṃ parikīrtitam*. The mention of *bhagavān viṣṇu* as the focus of meditation (see *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4.28a) is replaced with a reference to Śambhu: *dhyāyate bhagavān śambhus tanmanās tatparāyaṇaḥ |*. Similarly, the *viṣṇuloka* mentioned as one of the rewards for the practice of this form of *yoga* is turned into a *śivaloka*. As we stressed before, the editorial choices made by our modern Śaiva editor are relevant inasmuch as his edition, and the e-text based on it, is still the only resource available to readers and scholars for easy access to this text.

4 and *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4, including the reference to Viṣṇu as the focus of *dhyāna*.

The definition of the supreme *dhyāna* as *vaiṣṇava* ends chapter 29, while chapter 4 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* goes on with the topic of the ‘second meditation’, which in the *Lalitavistara* marks the opening of chapter 30. The redactors thus once again preferred to start a new chapter with the beginning of a new topic. As for chapter 4 of the *Lalitavistara*, the second type of *dhyāna* is dealt with in the same chapter, but the verse that initiates this new topic (*dhyānaṃ dvitīya<ṃ> vakṣyāmi*, exp. 6B_[L5]) is separated from the preceding one ([...] *vaiṣṇava<ṃ> parikīrtitaḥ*) by two pairs of double *daṇḍas* framing a circle-like sign of punctuation, which is used in this manuscript before and after the concluding rubrics of the chapters. This is a clue that those who copied or composed the text felt that there was an interruption at that point, or that this text was copied from a version in which it was divided into two chapters, the break between the two being still recorded by the use of punctuation.

The second type of *dhyāna* is instructed to take place in some deserted spot in the woods or elsewhere. By constantly meditating there, one destroys all sins. The chapter then ends with a description of the process of *saṃsāra*, and how it is desire (*tṛṣṇā*) that sets this cycle in motion. The final stanzas reiterate how meditation liberates the soul from *saṃsāra* and leads to the attainment of the *brahmaloka*. This is the end of the chapter both in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and in chapter 4 of the *Lalitavistara*, while in chapter 30 the God announces that he will now teach a third type of *dhyāna*. The verse revealing the God’s intention to disclose further teachings (*dhyāna<ṃ> tṛtīyaṃ vakṣyāmi śrūyatāṃ dharmavā • riṇi | śrotukāmo mahādevi dhyāyeta manasā naraḥ* ||, exp. 49A_[L3]) also serves as a junction between the preceding passage, parallel to the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (or to an unidentified common source) and the next one, parallel to the *Anuśāsanaparvan*. However, the passage to the latter is abrupt, and its contents unrelated to the topics of the preceding pages. The text of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*/

Lalitavistara no longer refers to a ‘third *dhyāna*’, nor in fact seems to describe one, but teaches about good conduct and what sins to avoid and deeds to perform ‘through actions, mind and speech’ for those who want to reach heaven (the latter formula given as a sort of refrain throughout the chapter). The sole line that refers to this as a form of *dhyāna* was thus the introductory verse quoted above, which is not extant in the *Anuśāsanaparvan*; given its faint connection with the context, this stanza looks like a crude device that the redactors of the *Lalitavistara* used to smooth out the beginning of the next topic and the transition to another source. The implication of this stanza, and of this whole section being included in a chapter that started with a discussion on the meditation of the *vanastha* (we now know that the redactors of the *Lalitavistara* preferred to break different topics into different chapters, and keep similar topics together), is that the correct behaviour of laypeople as described below equaled a form of *dhyāna*.

The occurrence of a long textual reuse of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* offers an opportunity to assess which version of it was known to the redactors of the *Lalitavistara*, and how far removed this was from the current critical edition, which was not realized on the basis of such early materials. In the following lines, we have given a transcript of the relevant stanzas of the *Lalitavistara*, compared to the corresponding text of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*'s edition:

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	<i>Anuśāsanaparvan</i>
[exp. 49A _[L3]] <i>devy uvāca bhagavāṃ bhūtabhavyeṣu sarva- bhāvabhavēśva • raḥ </i>	132.1 <i>umovāca bhagavan sarvabhūteśa surā- suranamaskṛta dharmādharme nṛṇāṃ deva brūhi me saṃśayaṃ vibho </i>
<i>karmaṇā manasā vācā trividho ye naraḥ sadā badhyate bāndha vā pāśaiḥ mucyate</i> _[L4] <i>ca ka- tha punaḥ </i>	132.2 <i>karmaṇā manasā vācā trividhaṃ hi naraḥ sadā badhyate bandhanaiḥ pāśair mucyate 'py atha vā punaḥ </i>
<i>kena śīlāpado deva karmaṇā kīḍṣena vā sa- mācārāguṇaiḥ vā • <'>pi svargīyānti narā bhuvī </i>	132.3 <i>kena śīlena vā deva karmaṇā kīḍṣena vā samācārair guṇair vākyaiḥ svargaṃ yāntīha mānavāḥ </i>
<i>bhagavān uvāca devi dharmārthatatvajñe sa- rvabhūtadayopare sarvaprāṇiṇi • ta pathya śrūyatā dharmavāriṇi </i>	<i>bhagavān uvāca </i> 132.4 <i>devi dharmārthatatt- vajñe satyanitye dame rate sarvaprāṇihitāḥ praśnaḥ śrūyatāṃ buddhivardhanaḥ </i> [...]
<i>adīṣṭāparadāreṣu te narā svargagāmiṇaḥ </i>	132.11 <i>mātṛvat svasṛvac caiva nityaṃ duhitṛvac ca ye paradāreṣu vartante te narāḥ svargagāmi- naḥ </i>
<i>stenyā<n></i> _[L5] <i>nivṛt<āḥ> satata<ṃ> saṃtuṣṭā ye na nityaśaḥ svadeham upajīvanti te narā sva- rggagāmiṇaḥ • </i>	132.12 <i>stainyān nivṛtāḥ satataṃ saṃtuṣṭāḥ svadhanena ca svabhāgyāny upajīvanti te na- rāḥ svargagāmiṇaḥ </i>
<i>sarvendriyāni manasya gopayanto vyavas- thitāḥ yasyātmāna<ḥ> paraloka<ṃ> mukhyaṃ yānti maṇīśīṇaḥ </i>	
<i>sva • dāreṣv abhisamtuṣṭā ṛtukālābhigāmiṇaḥ abhagnavanayogās ca te narā<ḥ> svargagā- mī<naḥ></i>	132.13 <i>svadāraniratā ye ca ṛtukālābhigāmiṇaḥ agrāmyasukhabhogāś ca te narāḥ svargagāmi- naḥ </i>

Lalitavistara

Anuśāsanaparvan

[Exp. 49B]

[L1] *prāṇābhi<ṛ> pāpaniratā<ḥ> śīlavarttasamāhi-
tāḥ | saṃyatā<ḥ> niyatā<ḥ> dāntās te narā sva-
rgagā • mināḥ || sarvabhūta-dayāvanto viśvāsā
sarvakarmasu | paraśve nirmalā<ḥ> nityaṃ vā
nityam avalopamāḥ ||*

*jitendri • yā svargaparās te narā
svargagāmināḥ | eṣa kāye kṛto dharma se-
vitavyo tu śrayakaiḥ ||*

132.14cd *yatendriyāḥ śīlaparās te narāḥ svarga-
gāmināḥ || 132.15 eṣa devakṛto mā-rgaḥ sevi-
tavyaḥ sadā naraiḥ | akaṣāyakṛtāś caiva mārgaḥ
sevyāḥ sadā budhaiḥ ||*

132.16 *dānadharmatapoyuktaḥ śīlaśauca-da-
yātmakaḥ | vṛttyartham dharmahetor vā sevitā-
vyaḥ sadā naraiḥ |*

[L2] *svargalokam abhīpsantā ninditam tatva<ṃ>
uttamaṃ |*

*svargavāsam abhīpsadbhir na sevyas tv ata u-
ttaraḥ ||*

*devy uvāca || vācayā badhyate deva • mucyate
vā katha<ṃ> punaḥ | tāni karmāṇi me deva ka-
thayasva mahāvratāḥ ||*

132.17 *umovāca || vācātha badhyate yena mu-
cyaṭe 'py aṭha vā punaḥ | tāni karmāṇi me deva
vada bhūtapate 'nagha ||*

*bhagavān uvāca || ātmaheto<ḥ> parārthe • vā
dharmahāsyakriyāsu va | mṛṣādvadam na bhā-
ṣyante te narā svargagāmināḥ ||*

132.18a *ātmahetoḥ parārthe vā na-
rmahāsyāśrayāt tathā | ye mṛṣā na vadantīha te
narāḥ svargagāmināḥ ||*

*dravyārthe kā_[L3] maheto vā dveṣarāgākṛtena vā |
anṛta<ṃ> ye na bhāṣyanti te narā svargagāmi-
naḥ || •*

132.19 *vṛttyartham dharmahetor vā kāmākārāt
tathaiva ca | anṛtam ye na bhāṣante te narāḥ
svargagāmināḥ ||*

132.20 *ślakṣṇāṇ vāṇīm nirābādham madhurām
pāpavarjitām | svāgatenābhibhāṣante te narāḥ
svargagāmināḥ ||*

*praruṣa<ṃ> ye na bhāṣyanti niṣṭhurā<ḥ> kaṭu-
kan tathā | anudvegakarā nityaṃ te narā svarga-
gāmināḥ ||*

132.21 *kaṭukām ye na bhāṣante paruṣām ni-
ṣṭhurām giram | apaīṣunyaratāḥ santas te narāḥ
svargagāmināḥ ||*

*svāgatety abhibhā • ṣyanti te narā svargagāmi-
naḥ |*

Lalitavistara

Anuśāsanaparvan

*piśunā<ṃ> na prabhāṣante mitrabhedakarīn ṛ-
ṇe | rājamāna<ṃ>[L4] prabhāṣanti te narā svarga-
gāminah |*

śuṣkavāñī<ṃ> na bhāṣante + + duṣkṛtavādīnī | •

*śaṭhāpralāpād viratā viruddhavarivarjitā | vira-
tā bhedavākyena te narā svargagāminah ||*

*amṛta<ṃ> niṣṭhura<ṃ> • caiva tyaktadharmam
adharmivan | kālē ca saṃprabhāṣyante te narā
svargagāminah ||*

*eṣa vā[L5]ñīkṛto dharmah sevītavyo ṛṣi sadā | de-
vyo nityaguṇopetā sadā bhṛtavivarjī • taiḥ ||*

*devy uvāca || manasā bandhate yeṇa karmaṇā
puruṣā sadā | tāni me pāśakarmāṇi devadeva
pinā • kadhṛk ||*

*bhagavān uvāca || apratītamano yas tu calacitto
nirākṛti<ḥ> |*

*manobandhā[50AL1]ni sāmasya śṛṇu devi
viṣeṣataḥ |*

*araṇyajanasaṃsthaṃ ca parahyā nābhinandati
|| • manasā karmaṇā vācā te narā svargagāmi-
nah |*

132.22 *piśunāṃ ye na bhāṣante mitrabhedaka-
rīm giram | ṛtām maitrīm prabhāṣante te narāḥ
svargagāminah ||*

132.23 *varjayanti sadā sūcyam paradroham ca
mānavāḥ | sarvabhūtasamā dāntās te narāḥ sva-
rgagāminah ||*

132.24 *śaṭhāpralāpād viratā viruddhavarivarja-
kāḥ | saumyapralāpino nityam te narāḥ svarga-
gāminah ||*

132.25 *na kopād vyāharante ye vācam hṛdaya-
dāraṇīm | sāntvam vadanti krudhāpi te narāḥ
svargagāminah ||*

132.26 *eṣa vāñīkṛto devi dharmah sevyaḥ sadā
naraiḥ | śubhaḥ satyaguṇo nityam varjanīyā
mṛṣā budhaiḥ ||*

132.27 *umovāca || manasā badhyate yena kar-
maṇā puruṣaḥ sadā | tan me brūhi mahābhāga
devadeva pinākadhṛk ||*

134.57/15.3717 *duṣpratīṭamanā yas tu calaci-
tto nirākṛtiḥ |*

132.28 *maheśvara uvāca | mānaseneha dha-
rmeṇa saṃyuktāḥ puruṣāḥ sadā | svargam ga-
cchanti kalyāṇi tan me kīrtayataḥ śṛṇu ||*

132.29 *duṣpraṇītena manasā duṣpraṇītatarākṛ-
tiḥ | badhyate mānavo yena śṛṇu cānyac chubhā-
nane ||*

132.30 *araṇye vijane nyastam parasvam vīkṣya
ye narā | manasāpi na hīṃsanti te narāḥ svarga-
gāminah ||*

Lalitavistara**Anuśāsanaparvan**

*grāme gr̥he vā yaṃ dravyaṃ parāhya<ṃ> vijane
sthitam || nābhinanda • ti manasā te narā svar-
ggagāmināḥ | malāṣṭakāñcanā nityaṃ parāhya-
paravarjakāḥ ||*

132.31 *grāme gr̥he vā yad dravyaṃ pārakyaṃ
vijane sthitam | nābhinandanti vai nityaṃ te na-
rāḥ svargagāmināḥ ||*

132.32 *tathaiva paradārān ye kāmavṛttān raho-
gatān | manasāpi na hiṃsanti te narāḥ svarga-
gāmināḥ ||*

132.33 *śatruṃ mitraṃ ca ye nityaṃ tulyena ma-
nasā narāḥ | bhajanti maitrāḥ saṃgamya te na-
rāḥ svargagāmināḥ ||*

132.34 *śrutavanto dayāvantaḥ śucayaḥ satya-
saṃgarāḥ | svair arthaiḥ paraṣaṃtuṣṭāḥ te narāḥ
svargagāmināḥ ||*

132.35 *avairā ye tv anāyāsā maitracittaparāḥ
sadā | sarvabhūṭadayāvantaḥ te narāḥ svarga-
gāmināḥ ||*

[L2] *sarvabhūṭadayāvanto cākṣāś cākṣa janapri-
yāḥ | dharmādharmavido nitya te narā sva • rga-
gāmināḥ ||*

132.36 *śraddhāvanto dayāvantaś cākṣāś cākṣa-
janapriyāḥ | dharmādharmavido nityaṃ te narāḥ
svargagāmināḥ ||*

132.37 *śubhānām aśubhānāṃ ca karmaṇāṃ
phalasaṃcaye | vipākajñāś ca ye devi te narāḥ
svargagāmināḥ ||*

*nyāyopetaḥ guṇopetā svargamārgahiteṣiṇā | sa-
tyathaparimārganti te narā svargga • gāmināḥ
||*

132.38 *nyāyopetā guṇopetā devadvijaparāḥ sa-
dā | samatāṃ samanuprāptāḥ te narāḥ svarga-
gāmināḥ ||*

132.39 *śubhaiḥ karmaphalair devi mayaite pari-
kīrtitāḥ |*

*ukta<ṃ> dharma<ṃ> yatho devi damai<s> te ku-
śalam mayāṃ |*

*svargamārgopamā [L3] proktāḥ ki<ṃ> bhūya<ḥ>
śrotum icchasi || Q ||*

*svargamārgopagā bhūyaḥ kim anyac chrotum i-
cchasi ||*

Chapter 30 of the *Lalitavistara* ends here, while chapter 132 of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* proceeds with a further question from the Goddess, who asks by means of which actions a person can obtain a long life, and by means of which ones the lives of others are destroyed. There are so many opposing types of men, the Goddess observes, and she now wants to hear about the ways *karman* ripens for them. The two texts of chapter 30 and chapter 132 thus run parallel until 132.38; the *Anuśāsanaparvan* has more stanzas that are not in the *Lalitavistara*, especially towards the end of the parallel passage, while the latter follows the correct stanza sequence of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, and adds a few more stanzas that are not available in the model. Variant readings include the use of proper paraphrases (see *Lalitavistara*, *adṛṣṭāparādāreṣu te narā svargagāmināḥ*, against *Anuśāsanaparvan* 132.11, *māṭṛvat svasṛvac caiva nityaṃ duhitṛvac ca ye | parādāreṣu vartante te narāḥ svargagāmināḥ*).

This text has nothing specifically Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava, being limited to a list of good actions that allow men to go to heaven, with some further considerations; it is rather presented as a lay form of *dhyāna*, after the more complex forms of the preceding chapters on which this one depends. As the text paralleled in chapter 29 and in the first half of chapter 30 is permeated with Vaiṣṇava devotion, the following chapter 31, as already observed, is purely Śaiva in inspiration. The authors/redactors of the *Lalitavistara*, unlike the modern editor of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, must not have found this problematic, as they allowed these materials to coexist side by side. The reason for this is clearly stated in chapter 32, which closes the sequence of chapters modelled after paragraphs of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, and almost seems to epitomize the core teachings of the whole work. This chapter opens with three *pādas* that have a parallel in a supplement of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* (13.15.4325–27). This parallel is short and isolated, as the text of chapter 32 is, for the rest, independent of any model, or at least any that has been possible to identify. The Goddess addresses a God that, given the epithets through which she refers to him, can only be Śiva. In the initial verses he is called, among other expressions, ‘three-eyed’ (*triyakṣa*, *triyambaka*), ‘destroyer of Dakṣa’s sacrifice’ (*dakṣayañnapramathana*), ‘spear-holder’ (*śūlapāṇi*), as well as ‘dressed in a tiger’s skin’ (*vyāghracarmanivāsana*). The Goddess asks him how he wants to be pleased by his devotees. After listing the usual substances for worship (food offerings, incenses, ghee), the God, who is here still simply identified as Bhagavan, instructs his devotees to worship him with a *stotra* whose initial words are: (exp. 51A_[L3]) *namo <’>stu • te mahādeva namo <’>stu bhaktivanmalaḥ || 6 trailokyādhipate viṣṇu namo hariharāya ca | namaḥ śrīvatsadharāya • nama tṛptabhujāya ca || 7 arddhamāheśvararūpaṃ hared arddhaharasya ca | dvav etā<v> hy ekarū_[L4]peṇa prasīdatu mamekataḥ || 8*. The God to whom the *Lalitavi-*

stara addresses the devotion of lay *bhaktas* is thus Harihāra, the fusion of Viṣṇu and Śiva that also symbolizes an attempt at harmonizing the two main devotional currents animating the religious landscape of the Kathmandu Valley, as attested from the earliest epigraphical evidence in the 5th century. This is likely to be the reason why the redactors of the text have juxtaposed Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava materials, or have used more ambiguous designations in referring to the God and the Goddess. The same motivation underlay the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of the Śivadharmā corpus, although the authors frame it more clearly as a Śaiva work by being more consistent in addressing the gods as Umā and Maheśvara. However, besides these last few chapters, the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* uses exactly the same mixed Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava materials as the *Lalitavistara*, since it was possibly pursuing the same agenda.

There is a third work that the final colophon of the *Lalitavistara* evoked, and that we have not yet had the opportunity to involve in our discussion, namely the *Umottarasaṃvāda*, also known in other manuscripts as the *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*. Fashioned as a dialogue between Maheśvara and Umā, several stanzas of its chapter 7—starting with 7.113 and ending with 7.163, which is also the end of the chapter—form the body of the thirty-third and final chapter of the *Lalitavistara*. As shown in the table of contents in the preceding paragraph, this chapter also has a strong Vaiṣṇava inspiration, evoking the story of Rāma and ending with Viṣṇu's *avatāras*, a topic that thus also concludes the *Lalitavistara tout court*. The peculiarity of these stanzas lies in the fact that the section from *Umottarasaṃvāda* 7.144 until the end, opening with the Goddess's question that prompts the God's narration of the ten *avatāras*, also forms the final chapter 22 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. This chapter is not available in the earliest manuscript (N₂₈^K ends the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* with chapter 20, while G 4077 also includes chapters 21 and 22), and will eventually be expunged by at least one other manuscript of the early palm-leaf transmission.⁹³ Barring a few variant readings and the typical omissions characterizing the *Lalitavistara*, the final section of its final chapter thus equals *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 22, which in its turn has a parallel in *Umottarasaṃvāda* 7. In synthesis, the same text is used thrice, in three works transmitted in the same manuscript. The most natural position for these stanzas is the one they have in the *Umottarasaṃvāda/Lalitavistara*: following the story of Rāma, the Goddess asks what is the purpose of having 'this son of man' (*putro <'>yaṃ mānuṣasya*, *Umottarasaṃvāda* 7.144), if Viṣṇu is the Lord of the world. In chapter 22 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, this verse comes at the very beginning of the chapter, so the reader completely misses the reference to 'this' human being

93 On this topic, see De Simini forthcoming.

mentioned by the Goddess, as chapter 21 is on a completely different subject (mainly on music, as well as a few myths connected to the Gandharvas).

The stories of Rāma and Viṣṇu thus conclude this work which, coherently with its purposes, proclaims to be part of the Śivadharmā in the same general concluding colophon that is attached to the stanzas recounting Viṣṇu's *avatāras*. The inclusion within the Śivadharmā corpus, whose earlier and best known works were authorities on Śaiva devotion, and which established the basis for the social behaviour of lay Śaiva *bhaktas*, was probably seen as the ultimate step towards the recognition of this blended form of religion in which Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava devotion were tentatively intermingled and kept faithful to the Brahmanical socio-religious order.

4 Conclusions: The Śivadharmā between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in the Kathmandu Valley

From our analysis of the *Lalitavistara* of G 4077 as well as the *Umāmaheśvaraśaṃvāda*, we have seen that both texts—or their still unidentified common source—pursue a twofold agenda, namely the integration of mainstream Brahmanical values related to the *varṇāśrama* system, as well as elements of Vaiṣṇava devotion, into the Śaiva corpus. These two agendas can be considered to be closely linked, since Vaiṣṇava devotional literature from its earliest layers onwards tends to propagate a system that is strictly interwoven with the Brahmanical socio-religious order, laying more emphasis on performing one's *svadharma*, a line of discourse completely missing in the early Śaiva works.⁹⁴ A similar tendency can already be observed, though with a lesser level of pervasiveness, in the earliest works of the Śivadharmā corpus, the *Śivadharmāśāstra* and *Śivadharmottara*, that attempt to integrate the teachings on the *varṇāśrama* into the Śaiva world view by creating a parallel system of 'Śaiva life-stages' (*śivāśrama*), whose members correspond to those of the traditional post-Vedic normative literature, but are qualified by adjectives and compounds specifying their Śaiva affiliation.⁹⁵ However, this idea seems to be more mature in the *Śivadharmottara* than in the *Śivadharmāśāstra*, which follows an agenda of propagating a Śaiva social order

⁹⁴ See Mirnig forthcoming.

⁹⁵ See *Śivadharmottara*, chapter 12, as well as *Śivadharmāśāstra*, chapter 11. For more details, see De Simini 2016a, 52ff.

that more radically transcends the Brahmanical norm.⁹⁶ The *Śivadharmottara*, by contrast, has some clear connections to the *Mahābhārata* and, thus, to the Vaiṣṇava milieu in which the latter was composed, by using, in its chapter 3 on the *jñānayoga*, verses and notions that are also traceable in the *Bhagavadgītā*. This trend towards a broader inclusivism into a Śaiva world view, which the *Śivadharmottara* had developed in a more systematic way also for reasons of proselytism, is thus especially discernible in these later works that form the Śivadharm corpus, such as the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the *Lalitavistara*, reflecting a cultural context that saw each work complementing the more radical Śaiva position by providing a scriptural layer that linked the Śaiva ritual sphere with the Vaiṣṇava one.

The choice of the *Mahābhārata* as the main source of inspiration suits this agenda on several levels. The *Mahābhārata* itself is a text that is closely linked to Vaiṣṇava devotionism; however, in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, the epics accommodate Śaiva precepts and myths in a broader Vaiṣṇava context. This text thus provides an ideal template for a reverse operation in the Śaiva corpus. The core of this process is the incorporation of Vaiṣṇava devotional material, such as that of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* or the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra*. The juxtaposition of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava materials within these works is striking, and is epitomized in chapter 32 of the *Lalitavistara* in the propagation of devotion to Harihara, which also characterized the religious landscape of the Kathmandu Valley. It is in this area that we locate the composition of our texts, and it is thus to this context that we have to link the religious and cultural facets emerging from them.

Already from the earliest layers of recorded history, the Licchavi period (c. 4th–8th centuries CE), we find a strong presence of both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava religious communities in the Kathmandu Valley. Thus, for instance, the earliest major temples—the Śaiva Paśupatināth and Vaiṣṇava Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa temples—are both sites of royal inscriptions as well as recipients of the same amount of funding from the royal budget in the late 6th century, suggesting that they are somehow considered on equal footing.⁹⁷ While these pieces of evidence precede the composition of our texts by centuries, we can already see a similar attempt to foster some sort of harmony between the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava religious communities

⁹⁶ Thus, for instance, the first chapter of the *Śivadharmasāstra* explicitly asserts the superiority of the *śivadharm* over the Vedic religious sphere, claiming that even as a *mleccha* or dog-eater one may attain the status of the highest Brahmin by following the Śivadharm. See Mirmig forthcoming.

⁹⁷ Cf LA 77. See also Mirmig 2013, 340.

amongst the earliest records in the Valley, using the same theme of the combined deity Harihara that we find alluded to in our text. Thus, in *saṃvat* 487 (565 CE), a certain Svāmivarta established a sculpture of Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa (i.e. Harihara) in the area of the Paśupatināth temple, describing the fusion of the two deities into one body while their wives Parvatī and Lakṣmī look upon them,⁹⁸ and referring to this combined deity as the ‘cause of the origin, maintenance and annihilation of the entire universe’,⁹⁹ similar to the cosmic principle advocated in our texts. The motivation of bridging the communities that we suspect behind our text is made more explicit in Svāmivarta’s record, in which he claims that Śiva and Viṣṇu have become one single body in order to remove the confusion that arises by having to choose one over the other.¹⁰⁰

On the basis of art-historical material, the argument had been put forward that on a popular devotional level, Viṣṇu was at times even more prominent than Śiva,¹⁰¹ and thus Vaiṣṇavism constitutes an integral part of the religious life in the Valley despite Śaivism’s predominance on a political level. We have many images produced in the Licchavi period and after, besides the Harihara image, that relate scenes or themes of Viṣṇu iconography and can also be linked to our texts. For instance, an extremely popular motive is the Jalāśayana Viṣṇu, depicting the God in his cosmic sleep;¹⁰² when comparing this to our texts, we find that the theme of Viṣṇu at the end of the cosmic cycle and the reabsorption of all the worlds into him is a common motive. Śiva, on the other hand, is given the role of producing the world.

The field of iconography may indeed provide some further evidence for the phenomenon analyzed in the preceding pages. The manuscripts of the Śivadharmā corpus were not solely conceived as carriers of text, but also as objects of art, and as such they offer a relevant contribution to the knowledge and study of religious iconography. Unlike contemporary Buddhist manuscripts, the iconographic program of the Śivadharmā manuscripts is not developed through illustrations painted on the folios, but is exclusively focused on the inner space of the wooden covers in which the manuscripts are encased. In the few cases in

98 LA 50, lines 1–2: *patyor nnau paśya he śrīr yyugalam amithunaṃ śūlabhṛcchārṅgapāṇyor ekai-kasyātra kin tan na sukaram anayos tau yad ekatra pṛktau | mūrtityā<gena> nūnaṃ sakhi mada-naripor evam uktvā bhavānyā yo dṛṣṭo jātu tasmai satatam iha namos tv arddhaśauriśvarāya ||*

99 LA 50, line 5: *sakalabhuvanasambhavashitipralayakāraṇam [...] śaṅkaranārāyaṇasvāmīnaṃ*.

100 LA 50, lines 7–8: *bhīne puṃsām jagati ca tathā devatābhaktibhāve pakṣagrāhabhramita-manasām pakṣavicchittihetoḥ ity arddhābhyām samuparacitaṃ yan murāriśvarābhyām ekam rūpaṃ śaradi jaghanaśyāmagauram [...]*

101 Slusser 1982, 239.

102 Slusser 1982, 241–243.



Fig. 6: UL Add. 1645, original wooden cover, inner side, scene with Śiva, Pārvatī, and Nandin.

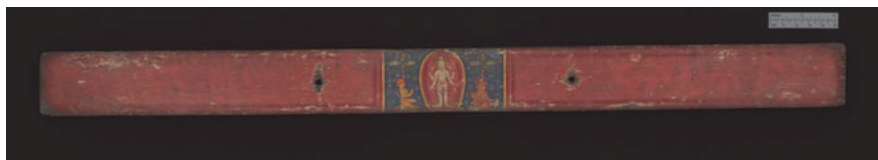


Fig. 7: UL Add. 1645, original wooden cover, inner side, scene with Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, and Garuḍa.

which these have survived,¹⁰³ as is also the case of our manuscript G 4077, we observe that the main decorative motifs are represented by scenes of *liṅga* worship and/or representations of lay devotees worshipping deities, among which Śiva, along with his consort Pārvatī and his mount Nandi, is assigned a central position. This would thus qualify our manuscripts as preeminently Śaiva objects, with the cult of Śiva being clearly identified with the veneration of both the God's iconic and aniconic forms. At the same time, traces of Vaiṣṇavism are not absent from the iconographic programs of the surviving covers, as there are at least two specimens in which the cult of Viṣṇu is attributed either equal or even greater importance than the one of Śiva. One such example is the manuscript of the Cambridge University Library Add.1645, dated NS 259, whose original wooden covers have a very peculiar design in comparison to the other extant specimens: instead of decorating the entire oblong space of the covers, dividing them into panels, this manuscript only has one central illustration on each cover, with the rest of the surface being painted in red. These illustrations consist in the group of Śiva, Pārvatī and Nandi on the inner panel of the front cover (Fig. 6), and Viṣṇu being worshipped by Garuḍa and Lakṣmī on the inner face of the back cover (Fig. 7). Thus Add.1645 symbolizes a Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava unity in the devotional practice by representing the two deities equally as objects of devotion, although one might argue that the God represented on the front side may be the one who is attributed

103 For a brief survey, see De Simini 2016a, 206–207.

higher importance. Another case that is worthy of mention, but on which we cannot be so specific because we could not directly inspect the object, is that of the wooden covers of ‘a Śivadharmā manuscript’ mentioned by Pal without further attribution, and generically dated by him to the 13th century.¹⁰⁴ These covers, of which we can see some partial black and white reproductions as figures 27–28 in Pal 1970, represent the ten manifestations of Viṣṇu. Unfortunately, we do not know to which manuscript they used to belong, and considering the fact that Pal calls this manuscript a *Śivapurāṇa* in the text¹⁰⁵ (but *Śivadharmā* in the captions of the pictures), we have to be very careful in dealing with this piece of evidence. If the attribution of these covers to a *Śivadharmā* (or a *Śivapurāṇa*) manuscript could ever be confirmed, this would be a case of a manuscript of a Śaiva work being decorated with Vaiṣṇava iconography, thus achieving the synthesis at which works such as the *Umāmaheśvarasāṃvāda*, the *Umottarasāṃvāda* and the *Lalitavistara* aimed. The study of the iconographic program of these manuscripts is still in progress and might reveal more relevant clues in the future. A big interpretive obstacle is represented by the possibility that the covers might actually be later than the manuscripts themselves,¹⁰⁶ or not originally have belonged to those manuscripts, but were mistakenly associated with them by library curators. While the latter case would hopelessly affect our interpretation, the case of the covers being produced later than the manuscripts, though at any rate intentionally realized for encasing a certain object, would only have an influence on the dating, and not on the general hermeneutic framework. Since these manuscripts are also objects of private and public devotion, we expect to see in the decorations of their covers, the most external part and thus the one that is also physically most exposed to the devotion of the *bhaktas*, a program that furthers or is at least coherent with the (perceived) aims of its texts.

Despite the strong presence of Vaiṣṇavism and its relevance in some of the texts forming the Śivadharmā corpus as well as in contemporary iconography, we know that, on an institutional level, it was the sphere of Śiva that maintained close links with the ruling elite from the time of Aṃśuvarman onwards,¹⁰⁷ as can also be traced through the centuries in inscriptions as well as manuscript colophons.¹⁰⁸ This may account for the robust production of manuscripts of the Śivadharmā corpus (while texts such as the *Vaiṣṇavadharmasāstra* appear to

104 Pal 1970, figs 27–28.

105 Pal 1970, 65.

106 Losty 1980, 21.

107 Mirnig 2013.

108 Petech 1984.

have gotten lost), but it could also explain why some Vaiṣṇava groups were trying to disguise their own cults within the framework of the *dharma* of Śiva. The incorporation of this important aspect of Vaiṣṇava devotionism, an operation that was planned and fulfilled by some of the Nepalese works of the Śivadharm corpus, may be one of the key aspects that contributed to the success of the corpus, but may also be one of the reasons why the corpus emerged at all. We know that the *Śivadharmasāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* had an autonomous transmission in India, being associated in some rare cases, but mostly transmitted as independent works. The reasons why more texts were associated with them once they reached the Kathmandu Valley, some possibly composed expressly to become part of a broader collection of works, are still largely unknown. The study of the *Lalitavistara*, along with that of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and, partly, the *Umottarasamvāda*, seems however to suggest that the formation of the Śivadharm corpus might also have responded to the need local Nepalese communities had of harmonizing Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, though within a framework that could still clearly be identified as Śaiva, given that this was ultimately the cult associated with monarchical power.

Within this broader framework, we can thus clearly see what could have been the mission of our *Lalitavistara*. Drawing from pre-existing sources, this was one of several contemporary works pursuing the objective of harmonizing aspects of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava *dharma*, although this synthesis is often simply achieved by juxtaposing diverse materials in an unsystematic combination. On the other hand, in the 10th and 11th centuries, the Śivadharm corpus was still being systematized. One of the redactors must have included this work, which was judged coherent with the general purposes of the composition of the corpus, only to be rejected by all the other agents in the vast manuscript production and transmission of the Śivadharm corpus. On the basis of the study presented in the preceding pages, we can speculate that this rejection came to pass because the work was too close to the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, but its structure less coherent. At the same time, the higher level of ambiguity that we have observed in the *Lalitavistara* might have played an important role in the choice of rejecting this work from the Śivadharm corpus. The *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, which uses most of the materials included in the *Lalitavistara*, adopted a more unequivocal Śaiva frame, even just by more systematically identifying the two speakers as Umā and Maheśvara throughout the work. This must have been very evocative in the minds of contemporary readers, as one of the most popular images of the Valley bears exactly the same imagery as expressed by our text, namely that of *Umāmaheśvara*, depicting Śiva and Parvatī in embrace on the mountainside (Fig. 8). Once



Fig. 8: Umāmaheśvara image located in the Paśupatināth temple area, Kathmandu, Nepal.


again, the cultural milieu of medieval Nepal provides themes and motifs that interact and complement its rich textual production.

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Abbreviations and sigla

AP	<i>Anuśāsanaparvan</i>
ĀSP	<i>Āśvamedhikaparvan</i>
LA	Vajracharya 1973
LV	<i>Lalitavistara</i>
NAK	National Archives of Kathmandu
NGMPP	Nepalese-German Manuscript Preservation Project
N _{A12} ^K	Manuscript NAK 5-892, (NGMPP A 12/3)
N ₃ ^K	Manuscript NAK 5-737 (NGMPP A 3/3=A 1081/5)
N ₇ ^K	Manuscript NAK 1-1075 (NGMPP B 7/3=A 1082/2)
N ₂₈ ^K	Manuscript NAK 6-7 (NGMPP A 1028/4)
N ₈₂ ^K	Manuscript NAK 3-393 (NGMPP A 1082/3)
NS	<i>nepālasaṃvat</i> = year given according to a lunisolar calendar attested in Nepal, starting in the month of Kārtika (October–November), 878 CE
UL	Cambridge University Library
UMS	<i>Umāmaheśvarsamvāda</i>
US	<i>Umottarasamvāda</i>

Conventions and Symbols

< >	enclose expected letters
[]	enclose foliation and line numbers; in the collated texts, square brackets enclose variant readings
+	in the transcriptions, it indicates unreadable <i>akṣaras</i>
wavy underline	in the transcriptions, it indicates damaged <i>akṣaras</i>
	<i>daṇḍa</i>
	double <i>daṇḍa</i>
•	stringhole
:	linefiller
❖	<i>puṣpikā</i>
?	uncertain reading
Q	decoration: 

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