

Acta Orientalia 2019-2020: 80, 62–75.
 Printed in India – all rights reserved

Copyright © 2021
 ACTA ORIENTALIA
 ISSN 0001-6438

The *Saurasamhitā*: The Earliest Surviving Tantra on Sun-Worship¹

Diwakar Acharya

Oxford, England

The *Saurasamhitā* is the earliest surviving Tantra text on Sun worship available by far, and is preserved in a palm-leaf manuscript preserved in National Archives, Kathmandu, dated Nepal Samvat 69 (equivalent to 949 CE). A Buddhist householder with Mahayanist motive had copied this manuscript wishing peace and prosperity for all. Four transcripts of it on Nepalese paper were produced in different periods in the 20th century, two of which have remained in Kathmandu but the other two have reached Wellcome Institute, London, and MS University, Baroda. The *Saurasamhitā* teaches a ritual system of sun worship championing the identification of the Sun god and Śiva. This text was obviously produced by some Śaivas to promote identity of the Sun god with Śiva, because it locates itself in the Bāthūla line of scriptural transmission of the Śaivas, and matches in style and structure the Kālottara class of Śaiva texts. Thanks to its promotion of the unity of the Sun god and Śiva and an

¹ I am grateful to Prof. Hong Luo of Sichuan University for the organisation of this workshop and inclusion of my paper in the proceedings.

open declaration of its Śaiva affiliation as well, all Siddhānta Śaivas gradually adopted sun worship as found in this text as a compulsory element of the regular worship of Śiva from the early 11th century onwards.

Some fifth-century inscriptions from different parts of the Indian subcontinent bear witness to the fact that leaders of merchants travelling long distances with caravans of mercantile goods worshipped the Sun god, built his temples, and installed images of his various forms. For example, the Mandsor inscription which mentions King Kumaragupta and a local ruler Bandhuvārman (Sircar 1965: 299-307) opens praising the Sun god in beautiful verses and records that a guild (*śreṇī*) of silk-traders built in Daśapura a temple of the Sun god in Mālava Year 493 (equivalent 436 CE) and repaired a section of the temple damaged in some mishap in Mālava Year 529 (equivalent 473 CE). Similarly, a Licchavi inscription from Nepal dated Śaka 402 (equivalent 480 CE) records that a leader of merchants called Guhamitra installed an image of the Sun god in his Indra form² (Vajracharya 1973: 59-60, inscription no. 12).

Royal inscriptions from the 6th and 7th centuries bear witness that some Odisha and Valabhī kings, and three Gurjara predecessors of King Harṣa had declared themselves as paramasaura and paramādityabhakta, meaning ‘entirely devoted to the Sun god,’ but in the 8th century, their descendants chose Śaiva epithets. Further, in the 9th century, we can still find a ruler like Pratihāra King Ādivarāha Bhoja identifying himself again as paramasaura. Kashmirian Śaiva sources from pre-11th century period bear witness to Sun-worshippers and their scriptures. For example, the Netra Tantra (13.17-19), which can be dated to the first-half of the ninth century at the latest, tells us that the Sun god was worshipped in different forms following different traditions at the time of its composition. As Sanderson writes (2009: 56-57), “Kashmirian sources know of a Śākta cult whose deity was the Sun under the name Vīra or Vīreśvara accompanied by the goddess Bhargaśikhā. ...

² As the image Guhamitra installed has been lost we do not know how was the Sun god in his Indra form visualised. Indra is included in almost every list of Ādityas found in old Vedic to Puranic and astrological texts.

There are also strong elements of a solar esotericism in the Kālīkula of the Jayadratha Yāmala and the Krama.” There is even a list of the names of 85 Saura *Samhitās* found in another pre-11th century text called the *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasamhitā* but none of these texts have survived in any form.

Some royal devotees of the Sun god are still there in the 12-13th centuries, and it was this period in which the famous Konarka temple of Odisha was built. Even in the 15th century, Ānandagiri, a hagiographer of Śaṅkara, locates different groups of devotees of the Sun god in a place called Subrahmanyam near Trivendram in the south, who regarded the Sun as the origin of the world, believed that he alone is capable of creating, maintaining and destroying it. They were divided into six groups, but none of them exclusively identified the Sun god with Śiva.

The *Saurasamhitā* is a short text consisting of a few more than five hundred verses divided into thirteen chapters and presented in the format of a conversation between Maheśvara Śiva and his son Skanda Kārtikeya. The text deals with topics such as supremacy of the Sun god, raising of the *khakholka-mantra*, the *mūlamantras* and



Opening of the palm-leaf manuscript of Saurasamhitā, dated Nepal Samvat 69 (949 CE)

visualizations of the Sun god and the other eight grahas, the ritual bath, initiation, the way of worship of the Sun god, fire sacrifice, drawing of the maṇḍala, consecration, various recipes for the use of the mantras, drawing of the figure of the Sun god, and finally a

relatively simple system of yoga. The text highlights the usage of mantras and states that because of the significance of this aspect the whole text has got the nickname *prayojanatilaka*, a text ‘marked with purpose.’

Who is Āditya? Why worshipped first?

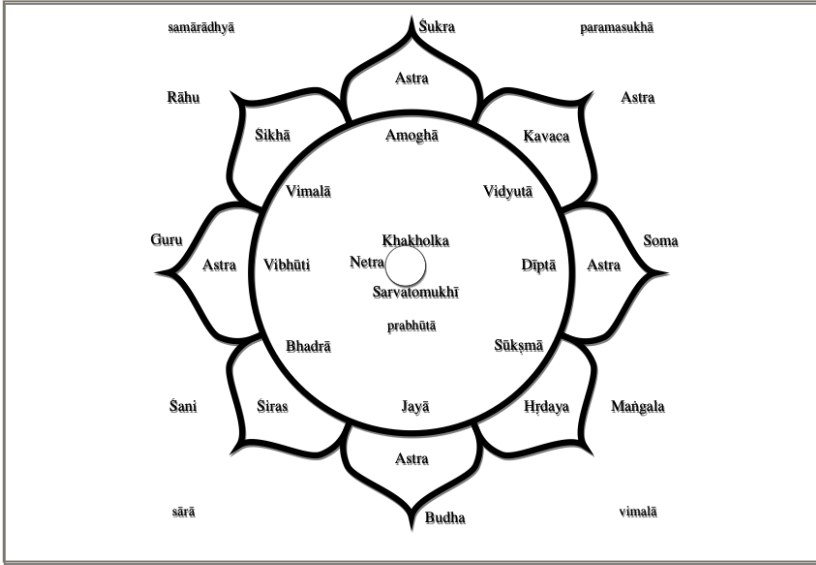
The text of the Tantra text begins with this question: Who is Āditya and why is he venerated in the beginning of rites? Śiva’s answer to this question conceptualises Āditya by way of Nirukta-style interpretations of the name. Āditya is described here to be the first (*ādi*) of all the gods, the one belonging to the beginning, because as claimed here even Prajāpati and Kāla were created after him (Chap. 1.8-9). The Sun was created through a fusion of the energy (*tejas*) of Śiva, the primordial cause, and the creative power (*kriyāśakti*) that came out of Śiva himself. Therefore, the Sun god and Śiva are one, as the text claims (Chap. 1.10-11, 15). Again, Āditya is called so because he drives out (*āharet*) the darkness prevailing in all quarters, directions and sub-directions (*digvidikṣu vyavasthitān*) by releasing his rays (*tyaktvā vai raśmi-saṁghātam*). The Sun is described further as the eye of all worlds and so being venerated by all the gods and the sages (Chap. 1.13-14). The text also admonishes that there is neither chariot nor horses. The three godheads attend the Sun god at three junctures and so, when he is venerated they are automatically venerated. (19-21). At the time of eclipse, Rāhu waits in his chariot under the solar disc to collect amṛta until it is not seeped out. Thus, the disc of the Sun is hidden beyond the chariot at the time of eclipse (22-23). No demons nor Rāhu could ever trouble or obstruct the Sun god as he would burn them. The Sun revolves forever in order to divide the time into day and night. Would there not be the Sun, there would be only darkness, no distinction of dharma and adharma would be there. So, the Sun witnesses and maintains everything in this world (24-26).

Ritual System and Ancillary Mantras

The text asks to worship the Sun god surrounded by eight powers (*śakti*) and flanked by the ninth Sarvatomukhī, all in the

middle of an eight-petalled lotus.³ On four lotus-petals in four directions the *astramantra* (*raḥ phaṭ*) is installed and on the other four the other ancillary mantras: *aṃ* as *hṛdaya*, *arkāya* as *śiras*, *bhūrbhuvahḥ svaḥ re jvālīnī* as *śikhā* and *hūṃ* as *kavaca*.

The text introduces *bhām* as the *netramantra* but obviously does not included it among the ancillary mantras. Worshipped in the retinue



outside these petals are the eight heavenly bodies (*grahas*)⁴ other than the Sun, and beyond them, in the outmost retinue are the eight guardians of the world (*lokapālas*). First, the five seat-deities (*āsana-devatā*): *Prabhūtā*, *Vimalā*, *Sārā*, *Samārādhyā* and *Paramasukhā* should be installed on the ground or the object where the *maṇḍala* will be drawn, the first one in the middle and others at four corners. The *bījamantra* for all these five is the same *aṃ*. At the time of fire sacrifice, the sacred fire is identified as *Sūryāgni* and his consort is

³ The *bījamantras* of these nine *śaktis* are *rām*, *rīm*, *ruṃ*, *rūṃ*, *reṃ*, *raiṃ*, *rom*, *rauṃ*, *raṃ*.

⁴ The *bījamantras* of these eight *grahas* are *saṃ*, *aṃ*, *baṃ*, *braṃ*, *bhaṃ*, *śaṃ*, *raṃ*, *kaṃ*.

venerated as Prabhāvatī. It is noteworthy that Prabhāvatī as the consort of the Sun god is venerated only in the fire sacrifice. The *Saurasamhitā* names Tejaścaṇḍa as the deity who would receive the remainder of the worship (*nirmālya*) at the end of the ritual and pardon the devotee. In every ritual system of Āgamic Śaivism Caṇḍa or Caṇḍeśa⁵ has this role of receiving the *nirmālya* at the end of the ritual and forgiving the devotee for his mistakes. Our text has a solar version of the Śaiva deity Caṇḍa.

The *Khaṣolka Mantra* and its Antiquity

The *Saurasamhitā* teaches *hrām hrīm saḥ* as the *mūlamantra* and identifies it as the mantric image (*mantramūrti*) of the Sun god. However, this *mantra* is meant only for mantric cultivation for the sake of perfection and ritual usage. The text exhorts its followers to draw a simple lotus *maṇḍala* at the time of worship and install a different *mantra*, *haṃ khaṃ khaṣolkāya*, in the middle of the *maṇḍala*. This *mantra* is named as the ‘heart’ (*hṛdaya*) of the deity which is different from the heart included among the ancillaries of the *mūlamantra*. This *mantra* in a simpler form as *khaṣolkāya svāhā*, without the initial seed-syllable *haṃ khaṃ* but with *svāhā* at the end, is found in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, a late Vedic text, but its two late medieval commentaries are unable to recognize it as a mantra of the Sun god and force an abstract interpretation claiming that it is dedicated to the supreme lord. Apparently, by the time of these commentators, even the actual wording of the mantra was uncertain: Sāyaṇa reads it as *kaṣotkāya svāhā*⁶ and Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara reads it as *ghaṣotkāya svāhā*.⁷ The *Saurasamhitā* passage on the raising of this

⁵ On the identity and role of Caṇḍa in Śaivism, see Acharya 2005, Goodall 2009, and Bisschop 2010.

⁶ Sāyaṇa on TĀ 10.66 *kaṣotkāya svāhā* : *kaṣa śiṣa karaṇa iti dhātuh, kaṣyate kriyate kaṣaḥ nāma-rūpakarmātmakaḥ kāryaprapaṇcaḥ, tasmin utkaḥ tat kartum utsukaḥ kaṣotkaḥ parameśvaraḥ tādrśāya sr̥ṣṭyabhimukhāya parameśvarāya svāhā svāhutam idam astu ||*

⁷ Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara on TĀ 10.59.1 *ghaṣotkāya svāhā* : *ghaṣotkāya svāheti || ghas! adane, pacādyac. ghasāḥ ghasmarāḥ trailokyāpasamharaṇaśīlāḥ utkā ulkā yasya saḥ ghasolkāḥ iti prāpte parokṣa-tvāya śatvatatve kṛte | yad vā*

mantra (5.2-4) and also the *Kūrmapurāṇa* passage below confirm that the wording of this mantra should be *khaṣolkāya*, and also that it is a mantra of the Sun god. The fact that the *Khaṣolka* mantra appears to be extraneous to the ritual system of the *Saurasamhitā* may suggest that the *Saurasamhitā* has superimposed a separate archaic and popular mantra of the Sun god on a pro-Śaiva ritual system it created or inherited. It is likely that the five goddesses of the seat: Prabhūtā, Vimalā, Sārā, Samārādhyā, and Paramasukhā, were originally belonging to a separate cult of the Sun god as Khaṣolka.

The *Kūrmapurāṇa* calls the Sun god Khaṣolka and, like the *Saurasamhitā*, promotes identity of the Sun god and Śiva. The text exhorts to worship the Sun god as Rudra, Śiva, and Virūpākṣa using this mantra. With the exception of these two texts—the *Saurasamhitā* and the *Kūrmapurāṇa*—I have not found any other independent tradition that identifies the Sun god exclusively with any form of Śiva. As the *Kūrmapurāṇa* (II.18.33-34) recommends, one should in the morning greet the rising sun with the mantras of the Sun god derived from the Vedas, and prostrate on the ground reciting the same mantras. One should praise the deity reciting the following eulogy identified as the *Sūryahṛdaya* which begins with hailing the Sun god as Khaṣolka:

Sūryahṛdaya (Kūrmapurāṇa II.18.35-44)

om *khaṣolkāya⁸ śāntāya kārāṇatrayahetave |
 nivedayāmi cātmānaṃ namas te jñānarūpiṇe |
 namas te ghr̥ṇine tubhyaṃ sūryāya brahmarūpiṇe ||
 tvam eva brahma paramam āpo jyotī raso 'mṛtam |

— *ghasanam ghasaḥ tatrotkāya utsukāya svātmani viśvāni bhūtāni juṣate parasmai devāya havir idam astu yaṃ aham īpsāmīti* ||

⁸ I have adopted *khaṣolkāya*, because five of the manuscripts Gupta (1971: 484) reported in his apparatus read the first two syllables as *khaṣo-*, five others read the same, though with a different sibilant. As far as the second syllable is concerned, the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, too, lends support to *-ṣo-*, and above all, the *Saurasamhitā* passage leaves no doubt concerning reading of the *mantra*.

*bhūr bhuvah svas tvam onkāraḥ sarve rudrāḥ sanātanāḥ |
puruṣaḥ san maho 'tas tvām praṇamāmi kapardinam ||*

Obeisance to Kṣaṣolka, the peaceful, the cause of three causes⁹! I offer myself to you who has the form of cognition. Obeisance to Ghr̥ṇi, Sūrya, a form of brahman! You precisely are the supreme brahman, the waters, the light, the essence, and the immortal. You are 'om bhūr bhuvah svaḥ,' you are all eternal Rudras. You are Puruṣa, the Existent, the Great and Glorious (*mahas*), therefore I bow in front of you Kapardin (lit. one with braided and knotted hair).

*tvam eva viśvaṃ bahudhā sad asat sūyate ca yat |
namo rudrāya sūryāya tvām ahaṃ śaraṇaṃ gataḥ ||
pracetase namas tubhyaṃ namo mīḍhuṣṭamāya te |
namo namas te rudrāya tvām ahaṃ śaraṇaṃ gataḥ ||
hiraṇyabāhave tubhyaṃ hiraṇyapataye namaḥ |
ambikāpataye tubhyaṃ umāyāḥ pataye namaḥ ||*

You alone are the multifold world, and also that which is born, existent as well as not yet existent. Obeisance to Rudra, Sūrya! I have taken refuge in you. Obeisance to you as Pracetas, you as Mīḍhuṣṭama! Obeisance to Rudra! I have taken refuge in you. Obeisance to you as Lord Golden-hand, the Lord of Gold! Obeisance to you as the Lord of Ambikā, the Lord of Umā!

*namo 'stu nīlagrīvāya namas tubhyaṃ pinākine |
vilohitāya bhargāya sahasrākṣāya te namaḥ ||
namo haṃsāya te nityam ādityāya namo 'stu te |
namas te vajrahastāya tryambakāya namo 'stu te ||
prapadye tvām virūpākṣaṃ mahāntaṃ parameśvaram |
hiraṇmayam gr̥he guptaṃ ātmānaṃ sarvadehinām ||*

Obeisance to the Lord with blue neck! Obeisance to you as the bearer of Pināka bow! Obeisance to you as the lord of deep-red complexion,

⁹ The most possible interpretation of *kāraṇatraya* is Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara.

of radiance, and thousand eyes! Constant obeisance to Haṃsa, obeisance to you Āditya! Obeisance to you holding a Vajra in the hand, Obeisance to you Tryambaka! I approach you Virūpākṣa, the great supreme lord, the golden self hidden at home inside all embodied beings!

namasyāmi param jyotir brahmāṇaṁ tvāṁ parāṁ gatim |
viśvaṁ paśupatiṁ bhīmaṁ naranārīśarīṇaṁ ||
namaḥ sūryāya rudrāya bhāsvate parameṣṭhine |
*ugrāya *sarvabhakṣāya¹⁰ tvāṁ prapadye sadaiva hi ||*

I bow to you the supreme light, Brahman, the ultimate destination! To Viśva, to the Lord of cattle, to the terrible, to the one who has a body combining man and woman! Obeisance to Sūrya to Rudra, to the Luminous, to the Outstanding! I always approach you Mighty, Devouring all!

etad vai sūryahrdayaṁ japtvā stavam anuttamam |
prātaḥ kāle 'tha madhyāhne namaskuryād divākaram ||

This is the Heart of the Sun-god, an excellent praise. Having recited this either in the morning or the noon, one should bow to the Sun-god.

The Balinese *Vedaparikrama* and the *Saurasamhitā*

Although the worship of the Sun as deity in a temple seems to have come into India from outside in the middle of the first millennium,

¹⁰ The Kashiraj Trust edition of the text (Gupta 1971: 484) reads *sarvabhaktāya* which in my opinion is the least possible reading found apparently only in 6 out of 21 manuscripts he consulted. The majority of manuscripts, as Gupta reported read *sarvabhakṣāya*. The Asiatic Society edition (Mukhopadhyaya 1890: 579) accepts *sarvvataḥṣāya* found in four Devanāgarī manuscripts it consulted but reports that two Bengali manuscripts read *sarvvabhakṣāya*. As an epithet of Rudra or Agni, *sarvabhakṣa* is attested in older sources, *sarvataḥṣa* not, and confusion of *bha* and *ta* is common in many Indian scripts.

reverence of the sun god at sunrise and sunset is an integral part of Vedic religion at all times, and Brahmins from the Vedic cultural milieu continued with this custom. But the Sun god is normally equated with Viṣṇu, the deity of the competing tradition of Vaiṣṇavism who mounts on the golden eagle, the sunbird, betraying his solar nature. Therefore, a tradition that promoted the identity of the Sun god as Śiva did not survive independently for long in the mainland. To find such a religious tradition continued down to modern times, we need to go to Bali where Siva and Surya are combined and worshipped as Paramaśivāditya.

In 1933 Sylvain Lévi published the text of the Balinese *Vedaparikrama*¹¹ ritual which provided details of such a combined worship. Lévi (1933: xix) did not fail “to perceive the evidently Tantric character of the whole ritual,” but he was unable to find any trace of a Sanskrit Indian original text of the Sandhyā worship combining Sūrya and Śiva as Parama Ādityaśiva or Parama Śivāditya,” as our text does. As Lévi states: “the *Vedaparikrama* in the Balinese ritual, is another name of the madhya pūjā, that is the only form of cult practised in the daily worship.”

In the spirit of inclusivist amalgamation that is common in Bali, as it is in Nepal, the *Vedaparikrama* combines the cult of Śiva-Sūrya with the cults of Paśupati, the Lord of Bound Souls, and Mr̥tyujit, the Conqueror of Death, and adapts other Śaiva ritual practices like *amṛtīkaraṇa* for the sake of production of holy water. It also widely uses the *mūlamantra*, *hr̥m hr̥m saḥ*, and the special heart *mantra*, *haṁ khaṁ khaṣolkāya*, which in Balinese tongue have become *hram hr̥m saḥ* and *haṁ/am̐ kaṁ kasolkāya* respectively. It also creates a hierarchy of seven deities and equates them with *śūnyātman*, *niṣkalātman*, *antyātman*, *nirātman*, *paramātman*, *antarātman*, *ātman*. However, as Lévi states (1933: xxix), the sun-worship of the *Vedaparikrama* is “a regular part of the morning ceremonies on holidays. When the priest is about to recite it, a fire is

¹¹ According to Lévi (1933: xviii) this title “is probably an alteration of Sk. parikarma, in the special meaning of ‘cult, adoration,’ as found in Bhāgavata Purāṇa.” However, it is quite possible that the word is here used in the sense of procedure like the words *paripāṭi* and *vidhi*.

lit so that all attendants may be informed that the time has come to present offerings to Sūrya....”

At this juncture, one may argue that since the *Vedaparikrama* might not be borrowing directly from the *Saurasamhitā*, because the former includes a number of components that are not found in the latter. But among Balinese texts I have traced a set of four verses recognised and used as a *Sūryastava*, a praise, which appear directly taken from the *Saurasamhitā*. These verses provide visualizations of the Sun god and other heavenly bodies. The name Skanda in the vocative case is still there in the versified text, which proves that the original source of these verses is the *Saurasamhitā*, a text presented in the form of a dialogue between Maheśvara Śiva and Kartikeya Skanda. Otherwise, to invoke Skanda in the verses of praise dedicated to the Sun god and other heavenly bodies is redundant. Here below I compare the Balinese *Sūryastava* with the relevant verses from the *Saurasamhitā* and underline the syllables or words read differently in the former:

Saurasamhitā 2.48cd--54ab:

raktavarṇamahātejahsitapadmoparisthitam ||
sarvalakṣaṇasaṃyuktaṃ sarvābharanabhūṣitam |
dvibhujam ekavakraṃ tu somapaṅkajadhṛkkaram ||
vṛtte tejasthabimbe tu madhyasthaṃ raktavāsasam |
ādityasya tv idaṃ rūpaṃ śucisnāto jitendriyaḥ ||
trikālaṃ yaḥ smaret skanda ekacitto vyavasthitaḥ |
so 'cirād bhavate loke vittena dhanadopamaḥ ||
mucyate sarvarogais tu tejasvī balavān bhavet |
hṛdayaṃ ca śiraś caiva śikhāvarmāstralocanam ||
raktavarṇā ime saumyāḥ sarvābharanabhūṣitāḥ |
varadāḥ padmahastāś ca dhyātavyāḥ sādakena tu ||
vidyutpuṇjanibhaś cāstro durgadamṣṭrākarālinam |

Sūryastava (Goudriaan and Hooykaas 428):

oṃ raktavarṇaṃ mahātejaṃ śvetapadmoparisthitam |
sarvalakṣaṇasaṃpannaṃ sarvābharanabhūṣitam ||
dvibhujam ekavakraṃ ca saumyapaṅkajadhṛtkaram |
varttule tejobimbe tu madhyasthaṃ raktavāsasam ||

ādityasya tv idaṃ rūpaṃ śucisattvo jitendriyaḥ |
 trikālaṃ yaḥ smaret skanda¹² ekacitte vyavasthitaḥ ||
 so 'cirād bhavati loka vittena dhanadopamaḥ |
 mucyate sarvarogais tu tejasvī balavān bhavet ||
 hṛdayaṇ ca śiraś caiva śikhāvarmāstralocanāḥ |
 raktavarṇās tv ime saumyāḥ sarvābharaṇabhūṣitāḥ ||
 varadapadmahastās ca dhyātavyāḥ sādakena tu |
 vidyutpuñjanibhaṃ stotraṃ ugradamaṣṭra¹³karālinam ||

At the end, the *Saurasamhitā* is a little-known but important text that identifies the Sun god with Śiva. What is special in the *Saurasamhitā* is the fact that the cult of Śiva-Sūrya has lost its independence existence in South Asia, whereas in Bali it has not only maintained its independent but also taken central stage. This transfer of Indic ritual practice to Bali was not an isolated case. There are many examples of such transmissions. Scholars, such as T. Goudriaan in the past and Andrei Acri more recently, have traced a number of verses anonymously cited in Tutar texts from Bali in Siddhānta Śaiva scriptures. This illustrates the huge distances that Indic traditions have travelled and the importance of adopting a transnational perspective.

References

Acharya, Diwakar 2005.

“The Role of Caṇḍa in the Early History of the Pāśupata Cult and the Image on the Mathurā Pillar Dated Gupta Era 61,” in *Indo-Iranian Journal* 48 (2005), 207–222.

¹² Lévi reads *kenda* here, but as Goudriaan and Hooykaas report, one of their manuscripts identified as PPQ reads *skandaḥ* and all other manuscripts read *kandaḥ*, and they emend it. On the basis of manuscript evidence the *Saurasamhitā* parallel I think we should read *skanda*.

Bisschop, Peter 2010.

“Once Again on the Identity of Caṇḍeśvara in Early Śaivism: A rare Caṇḍeśvara in the British Museum?” in *Indo-Iranian Journal* 53, 233–249.

Goodall, Dominic 2009.

“Who is Caṇḍeśa?” in Shingo Einoo (ed.): *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*. Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, 2009, pp. 351-423 + 44 plates.

Goudriaan, T. and Hooyakaas, C. 1971.

Stuti and Stava (Bhuddha, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava) of Balinese Brahman priests. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, and. Letterkunde Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 76. Amsterdam/London: North-Holland Publishing Company.

Gupta 1971.

See *Kūrmapurāṇa* 1.

Kūrmapurāṇa.

1. *The Kūrma Purāṇa*, ed. Anand Swarup Gupta. Varanasi: All-India Kashiraj Trust, 1971.
2. *The Kūrma Purāṇa*, ed. Nilmani Mukhopadhyaya. Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1890.

Lévi, Sylvain 1933.

Sanskrit-Texts from Bali. Critically edited with an introduction. Gaekwad's Oriental Series 67. Baroda: Oriental Institute.

Mukhopadhyaya 1890.

See *Kūrmapurāṇa* 2.

Netrat Tantra.

The Netra Tantra with commentary by Kshemarāja, ed. Madhusudan Kaul

Shāstrī. KSTS 46 and 61. Bombay, 1926 and 1939.

Sanderson , Alexis 2009.

The Śaiva Age: The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism During the Early Medieval Period” in Shingo Einoo (ed.): *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*. Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture.

Saurasamhitā.

Forthcoming edition prepared by Diwakar Acharya.

Sircar, Dines Chandra 1965.

Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization. Volume I: From the Sixth Century B.C. to the Sixth Century A.D. Second Revised and Enlarged Edition. Calcutta: University of Calcutta.

TĀ Bhaṭṭabhāskara = *The Taittirīya Āraṇyaka with the commentary of Bhaṭṭabhāskara Miśra, Vols. I-II*. Government Oriental Library Series 26-27. ed. A. Mahādeva Śāstrī and K. Raṅgāchārya. Mysore: Government of the Maharaja of Mysore.

TĀ Sāyaṇa = *The Taittirīya Āraṇyaka with the commentary of Sāyaṇa, Vols. I-II*. Anandashram Sanskrit Series 36. ed. Baba Śāstrī Phaḍke. Poona: Anandashram Press.

Vajracharya, Dhanavajra 1973

Licchavikālakā Abhilekha [Inscriptions of the Licchavi Period.] Kathmandu: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies.