

वृषसानसंश्रुतः

The Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, a text of the Śivadharmā corpus

A Critical Edition

Volume I

UNIVERSITÀ DI NAPOLI L'ORIENTALE
DIPARTIMENTO ASIA, AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO

THE ŚIVADHARMA PROJECT

Studies on the History of Śaivism
X??

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A Critical Edition

Volume I

Csaba Kiss



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Preface

Aims and problems

What is the *raison d'être* of this edition? It is essentially a new copy, and carefully prepared new version of a text called *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, based on multiple witnesses, augmented with an analysis of the contents, with contextualisation, and with an English translation. As for the critical edition, while I went to great lengths to understand the textual history behind the manuscripts used, it is obviously a deeply contaminated version of a text transmitted through contaminated witnesses. Nevertheless, I hope that this version is as close as possible to the authors' and redactors' original intentions at the time of assembling these chapters together, approximately in the seventh to tenth centuries. Of course we do not know if there was a single moment when the intention to compose a new text on Dharma under the title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* was conceived or if there was one single 'original copy,'¹ but it this edition aim to be the most meaningful and most readable among all available copies.

Still, the present book is just a version of a text that likely never existed exactly in this form, inevitably showing signs of being an eclectic edition. Moreover, it may unintentionally exhibit characteristics of the 21st century (beyond the modern Devanāgarī typeface or occasional choices based on our contemporary understandings and misunderstandings) mixed with characteristics of the first millenium. We know that '[a]ll editing is an act of interpretation.'² Many of the editorial decisions I made were based on opinions expressed by colleagues during our regular reading sessions. Thus this edition is a result of the interpretative efforts of a group of scholars, and this may sometimes, though hopefully rarely, have caused contradictions.

To complicate matters further, we are publishing this long text in two

¹ This reminds one of James McLaverty's question (as quoted in McGann 1991, 9): 'If the Mona Lisa is in the Louvre in Paris, where is Hamlet?'

² McGann 1991, 27.

volumes, with the second volume still in progress when the first is released. This may produce various problems: of interpretation, of internal references, of repetition, and most importantly, of presenting a text with embedded and recurring layers cut in half. To counteract some of these issues, I finished editing and studying the most significant chapters in the second part of the text (although all chapters seem increasingly significant as the editorial process progresses) by the time I completed the first part. Relevant passages from the second part can be found in the Appendices. **CHECK** A further minor issue arises when I discuss topics that I have already covered in Kiss 2021: some overlaps are inevitable.

What is the purpose of this edition? The main objective of the ŚIVADHARMA PROJECT has been to better understand the function of individual texts within the so-called Śivadharmā corpus, as well as their relations and interconnectedness, or lack thereof, and thus to grasp the *raison d'être* of the corpus itself. My attempt is rather simplistic: to understand what the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* tried to convey when it was composed, and to explore why this text got inserted in those multiple-text manuscripts that transmit the so-called Śivadharmā corpus; but even if we do not fully understand the purpose and function of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, to make a pre-eleventh-century Sanskrit text easily accessible in the twenty-first century is, I believe, a noble aspiration.

Introduction

Śivadharmā corpus

The *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (VSS), a 24-chapter long Sanskrit Śaiva text, has always³ been transmitted as part of the so-called Śivadharmā corpus, in multiple-text manuscripts that usually contain eight texts. Much has been written recently on the corpus itself and on the individual texts included. For an introduction, an overview of secondary literature, an up-to-date bibliography, and the results of recent Śivadharmā-related research, see De Simini & Kiss 2021. Since the VSS’s links to other texts of the corpus, with the possible exception of the *Dharmaputrikā*, are relatively weak, I will refer to other Śivadharmā texts only when they are relevant for the present inquiry.⁴

Title

The title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*⁵ can be translated as: ‘A Compendium on the Essence of the Bull [of Dharma].’ The last two elements (*sāra-saṃgraha*) need little explanation: this work is a ‘compendium’ on, a ‘collection’ or ‘summary’ of (*saṃgraha*) the ‘essence’ (*sāra*), of its topic. The words ‘compendium’ and ‘collection’ reflect the composite nature of the *Vṛṣasāra-saṃgraha* well; see sections on the structure of the text and on its possible sources on pp. xvii and pp. xviii ff. The remaining question is whether the bull in the title is only a reference to a representation of Dharma or also a hint at Śiva’s bull, his vehicle or mount, sometimes called Nandi or Nandin in other works.⁶

³ For cases that seem exceptions (Ko₇₇ and K₄₁ **CHECK** if more) see the manuscript descriptions on pp. 3ff.

⁴ Mainly in section ‘**CHECK**’ on p. xx

⁵ Read *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* for *Vṛttasārasaṃgraha* in Petech 1984, 84.

⁶ There is no trace of Nandi/Nandin as identified with the bull in the *Vṛṣasāra-saṃgraha*. On the possible time after which Nandi or Nandin, originally a *gaṇa* was

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Dharma is frequently referred to as a (four-legged) bull, often as one that loses a leg in every Kalpa, in Dharma literature from at least the time of the *Mahābhārata*, see, e.g., MBh 3.188.10–12; and *Manu* 1.81a (*catuṣpāt sakalo dharmaḥ* and 8.16a: *vṛṣo hi bhagavān dharmaḥ*).⁷

In addition, in Śaiva contexts, the bull of Dharma does feature as Śiva’s vehicle. See, e.g., Bakker 2014, 68ff, especially p. 69, where Bakker, after analysing seals containing images of bulls, remarks:

The topicality of the Śaiva accommodation of the Dharma in the second half of the sixth century is nicely illustrated by a myth found in the original *Skandapurāṇa* [...] the uncontrollable, wild bull (*vṛṣa*) is domesticated by Śiva’s Gaṇapa Prabhākara [...] In this way the bull is transformed into Śiva’s vehicle (*vāhana*).

Or putting it more bluntly:

Making the bull Śiva’s vehicle implies that Śiva has become the supreme lord of the Dharma, or that the Dharma has been accommodated in [Ś]aivism.⁸

The possibility that the bull in the title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* refers not only to Dharma as a bull, but also to Śiva’s *vāhana* has been mentioned in De Simini & Mirnig 2017, 238 n. 13, and briefly discussed in Kiss 2021, 185–186 with the conclusion that although

while the bull as a synonym of Dharma is mentioned in the text repeatedly, [...] there is no clear reference to Śiva’s mount in the [VSS, it is] not inconceivable that the redactors of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* had the same association in mind, namely that the bull in question is both Dharma and Śiva’s mount.⁹

Sanderson 2015 (210 n. 136), says the following on *vṛṣa* being Dharma in general, and on the bull appearing on the coins of the Hephthalite Hun Mihirakula in particular, also mentioning the VSS:

considered a bull, see Bhattacharya 1977 and Goodall, Rout, Sathyanarayanan *et al* 2005, 100–108 and 171–172.

⁷ See, e.g., Couture 2006; also Gutiérrez 2018 (in the section ‘In animal terms’): ‘The emphasis on the whole body, with all four legs, assures the maintenance of stability in dharma’s structure, which in turn structured Brahmanical society.’

⁸ Bakker, Bisschop, & Yokochi 2014, 65 n. 210. Bhattacharya (1977, 1552) suggests that ‘In the Purāṇas the bull (Vṛṣabha or Vṛṣa) of Śiva is identified with Dharma, “virtue personified”. This is a new development to sanctify the animal vehicle of the god. This new situation took place with the religious rite when an offering of a bull to a Brahmin deemed to be of a high religious merit.’

⁹ Note that *Śivadharmottara* 12.87 also mentions the ‘Dharma bull’: *īśvarāy-atanasyādhaḥ śrīmān dharmavṛṣaḥ sthitaḥ | yatra viravṛṣas tatra kṣityām gomātaraḥ sthitā ||*

Introduction

To laud the bull (*vṛṣa*) would be surprising if the intended meaning were the bull that is Śiva’s mount, but not if the word is intended in its figurative meaning, namely *dharmah*, or *sukṛtam* ‘the virtuous actions [prescribed by the Veda].’ For this meaning of *vṛṣaḥ* see, for example, Amarasimha, *Nāmalingānuśāsana* 1.4.25b (*sukṛtam vṛṣaḥ*), 3.3.220 (*sukṛte vṛṣabhe vṛṣaḥ*); Halāyudha, *Abhidhānaratnamālā* 1.125cd (*dharmah puṇyaṃ vṛṣaḥ śreyah sukṛtaṃ ca samaṃ smṛtam*); *Manu* 8[.]16a (*vṛṣo hi bhagavān dharmas...*); and the Gwalior Museum Stone Inscription of Patañgasambhu (Mirashi 1962), l. 15, *vṛṣaikaniṣṭho ‘pi jitasmaro ‘pi yaḥ śaṅkaro ‘bhūd bhuvi ko ‘py apūrvvaḥ*, concerning the Śaiva ascetic Vyomaśambhu: ‘He was in the world an extraordinary new Śiva, since he too was *vṛṣaikaniṣṭhaḥ* (‘devoted solely to pious observance’; in Śiva’s case ‘riding only on the Bull’) and he too was *jitasmarah* (‘one who had defeated sensual urges’; in Śiva’s case ‘the defeater of the Love god Kāmadeva’). This is also the meaning of *vṛṣaḥ* in the title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, one of the works of the Śivadharmā corpus (see, e.g., Sanderson 2014, p. 2), i.e., ‘Summary of the Essentials of the [Śiva]dharma’.

In the last sentence here, Sanderson implies that the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* is organically part of the teachings that we may collectively call the Śivadharmā, and he thus supplies ‘Śiva’ when translating the title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*. A closer examination of the VSS reveals no direct references to either Śiva’s bull or to the bull as embodying the Śivadharmā. Instead, the bull in the VSS is repeatedly associated with the Dharma that is the four *āśramas* (see p. ??). My conclusion is that while the word *vṛṣa* in the title may well carry a reference to Śiva’s bull, it is always only implied and never explicitly taught, while the bull as the personification of Dharma as the four *āśramas* explicitly appears. Thus the title actually lacks any explicit hint to Śaivism,¹⁰ which fits in well with the rather blurred and multi-layered affiliation of the text to Dharmasāstra, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism.¹¹

Finally, as a fanciful experiment, and if one accepts that the VSS originated in Nepal,¹² one could wonder if the title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* has anything to do with the Licchavī king Vṛṣadeva. Sanderson (2009, 74) mentions that Vṛṣadeva is ‘described in an inscription of his eighth-century descendant Jayadeva as having inclined towards Buddhism;¹³ a view confirmed by a local chronicle, which attributes to him the establishing of Buddhist

¹⁰ In contrast with, e.g., the UUMS C₉₄ fol. 184r ll. 3–4 (see Kiss 2021, 185–186): *īśvara uvāca | na jānanti ca loke ‘smin mānavā mūḍhacetasaḥ | catuṣpādo bhaved dharmah śuklo ‘yaṃ mama vāhanaḥ ||*

¹¹ See p. xvii.

¹² See **CHECK**

¹³ See Vajracārya 1973, 148, l. 9: *sugataśāsanapakṣapātī*.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

images,’ and that this king established ‘the Caitya of the Sīnagu-vihāra (the Svayambhūnāth Caitya).’ More importantly, Sanderson summarises the information to be found in the Changu Narayana Pillar Inscription (east shaft),¹⁴ namely that Vṛṣadeva was the great-grandfather of Mānadeva, whose ‘dated inscriptions range in date from 459 to 505/6’ [CE] (Sanderson 2009, 75). This would place the reign of Vṛṣadeva around 400 CE. The early fifth century may look too early for the date of composition of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, and any connection between this king and the text is impossible to prove at the moment, but it is equally impossible to reject it fully, and if there were any connection, it would serve as explanation for the slightly unusual nature of the title (‘... the essence of the bull’).

Genre

Is the VSS a Purāṇa? There are at least two reasons to think so. One is the section VSS 1.62–75, a list of so-called *vedavyāsa*s, transmitters of Purāṇas, from Brahmā, to Vyāsa Dvaipāyana, Romaharṣa and his son. Why should a text include in its first chapter such a list other than to imply that it describes its own origins?

Another argument is that the topics dealt with in the VSS are exactly what we expect from a Purāṇa. The famous *purāṇapañcalakṣaṇa* includes, following Wilson’s translation (in Rocher 1986, 26), the following: (1) primary creation, cosmogony and chronology (*sarga*); (2) creation, destruction of the world (*pratisarga*); (3) genealogies (*vaṃśa*); (4) Manu eras (*manvantaras*); (5) history (*vaṃśānucarita*).¹⁵ Arguably all these are present in the VSS, most of them already in chapter one, and later in twenty-one and twenty-four, plus narratives of the deeds of gods (e.g. in chapter twenty-three), and much more. It is possible that some parts of the VSS were originally intended to form a *purāṇa*. The part in question could be the outermost layer of the text. This leads us to the examination of the structure of the VSS.

Alternatively, is the VSS a Dharmaśāstra? It does have features that are characteristic of Dharmaśāstric texts such as descriptions of rules of conduct (chapters 3–8), discussions of the *varṇas* and *āśramas* (chapters 11 and 19), but some important elements such as narratives (chapter 12), yogic teachings (chapter 16), lists of *tīrthas* (chapter 10), and the frequent use of poetic

¹⁴ Gnoli 1956, 1, and <https://siddham.network/inscription/in02001/>

¹⁵ See, e.g., SivP 7.1.41: *sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṃśo manvantarāṇi ca | vaṃśānucaritaṃ caiva purāṇaṃ pañcalakṣaṇam ||*

Introduction

metres (e.g. *upajāti* and *śārdūlavikrīḍita*) seem alien to Dharmaśāstra.

F. 251v of K₄₁ contains a scribal addition that gives a richer and somewhat more nuanced definition of the genre of the VSS, paraphrasing *Mahābhārata* 1.56.21:¹⁶

*pādam ādyam*¹⁷ *idaṃ śāstram yo 'dhīyāta jitendriyaḥ |*
tenādhītaṃ sarvvadharmam iti nāsty atra saṃśayaḥ ||
arthaśāstram idaṃ puṇyaṃ dharmasāstram idaṃ param |
mokṣasāstram idaṃ proktaṃ śivenāmitatejasā |

Should someone read [only as much as] the first *pāda* [of] this *śāstra* with his senses subdued, [that would count as if] he read all the Dharmic teachings, no doubt about this. This virtuous Arthaśāstra, this excellent Dharmaśāstra, this *śāstra* on Liberation was taught by Śiva, whose splendour is unmeasurable.

According to this definition, the VSS is both an Arthaśāstra and a Dharmaśāstra, and also a yogic text that gives instructions on *mokṣa*.

Structure

As described in Kiss 2021, in more detail at least three structural layers can be discerned in the VSS: a general, Dharmaśāstric one; a more or less Vaiṣṇava one; and a Śaiva one. Figure 1 is a diagramme reproduced from Kiss 2021, 188 showing the textual divisions more precisely.

Each layer is characterised by a dialogue between two interlocutors. The layer that I label general Dharmaśāstric is a dialogue between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana; the Vaiṣṇava layer is presented as a dialogue between Vigatārāga, who is Viṣṇu in disguise, and Anarthayajña, the ascetic; the Śaiva layer is a dialogue between Śiva and Devī, as related by Nandikeśvara.

Another way to represent the overall structure of the VSS visually is shown by Figure 2 on p. xix below. The VSS is represented as a lotus whose petals represent chapters. White petals indicate chapters within the general Dharmaśāstric layer; light grey colour indicates the Vaiṣṇava layer; dark grey colour indicates Śaiva chapters. The divisions are not clear-cut:

¹⁶ *Mahābhārata* 1.56.21 reads: *arthaśāstram idaṃ puṇyaṃ dharmasāstram idaṃ param | mokṣasāstram idaṃ proktaṃ vyāsenāmitabuddhinā ||*. The parallel between the scribal verses in K₄₁ and the *Mahābhārata* has already been noted in De Simini 2016b, 253 n. 51.

¹⁷ Understand *pādamātram*?

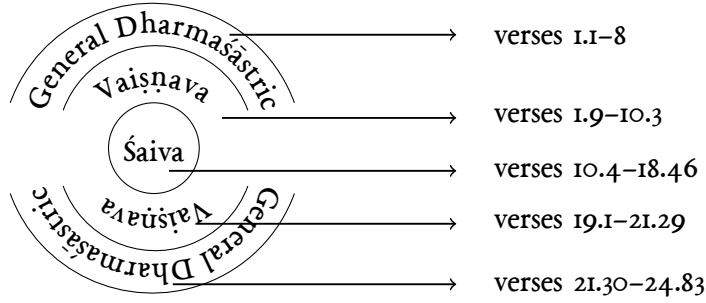


Figure 1: The structure of the VSS (reproduced from Kiss 2021, 188)

the first few verses of chapter one belong to the general layer and there are some transitions within chapters. Also, the layers are not hermetically sealed, and there is some ‘leaking’ between the chapters. Śaiva chapters do contain Vaiṣṇava material and vice versa. The labels next to the petals are keywords that indicate the main topic of the individual chapters. Big check marks indicate the presence of Anarthayajña the ascetic in the given chapter, while smaller check marks indicate references in the given chapters to Anarthayajña’s ascetic practice repeatedly called *anartha-yajña*, i.e. ‘non-material/internalised sacrifice/worship.’ Anarthayajña in both senses seems to be one of the main foci of the VSS. A brief overview of the Vaiṣṇava chapters would be the following. Anarthayajña, a Vaiṣṇava ascetic, who propagates a system of internalised *āśramas*/a system beyond the traditional *āśramas*, and who was born into an obscure or fluid *varṇa* (*brāhmaṇa*/*kṣatriya*), who is also a propagator of a Śaiva(?) version of internalised sacrifice or worship, is being tested by Viṣṇu; he passes the test and follows Viṣṇu to Viṣṇuloka.

Another general observation could be that around one fourth of the text is an elaboration on rules of religious conduct (*yama-niyama*). Also, chapter two seems slightly out of place, being a clearly Śaiva chapter inserted in the Vaiṣṇava layer and in the corresponding dialogue of the Vaiṣṇava interlocutors, so to say. On these, see Kiss 2021, and the analyses of the individual chapters below.

Connection to other texts

The VSS’s debt to the *Mahābhārata* (MBh) is evident right from its first few verses. As already noted in, the frame story in the VSS comprises

a dialogue between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana, echoing the setting of the frame story of the *Mahābhārata*. Janamejaya is the king at whose snake-

Introduction

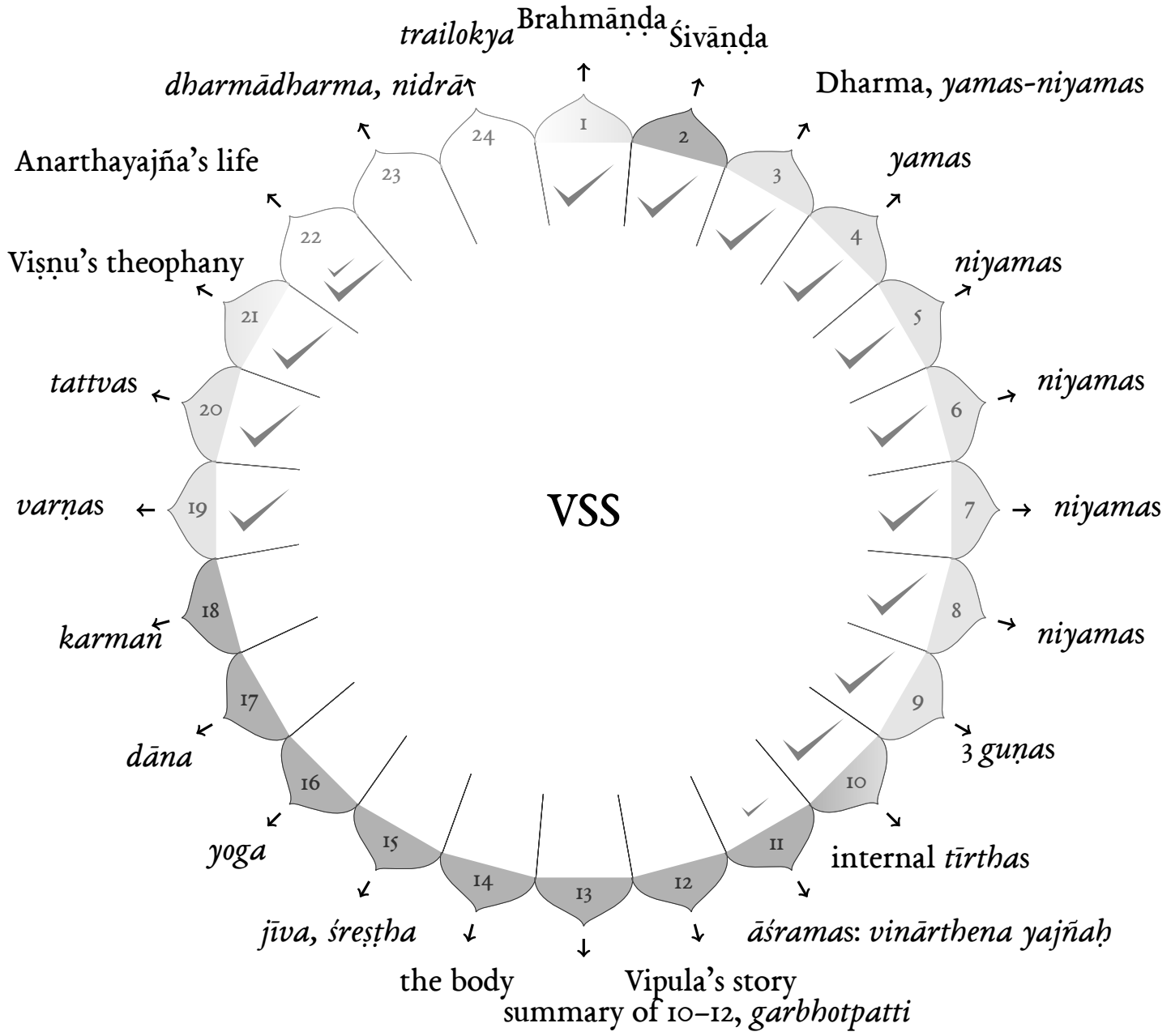


Figure 2: The structure and topics of the VSS

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

sacrifice Vaiśampāyana recited the whole *Mahābhārata* for the first time. This important moment is where the frame story of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* takes off: Janamejaya has listened to the whole of the *Mahābhārata*, but having had the desire to hear the ultimate teaching on Dharma, he is bound to remain unsatisfied. Asked by Janamejaya for a higher teaching on Dharma which can lead to liberation, Vaiśampāyana relates a dialogue between Vigatārāga (in fact Viṣṇu in disguise) and Anarthayañña, an ascetic.¹⁸

Thus the frame story in the VSS suggests that the text is to be ideally read as a summary or higher synthesis of the Dharmic teachings found in the MBh. The VSS’s connection to the MBh is also evident from quotations from and paraphrases of MBh passages. EXAMPLES (tattvasystem). References to other works - Mahābhārata - nakule - vipule etc.

Moreover, a significant number of passages in the VSS derive from Purāṇas and from *Manu*. EXAMPLES.

The possibility of influence from Śaiva tantric works is minimal, but not to be excluded. EXAMPLES. Nisvāsakārikā

Śivadharmas texts:

Embryology

yoga *Dharmaputrikā* see below Dhyāna in the VSS and the DharmP

Compare, borrowings

Buddhacarita

Brhatkālottara,

Dating and provenance

There are a number of reasons to think that Nepal, or the Kathmandu valley, is the main candidate for being the VSS’s place of composition or final redaction. As for the time it may have happened, the first half of the period in the history of Nepal that is the most poorly documented and is thus variably labelled ‘the transitional period,’¹⁹ or a ‘relatively obscure period [...] [b]etween the Licchavis, who last appear in epigraphical record in 737 [CE], and the Malla kings, who ruled from 1200–1768’,²⁰ is the most probable one.

To make assumptions about the place of composition of the VSS, we

¹⁸ Kiss 2021, 187

¹⁹ Petech 1984, 31

²⁰ Sanderson 2009, 77

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can consider the following: the location of the manuscript evidence, place names and individuals mentioned in the text, and a possible influence of any local language on the style and grammar of the text.

All MSS known to us that transmits the VSS hail from Nepal. This in itself is not strong evidence but it stands in stark contrast with the MSS situation of the ŚDhŚ and the ŚDhU.²¹

The geographical locations mentioned in the VSS include the *tīrthas* mentioned in chapter ten: Himavat (the Himālayas), Kurukṣetra, Prayāga, Vārāṇasī, Yamunā, Gaṅgā, Agnitīrtha, Somatīrtha, Sūryatīrtha, Puṣkara, Mānasa, Naimiṣa, Bindusāra (= Bindusaras), Setubandha, Suradraha or Surahrada, Ghaṇṭikeśvara, and Vāgīśa. These may hint at the area where the VSS was composed by giving more significance to locations nearby and by being more specific when mentioning local sacred places. Some names on the list above are easy to indentify and at the same time probably too often included in lists such as this one to be indicative enough: Himavat, Kurukṣetra,²² Prayāga, Vārāṇasī, Yamunā, Gaṅgā, Puṣkara (modern Pushkar), and Naimiṣa.²³ All these are locations in modern North India, or in the case of Himavat, for our purposes and more precisely North India and Nepal. Agnitīrtha, Somatīrtha and Sūryatīrtha could also be locations in North India, although they are more obscure than the ones above. For Agnitīrtha, see, e.g., *Padmapurāṇa* 3.45.27ab: *agnitīrtham iti khyātaṃ yamunādakṣiṇe taṭe*; and *Padmapurāṇa* 6.139.1ab: *sābhramatī-uttare kūle agnitīrtham iti śrutam*; therefore Agnitīrtha may be placed at the souther banks of the Yamunā or at the northern banks of the Sābhramatī river (modern Sabarati) in the area of Ahmedabad. Somatīrtha is also sometimes placed on the banks of the Sabarmati, see, e.g., *Padmapurāṇa* 6.161.1ab: *somatīrtham tato gacched guptaṃ sābhramatītate*. Sūryatīrtha is sometimes placed in Kurukṣetra.²⁴ Going further in the list, Mānasa is generally thought to be ‘[a] lake on the peak of the Himālayas’,²⁵ modern Manasarovar.²⁶ Bindusāra, which most probably stands for Bindusaras, can

²¹ See, e.g., De Simini & Mirnig 2017, 589.

²² Generally thought to be the area around Thaneswar/Thanesar (Dey 1899, 45), 160km northwest of Delhi.

²³ Bisschop 2006, 217: ‘Naimiṣa has been identified with the region around modern Nimsar on the Gomatī river in Uttar Pradesh (SP vol. I, p. 67, n. 23). This identification is doubted by Mirashi (1968).’

²⁴ See Mani 1975, s.v. ‘sūryatīrtha’.

²⁵ Mani 1975, s.v. ‘mānasa IV’.

²⁶ Dey 1899, 57.

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be a sacred place north of Mount Kailāsa,²⁷ two miles south of Gaṅgotri,²⁸ or alternatively Sitpur in Gujarat, north-west of Ahmedabad.²⁹

In contrast with these, Setubandha is the traditional name for the ridge of rocks between South India and Śrī Laṅkā, and Ghaṇṭikeśvara could be a sacred place in Orissa.³⁰ Vāgīśa seems difficult to locate, but it is most probably a sacred place east of Kathmandu. The name comes up in *Nepālamāhātmya* 3.21–25 as a location south of and not far from the Hanumadiśvara-līṅga, which is in the southern outskirts of Bhaktapur in Nepal, at the confluence of two rivers (according to Acharya 1992, 37–38 and 298):

kiṃciddūre saṅgamasya yajñabhūmiṃ manoharām |
vidhāya munibhir sārddham vājapeyam athākarot ||
yajñam samāpya vālmīkir navanāḍimayaṃ girim |
āruroha dvijaśreṣṭho munibhir munisattamaḥ ||
kaṭake tasya śailasya nānānirjharasobhite |
līṅgaṃ saṃsthāpayām āsa vālmīkiśvarasaṃjñitam ||
sthāpayitvā mahālīṅgaṃ vālmīkir munisattamaḥ |
svāśrame tamasātīre yajau munigaṇair vṛtaḥ ||
vālmīkiśvaram ālokya vāgvibhūtiḥ prajāyate |
ato vāgīśvaram līṅga pravadanti maṇiṣiṇaḥ ||

Not far from the confluence [Vālmiki] prepared a nice sacrificial ground together with the sages, and performed the Vājapeya sacrifice. After having completed the sacrifice, Vālmiki, the best of the twice-born, the truest of sages, climbed the mountain on which fresh grass was growing(?)³¹ together with the sages. In a valley of the mountain which was embellished with various waterfalls, he installed a *līṅga* called Vālmikiśvara. Having installed that great *līṅga*, Vālmiki, the truest of sages, surrounded by groups of sages, returned to his own *āśrama* on the banks of the river Tamasā. If one sees the Vālmikiśvara [*līṅga*], one will have the power of speech (*vāg-vibhūti*). That is why the wise call it the Vāgīśvara-līṅga.

I have reproduced a map from the beginning of Acharya 1992 as Figure 4 on p. xxvi below. On this map, Vāgīśvara is placed north-east of Bhaktapur.

The only toponym left from the list with which we started this section is Suradraha.³² This sacred place is mentioned as the most important one in

²⁷ Mani 1975, s.v. ‘bindusaras’.

²⁸ Dey 1899, II.

²⁹ Dey 1899, *ibid.*.

³⁰ Sanderson 2009, II.3 n. 241.

³¹ *navanāḍimayaṃ*. Emend to *navanadīmayam* (‘having nine rivers’)?

³² Always spelt *surahrada* in Naraharinath’s edition.

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VSS 18.15, in a chapter that lists personal names, placenames, rivers, deities, etc., that are considered the best (*śreṣṭha*) of all others in the same category:

devatānām hariḥ śreṣṭhaḥ śreṣṭhā gaṇḍā nadīṣu ca |
anāśanas tapaḥśreṣṭhas tīrthaśreṣṭhaḥ suradrahaḥ || 18.15

The best god is Hari. The best river is the Ganges. The best austerity is fasting. The best pilgrimage-place is Suradraha.

This suggests that the location of Suradraha could potentially give us a hint on the geographic centre of the community in which the VSS was commissioned or composed. Unfortunately, at the moment I have no useful information on Suradraha. Nevertheless, I suppose that it should be a sacred place in the Kathmandu valley. The word *draha* is attested in Monier-Williams’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary as a variant of *hrada* (‘pond’). In classical Newar the corresponding form is *daha* (Malla 2000, 218). Suradaha may stand for Sūradaha, that is Sūryadaha, which is a ‘pond situated in Devakuru’ according to Mehta & Chandra 1972, 850.³³ In fact, Sūryahrada, that is, Sūradaha, is one of the so-called *yamaka*-lakes in Devakuru in the North in Jaina cosmography (see Kirfel 1920, 235–236).

All the above is based on VSS chapter ten. All locations have been entered in the map which is Figure 3 on p. xxv. The impression one gets is clearly a north-Indian or Nepalese focus.

Chapter twelve also contains toponyms that could refine or contradict what we have seen so far. The narrative of this chapter starts in Kusumanagara at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Gaṇḍakī rivers, which is Pāṭali-putra (12.4 and 12). As the story develops, Vipula, our hero, departs from Kusumanagara to travel to a far-away land, which is identified by a fellow traveller as the city of Naravīrapura in the Deccan (12.60). It is difficult to find a Naravīrapura that would fit the context. I suspect that what could have been meant is Karavīrapura, possibly modern Kolhapur in Maharashtra.³⁴ Since this placename, and the Sahya mountains (12.93),³⁵ come up in

³³ The references given are the Jaina *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti* and *Sthānāṅgasūtra*.

³⁴ The city we are looking for is clearly in the South, therefore Karavīrapura as ‘the Piṭha of the North’ in Kashmir is not a good candidate (see, e.g., Sanderson 2007, 261). Rather, as Dey (1899, 35) puts it: ‘A town situated on the north of the Western Ghāts near Jooner [Junnar?], on the bank of the Venā [Venna], a branch of the Krishnā, where Krishna met Parasurāma and killed its king named Srigāla (*Harivansa*).’ See *Harivaṃśa* App. I. 18.352–355: *pūrvajais tava govinda pūrvam puram idaṃ kṛtam | karavīrapuram nāma rāṣṭram caiva niveṣitam || pure ’smin nṛpatiḥ kṛṣṇa vāsudevo mahāyaśāḥ | sṛgāla iti vikhyāto nityam paramakopanaḥ ||*; and also *Padmapurāṇa* 6.106.3: *āsīt sahyādriviṣaye karavīrapure purā | brāhmaṇo dharmavit kaścid dharmadatto ’tīvīrutah ||*

³⁵ ‘The northern part of the Western Ghāts north of the river Kāveri’ (Dey 1899, 78).

the framework of a dreamlike, fanciful part of the narrative, playing the role of ‘the far-away, magical land,’ a Nepalese origin of the VSS is still tenable.

Perhaps the most telling of all toponyms found in the VSS is Mr̥gendraśikhara, where Anarthayajña’s *āśrama* is situated, ‘on the southern slopes of the Himalayas.’³⁶ This name comes up several times in the *Nepālamāhātmya* and thus features on the map in Acharya 1992 (Figure 4). Mr̥gendraśikhara is a mountain situated north of Kathmandu. Today the area is called Śivapurī. See details on the identification and on legends connected to Mr̥gendraśikhara in Gögge 2007, 114ff. The VSS specifies that Anarthayajña’s *āśrama* was on the banks of the Mahendrapathaga,³⁷ but I have not been able to identify this river.

The location with which the ascetic Anarthayajña is connected strongly suggests the Kathmandu valley as the geographical focus of the VSS because he is a key figure and main interlocutor in the VSS.³⁸

Turning to names of individuals mentioned in the VSS, those that might betray anything about the place or time of composition of the text include King Siṃhajaṭa and queen Kekayī, rulers of Nara- or Karavīrapura in the narrative of chapter twelve. Unfortunately, so far I have not been able to link these names to any historical or legendary persons. The name of the hero of the same chapter, Vipula, may be familiar from MBh 13.40.16–13.43.16.:

Devaśarman asks his disciple, Vipula, to protect his wife, Ruci, primarily from Indra’s amorous advances, while he is away from home. Vipula decides that the only way he can protect Ruci is from within, i.e., by entering her body by yogic powers. Vipula succeeds in protecting Ruci’s reputation and departs to practise extreme austerities. Later he encounters several people (in fact, as we learn later, Day and Night, and the six seasons) who mention ‘Vipula’s path to the other world’ (*vipulasya pare loka ya gatis*, MBh 13.42.27cd) as something horrible. He wonders what sins he may have committed that could yield such unfortunate consequences. He realizes that by not telling Devaśarman that he actually entered Ruci’s body, he lied and thus may have committed a horrible sin. When Devaśarman learns about

³⁶ See VSS 22.4–5: *vaiśampāyana uvāca | śṛṇu rājann avahito yogendrasya mahātmanah | āśramam varṇajātīnām vakṣyāmy eva narādhipa || himavaddakṣiṇe pārśve mrgendraśikhare nṛpa | mahendrapathagānāmanaditire narādhipa ||*. ‘Vaiśampāyana spoke: Listen, O King, attentively. I shall tell you about the *āśrama*, the *varṇa* and the *jāti* of the great and noble yogin, O king. In the southern region of the Himālaya, on the Mr̥gendra peak, O king, on the banks of the river Mahendrapathaga, O King[, was his *āśrama*].’

³⁷ See fn. 36.

³⁸ On Anarthayajña’s central role in the VSS, see more in Kiss 2021.

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Figure 3: A possible reconstruction of the geography of the VSS. Toponyms in italics are uncertain. Map constructed using a simple hydrographic map made by Daniel Dalet (d-maps.com).

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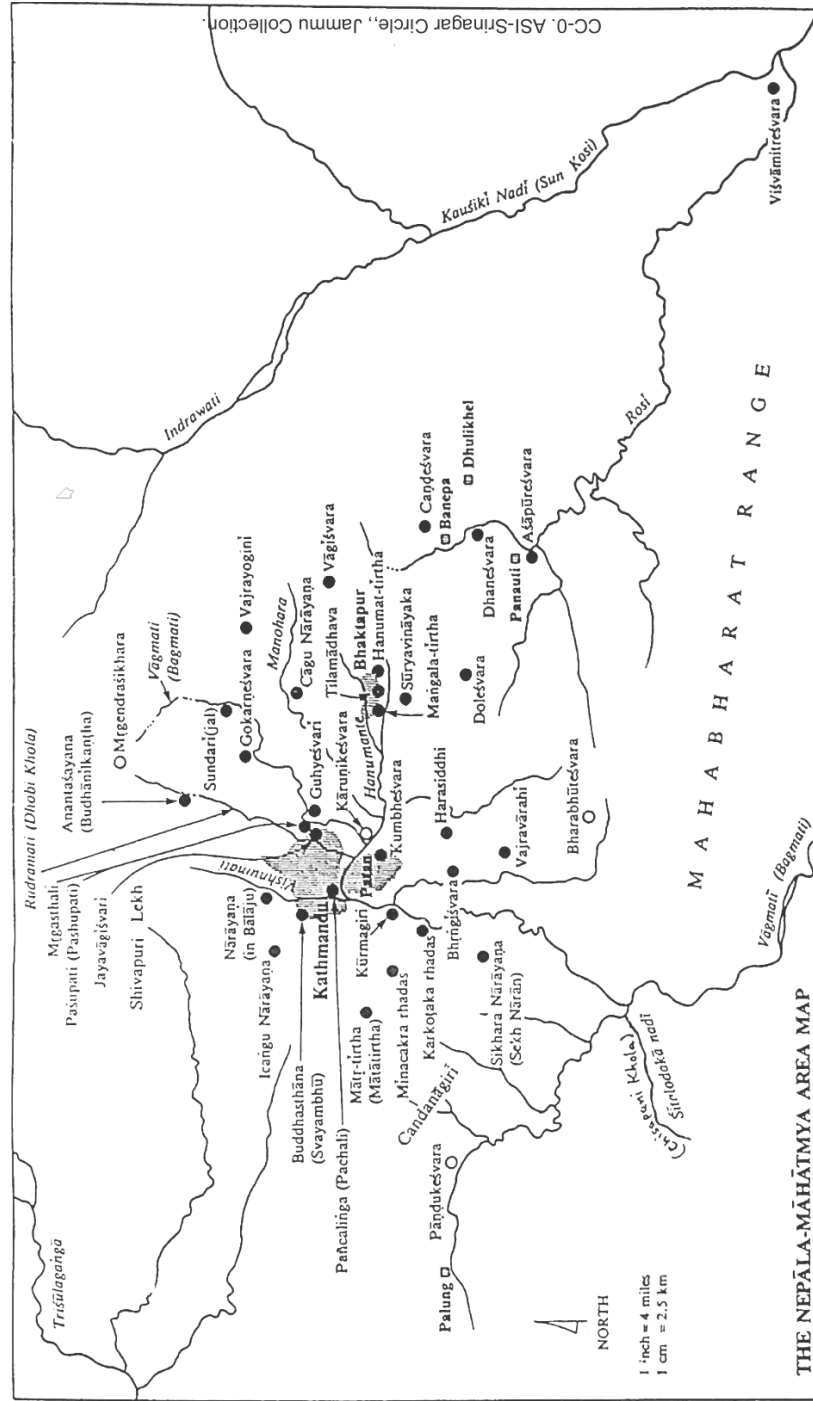


Figure 4: Map in Acharya 1992

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this, he praises Vipula for his services instead, and all three, Devaśarman, his wife, and Vipula, go to heaven.³⁹

Thus, ironically, while the Vipula of the MBh is famous for protecting somebody else’s wife, a rather different Vipula in VSS chapter twelve is somebody who donates his wife to a Brahmin as soon as the latter expresses his interest in her. It is more than possible that the two characters have no connection at all.

Other characters in VSS chapter twelve—Kapila, Vipula’s father; Bhīmabala, a traveller; Puṇḍaka, the foreman; and Caṇḍa and Vicāṇḍa, two royal envoys—seem to be of little use for us to ascertain the time and place of composition or redaction of the VSS.

As mentioned above, any discernible influence of a local, vernacular language on the style or grammar of a Sanskrit work could obviously be useful to locate the text in question geographically. The language of the VSS displays numerous oddities that could be explained by the interference of some other language, most likely early classical Newar. On this, see a separate section below on pp. xxx ff.

In addition, the quotes from *Manu* in the VSS usually contain variants that can be found in the apparatus in Olivelle’s critical edition of *Manu* (2005) as belonging overwhelmingly to what Olivelle calls the ‘Northern Transmission.’⁴⁰ This again confirms a North-Indian or Nepalese origin for the VSS.

As for the dating of the VSS, the *terminus ante quem* for its composition/redaction the obvious date is the earliest MSS that transmits it. The earliest dated MS that contains the VSS is Ko₇₇. It is dated to Nepal Samvat 156, i.e., 1035–36 CE.⁴¹ In a multiple-text MS⁴² that is potentially earlier than Ko₇₇, the VSS is written in a hand that seems later than that used for some of the other texts within the MS.⁴³ The final colophon of the VSS (and the DharmP) in this MS (f. 50r) is followed by the date [Nepāla] ‘samvat 192,’

³⁹ See a summary of Vipula’s story in the MBh also in Sukthankar 1944, 317–318.

⁴⁰ See, e.g., *pāpakṛt* in VSS 3.34d (≈ *Manu* 5.52) attested in Devanāgarī MSS Pu⁵, Pu⁷, Pu⁹; *nānyatra manur abravīt* in VSS 3.35d (≈ *Manu* 5.41) attested in Śāradā MSS sOx¹, sPu⁶ and Devanāgarī MS Tr²; *kūṭa* in VSS 4.79 (≈ *Manu* 11.57) in a MS from Kathmandu (Bkt⁵), in Devanāgarī/Old Nāgarī MSS (Lo⁴, nPu¹, Pu², Pu⁴, Pu¹⁰), as well as in two South-Indian MSS (Gmd¹, TMd³).

⁴¹ See Shastri 1928, 721 and De Simini & Mirnig 2017, 591. The date is clearly visible as ‘samvat 156’ in the last line of the penultimate folio side of Ko₇₇/8.

⁴² See more detail on this MS, which is now to be found in Munich, in Harimoto 2022.

⁴³ Harimoto 2022, 597–598: ‘This Śivadharma ms consists of two major parts, easily

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i.e., 1071–1072 CE.

The above mentioned two MSS make it impossible to date the VSS later than to the first half of the 11th century CE, and parts of the text could be considerably older than that period. Archaic features that may indicate that the VSS or parts of it were composed much earlier than the early 11th century include the following. Chapter ten, while it teaches the yogic tubes (*nāḍī*) *Suṣumnā* and *Idā*, is silent on *Piṅgalā*, which is a situation similar to that in the 6–7-century *Niśvāsa naya*⁴⁴ (see details at the analysis of chapter 10 on pp. xli and in the notes to the translation). Similarly, 11.23a (*nivṛtṭyādi caturvedas*) mentions four Śaiva *kalās*, instead of the expected and somewhat later, and in character tantric, five, namely *nivṛtti*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *vidyā*, *śānti*, and *śāntyatīta*. In the same chapter, the order in which the *āśramas* are taught (*grhastha*, *brahmacārin*, *vānaprastha*, *parivrājaka*) is reminiscent of *Āpastambadharmasūtra* 2.9.21.1, and is relatively rare, as opposed to the traditional order (*brahmacārin*, *grhastha*, *vānaprastha*, *parivrājaka*) found, e.g., in *Manu*. (See Kiss 2021, 195–196.) Another feature that might point towards a date considerably earlier than the 11th century is the system of *tattvas* in chapter 20: the *mahābhūtas* of classical Sāṅkhya are called *dhātus* here, the *tanmātras* of classical Sāṅkhya are called *guṇas*,⁴⁵ the *buddhi* of classical Sāṅkhya is called *mati*, and the highest *tattva* is singular unlike the multiple *puruṣas* of classical Sāṅkhya. These may well be archaisms included in the VSS consciously, but they could also indicate that the time of composition of the VSS is much closer to pre-classical Sāṅkhya than what the MS evidence suggests.⁴⁶

All in all, in light of all the above, it is difficult to be more precise on the dating of the VSS than saying that its production must have happened before the end of the 10th century—or beginning of the 11th century CE if our oldest dated MS that transmits the VSS is close in time to the actual

distinguishable by different hands: one that appears to be produced in 9th-c. Nepal [...], and another seemingly from a century or so later [...] The next set of folios making up this Śivadharmasūtra ms consists of three titles: the *Uttaromāmaheśvarasamvāda** (24 folios), the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (50 folios), and the *Dharmaputrikā* (11 folios). We do not know the original order of these three works because each section starts with folio 1. Moreover, even though these three titles appear to be written by the same hand (probably somewhat later than the first part), there is no certainty that these folios were produced to complement the first part.’

⁴⁴ Goodall, Sanderson, & Isaacson 2015, 33–35.

⁴⁵ In contrast with, e.g. ŚDhU 10.40–46 and UUMS chapter 5, DharmP 1.42–43, or the ŚivaUp.

⁴⁶ There are also numerous borrowings in VSS 20 from the Śāntiparvan of the MBh. See more details at the analysis of VSS chapter 20 in volume two.

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composition or redaction of the text. This could also mean a date considerably earlier than the 10th century, and therefore a tentative dating for the VSS would be the 7th to 10th centuries CE.

Authors, redactors and target audience

Why was the VSS included in the Śivadharma corpus?

One of the objectives of the article Kiss 2021 was to find clues about the rôle of the VSS in the Śivadharma corpus. The conclusion therein (pp. 200–201), focusing on the fusion of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva material in the VSS, and on the reinterpretations of the *āśrama* system in its eleventh chapter, includes the following:

The *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*’s role in the Śivadharma corpus is then twofold: it provides a text that is suitable for Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas, presenting its teachings on different levels of an esoteric scale, the Śaiva teachings being closest to the core, and always providing an internalised, secret version of topics discussed in the other layers; and it also reinvents the traditional *āśrama* system in a Śaiva way, but in such a manner that would be acceptable for other religious groups. This may be an attempt to further develop an idea that appears in both the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*.

Indeed, one of the most striking feature of the VSS is its structure in which Vaiṣṇava material surrounds Śaiva teachings (see pp. xvii ff. above). Even the title is not unambiguously Śaiva, as we have seen (see pp. xiii above). Can we still say that this text is Śaiva? Does it aim at a sort of balance of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva teachings? Does this duality reflect the religiopolitical reality of the era?

MORE...

Pāśupatas in the VSS

Tantric influence?

niśvāsa as sadāśiva in ch. 16; Niśvāsa uttarasūtra 5.50–51; see also Kafle Niśvāsamukha p.11ff; ibid. p.12: “The term niśvāsa means sighing. Thus, an alternative meaning of the Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā could also be a “sighing tantra.” To be more precise, a tantra that originated from the sighing of Śiva. This is to say, the speech of Śiva.”

Buddhism in the VSS

Misc

susūkṣma: Śivadharmottara 10.45cd–46: rudraḥ ṣaḍviṃśakaḥ proktaḥ śivaś
ca paratas tataḥ || 45 || saptaviṃśatimaḥ śāntaḥ susūkṣmaḥ parameśvaraḥ |
svargāpavargayor dātā taṃ vijñāya vimucyate || 46

Language

Newar influence?

The language of the VSS goes beyond the idiosyncrasies of epic Sanskrit. It exhibits strong similarities to Śaiva Aīśa Sanskrit,⁴⁷ and it applies particular metrical licences and uses a special vocabulary, morphology and syntax. The analysis of this language, ideally, would help us confirm the identity of the author(s) or redactor(s) of the text, and our views on its place of composition. In fact, to feed a working hypothesis, I will mention parallelisms between the language of the VSS and early classical Newar—since the VSS was most probably produced in the Kathmandu valley⁴⁸—whenever possible. Of course, the assumable date of the composition of the VSS, which is without much doubt early 11th century or before, does not allow much direct comparison with contemporary Newar language texts.⁴⁹ Therefore I have to project a much later Newar grammar onto an earlier and less well-known state of the language, which is not without risks.

In the following, I will only give a brief overview of the most important phenomena. For details, see the observations on the constitution of the Sanskrit text in the footnotes to the translation, as well as the Index.

Number and gender

One of the most evident deviation from Pāṇinian grammar in the text of the VSS is a general disregard of grammatical concord as to number and gender.⁵⁰ See, e.g., a plural verb (metri causa?) with a singular subject in VSS

⁴⁷ On Aīśa, see, e.g., Goodall 1998, lxv ff., Törzsök 1999, xxvi ff., Kiss 2015, 77–87, Gerstmayr 2017, Hatley 2018, 28ff.

⁴⁸ See pp. xx ff.

⁴⁹ The earliest dated Newar document is the Ukū Bāhāḥ landgrant palmleaf manuscript from 1114 CE. See, e.g., Malla 1990.

⁵⁰ Compare Kölver’s introductory remarks in his investigation of ‘Newarized Sanskrit’ (Kölver 1999, 202) in the *Svayambhūpurāṇa* thus (ibid. 192):

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1.25ab:

rātryāgame praliyante jagat sarvaṃ carācaram

When [Brahmā’s] night falls, the whole moving and unmoving universe dissolve[s].

See a neuter plural participle picking up a neuter singular and a feminine singular noun in 1.61ab:

pramāṇaṃ nāma saṃkhyā ca kīrtitāni samāsataḥ

The numbers [pertaining to] the measurements have been taught in brief.

This confusion, or often metrically forced disregard of standard Sanskrit grammar, when dealing with number and gender, becomes almost predictable when the noun phrase involves numerals.⁵¹ See, e.g., verse 1.2cd:

parva cāsya śataṃ pūrṇaṃ śrutvā bhāratasaṃhitām

... having listened to the *Mahābhārata*, to all its hundred section[s] (*parvan*) ...

Here one would expect either a plural genitive (*parvāṇāṃ śataṃ*), a compound (*śataparvāṇi*), or a plural accusative (*parvāṇi śataṃ*). Similarly, *gatiś ca pañca vijñeyāḥ* in 3.5a stands for *gatayaś ca pañca vijñeyāḥ* (‘and the paths are to be known as five’), partly metri causa; and an interrogative quantifier (*kati*, ‘how many?’) can trigger the same: *gatis tasya kati smṛtāḥ* (3.1d; ‘how many are its path[s]?’). It is not without interest that classical Newar rarely applies any plural marker in noun phrases with numerals.⁵² Moreover in Newar, ‘nouns denoting inanimate objects are indifferent as to number.’⁵³ A further clear example is verse 3.6cd:

‘Number is often ignored

[*catvāro ’pi maṇḍalañ ca* 429,19 (cf. 429, 21), *narāḥ pañcagatiñ ca na labhec ca* 428,12], as is gender

[*tvam ekam āgataṃ na hi* 464, 10 ‘only you have not come’; °*nāgakanyā ... vṛṣṭipūrṇaṃ kṛtaṃ* 470, 8 ‘the Nāga girl made (it) full of rain’], and case

[*manuṣyāḥ ... tasmai ... pūjitam* 426, 2 etc. ‘men worshipped him; he was worshipped by people’; *bhavatām apy arthāya karomy upāyakam mayā* 452, 5 ‘I am making an expedient for your sake’].

⁵¹ I am thankful to Judit Törzsök, who first pointed out to me the regular nature of the phenomenon itself as seen in the VSS, and who later drew my attention to the similar Newar grammatical rule (personal communication, Nov 29, 2023), which led me to an investigation of a possible link between the Sanskrit of the VSS and classical Newar.

⁵² See, e.g., Jørgensen 1941, 18: ‘The plural ending is wanting where plurality is expressed in other ways; thus always after numerals, and mostly after nouns denoting “many, all”’. Incidentally, singular after numerals is also the norm in Modern Nepali, and in other, even more distant languages such as Hungarian.

⁵³ Jørgensen 1941, 5 and 17.

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tasya patnī mahābhāgā trayodaśa sumadhyamāḥ

He has thirteen beautiful wives with nice waists.

Here, with no variants in any of the MSS consulted, only the very end of the noun phrase (*sumadhyamāḥ*) has the required plural ending. This again is what we often see in Newar.⁵⁴ A good example of total number-blindness is 5.17cd:

kīrtitāni viśeṣeṇa śaucācāram aśeṣataḥ

... the practice of purity is definitely expounded in great detail.

Note that there would have been little problem in composing the same line in standard Sanskrit, e.g., beginning with *kīrtitaṃ ca...* Instead, this line gives away something about the author’s indifference towards grammatical concord.⁵⁵ Also, the participle *kīrtitāni* might function here as a finite verb in the plural: ‘they teach [the practice of purity].’ In this case there is some sense of number but coupled with a totally blurred boundary between finite verbs and participles.

In general, gender confusion is not unusual in epic Sanskrit and in Aīśa.⁵⁶ It is its extent in the VSS that suggests a very strong external influence, supposedly of classical Newar.

Case and syntax

An extreme example of a total lack of awareness of Sanskrit syntax is VSS 17.20:

*bhūmipradātā dvija hīnadīnaḥ
saṃrddhasasyo jalasaṃnikṛṣṭaḥ |
sa yāti lokam amarādhīpasya
vimānayanena manohareṇa ||*

He who donates to a poor and distressed Brahmin land that yields plenty of corn and is in the vicinity of water will go to the world of the king of the immortal ones [i.e. of Indra] on a fascinating aerial vehicle.

⁵⁴ ‘Any case [...] and/or plural markers [...], as well as postpositions [...], are added to the last constituent of the N[oun] P[hrase].’ (Otter 2020, 11–12.) E.g.: in the Newar phrase *thwo khum-na khañ-ā rājā-pani* (‘these kings seen by the thief’), the only indication that multiple kings are involved is the plural marker *-pani* at the end (ibid.).

⁵⁵ Compare Kölver’s remark on the phrase *āgataḥ sarve nāgāḥ* in *Svayambhūpurāṇa* (on p. 459 in Shastri 1894): ‘this is a remarkable lack of sensitivity as to the category of number’ (Kölver 1999, 195).

⁵⁶ See, e.g., Oberlies 2003, XXXVIII–XL, and Kiss 2015, 85 and the Index therein.

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The translation of this verse, surprising as it may seem, is, based on the context, rather secure. *Pādas* ab probably stand for a sentence that would be the following in slightly more standard Sanskrit: *yo dvijāya hīnadīnāya sasyasamṛddha-jalasamnikṛṣṭa-bhūmi-pradātā*. This is expressed by a phrase in which a word that should be in the dative or genitive (*dvija*) is in the vocative, and everything else is in the nominative: endings seem but decorations. This is difficult to explain by classical Newar influence since Newar does have a dative case marker, with animate nouns added to the genitive marker. Similarly difficult is to explain why then *pādas* cd are written in perfect standard Sanskrit.⁵⁷

There are dozens, or hundreds, of syntactical oddities in the VSS, even if not all this baffling.⁵⁸ Somewhat similarly to what Kölver describes in his analysis of the language of the *Svayambhūpurāṇa*, a Nepalese composition (Kölver 1999), there often (but not always!) seems to be a lack of understanding of the passive, together with the application of the ergative, one of the basic syntactical tools of classical Newar. To demonstrate this, a good example is 12.113cd:

indrenāsmi phalaṃ dattaṃ sa phalaṃ datta me bhavān

It was Indra who gave me the fruit and I gave that fruit to you.

Again, this is the translation that seems to fit the context. Here the skeleton of *pāda* c is a well-constructed passive: *indreṇa phalaṃ dattaṃ*, but then, instead of adding a dative or genitive (e.g., *indreṇa me phalaṃ dattaṃ*), the author chooses a finite verb (*asmi*). In *pāda* d, after seemingly treating *phalaṃ* as a masculine noun, and leaving *datta* in stem form metri causa, and using *me* for *mayā*,⁵⁹ this time he ends the phrase with a noun in the nominative (*bhavān*) instead of the dative or genitive. Why not try to write *dattaṃ tad eva te mayā*,⁶⁰ or *dattaṃ tava tad eva ca*? Constructions with *datta/kathita* plus an expected dative are especially prone to confusion. See, e.g., VSS 1.62cd–63ab and 10.2d:

*brahmaṇā kathitaṃ pūrṇaṃ mātariśvā yathātatham
vāyunā pāda samkṣīpya prāptaṃ cośanasam purā*

⁵⁷ See a similarly puzzling situation in the *Brahmayāmala*, which is briefly described in Kiss 2015, 74 as follows: ‘One of the most intriguing questions concerning the Bra[hma]Yā[mala] is not why its language deviates from Pāṇini so often but rather why sometimes it falls back to perfectly standard Pāṇinian language for fairly long passages.’

⁵⁸ Most of them are addressed in the footnotes to the translation.

⁵⁹ This often happens in epic Sanskrit, see Oberlies 2003, 4.1.3, pp. 102–103.

⁶⁰ Although this solution carries the metric fault of being iambic.

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[The Purāṇas] were taught by Brahmā to Mātariśvan [= Vāyu] in their entirety, in their true form. Vāyu abridged the verses and then gave [them] to Uśanas.

bravīmi vaḥ purāvṛttaṃ nandinā kathito 'smi aham

I shall teach you an ancient legend that Nandi told me.

Again, there is some struggle first with an expected dative here: it ends up in the nominative (*mātariśvā*). Then an expected agent in the instrumental, or rather another dative, becomes an accusative (*cośanasam*). Thirdly, *kathito 'smi* stands for *kathitaṃ mama* or *kathitaṃ mahyam*.

Somewhat similar are constructions with a past participle plus *asmi* in place of an active finite verb. See, e.g., 13.68cd, 14.56ab and 15.15cd:

eṣa garbhasamutpattiḥ kathito 'smi varānane

This is how I have told you the formation of the embryo, O Varānanā.

āgneyadhātum somaṃ ca kathito 'smi varānane

I have taught, O Varānanā, the Fiery constituents and the Soma-ones.

kathito 'smi samāśena kim anyac chrotum icchasi

Thus have I briefly described [to you, O Mahādevī, the soul.] What else would you like to hear?

These are also similar to what Jørgensen analyses in a Sanskrit passage in the Newar *Vicitrakarṇikāvadānoddhṛta*, namely that the phrase *na jñāto 'ham* must in that context mean ‘I did not know.’⁶¹

Sometimes the agent an active construction with a transitive verb simply imitates an ergative structure: *viṣṇunā... papraccha* (1.8), *sa[!] hovāca pathīkena* (12.60a).⁶²

Another typical syntactical construction in the VSS is a verb meaning ‘to tell, teach’ plus a noun in the genitive, e.g. 4.69ab:

caturmaunasya vakṣyāmi śṛṇuṣvāvahito bhava

I shall tell you about the four cases of observing silence. Listen, be attentive.

One could say that *pāda* a is simply elliptical and that a verb like *lakṣaṇam* or *svabhāvam* (‘the characteristics/essence [of X]’) is missing. 1.37ab and 4.17ab also belong to this category:

⁶¹ Jørgensen 1931, 77 and 328. Compare *tat phalaṃ sa niveditaḥ* (‘he gave that fruit’) in VSS 12:67d.

⁶² This happens also in Aiśa. See, e.g., *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 18.23: *pūjayet ... mantriṇā* (Törzsök 1999, 42).

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brahmāṇḍānāṃ prasamkhyātum mayā śakyaṃ katham dvija

How could I enumerate [all the details of] the Brahmaṇḍa[s], O twice-born?

evaṃ satyavidhānasya kīrtitaṃ tava suvrata

Thus have [I] taught the rules of truth to you, O virtuous one.

This phenomenon is difficult to explain by any Newar influence since classical Newar would usually also require an extra word (such as *kham* ‘thing, topic, word, story’) in such a sentence. It might belong to a class of phenomena in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit that Edgerton labels as ‘Genitive with miscellaneous verbs.’⁶³

These kinds of deviations from standard Sanskrit make it necessary that the translation be somewhat intuitive, driven by the context, rather than by an analysis of syntax.

yajec cakre ca vidhivad yoginīsiddhim icchatā 2I.12cd

Cardinal and ordinal numbers

Although the VSS does use simple ordinal numbers such as *prathama*, *dvi-tīya*, and *tṛtīya*, with higher numbers there seems to be a non-distinction between cardinal and ordinal numbers, and cardinals are used as ordinals. See, e.g., 20.8ab and 11ab:

caturviṃśati yat tattvaṃ prakṛtiṃ viddhi niścayam

dvāviṃśati ahaṃkāras tattvaṃ uktaṃ maṇiṣibhiḥ

Know the twenty-fourth Tattva certainly as Prakṛti. The twenty-second Tattva is Ahaṃkāra according to the wise.

This phenomenon is known to a certain degree from epic Sanskrit,⁶⁴ and is even more characteristic of classical Newar.⁶⁵

Stem form nouns

Stem form nouns, or *prātipadikas*, are extremely common in the language of the VSS. They are not alien to the Aśa Sanskrit of Śaiva Tantras,⁶⁶ but the extent to which they prevail in the VSS is striking and it reminds one

⁶³ Edgerton 1953, vol. 1, §7.65, p. 47.

⁶⁴ See Oberlies 2003, §5.2.2, pp. 127–128.

⁶⁵ See Jørgensen 1941, 42 and Otter 2020, 57.

⁶⁶ See, e.g., Kiss 2015, 75–77 and Goodall, Sanderson, & Isaacson 2015, 126 and 441.

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of the zero suffix of the nominative and accusative, or rather of the ‘casus indefinitus’ or ‘absolutive case’ of classical Newar.⁶⁷ Often stem forms are required to restore the metre, and they would thus be difficult to emend, and often they blend in sandhi with the following word. See some clear examples below with the expected, but usually unmetrical, form in parentheses:

- 1.63a: *vāyunā pāda saṃkṣīpya* (*pādam*)
- 1.63c: *tenāpi pāda saṃkṣīpya* (*pādam*)
- 2.25c: *bhogam akṣaya tatraiva* (*akṣayaṃ*)
- 2.26d: *īśānānāṃ smṛtālayaḥ* (*smṛta ālayaḥ*)
- 4.19f: *prasahyasteya pañcamam* (*°steyaṃ*)
- 4.72a: *caturdhyānādhunā* (*°dhyānam adhunā*)
- 4.77a: *pramādashāna pañcaiva* (*°sthānam* or *°sthānāni*)
- 6.5c: *vedādhyayana kartavyaṃ* (*vedādhyayanam*)
- 6.14a: *dvitīyaṃ tattva puruṣaṃ* (*tattvam*)

Vocabulary

Special vocabulary/language: karhacit, hṛdi as nominative 10.27cd, tiryā, me as mayā, āhūtaplavana

generate list from index

Modern Nepali: singular after numerals.

Kölver

No short-long

Metre

As regards metrical licences, perhaps the most striking feature is the generous use of the poetic licence sometimes labelled ‘muta cum liquida,’⁶⁸ namely that some consonant clusters that would normally turn the previous short (*laghu*) syllable long (*guru*) may in some cases do not do so.⁶⁹ Syllables beginning with *pr*, *br*, *hr*, *kr*, especially (or exclusively?) at the beginning of words, are well-known candidates for this licence.⁷⁰ In the VSS,

⁶⁷ Jørgensen 1941, 18 and 21, and Otter 2020, 16.

⁶⁸ For a recent contribution on this phenomenon, see, Sen 2006 (discussing it as it appears in Latin).

⁶⁹ On its appearance in Śaiva Tantras, see, e.g., Goodall 2004, lxxxi and Goodall, Sanderson, & Isaacson 2015, 441.

⁷⁰ See, e.g., Apte 1890, Appendix A p. 1.

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tr, *vr*, *śr*, *pr*, and also *śy*, *śv*, *sv*, *dv*,⁷¹ can also trigger this licence. All these syllables involve conjunct consonants with a semivowel in second position.

For context, it is perhaps not useless to briefly show what a well-known author on prosody, Kedārabhaṭṭa (11th or 12th century),⁷² who is frequently quoted by Mallinātha, has to say on this phenomenon in his *Vṛttaratnākara* (here given together with Sulhaṇa’s *Sukavihṛdayanandinī* commentary):⁷³

padādāv iha varṇasya saṃyogaḥ kramasaṃjñikah |
purahsthithena tena syāl laghutā ’pi kvacid guroḥ || I.IO ||

In this [work], a combination of two or more consonants (*saṃyoga*) in a word-initial syllable (*pādādau varṇasya*) is called ‘sequence’ (*krama*). [A syllable that counts as] long because one such [consonant cluster] stands in front [of it, i.e. after it] can sometimes be treated as short.

[Comm.:] *vibhaktyantaṃ padaṃ tasya padasyādau vartamāno yo varṇas tasya saṃyogaḥ | sa iha śāstre kramasaṃjñō jñeyah | tena krameṇa purovartinā prāk-padānte vartamānasya prāptagurubhāvyāpi laghutā syāt | kvacil lakṣānurodhena | nanu ka eṣaḥ kramo nāma saṃyoga ucyate | pūrvācāryāṇāṃ piṅgalanā-gaprabhṛtīnāṃ kālīdāsādīnāṃ ca kavīnāṃ samayaḥ parigrhitah | saṃyogaḥ kramasaṃyogaḥ || IO || tatra gra-saṃyogena yathā | idam asyodāharaṇam |*

A ‘word’ is [a unit of speech that] ends in an inflection. A ‘conjunction’ is in a ‘syllable’ which is at the beginning of such a word. ‘In this’ [i.e.] work it is to be known under the term ‘sequence’ (*krama*). By that sequence which stands in front, [a syllable] at the end of the previous word, even if it acquired heaviness [by position], may acquire lightness. ‘Sometimes’ [means:] according to the examples. But then what is this combination of consonants called ‘sequence’? The old teachers such as Piṅgalanāga and poets such as Kālīdāsa accepted [this] rule. The combination of consonants (*saṃyoga*) is [here] the sequence[-type] (*krama*) [i.e. word-initial] combination of consonants (*saṃyoga*). Among [the possibilities,] for example by conjunct consonant *gr*. Here is an example of that:

taruṇaṃ sarṣapaśākam navaudanam picchalāni ca dadhīni |
alpavyayena sundari grāmyajano miṣṭam aśnāti || I.II ||

Tender mustard seed, fresh porridge, and slimy curds: men in the village eat these kinds of savoury dishes, O pretty girl, because they do not have much money.⁷⁴

The example verse given above (I.II) is in *āryā*, and the metric pattern of the second half-verse is, strictly speaking, the following:

⁷¹ See, e.g., the cadence of 5.15b: *śukaśyenaśakān* for U U- U-

⁷² Ollett 2013, 333.

⁷³ Patel 2020.

⁷⁴ I.e.: ‘you are pretty, don’t waste your time with poor village men.’

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--|U-U|-U-!|-UU|--|U|--|-|

This is unmetrical and it yields 28 moræ, instead of the expected 27. By treating the final syllable of *sundari* short, in spite of the following *grā*, the pattern conforms to the expected pattern:

--|U-U|-UU|-UU|--|U|--|-|

The commentator gives several more examples, involving the syllables *gra*, *hra*, and *bhra*, and confirms that the rule applies only to word-initial consonant clusters:

padādāv iti kim | anyatra mā bhūt |

Why ‘at the beginning of a word’? [Because] elsewhere it should not be.

Here follow some examples from the VSS. The syllables with the *krama* conjunct consonant, before which the syllable is not turned into long, are encircled, and the metre is given in parentheses.

- 1.1c: *harindra*(*br*)*ahmādibhir āsamagraṃ (upajāti)*
 4.67c: *prajñābodha*(*sr*)*utiṃ smṛtiṃ ca labhate mānaṃ ca nityaṃ labhed*
 (*śārdūlavikṛīḍita*)
 4.89a: *iti yama*(*pr*)*avibhāgaḥ kīrtito ’yaṃ dvijendra (mālini)*
 5.5cd: *parastrīpara*(*dr*)*avyeṣu śaucaṃ kāyikaṃ ucyate (pathyā)*
 5.9cd: *vānaprasthasya* (*tr*)*iguṇaṃ yatīnāṃ tu caturguṇaṃ (na-vipulā)*
 5.15ab: *haṃsasārasa**krāhvakukkuṭān śuka*(*sy*)*enakān (pathyā)*
 8.33a: *tasmān mauna*(*vr*)*ataṃ sadaiva sudṛḍhaṃ kurvīta yo niścitaṃ (śārdūla-*
vikṛīḍita)
 10.31b: *īśānenābhijūṣṭaṃ hr̥di* (*hr*)*ada vimalaṃ nādaśītāmbupūrṇaṃ (srag-*
dharā)
 11.9ab: *manaḥsuddhis tu* (*pr*)*athamaṃ dravyasuddhir ataḥ param (na-vipulā)*

These indeed follow the rule of having the special conjunct with the semi-vowel at the beginning of a word in the sense that the word can be a member of a compound.⁷⁵ To understand how unique the VSS’s indulgence in the ‘muta cum liquida’ licence is, the epics and the Purāṇas should be examined from this perspective.

Another metrical oddity, or rather metrical licence, that is applied regularly in the VSS, exclusively in non-*anuṣṭubh* verses, is that a word-final short syllable can count as long. Here are some examples, with the short syllable now turned into long encircled:

⁷⁵ There are some problematic verses that I ignore here. They are unlikely to change the overall picture.

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- 3.42d: *etatpunyapha(la)m ahiṃsakajanah prāpnoti niḥsaṃśayaḥ* (śārdūlavikrīḍita)
- 4.5a: *na narmayu(ka)m anṛtaṃ hinasti* (upajāti)⁷⁶
- 4.39c: *aśeṣaya(jña)tapadānapunyaṃ* (upajāti)
- 4.59c: *viññānadha(rma)kulakīrtināśa* (upajāti)
- 4.59d: *bhavanti vi(pra)damayā vihināḥ* (upajāti)
- 5.20a: *śaucāśaucavidhijña mānava ya(di) kālakṣaye niścayaḥ* (śārdūlavikrīḍita)
- 6.18b: *jijñāsyantāṃ dvijen(dra) bhavadahanakarah prārthanākālpavṛkṣaḥ* (sragdharā)
- 7.13b: *saubhā(gya)m atulaṃ labheta sa naro rūpaṃ tathā śobhanam* (śārdūlavikrīḍita)
- 8.44d: *na bhavati punaja(nma) kalpakoṭyāyute 'pi* (mālinī)
- 11.42b: *saṃsāroddhara(na)m anityahara(na)m ajñānanirmūlanam* (śārdūlavikrīḍita)
- 11.42c: *prajñāvṛddhika(ra)m amoghakaraṇaṃ kleśārṇavottāraṇaṃ* (śārdūlavikrīḍita)
- 11.42d: *janmavyādhiha(ra)m akarmadahanam sevet sa dharmottamam* (śārdūlavikrīḍita)
- 12.150c: *nityaṃ rogādhivā(sa)m aniyatavapuṣaṃ trāhi mām kālāpāśāt* (sragdharā)

CHECK the more original a section the more extreme language? see
chii

⁷⁶ Versions of this line in the MBh and the MatsP read °yuktaṃ vacanaṃ (see the apparatus at veres 4.5 in the edition).

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Contents and analysis of chapters 1–12

Here follow short descriptions of the topics found in chapters 1–12 of the VSS—edited and translated in this volume—accompanied by brief discussions and analyses.⁷⁷

Adhyāya 1

After a *maṅgala*-verse that addresses a deity whose identity is obscure (is it Śiva or the impersonal Brahman?; verse 1.1), we enter the first layer of the text, which comprises a dialogue between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana and could be labelled Dharmaśāstric. Janamejaya wishes to hear the essence, the ultimate Dharmic teaching, of the *Mahābhārata*. In response, Vaiśampāyana starts relating a dialogue during which Viṣṇu, disguised as a Brahmin, tests an ascetic called Anarthayajña, reknown for performing non-material sacrifice (*anarthayajña*, the topic of *adhyāya* eleven), and a devotee of Viṣṇu (which becomes clear in *adhyāya* twenty-one). This is the beginning of the layer one could label Vaiṣṇava. The first topic they discuss is *brahmavidyā* (1.9–10), and ambiguous definition of the impersonal Brahman and/or the syllable *om*. The next topic is *kāla* (‘death, time’), the origin of the body, karma (1.11–17), and the divisions of time (from *truṭi*, *nimeṣa* up to *kalpas*, 1.18–30), which leads to a teaching on numbers, from one up to two hundred quadrillion (*para*, 1.31–35). Verses 1.36–39 introduce a list of the rulers of the eight regions of the Brahmanḍa (1.40–48). In addition, Viṣṇu features as the ruler of the centre of the Brahmanḍa (1.49), reconfirming the general Vaiṣṇava character of this layer. 1.50–57 give the number of subordinates to each ruler mentioned above. 1.58–61 teaches the measurements of the Brahmanḍa. Finally, verses 1.62–75 list the redactors and transmitters of the Purāṇas, from Brahmā to Vyāsa Dvaipāyana, Romaharṣa, and Romaharṣa’s son Amitabuddhi.

Keywords: Brahmā, Brahman

Adhyāya 2

Perhaps a later, tantric, insertion?

2. śivāṇḍasaṃkhyā

⁷⁷ See a Sanskrit summary of the contents of the VSS, based on Naraharinath’s edition, in Acharya 2014, 61–72 **CHECK**.

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Adhyāya 3

yamas-niyamas: see table in Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, 17

Adhyāya 4

Adhyāya 5

Adhyāya 6

Adhyāya 7

Adhyāya 8

Adhyāya 9

Adhyāya 10

Adhyāya 11

Adhyāya 12

3. ahimsāpraśaṃsā 4. yamavibhāga 5. śaucācāraavidhi 6. yajñavidhi (also lokāḥ)
7. dānapraśaṃsā 8. niyamapraśaṃsā (p. 603: types of svādhyāyana: śaiva, sāṃkhya,
purāṇa, smārta, bhārata) 9. traiguṇyaviśeṣaṇīya 10. kāyatīrthavivarṇana 11.
caturāśramadharmavidhāna 12. vipulopākhyāna (narrative) 13. garbhotpatti
(on conception) 14. praśnavyākaraṇa (why people are tall/short etc.) 15. jī-
vanirṇaya 16. adhyātmanirṇaya (yoga) 17. dānadharma 18. pūrvakarmavipāka
19. dānayajñaviśeṣa 20. pañcaviṃśatitattvanirṇaya 21. kalpanirṇaya 22. varṇagotrāśrama
23. nidrotpatti 24. śāstravarṇana
everybody is donating to everybody,
the final donor is Brahmā
lot of testing going on in the frame story and also
in chapter 12
also the disguise thing is recurring: 12.37 and ch 1 and
when Viṣṇu reveals his identity

Topics in chapters 13–24

A Critical Edition of Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha 1–12

Introduction to the Critical Edition

While it is probably unnecessary to argue in favour of producing a high-quality edition of any of the texts in the Śivadharmā corpus—given its importance for our understanding of the history of Śaivism—it is worth clarifying why the versions of the VSS and the other texts of the corpus as printed in Naraharinath 1998 are not satisfactory.⁷⁸ One could simply refer the reader to the apparatus in this new edition: the readings given in Naraharinath’s *editio princeps* rarely prove useful or are accepted against the manuscript evidence. One could also point out further problems in Naraharinath’s edition, such as countless typos, misreadings, and readings and omissions that may come from his low-quality sources,⁷⁹ and a lack of any critical apparatus or any documentation of the witness(es) used.⁸⁰ In addition to this, although it does not affect this volume, a great chunk of the text, verses 17.38–18.16, are missing in Naraharinath.

It would be more difficult than this to vindicate in detail the methodology I have applied. I find Hanneder’s words on textual criticism comforting:

[T]extual criticism is often viewed as something to be learned by practice rather from reading about it. ... In fact, both translating and editing are something most Indologists have learned in a pragmatic way through examples from within the field, and some have managed to become quite good at it. ... [I]n most cases this approach is sufficient ...⁸¹

My experience is that when preparing critical editions, each text, and some-

⁷⁸ As West (1973, 61) puts it, following a long tradition of philologists: ‘Is your edition really necessary? That is the first question.’

⁷⁹ Just to quote a few from the first few verses: *sahasrādhyāyar uttamam* for *sahasrādhyāyam uttamam* (1.2b), *nāradasaṃhitām* for *bhāratasaṃhitām* (1.2d), *śaṃkha* for *śaṅkuḥ* (1.34b), omissions in 1.34cd–35, etc.

⁸⁰ He must have worked from paper manuscripts, see p. 9.

⁸¹ Hanneder 2009, 5.

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times each manuscript or each chapter, *horribile dictu*, each verse, requires a slightly different approach, and these approaches keep changing during the editorial process. For example, the idea that there could be a connection between the linguistic oddities of the VSS’s language and classical Newar⁸² arose relatively late, and it did change my views on some textual problems and some of the solutions thereof, and led me to change some of my previously proposed emendations. Thus editing is always subjective in the sense that the method applied is influenced by the editor’s knowledge of the text, the genre, the milieu, etc., or in the case of this edition, the collective knowledge of all my colleagues who took part in VSS reading and brain-storming sessions throughout the years.

Since it is not unlikely that originally the VSS had multiple authors and redactors, the text itself is also unlikely to be homogenous: each chapter may have its own style and its own types of textual problems. In addition to this, all MSS we have access to surely transmit a highly contaminated version of the text. This makes the construction of a stemma codicum more or less useless in this case.

Witnesses

In the pre-modern era, the VSS has been transmitted exclusively in multiple-text manuscripts that were produced in Nepal. Even when a manuscript of the VSS seems to be a single-text MS, chances are high that it originally belonged to a multiple-text manuscript.⁸³ In the manuscript descriptions below, in addition to some general remarks, I will mainly focus on information relevant to the VSS. For much more detail on the overall features of these manuscripts, see De Simini 2016b, Bisschop 2018, Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, Bisschop, Kafle, & Kiss forthcoming, and the catalogues I mention at some of the individual manuscript.⁸⁴

⁸² See p. xxx.

⁸³ As I remarked elsewhere (Kiss 2021, 185, n. 9): ‘Asiatic Society (Calcutta), Manuscript G 4076, cat. no. 4083, may seem to be an independent manuscript of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, but as De Simini has already remarked (2016b, 240 n. 19), it is probably from a multiple text manuscript. In fact, from what can be gathered from its description in Shastri 1928, 716ff, it seems likely that this manuscript was originally part of manuscript Asiatic Society (Calcutta) G 3852, cat. no. 4085. See for example the folio numbering in these two manuscripts: ASC G 3852 contains 210 folios, and ASC G 4076 starts on folio 210.’

⁸⁴ I owe thanks to Florinda De Simini for sharing with me most of the manuscripts listed here, to Kengo Harimoto and Gudrun Melzer (Munich) for providing photos of

Introduction

In recently published and forthcoming critical editions of and articles on the Śivadharma corpus,⁸⁵ the sigla of the manuscripts used are made up of a letter signifying the script (e.g. ‘N’ for Nepālākṣara/Newari), a superscript letter for the current location where the manuscript is deposited (e.g. ‘C’ for Cambridge), and two (sometimes only one or even three) subscript digits echoing the last digit(s), if any, of the reference number of the manuscript in the library where it is located or, in the case of NGMPP reel numbers, the last two digits of the first part of the reel number.⁸⁶ Since in the case of the VSS all the manuscripts I utilised are written in some variant of the Nepālākṣara script,⁸⁷ in this publication I omit the first letter, making the letter for the current location non-superscript. This helps keeping the apparatus readable. In the manuscript descriptions below, I give this omitted and implied ‘N’ in brackets as a reminder.

Note that here I mention not only those MSS that have been collated for the whole of, or parts of, the critical edition, but also some that were candidates for the task but later were dismissed.

Cambridge manuscripts

(N)C₉₄ Cambridge University Library, Add. 1694.1. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a detailed description of this manuscript in the CUDL online catalogue.⁸⁸ According to this catalogue, the date of creation of this manuscript is the 12th century, and its dimensions are 5 × ca. 53.5 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 258 folios and transmitting eight texts: 1) *Śivadharmaśāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadhar-maśaṃgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 6) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 7) *Dharmaputrikā*, 8) *Śivopaniṣad*.

The VSS occupies 45 folios: it starts on f. 193v. The recto side, online image no. 381, is an empty folio side. The text ends on f. 239r (online image no. 473). The text of the VSS is transmitted fully, without any folios or major sections of the text missing. The leaves transmitting the VSS are

the Munich MS, and to Nirajan Kafle for sharing a digital copy of the Paris MS with me.

⁸⁵ Bisschop 2018, Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, and Bisschop, Kafle, & Kiss forthcoming.

⁸⁶ For details of this system and for the underlying reasons, see Bisschop 2018, 50–51.

⁸⁷ I have not used NGMCP B 219/3 NAK 4/2537 (paper, Maithilī script), and L₁₆ (paper, Devanāgarī script, see below).

⁸⁸ <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01694-00001/382>

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well-preserved. Some folio sides are faded and most folios are somewhat damaged on the right side, sometimes at other parts, and it seems from the images that some opaque-looking tape has been applied to protect these damaged sections. In my critical edition the broken off, completely lost, *akṣaras* are represented by ---, the illegible *akṣaras* under the tape by ✖ (‘illegible’). The quality of the readings of this manuscript is one of the best among the available witnesses, comparable only to K₈₂ and P₅₇, making it one of the most important sources for the VSS.

(N)C₄₅ Cambridge University Library, Add. 1645. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a detailed description of this manuscript in the CUDL online catalogue.⁸⁹ According to this catalogue, its dimensions are 4.4 × 61.7 cm. The manuscript is dated to (Nepāla) ‘*saṃvat 259 śrāvaṇa śukla dvādaśīyā di < trayodaśyām,*’ which converts to July 10/11 Monday/Tuesday, 1139 CE.⁹⁰ The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 247 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, 4) *Śivopaniṣad*, 5) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*.

The VSS occupies 37 folios plus one folio side: it starts on f. 201v line 4 (online image no. 404), and it ends on f. 238v line 3 (online image no. 478). The readings of this manuscript seem to follow those of K₈₂ remarkably closely while transmitting the *Śivadharmottara* (as observed by De Simini and Harimoto).⁹¹ This is more difficult to see in the case of the VSS, but

⁸⁹ <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01645/404>

⁹⁰ F. 247r line 6. The CUDL website transcribes this colophon as: *saṃvat 259 śrāvaṇaśukladvādaśīpyaḍi 8 trayodaśyām* (retrieved 8 Dec 2021). The element *dvādaśīpyaḍi* could be read as *dvādaśīyā di*, perhaps a mistake for *dvādaśyām di* (*di* for a misplaced *diva/divā?*), and the symbol that does look like a figure ‘8’ of a slightly later period than the manuscript itself (resembling the mathematical symbol <) might also be a *kākapada*. Alternatively, one could understand *yā* as a Newar genitive marker, *dvādaśī-yā di* meaning ‘the day of the twelfth.’ Another faint *kākapada* is perhaps to be seen under *daśī*, therefore it is possible that the scribe’s intention was to delete *dvādaśī* and correct it to *trayodaśyām*, and then the date becomes 11th of July. Kengo Harimoto has suggested that the unclear element (*yādi/pyaḍi*) is in fact *ghaṭi*, and after comparing these two syllables to other instances of *gha* and *ṭa*, one cannot but agree. In this case this should be an indication of the exact time (Skt. *ghaṭi/ghaṭikā*, Newar *ghaṭi*) the scribe finished copying the text. It is still not clear if we should take *dvādaśī* or *trayodaśyām* as the date. For help on the conversion of the date and for a detailed discussion on the colophon I am indebted to Kengo Harimoto.

⁹¹ Personal communication, 1 Dec 2021.

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indeed, they seem closely related.

(N)C₀₂ Cambridge University Library, Add. 2102. All available folios of this MS have been collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a detailed description of this manuscript in the CUDL online catalogue.⁹² According to this catalogue, the date of creation is the 12th century, and the dimensions of the manuscript are 4.8 × ca. 52.5 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 96 folios. Six texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmottara*, 2) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, 3) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 4) *Śivopaniṣad*, 5) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 6) *Dharmaputrikā* (only f. 322v). Note that the *Śivadharmottara* starts on f. 51r, thus the part that most probably contained the *Śivadharmasāstra* is lost.

The VSS starts on f. 267r line 1 (online image no. 181). The online description labels this image as f. 237r. This first folio in fact has no visible foliation. The previous text, the *Śivopaniṣad*, ended on f. 236v, with pāda b of verse 7.122,⁹³ which is not the end of the *Śivopaniṣad*: about eighteen verses, probably transmitted in one single folio, are lost. This means that, if the foliation and the order of the folios are presented correctly, and if the portion containing the VSS indeed belongs to the same manuscript, folios 237–266, i.e. thirty folios, are missing. They must have transmitted the *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, which takes up twenty-three folios in C₉₄, and twenty folios in C₄₅. Thus this MS did most probably transmit all eight texts of the Śivadharm corpus.⁹⁴

This first folio of the VSS is in a hand which is different from the rest of the manuscript, but the hand changes back in the next folio.⁹⁵

⁹² <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02102/181>

⁹³ Image no. 180, *Śivopaniṣad* 7.122: *yauvanasthā grhasthāś ca [prāsā]dasthāś ca ye nṛpāh.*

⁹⁴ Compare with the claim of the online catalogue: “The present manuscript probably contained seven texts.”

⁹⁵ Cf. the metadata on the CUDL site: ‘1 folio of the same dimensions is a modern supply for the beginning of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*.’ A hardly readable note in pencil to the same effect is visible at the top of the first folio side (f. 267r, ‘mode.....supply beg of Vṛṣasāra-saṃgr.’). I am not sure how ‘modern’ this supplement is, but it seems indeed likely that a lost first folio was supplemented with a later copy. To match the end of this new copy with the beginning of the next, older, folio, a scribe more or less erased the beginning of the first line in the old folio, rather than the last line of the younger folio. This slightly illogical decision may mean that the younger copy was not tailor-made for the old portion, but rather that it was taken from a younger manuscript which was perhaps considered more legible. Otherwise it would have been more practical to stop copying the first folio at the point where the next begins. See some more detail on this folio on p. 11

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In this multiple-text manuscript, the VSS is transmitted in an incomplete form, that is to say, a number of folios are missing (most notably chapters 15–17). The first partially visible folio number is in image 184: the numeral characters 200+60 are visible (268v, according to the CUDL online catalogue). In image 186, the folio number 269 is clearly visible (f. 269v). In folio 270v, the continuous text is broken at verse 2.21c (*kāmarū*°), ff. 271 and 272 are missing, and the text resumes on f. 273r with verse 3.30b ([*ahiṃsā pa*] *ramaṃ sukham*). Folio 291 is missing (verses 12.87cd–12.113). In folio 296v (image no. 234) the text breaks off again at *vātaśūlair upadrutā | śukro* (verse 14.22b),⁹⁶ the next folio being 306r (starting with *carmatāś ca divi-jasundarīṣu*, verse 18.27b; nine folios and chapters 15–17 are completely missing).

Again, there are two missing folios after *bandhus sarvva*° in verse 18.47c in f. 306v. The text resumes in f. 309r (image 237) with *°neṣu ca sarvveṣu vidvān sreṣṭha sa ucyate* (verse 19.52cd). Another folio is missing between *iṣṭāniṣṭadvaya*° (verse 20.22, f. 309v) and *snāyu majjā sirā tathā* (verse 20.51d, f. 311r). The VSS ends on f. 322v (image no. 262) with the concluding colophon *vṛṣasārasaṅgraha samāpta iti*. This folio also contains the beginning of the *Dharmaṣūtrikā*, but this multiple-text manuscript contains no more folios.

In the apparatus, the siglum C_Σ signifies all three Cambridge MSS described above.

Kathmandu palm-leaf manuscripts

(N)K₈₂ NGMPP A 1082/3, NAK 3/393. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a brief description of this MS in the NGMCP online catalogue.⁹⁷ According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 55.6 × 5.5 cm. It is dated to Nepāla Samvat 189 (1068–69 CE).⁹⁸ The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 274 folios. Eight texts are

below.

⁹⁶ Of course, my verse numbering in chapters 13–24 may change slightly during the editing process.

⁹⁷ https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00098499

⁹⁸ See f. 12r line 2 of the *Dharmaṣūtrikā* in this MS: *navottarāsītīyute sate bde āsāḍhaśuklasya tithau tṛtīye*, translated by De Simini 2016b, 252 n. 49 as: ‘in [the year] 189, in the 3rd lunar day of the bright [fortnight] of [the month] Āṣāḍha.’ She adds that the date is verified in Petech 1984, 46 as May 24, 1069 CE.

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transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasamgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha*, 7) *Dharmaputrikā*, 8) *Uttarottaramahāsamvāda*.

As for each text in this collection, the foliation for the VSS restarts from f. iv (f. ir is a cover) and the text spans ff. iv–46r. This is a beautifully written and well-preserved manuscript which gives very useful readings and has proved to be essential for the reconstruction of the VSS.⁹⁹

(N)K₁₀ NGMPP A 10/5, NAK 1/1261. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a brief description of this MS in the NGMCP online catalogue.¹⁰⁰ According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 55 x 5.5 cm. It is an undated palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 74 folios. Four texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmottara*, 2) *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*, 3) *Śivopaniṣad*, 4) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha*.

Some folios feature drawings. A great number of the leaves that transmit the VSS are damaged and, at least judging from the microfilm images, faded and slightly disordered. The folio numbers are rarely visible. The VSS starts on exp. 44 (upper leaf, no folio number is visible here). The text continues on the lower leaf and then on the upper leaf on exp. 43 (going backwards, so to say) up to 1.60 (*viṃśakoṭīṣu gulmeṣu ūrdhva*^o). Verses 1.60d–2.22 seem to be missing. The lower leaf on exp. 43 contains verses 2.23–2.39. The single leaf in exp. 42 contains verses 2.40–3.16a. Exp. 41 contains a single leaf of the *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*, ending in a colophon for its chapter twenty-two, and still going backwards, the preceding folios continue transmitting the *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*. Exploring the presence of the VSS in this manuscript further, one should look at the expositions after no. 44. Exp. 45 contains the end of the *Śivopaniṣad*. The single leaf on exp. 46 is almost illegible but most probably contains a fragment of the *Gautamadharmasūtra*. The second line just above the string hole on the left reads ... *vīrud vanaspatīnāṃ ca puṣpāṇi svavad ādadīte*..., which is a fragment of *Gautamadharmasūtra* 2.3.25 (12.28). The remaining parts of the VSS are to be found on exp. 47ff. The upper leaf on exp. 47 continues with VSS 3.16b–36ab, while the lower leaf contains a text that I have not been able to identify. The lower leaf in exp. 48 transmits 3.36cd–4.11ab, the upper one 4.11b–30a. The lower leaf in exp. 49 contains 4.30ab–47ab, the upper one 47d–68a, and so on so forth. Thus when reading the text from these images, after exp. 48, one has to start with the lower leaf and

⁹⁹ See a similar evaluation in Bisschop 2018, 56.

¹⁰⁰ https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00085264

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continue with the upper one.

(N)K₇ NGMPP B 7/3 = A 1082/2, NAK 1/1075. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a brief description of this MS in the NGMCP online catalogue.¹⁰¹ According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 58 × 6 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara. Dated to Nepāla Samvat 290 (1169–70 CE). It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 289 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 7) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*. Ff. 209v–264v contain the VSS.

This is a nicely written manuscript, giving generally useful and convincing readings.

(N)K₃ NGMPP A 3/3 (= A 1081/5), NAK 5-737. I have collated this MS only for verses 1.1–15ab to test it. See a brief description of this MS in the NGMCP online catalogue.¹⁰² According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 58.5 × 5.5 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara and the MS is dated to Nepāla Samvat 321 (1200–01 CE). It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 215 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (only a few folios are extant, e.g. ff. 124 and 143), 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*.

The VSS starts in f. 227 (image no. 177) and seems to end after it begins transmitting chapter 23 in f. 264 (image no. 218), but the last image (no. 253) also contains a fraction of VSS chapter 13. The microfilm images are somewhat blurred and the readings do not seem promising.

Other palm-leaf MSS preserved in Kathmandu, but not used for this critical edition include the following:

NGMPP A 11/3, NAK 5-738¹⁰³—the microfilm images of the folios containing the VSS are often blurred to an extent that makes them difficult to use.

NGMPP C 25/1, Kesar Library 218—this multiple-text manuscript preserves only a few disordered folios of the VSS.

¹⁰¹ https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00062373

¹⁰² http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A_3-3_Śivadharmasāstra

¹⁰³ http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A_11-3_Śivadharmottara

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Kathmandu paper manuscripts

(N)K₄₁ NGMCP A 1341/6, NAK 4–93. Paper, 82 folios, probably from the 17th century (see the description of K₁₀₇ below). This MS contains two texts: *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (ff. 91r–135v) and *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (ff. 204r–243v). Collated only for chapter eight in this volume. As already seen from the folio numbers, this multiple-text manuscript must have contained more than two texts originally, most probably of the Śivadharm corpus. The script of this MS seems extremely similar to that of K₁₀₇, a MS dated to 1688 CE (see below). Thus it seems probable that this MS is also from the 17th century.

K₄₁ is a good example to see how relatively late witnesses, a paper MS, can be important. Its readings are relatively independent of most palm-leaf MSS, and seem to shed some light on what source(s) Naraharinath may have used because there are a great number of instances where E and K₄₁ (and K₁₀₇, see below) read together against most other witnesses. E.g., C₉₄, C₄₅, C₀₂, K₈₂, K₁₀, K₇, K₃, and M read *bhāratasaṃhitām*, or a slightly corrupt form of the same, in 1.2cd, while the two paper MSS K₄₁, and K₁₀₇, and Naraharinath’s E read (a clearly wrong) *nāradasaṃhitām*. Similarly, in 1.17cd most witnesses read *vettum arhasi*, while K₄₁, K₁₀₇, and E (and M!) read *vaktum arhasi*. In 1.44b, K₄₁ and E read *mṛddhe*¹⁰⁴ instead of *śṛṇu* and *śṛṇge* in all other witnesses. In some instances, the paper MSS K₄₁ and K₁₀₇ give readings that might be old or ‘original.’ E.g., 20.40d is missing in a great number of MSS (C₉₄, C₄₅, K₈₂, K₁₀), K₇ gives (improvises?) a less than perfect *tān nibodha dvijottamaḥ*,¹⁰⁵ while K₄₁, K₁₀₇, and E give a similarly imperfect *vijñeyā ca manīṣibhiḥ*.¹⁰⁶ Sometimes these two paper MSS either alter the text, or again, preserve older readings. E.g., in 16.34 K₄₁, K₁₀₇, and E give *bhagavān uvāca* against all other witnesses’ *maheśvara uvāca*. After 12.30d (*vipulaḥ punar abravīt*), K₄₁, K₁₀₇, and again E, insert a somewhat unnecessary *vipula uvāca*. These and many other examples could prove that Naraharinath used manuscripts that were close to K₄₁ and K₁₀₇, and some of the oddities in his edition originate in fact in actual readings rather than misreadings or 20th-century alterations.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ K₁₀₇ reads a similar *grdbhe*.

¹⁰⁵ One would expect the vocative *dvijottama*.

¹⁰⁶ The correct sandhi would be *vijñeyās ca*.

¹⁰⁷ Compare this with Bisschop, Kifle, & Lubin 2021, 58–59, especially the following piece of information: ‘According to the information kindly provided by Diwakar Acharya (personal communication), it may have been based on a Devanāgarī manuscript from the time of Raṇa Bahādur Shah (1775–1806).’

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

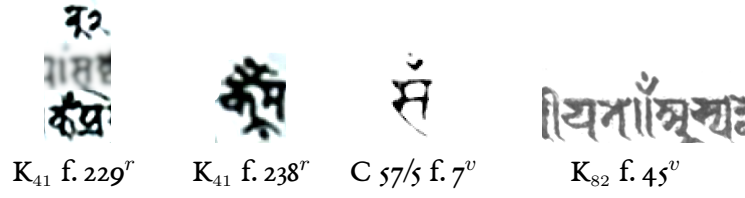


Figure 5: *Kākapadas*

Another fascinating phenomenon in K_{41} is traces of editorial activity. There is a rather peculiar *kākapada*, or editorial sign to mark omission, that could help us catch a perhaps 17–19th century editor red-handed while he is inspecting, correcting, and sometimes altering the text, and also while he is consulting older palm-leaf MSS. The sign can be spotted, e.g., in K_{41} on top of a *ku*, indicating that the syllable *ru*, given in the top margin, should be inserted there; doubled in the same MS to indicate a larger omission; in MS NGMPP C 57/5, another paper Śivadharma corpus multiple-text MS, to indicate an alternative reading; and in the much older palm-leaf MS, K_{82} , to indicate a missing passage, which is in fact to be found in at least two paper MSS (K_{41} and K_{107}) and in Naraharinath’s edition (see Figure 5).

Consulting Einicke 2009, a rich catalogue of editorial marks, one gets the impression that this type of *kākapada*, which has a dot in it, is not frequently seen. Two instances of such a *kākapada* occur in two NGMPP *Viṣṇudharmaśāstra* MSS from 1661 and 1713 CE,¹⁰⁸ one in the above mentioned Śivadharma MS NGMPP C 57/5 from 1826 CE,¹⁰⁹ and in a *Kālacakratantra* MS written in old Bengali script from 1446 CE, which has (most probably much later) corrections in Nepālākṣara script.¹¹⁰

It is difficult to escape the impression that we are dealing with the same editor, whose distinguishing mark is a *kākapada* with a dot. If indeed MS C 57/5 (1826 CE) also bears his hallmark, then he must have been a pundit from the 19th or 20th century. He seems to have performed some rather detailed and focused editorial activities, and must have had access to some of the old palm-leaf MSS. One telling example for this is his marking the omission in K_{82} of two *anuṣṭubh* verses on heavens after VSS 24.72 (see image on the right in Figure 5). As hinted at above, these verses, potentially later insertions, occur in the paper MSS K_{41} and K_{107} , and in Naraharinath.

¹⁰⁸ MSS G 18/2 and B 218/2, Einicke 2009, 161–162 and 236.

¹⁰⁹ Einicke 2009, 164 and 328.

¹¹⁰ Einicke 2009, 65–66 and 328. On p. 66, Einicke remarks: ‘Besonderheiten: Korrekturen einzelner Zeichen in späterer Newārī-Schrift am Rand’.

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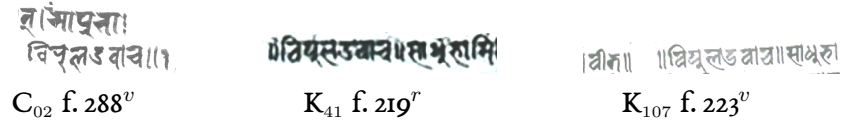


Figure 6: Insertion of *vipula uvāca* in C_{02}


To spot this, our anonymous editor had to carefully compare the old palm-leaf MS with the 17th-century paper MS.¹¹¹

These observations also shed some light on the origin of the first folio of C_{02} , which is in a hand that looks later than that in the rest of that MS.¹¹² Most old palm-leaf MSS start with *karmahetuḥ śarīrasya* etc. at VSS 1.14ab, while the two paper MSS K_{41} and K_{107} , and Naraharinath read *anarthayajña uvāca* || *karmahetuḥ śarīrasya*. The only palm-leaf MS that reads with the paper MSS is C_{02} , on its only folio that is written in a later hand. This at least tells us that the supplied first folio in C_{02} comes from a source that is closer to the paper MSS than to the old palm-leaf MSS, and it could also be another piece of evidence for editorial activity by someone who carefully examined these sources, and in addition, introduced fresh contamination. For this kind of easy-to-spot contamination, a good example is the insertion of the somewhat unnecessary *vipula uvāca* in palm-leaf NS C_{02} after 12.30, inspired by paper MS K_{41} , and/or K_{107} (see Figure 6). Note the tiny *kākapada* with the dot on the palm-leaf on the left and the insertion in a different hand in the margin below. It seems probable that our anonymous editor went through some paper MSS and noted differences in the palm-leaf MS C_{02} (and in K_{82} , see Figure 5).

(N) K_{107} NGMCP C107/7, NAK 9/537. Paper. Size: 37.1 × 10.8 cm. 174 folios. This MS is dated to NS 809 (1688–89 CE),¹¹³ Folios 1–88 are missing. These must have contained the *Śivadharmasāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*.¹¹⁴ The MS thus contains only six texts: 1) *Śivadharmasamgraha* ff. 89r–133v, 2) *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda* ff. 134r–163v, 3) *Śivopaniṣad* ff. 164r–181r, 4) *Uttarottaramahāsamvāda* ff. 182r–206v, 5) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha* ff. 207r–251v, 6) *Dharmaputrikā* ff. 252r–262v.

¹¹¹ More on this in volume two.

¹¹² See p. 5.

¹¹³  (f. 262v). De Simini reads NS 803 (2016b, 253 n. 51). I prefer reading NS 809.

¹¹⁴ Cf. De Simini 2016b, 252 n. 48. See also an unfinished table of contents on f. 262r, which confirms that at least the *Śivadharmasāstra* was part of this bundle: || *asyānukramah* || *prathama śivadharmo nāma*.

Vṛṣasārasaṅgraha

The script of this 17th-century MS seems extremely similar to that of K₄₁, therefore the latter can also be dated to the 17th century. USE IT? **CHECK**

Munich manuscript

M This MS is preserved at the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich, Germany.¹¹⁵ It has no access number. I have collated the readings of this MS only for VSS chapters one and five as a test. I received the digital images of this MS from Kengo Harimoto shortly after he had taken pictures of it in Munich on Nov 16, 2021. This MS contains the following texts: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Umāmaheśvarasaṁvāda*, 4) *Śivopaniṣad*, 5) *Vṛṣasārasaṅgraha*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṁvāda*, 7) *Dharmaputrikā*. The section that must have contained the *Śivadharmasaṅgraha*, ff. 82–121, is lost. The portion that contains the VSS and the *Dharmaputrikā* is dated (f. 50r line 5): || *iti vṛṣasārasaṅgrāhe caturviṃśatimodhyāyah samāptah | samvat 192 māghakṛṣṇadivāpañcamyām || postakalikhitam iti* ||. The year 192 in Nepālā Samvat converts to 1071–1072 CE. The part of the MS that precedes the VSS looks considerably earlier and is potentially an important witness for other texts of the Śivadharmā corpus. An interesting feature of this MS is that it gives the number of verses contained in each chapter in the colophons. Ten folios that transmitted the VSS are missing: f. 5 (VSS 3.4–3.33), ff. 11–13 (VSS 6.20–8.45), ff. 24 (VSS 13.9–13.36), and ff. 39–43 (VSS 20.38–22.35).

The foliation for the VSS restarts and the hand in which the VSS and the *Dharmaputrikā* are written are different from, and most probably later than that of the texts that come before them in this bundle.

The MS often transmits unique and interesting readings but rarely convincing ones, and in general does not seem to be superior to any of the MSS described above. But at some points I did follow its reading against the other witnesses, e.g., at 5.1b.

Paris manuscript

(N)P₅₇ This is a multiple-text palm-leaf manuscript written in Nepālākṣara script and preserved in the Collection Sylvain Lévi at the Institut d’études

¹¹⁵ Harimoto 2022, 596. See more detail in that paper.

Introduction

indiennes, Collège de France as MS Skt 57-B 23. I have collated the readings of this MS for VSS chapters three and eight. It contains 249 palm leaves. Folios 214 and 216 are missing from the part of the manuscript that transmits the VSS, thus we don’t have verses 1.58d–2.21ab, as well as 3.14–42 and 4.1–7. Foliation appears on the verso side: in the left-hand margin in Newar alphabetical numerals and in the right-hand margin in arabic numerals by a second hand. The portion that contains the VSS is relatively well-preserved and the text is written in a clear hand. Although it is an undated manuscript, it could be dated to the 11th century CE on palaeographical grounds. It contains the following text in the order they are presented in the manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasamgraha*, 4) *Umāmahēśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*. The VSS appears on ff. 212–252. This source gives reliable readings and contains relatively few scribal mistakes.¹¹⁶

Oxford manuscript

(N)O₁₅ This palm-leaf manuscript is deposited in the Bodleian Library, in Oxford, under shelf mark Sansk. a. 15. It is dated to Nepāla Samvat 307 (1186–87 CE), and it contains 335 folios, transmitting the following texts: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasamgraha*, 4) *Umāmahēśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*.

A cursory examination of the text reveals rather disappointing readings, therefore I have not included in the apparatus any of the collation done.

Kolkata manuscripts

(N)Ko₇₇ MS G4077 in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Kolkata.¹¹⁷ This is a palm leaf MS, transmitting the VSS in 52 folios. The MS is dated to July 6, 1036 CE (Nepāla Samvat 156; see De Simini 2017, 542), which makes it

¹¹⁶ This description had as its starting point a shorter description written and kindly shared with me by Nirajan Kafle.

¹¹⁷ I am grateful to Daniella Cappello and Marco Francheschini for managing to obtain digital copies of most of the folios of this MS.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

‘the oldest known dated attestation of the corpus’ (De Simini 2016b, 250–251). In spite of this, after collating this MS for 1.1–12 and 8.1–8, I abandoned it because its readings seemed rather useless.¹¹⁸

(N)Ko₇₆ MS G 4076 in the collection of The Asiatic Society, Kolkata.¹¹⁹ Shastri 1928 (716–718) gives a detailed description of this manuscript along with the text of VSS 1.1–16. According to Shastri, the dimensions of the MS are 22½ × 2 inches (57.15 × 5.08 cm), the text is complete and the script is of the twelfth century CE.

This manuscript may appear as a rare instance of the VSS being transmitted independently, and not in a multiple-text manuscript, but it seems very likely that it was originally part of Ko₇₆ (MS G 3852), a Śivadharma corpus MS in the same collection lacking the VSS; see note 83 on page 2.

Tübingen manuscript

I have not yet utilised MS Ma I 582 in the Universitätsbibliothek of Tübingen, a beautiful and nicely written MS. It seems to contain only sixteen folios that transmit the VSS, and they are from the second half of the text. Nothing appears to have been preserved from chapters 1–12.

London manuscript

(N)L₁₆ This is a paper manuscript in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine under shelf number WI δ 16 (I–VIII). It contains 406 folios and the following texts: 1) *Śivadharmaśāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śi-*

¹¹⁸ See, e.g., 8.1–8, as transmitted in this MS: *pañcasvādhyāyanam ihāmutra sukhārthinā | saivasāṅkhyā purāṇāṇ ca smārtabhāratasaṃhitā* ||8.1|| *saivatatvaṃ vicin-tata saivāpāsūpatadvaye | atra vistarata prokta tatvasārasamucaye* ||8.2|| *saṃkhyātatvaṃ tu saṃkhyeṣu bodhavya tatvacintakāḥ | pañcatattvavibhāgena kīrtitāni maharṣibhiḥ* ||8.3|| *purāṇeṣu mahikoṣa vistareṇa prakīrtita | āyoyas ca tiryāṇ ca yatnataḥ samaveśayet* ||8.4|| *smārta varṇṇasamācāra dharmāṇyāyapravarttakam | śiṣṭācāro vikalpena grāhya tatva asahitaḥ* ||8.5|| *itihāsam adhīyānaḥ sarvajñaḥ sa naro bhavet | dharmārthakā-mamokṣeṣu saṃśayas tena chidyate* ||8.6|| *pañcoprasthavinigraha sṃnyāvamhito dvija | striyo vā garhitaḥ svargaḥ svayāmmukṭiś ca kīrtiyate | svapnopaghātaṃ viprendra di-vāsvapnaṃ ca pañcamah* ||8.7|| *agamyastri divārsyase dharmapatni ca vā bhavet | virud-dhastri na bhaveta varṇṇavarṇṇabhraṣṭādhikāma ca* ||8.8||

¹¹⁹ I am grateful to Sushmita Das for attempting to get a copy of this MS in March 2020, and to Daniella Cappello and Marco Francheschini, who managed to do so.

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vopaniṣad, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*. This MS is described in Wujastyk 1985.

While collating MS L₁₆ for VSS chapter 22, I realised that it was most likely a direct or close copy of K₈₂. A few examples to prove this will suffice.

K₈₂ (f. 40r) reads:



[*spha*]ṭikāṃ⁺ram [= ^o*kāmbaram*] *eva ca* | *daśayogāsanāsino*

L₁₆ (f. 38iv) gives:



sphaṭikāṃsatam eva ca || *devayogāsanāsīto*

supplying *sa* for the lost syllable and misreading the damaged *da* as *de* and the *śa* as *va*.

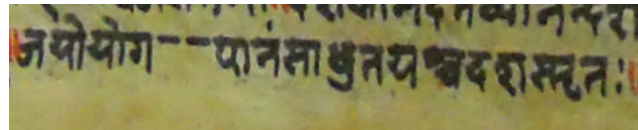
Here K₈₂ (f. 39v) reads:



[*japo yogas tapo*] *dhyānaṃ svādhyāyaś ca daśa smṛtaḥ*

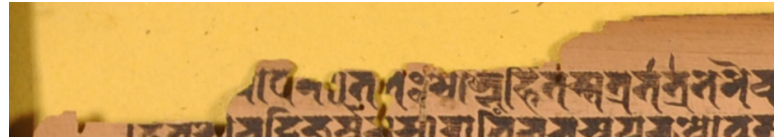
with *dhyā* and *svā* damaged;

L₁₆ (f. 38ir) cannot read the bit that is completely lost, and it misreads the damaged *dhyānaṃ* as *dhānaṃ*, *svādhyā* as *sādhū*:



In the next example, the text is supposed to read *kare grhya tapodhanam* | *tataḥ so 'ntarhitas tatra tenaiva*.

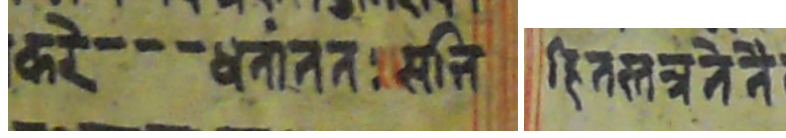
K₈₂ (f. 39r) gives:



Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

[kare] --- dha\na tataḥ so 'ntar\hitas tatra tenaiva

L₁₆ (f. 38or) gives:



kare --- dhatām tataḥ || sati hitas tatra tenaiva

trying to make sense of the fragments. The examples above suggest that L₁₆ was copied directly from K₈₂ when the damage had already been done to K₈₂. For this reason, I have not collated its readings for VSS chapters I–I2.

Naraharinath's edition

(N)E Much has been said of Yogi Naraharinath's pioneering but problematic edition (the *editio princeps*) of the Śivadharma corpus (Naraharinath 1998).¹²⁰ My impression of the text of the VSS in Naraharinath's edition (pp. 580–678) is that its quality is considerably inferior to those of the other texts of the corpus. It may or may not be Naraharinath's fault; others must have been involved in the process of transcription, and the number and nature of the innumerable mistakes all over the text may also suggest a general problem with the typesetting process. In addition to this, it is now gradually becoming clearer and clearer that Naraharinath must have used late paper MSS, and some of the oddities in his text and some of the alterations that are difficult to explain come in fact therefrom. See the description of K₄₁ and K₁₀₇ above. In spite of all the noise in Naraharinath's edition, it was useful to have his text as a starting point, and it is sometimes useful to consider his readings. Therefore I have recorded the readings found in his publication for all twelve chapters given in my critical edition.

¹²⁰ See, e.g., De Simini 2016a, 66, n. 190; 2017, 542, Bisschop 2018, 58–59, and Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, 55.

Introduction

Editorial policies

- orthography: deviant orth, sandhi, punctuation? - avagrahas usually supplied but sometimes found in the MSS, not used by me for crasis (e.g. a+a=ā)
- daṇḍas: usually 4 pādas to a verse, but I have made arbitrary decisions based on sense-units because none of the sources really indicate where a verse ends (||).
- falsifications everywhere on purpose and accidentally
- mssALL
- [supply]

SDh MSS from Nepal
stemma...

वृषसारसंग्रहः

[चतुर्थोऽध्यायः]

[यमेषु सत्यम् (२)]

अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच ।

सद्भावः सत्यमित्याहुर्दृष्टप्रत्ययमेव वा ।

यथाभूतार्थकथनं तत्सत्यकथनं स्मृतम् ॥ ४:१ ॥

आक्रोशताडनादीनि यः सहेतुः सुदुःसहम् ।

क्षमते यो जितात्मा तु स च सत्यमुदाहृतम् ॥ ४:२ ॥

वधार्थमुद्यतः शस्त्रं यदि पृच्छेत कर्हिचित् ।

न तत्र सत्यं वक्तव्यमनृतं सत्यमुच्यते ॥ ४:३ ॥

✧

1a ≈ MBh 12.288.45d: सद्भावः सत्यमुच्यते cf. also BrahmanḍaP 3.3.86ab: असद्भावोऽनृतं ज्ञेयं सद्भावः सत्यमुच्यते 1cd cf. ŚDhŚ 11.105: स्वानुभूतं स्वदृष्टं च यः पृष्ठार्थं न गृह्णाति । यथाभूतार्थकथनमित्येतत्सत्यलक्षणम् ॥ 2 cf. ŚDhŚ 11.82: आक्रुष्टस्ताडितो वापि यो नाक्रोशेन्न ताडयेत् । वागाद्यविकृतः स्वस्थं क्षान्तिरेषा सुनिर्मला ॥

Witnesses used for this chapter: C₉₄ ff. 198v–201v, C₄₅ ff. 206r–208v, C₀₂ ff. 273v–277r, K₈₂ ff. 6r–9r, K₁₀ exp. 48–50 (lower–upper), K₇ ff. 214v–217r, E pp. 591–597; C_Σ = C₉₄ + C₄₅ + C₀₂

✧

(1a) सद्भावः] Σ, सद्भाव० K₁₀E (1ab) सत्यमित्याहुर्दृष्टं] C₄₅K₈₂K₇E, सत्यमि-
त्याहु दृष्टं C₉₄, सत्यमित्याहु दृष्टं C₀₂, सत्यामित्याहुर्दृष्टं K₁₀ (1b) ०प्रत्यय०] C₉₄
C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀, ०प्रत्यय० C₀₂, ०प्रत्ययेय० K₇, प्रत्यक्ष० E (1c)] Σ, यथाभूतार्थं C₀₂^{ac},
यथाभूतार्थनं क्त C₀₂^{pc} (1d) तत्सत्यकथनं] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀K₇E, तत्सत्यकथकं C₄₅,
कथनं स्मृतं C₀₂^{ac}, सत्यक जकथनं स्मृतं C₀₂^{pc} (2a) ०ताडना०] Σ, ०नाडना० C₄₅
(2b) सुदुःसहम्] Σ, सुदुःसहं C₀₂ (2d) सत्यमुदाहृतम्] Σ, सत्यमुदाहृतम्
C₉₄ (3a) ०द्यतः] Σ, ०द्यत K₈₂ • शस्त्रं] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀K₇, सत्य C₄₅E, शस्त्र C₀₂
(3b) कर्हिचित्] C_ΣE, कर्हिचित् K₈₂K₁₀K₇ (3c) सत्यं] Σ, सत्य C₄₅E

वृषसारसंग्रहे

वधार्हः पुरुषः कश्चिद्व्रजेत्पथि भयातुरः ।
 पृच्छतो ऽपि न वक्तव्यं सत्यं तद्वापि उच्यते ॥ ४:४ ॥
 न नर्मयुक्तमनृतं हिनस्ति
 न स्त्रीषु राजन्न विवाहकाले ।
 प्राणात्यये सर्वधनापहारे
 पञ्चानृतं सत्यमुदाहरन्ति ॥ ४:५ ॥
 देवमानुषतिर्येषु सत्यं धर्मः परो यतः ।
 सत्यं श्रेष्ठं वरिष्ठं च सत्यं धर्मः सनातनः ॥ ४:६ ॥
 सत्यं सागरमव्यक्तं सत्यमक्षयभोगदम् ।
 सत्यं पोतः परत्रार्थं सत्यं पन्थानं विस्तरम् ॥ ४:७ ॥
 सत्यमिष्टगतिः प्रोक्तं सत्यं यज्ञमनुत्तमम् ।
 सत्यं तीर्थं परं तीर्थं सत्यं दानमनन्तकम् ॥ ४:८ ॥

✧

5 ≈ MBh I.77.16 : न नर्मयुक्तं वचनं हिनस्ति न स्त्रीषु राजन्न विवाहकाले । प्राणात्यये सर्वधनापहारे पञ्चानृतान्याहुरपातकानि ॥; MBh I2.159.28 : न नर्मयुक्तं वचनं हिनस्ति न स्त्रीषु राजन्न विवाहकाले । न गुर्वर्थं नात्मनो जीवितार्थं पञ्चानृतान्याहुरपातकानि ॥; MatsP 31.16 : न नर्मयुक्तं वचनं हिनस्ति न स्त्रीषु राजन्न विवाहकाले । Abhidharmakośabhāṣya 24114–24117 (introduced by मोहजो मृषावादो यथाह): न नर्मयुक्तमनृतं हि नास्ति न स्त्रीषु राजन्न विवाहकाले । प्राणात्यये सर्वधनापहारे पञ्चानृतान्याहुरपातकानि ॥ etc.

✧

(4b) ०तुरः] Σ, ०तुर C₄₅ (4c) पृच्छतो] Σ, पृच्छते E (4d) तद्वापि] Σ, तदपि K₁₀ (5a) हिनस्ति] C₉₄C₄₅K₁₀K₇, हि नास्ति C₀₂K₈₂E (5b) राजन्न] Σ, राज न C₀₂, राज्यं न K₈₂ (5c) ०त्यये] Σ, ०त्यजे K₁₀ • ०पहारे] Σ, ०प्रहारे C₀₂K₁₀ (6b) ०मानुष०] Σ, ०मानुष्य० K₇ •] C₄₅C₀₂, सत्यं धर्मः पयतः C₉₄, सत्यं धर्म परो यतः K₈₂K₇, सत्यधर्म परो यतः K₁₀, सत्यधर्मपरायणः E (6c) श्रेष्ठं] Σ, श्रेष्ठ K₁₀E • वरिष्ठं च] Σ, वरिष्ठम्वरिष्ठम्वच्च C₄₅^{ac} (6d) सत्यं] Σ, सत्य० C₄₅K₁₀ • धर्मः] Σ, धर्म C₀₂E (7a) सत्यं] Σ, सत्य C₀₂ (7b)] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀K₇, सत्यमक्षयभोगदम् C₄₅C₀₂, सत्यमक्षयते नरं E (7c) पोतः] Σ, पोत K₈₂, प्रोक्तः E (7d) पन्थानं विस्तरम्] Σ, यज्ञानविस्तरम् E (8a) ०ष्टगतिः] Σ, ०ष्टगतिः K₁₀ (8c) तीर्थं] C₂K₈₂, तीर्थ K₁₀K₇, तीर्थात् E

चतुर्थोऽध्यायः

सत्यं शीलं तपो ज्ञानं सत्यं शौचं दमः शमः ।
 सत्यं सोपानमूर्ध्वस्य सत्यं कीर्तिर्यशः सुखम् ॥ ४:९ ॥
 अश्वमेधसहस्रं च सत्यं च तुलया धृतम् ।
 अश्वमेधसहस्राद्धि सत्यमेव विशिष्यते ॥ ४:१० ॥
 सत्येन तपते सूर्यः सत्येन पृथिवी स्थिता ।
 सत्येन वायवो वान्ति सत्ये तोयं च शीतलम् ॥ ४:११ ॥
 तिष्ठन्ति सागराः सत्ये समयेन प्रियव्रतः ।
 सत्ये तिष्ठति गोविन्दो बलिबन्धनकारणात् ॥ ४:१२ ॥

❖

9c ≈ VarP 193.36cd : सत्यं स्वर्गस्य सोपानं पारावारस्य नौरिव 10 = MBh 1.69.22 = MBh Suppl. 13.20.330 = MarkP 8.42 = VDhU 3.265.7 ≈ MBh 12.156.26 (pāda d reads सत्यमेवातिरिच्यते) ≈ VDh 55.6 (pāda d reads सत्यमेतद्विशिष्यते); cf. ŚDhŚ 11.107: अश्वमेधायुतं पूर्णं सत्यञ्च तुलितं पुरा । अश्वमेधायुतात्सत्यमधिकं बहुभिर्गुणैः ॥ 11 ≈ VarP 193.37: सूर्यस्तपति सत्येन वातः सत्येन वाति च । अग्निर्दहति सत्येन सत्येन पृथिवी स्थिता ॥ ≈ VDhU 3.265.4cd-5ab: सत्येन वायुरभ्येति सत्येनाभासते रविः ॥ सत्येन चाग्निर्दहति स्वर्गं सत्येन गच्छति ।

❖

(9a) सत्यं] Σ, सत्य C₄₅ (9b) शमः] Σ, शमम् K₁₀ (9c) सत्यं] Σ, संत्यं C₄₅, सत्य K₇ (9d) सुखम्] Σ, सुखः E (10a) सहस्रं च] Σ, सहस्रस्य C₀₂ (10b) तुलया] Σ, तुल्यया C₀₂ (10c) सहस्राद्धि] Σ, सहस्रा हि C₀₂ (10d) एव] Σ, एवं C₀₂E (11ab) सूर्यः सत्येन पृथिवी स्थिता] K₈₂K₇, सूर्यः सत्येन पृथि स्थिता: C₉₄, सूर्यः सत्येन पृथिवी स्थिता C₄₅, सूर्य सत्येन पृथिवी स्थिता: C₀₂, सूर्य सत्ये --- वी स्थिता K₁₀, सूर्यः सत्येन पृथिवी स्थिता: E (11c) वायवो] Σ, वात्यवो K₁₀ (11d) सत्ये] Σ, सत्यात् E (12a) सागराः] Σ, सागरा C₀₂ (12b) समयेन] Σ, सत्येन च E

वृषसारसंग्रहे

अग्निर्दहति सत्येन सत्येन शशिनश्चरः ।
 सत्येन विन्ध्यास्तिष्ठन्ति वर्धमानो न वर्धते ॥ ४:१३ ॥
 लोकालोकः स्थितः सत्ये मेरुः सत्ये प्रतिष्ठितः ।
 वेदास्तिष्ठन्ति सत्येषु धर्मः सत्ये प्रतिष्ठति ॥ ४:१४ ॥
 सत्यं गौः क्षरते क्षीरं सत्यं क्षीरे घृतं स्थितम् ।
 सत्ये जीवः स्थितो देहे सत्यं जीवः सनातनः ॥ ४:१५ ॥
 सत्यमेकेन सम्प्राप्तो धर्मसाधननिश्चयः ।
 रामराघववीर्येण सत्यमेकं सुरक्षितम् ॥ ४:१६ ॥
 एवं सत्यविधानस्य कीर्तितं तव सुव्रत ।
 सर्वलोकहितार्थाय किमन्यच्छ्रोतुमिच्छसि ॥ ४:१७ ॥

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13c \approx VarP 193.37cd : अग्निर्दहति सत्येन सत्येन पृथिवी स्थिता 13d cf. VarP 155.30cd :
 सत्येन सूर्यस्तपति सोमः सत्येन राजते ; cf. LakṣmīNārS 1.345.50ab : सत्येन सूर्यस्तपति चन्द्रः
 सत्येन वर्धते । cf. MBh Suppl. 13.587 : मुचुकुन्देन मान्धात्रा हरिश्चन्द्रेण चाभिभो । सत्यं वदत
 मासत्यं सत्यं धर्मः सनातनः । हरिश्चन्द्रश्चरति वै दिवि सत्येन चन्द्रवत् ॥

✧

(13ab) सत्येन सत्येन] Σ , सत्येन $K_{82}^{ac}K_7$ (13b) शशिनश्चरः] conj., सशिभाचरः;
 C_{94} , शशिभाचरः C_{45} , स शिरा वरः C_{02} , शशिराचरः $K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, शशिभाष्करः E
 (13c) विन्ध्यास्तिष्ठन्ति] $C_{94}K_{82}K_7$, विन्ध्यस्तिष्ठन्ति $C_{45}K_{10}$, विन्ध्या तिष्ठन्ति C_{02} ,
 तिष्ठते विन्ध्यो E (14a) लोकोकः] E, लोकोक $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$ • स्थितः] Σ , स्थिः K_7
 • सत्ये] Σ , सत्यं E (14b) मेरुः] Σ , मेरु $C_{02}E$ (14c) वेदास्ति०] Σ , देवा-
 स्ति० C_{45} , वेदा ति० E (14d) सत्ये] Σ , धर्मे C_{02} • प्रतिष्ठति] Σ , प्रतिष्ठति K_7^{ac} ,
 प्रतिष्ठितः K_7^{pc} (15a) गौः] Σ , गौ $C_{02}K_{10}$ (15ab) क्षीरं सत्यं] Σ , क्षीत्यं C_{45}^{ac} ,
 क्सीनित्यं C_{45}^{pc} (15b) क्षीरे घृतं स्थितम्] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_7$, क्षीरं घृतं स्थितम् C_{02} ,
 क्षीरे घृत स्थितम् K_{10} , क्षीरं स्थितं घृतम् E (15c) सत्ये जीवः] Σ , सत्ये जीव K_7 ,
 सत्यं जीव E (15d) जीवः] Σ , जीव C_{02} (16a) सत्यमेकेन] Σ , सत्यमेकैः C_{45} ,
 सत्यमेकेन K_{10} (16b) धर्मो] E, धर्मः $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$ • अनिश्चयः] Σ , अनिश्चः C_{94}
 (16d) सत्यमेकं] Σ , सत्यमेकं K_{10} • सुरक्षितम्] Σ , सुरक्षितम् C_{45} , सुरक्षितः K_{82}
 (17a) एवं सत्यं] C_{45} , एतत्सत्यं $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$ (17b) सुव्रत] $C_{94}K_{82}$
 K_7 , सुव्रते $C_{45}K_{10}$, सुव्रतः C_{02} , सुव्रतं E

चतुर्थोऽध्यायः

[यमेष्वस्तेयम् (३)]

विगतराग उवाच ।
न हि तृप्तिं विजानामि श्रुत्वा धर्मं तवाप्यहम् ।
उपरिष्ठादतो भूयः कथयस्व तपोधन ॥ ४:१८ ॥

अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच ।
स्तेयं शृण्वथ विप्रेन्द्र पञ्चधा परिकीर्तितम् ।
अदत्तादानमादौ तु उत्कोचं च ततः परम् ।
प्रस्थव्याजस्तुलाव्याजः प्रसह्यस्तेय पञ्चमम् ॥ ४:१९ ॥

धृष्टदुष्टप्रभावेन परद्रव्यापकर्षणम् ।
वार्यमाणोऽपि दुर्बुद्धिरदत्तादानमुच्यते ॥ ४:२० ॥

उत्कोचं शृणु विप्रेन्द्र धर्मसंकरकारकम् ।
मूल्यं कार्यविनाशार्थमुत्कोचः परिगृह्यते ।
तेन चासौ विजानीयाद्रव्यलोभबलात्कृतम् ॥ ४:२१ ॥

प्रस्थव्याज-उपायेन कुटुम्बं त्रातुमिच्छति ।
तं च स्तेनं विजानीयात्परद्रव्यापहारकम् ॥ ४:२२ ॥

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(18a) तृप्तिं] Σ , तृप्ति C_{02} • विजानामि] Σ , विनामि K_{10} (18b)] Σ , श्रु धर्म-
न्तवाप्यहम् C_{94} , धर्मं श्रुत्वा तथाप्यहम् E (18d) ०धन] $C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}E$, ०धून C_{94} ,
०धनः $C_{45}K_7$ (19b) ०कीर्तितम्] Σ , ०कीर्तिताम् C_{45} (19d) उत्कोचं च ततः]
 Σ , त्कोच ततः C_{45} , उत्कोचं चानृतः E (19e) तुलाव्याजः] $C_{45}K_7E$, तुलाव्याज
 $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}$ (19f) ०सह्य०] Σ , ०सह्ये K_{10} • ०स्तेय] Σ , ०स्तेन $C_{94}K_7$ •
पञ्चमम्] Σ , पञ्चमः $C_{02}E$ (20a) धृष्टदुष्ट०] $C_{94}K_{82}K_7E$, धृष्टदुष्ट० C_{45} , धृतदुष्ट०
 C_{02} , दृष्टदुष्ट० K_{10} (20b) ०कर्षणम्] Σ , ०कर्षण K_{82} (20c) वार्यमाणोऽपि]
 Σ , वार्यमानो वि० C_{45} (21a) उत्कोचं] Σ , उत्कोच C_{94} • विप्रेन्द्र] Σ , विद्रेन्द्र
 K_{10} (21b) ०संकर०] $C_{02}K_{82}$, ०शङ्कर० $C_{94}C_{45}K_{10}$, ०सकर० K_7 , ०संहार० E •
०कारकम्] Σ , ०कारकः K_{82} (21c) मूल्यं] conj., मूल $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$ • ०विना-
शार्थ०] Σ , ०विनार्थ० K_{82}^{ac} (21d) ०त्कोचः] Σ , ०त्कोचं K_{10} , ०त्कोच E (21ef)
विजानीयाद्र०] Σ , विजानीया द्र० C_{02} (22c) तं च स्तेनं] C_{94} , तच्च स्तेन C_{45} , सो
ऽपि तेन $C_{02}E$, तं च स्तेयं K_{82} , तच्च तेन K_{10} , तच्च तेन K_7 (22d) ०हारकम्] C_{94}
 $C_{45}K_{82}K_7E$, ०हारकः C_{02} , ०हारका K_{82}^{ac} ०हारकाः K_{10}

वृषसारसंग्रहे

तुलाव्याज-उपायेन परस्वार्थं हरेद्यदि ।
 चौरलक्षणकाश्चान्ये कूटकापटिका नराः ॥ ४:२३ ॥
 दुर्बलार्जवबालेषु च्छद्मना वा बलेन वा ।
 अपहृत्य धनं मूढः स चौरश्चोर उच्यते ॥ ४:२४ ॥
 नास्ति स्तेयसमं पापं नास्त्यधर्मश्च तत्समः ।
 नास्ति स्तेनसमाकीर्तिर्नास्ति स्तेनसमो ऽनयः ॥ ४:२५ ॥
 नास्ति स्तेयसमाविद्या नास्ति स्तेनसमः खलः ।
 नास्ति स्तेनसम अज्ञो नास्ति स्तेनसमो ऽलसः ॥ ४:२६ ॥
 नास्ति स्तेनसमो द्वेष्यो नास्ति स्तेनसमो ऽप्रियः ।
 नास्ति स्तेयसमं दुःखं नास्ति स्तेयसमो ऽयशः ॥ ४:२७ ॥

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23cd cf. UMS 8.3cd : कूटकापटिकाश्चैव सत्यार्जवविवर्जिताः

25 This verse is missing in E.

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(23a) परस्वार्थं] C₉₄C₀₂K₈₂K₇, परस्वार्थं C₄₅K₁₀, परस्वार्थं E • हरेद्यदि] Σ, हरेद्यति C₄₅ (23d) कूटकापटिका] K₁₀, कूटकापटिका C₉₄, कूटकापटिका C₄₅C₀₂K₈₂K₇, कूटकापटिका K₈₂E (24a) ऽर्जवम्] Σ, ऽर्जवम् K₁₀ (24b) च्छद्मना] E, च्छद्मना C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀, च्छद्मना K₇ (24cd) मूढः स] Σ, मूढास्स K₁₀ (24d) चौरश्चोर] K₇, चौरश्चोर C₉₄C₀₂K₁₀E, चौर चोर C₄₅, चौरश्चौर K₈₂ (25a) स्तेयम्] K₈₂K₇, तेन C₉₄, स्तेनम् C₄₅C₀₂K₁₀ (25b) ऽसमः] Σ, ऽसमं C₀₂ (25c) स्तेनम्] Σ, तेन C₀₂, स्तेयम् K₇ • ऽसमाम्] C₄₅C₀₂K₁₀, ऽसमो C₉₄K₈₂K₇ (25d) स्तेनम्] Σ, स्तेयम् K₈₂K₇ (26a) स्तेयम्] K₈₂K₇E, स्तेनम् C_ΣK₁₀ • ऽसमा] C₀₂K₁₀, ऽसमो C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₇E (26b) स्तेनम्] C_ΣK₁₀, स्तेयम् K₈₂K₇, तेन E (26c) स्तेनम्] C₉₄C₄₅K₁₀K₇, स्तेयम् C₀₂K₈₂E • ऽसम] Σ, ऽसमं K₁₀ • अज्ञो] C₄₅, अज्ञः C₉₄, अज्ञ C₀₂K₈₂K₁₀K₇, अज्ञः E (26d) स्तेनम्] C₉₄C₄₅K₁₀, स्तेयम् C₀₂K₈₂K₇, तेन E (27a) स्तेनम्] C₉₄C₄₅K₁₀, स्तेयम् C₀₂K₈₂K₇, तेन E (27b) स्तेनम्] K₁₀, स्तेयम् C_ΣK₈₂K₇E (27c) स्तेयम्] C₀₂, स्तेनम् C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀, स्तेन्यम् K₇, तेन E (27d) स्तेयम्] C₀₂K₇, स्तेनम् C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀, तेन E

चतुर्थो ऽध्यायः

प्रच्छन्नो हियते ऽर्थमन्यपुरुषः प्रत्यक्षमन्यो हरेत्
 निक्षेपाद्धनहारिणो ऽन्यमधमो व्याजेन चान्यो हरेत् ।
 अन्ये लेख्यविकल्पनाहृतधना †अन्यो हताद्वै हता†
 अन्यः क्रीतधनो ऽपरो धयहृत एते जघन्याः स्मृताः ॥ ४:२८ ॥

स्तेनतुल्य न मूढमस्ति पुरुषो धर्मार्थहीनो ऽधमः
 यावज्जीवति शङ्कया नरपतेः संत्रस्यमानो रटन् ।
 प्राप्तःशासन तीव्रसह्यविषमं प्राप्नोति कर्मैरितः
 कालेन म्रियते स याति निरयमाक्रन्दमानो भृशम् ॥ ४:२९ ॥

29 The lower folio side in exposure 49 in K₁₀ is rather blurred and seems to be partly erased, therefore all the readings in this MS for verses 4.29–46 are rather uncertain, even if not indicated explicitly.

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(28a) प्रच्छन्नो] Σ , प्रस्थन्नो C₄₅ • ऽर्थमन्यपुरुषः] C₄₅K₇, वित्तम् C₉₄K₈₂^{ac}K₁₀, चित्त
 C₀₂, च वित्तमथवा K₈₂^{pc}E • प्रत्यक्षमन्यो] Σ , प्रत्यक्षमनो C₄₅, प्रत्यक्षमन्ये E (28b)
 निक्षेपाद्धन०] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂, निक्षेपा धन० C₀₂K₁₀K₇, निक्षेपात्रय० E • ०हारिणो] Σ ,
 ०हारिण्यो C₄₅, ०हारिणा K₁₀ • ऽन्यमधमो] Σ , ऽन्यमधनो C₀₂, ऽन्यविधयो E •
 चान्यो] Σ , चान्या E • हरेत्] Σ , हरे K₈₂ (28c) अन्ये लेख्य०] corr., अन्या
 लेख० C₄₅C₀₂, अन्यो लेख्य० C₉₄, अन्यो लेख्य० K₈₂K₁₀K₇, अन्योल्लेख्य E •
 ०धना अन्यो] Σ , ०धन्यो C₄₅ • हताद्वै] Σ , हतद्वै K₈₂, हताद्वै K₁₀ (28d) अन्यः
 क्रीतधनो] Σ , अन्य क्रीतधनो K₇, अनाश्रीतधनं E • ऽपरो धयहृत] C₉₄C₀₂K₁₀,
 परो धयहृत C₄₅, परो धनहृत K₈₂, परोधप्रहृत K₇, मदा ह्यपहतं E • जघन्याः] Σ ,
 जघन्यः E (29a) स्तेनतुल्य] C₉₄C₄₅K₇ (unmetr.), स्तेयस्तुल्य C₀₂, स्तेयतुल्य
 K₈₂ (unmetr.), तेन तुल्य K₁₀ (unmetr.), स्तेनस्तुल्य E (29b) यावज्जीवति] Σ ,
 यावत्तज्जीवति E • ०पतेः] C₄₅K₁₀K₇, ०पतिः C₉₄C₀₂K₈₂E • संत्रस्यमानो रटन्]
 Σ , संत्रास्यमानो शठः E (29c) प्राप्तः०] Σ , प्राप्त० K₈₂ • ०सह्य०] Σ , --- K₁₀,
 ०सद्य० E • ०विषमं] em., ०विषमः C₉₄K₈₂K₇E, --- K₁₀ • कर्मैरितः] Σ , कर्मैरितः
 C₉₄, ---रितः K₁₀ (29d) निरयमाक्रन्दमानो] C₉₄K₈₂, निरयमाक्रन्दमानो K₁₀,
 निरयं स क्रन्दमानो K₇, नियममाक्रन्दमानो E

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नीत्वा दुर्गतिकोटिकल्प निरयात्तिर्यत्वमायान्ति ते
तिर्यत्वे च तथैवमेकशतिकं प्रभ्रम्य वर्षाबुदम् ।
मानुष्यं तदवाप्नुवन्ति विपुले दारिद्र्यरोगाकुलं
तस्माद्दुर्गतिहेतु कर्म सकलं त्यक्त्वा शिवं चाश्रयेत् ॥ ४:३० ॥

[यमेष्वाणुशंस्यम् (४)]

अष्टमूर्तिशिवद्वेष्टा पितुर्मातुश्च यो द्विषेत् ।
गवां वा अतिथेर्द्वेष्टा नृशंसाः पञ्च एव ते ॥ ४:३१ ॥
अष्टमूर्तिः शिवः साक्षात्पञ्चव्योमसमन्वितः ।
सूर्यः सोमश्च दीक्षश्च दूषकः स नृशंसकः ॥ ४:३२ ॥
पिताकाशसमो ज्ञेयो जन्मोत्पत्तिकरः पिता ।
पितृदैवतमादिश्वमानुशंस तमन्वितः ॥ ४:३३ ॥

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32 cf. ŚDhŚ 12.17: मूर्तयो याः शिवस्याष्टौ तासु निन्दां विवर्जयेत् । गुरोश्च शिवभक्तानां नृपसाधु-
तपस्विनां ॥

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(30a) निरयात्तिर्यत्वम्] C₄₅K₈₂, निरयान्तिर्यत्वम् C₉₄, निरया तिर्यत्वम् C₀₂, निरया-
त्तिर्यत्वम् K₁₀, निरयान्तिर्यक्षम् K₇, निरयान्तिर्यत्त्वम् E (30b) तिर्यत्वे] Σ, तिर्यत्वे
K₁₀, तिर्यत्त्वम् E • तथैवमेकशतिकं] C₄₅, तथैकमेकशतिकं C₉₄K₈₂K₇, तथैकमेकश-
तिकम् C₀₂, तथैकमेकशतिकम् K₁₀, तथैकमेकसकिकम् E • भ्रम्यम्] Σ, भ्रम्यम् K₈₂,
---म्य K₁₀ • वर्षाबुदम्] K₇^{pe}, वर्षाम्बुदम् C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇^{ac}, वर्षाम्बुदः C₀₂E (30c)
मानुष्यं] Σ, मानुष्य C₄₅ (unmetr.), मानुष्य K₁₀ (tops of akṣaras lost) • विपुले]
Σ, विपुल K₁₀ (tops of akṣaras lost), विपुलम् E • दारिद्र्यम्] Σ, दारिद्र्य K₁₀, दारिद्र्यम्
E (30d) तस्माद्दुः] Σ, तस्मा दुः C₀₂, तस्मा दुः K₁₀ • चाश्रयेत्] Σ, चाश्रत्
K₈₂ (31a) शिवम्] Σ, शिवम् K₇ (31c) गवां वा] Σ, अवाग्वा C₄₅, अवाग्वा
K₁₀ • अतिथेर्द्वेष्टा] Σ, अतिथिद्वेष्टा C₀₂, अतिथे द्वेष्टा K₈₂ (31d) नृशंसाः] C₉₄
C₀₂K₈₂K₁₀, नृशंसा C₄₅K₇E (32a) मूर्तिः] Σ, मूर्तिम् E (32b) न्वितः]
Σ, न्विताः C₀₂K₁₀ (32c) सूर्यः] C_ΣK₈₂, सूर्य K₁₀K₇, सूर्यम् E • दीक्षम्]
Σ, दीक्ष K₁₀, दीक्षम् E (33b) णकरः पिता] Σ, णकरपिताः C₀₂, णकरः पिता
K₁₀ (33c) णदैवतम्] Σ, णदैवतम् C₄₅, णवतम् K₁₀ (33cd) णदिश्वमानुशंस
तमन्वितः] C₉₄C₄₅, णदित्यमनुशंस तमन्वितः C₀₂K₁₀, णदिश्व अनुशंस तमन्वितः
K₈₂, णदिश्वमनुशंस तमन्वितः K₇, णदित्यम्मानुशंस ततो ऽन्वितः E

चतुर्थोऽध्यायः

पृथ्व्या गुरुतरी माता को न वन्देत मातरम् ।
यज्ञदानतपोवेदास्तेन सर्वं कृतं भवेत् ॥ ४:३४ ॥
गावः पवित्रं मङ्गल्यं देवतानां च देवताः ।
सर्वदेवमया गावस्तस्मादेव न हिंसयेत् ॥ ४:३५ ॥
जातमात्रस्य लोकस्य गावस्त्राता न संशयः ।
घृतं क्षीरं दधि मूत्रं शकृत्कर्षणमेव च ॥ ४:३६ ॥
पञ्चामृतं पञ्चपवित्रपूतं
ये पञ्चगव्यं पुरुषाः पिबन्ति ।
ते वाजिमेधस्य फलं लभन्ति
तदक्षयं स्वर्गमवाप्नुवन्ति ॥ ४:३७ ॥
गोभिर्न तुल्यं धनमस्ति किञ्चिद्
दुह्यन्ति वाह्यन्ति बहिश्चरन्ति ।

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35a ≈ ViṣṇuS 23.57c: गावः पवित्रमङ्गल्यं (गोषु लोकाः प्रतिष्ठिता) • cf. also MBh Suppl. 13.15.33: गावः पवित्रं परमं गोषु लोकाः प्रतिष्ठिता: and AgniP 29.1.1cd: गावः पवित्रा माङ्गल्या गोषु लोकाः प्रतिष्ठिताः 35c = VDhU 3.291.25c 36 cf. ŚDhU 12.92ff 38a = ŚDhU 12.102d, 103d, 104d; cf. MBh 13.51.26cd: गोभिस्तुल्यं न पश्यामि धनं किञ्चिदिहाच्युत

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(34a) पृथ्व्या] C₉₄C₄₅K₇, पृथ्व्या_l C₀₂K₈₂, पृथ्वी K₁₀, पृथ्व्यां E (34b) वन्देत]
Σ, वन्देन वन्देत C₄₅, वन्द्येत C₀₂ (34d) सर्वं] em., सर्वं C₂K₈₂K₁₀K₇E (35a)
पवित्रं] Σ, पवित्र_l K₁₀ • मङ्गल्यं] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂, माङ्गल्यं C₀₂K₇E, मङ्गल्यं_l K₁₀ •
देवताः] C₂K₇, दैवताः K₈₂, देवताः_l K₁₀, देवता E (35d) ऽस्मादेव] Σ, ऽस्मादुव
C₄₅, ऽस्माद्गावं E (36a)] C₉₄C₀₂K₈₂K₇E, सतसातस्य C₄₅^{ac}, सतसातस्य नोकस्य
C₄₅^{pc}, जातमात्रस्य लोकस्य_l K₁₀ (36d) शकृत्क०] Σ, क्षत्क० C₄₅, शकृत्क_l०
K₁₀ (37a) ऽपवित्रपूतम्] C₀₂K₈₂E, ऽपवित्रपूतन C₉₄ (unmetr.), ऽपवित्रं C₄₅
(unmetr.), ऽपवित्रपूत K₁₀, ऽपवित्रपूतनं K₇ (unmetr.) (37b) ऽगव्यं] Σ, ऽगव्या
C₀₂, ऽगव्या_l K₁₀ • पुरुषाः] Σ, पुरुषा C₀₂, पुरुषः E • पिबन्ति] Σ, विवन्ति C₀₂
(37c) लभन्ति] Σ, भवन्ति C₀₂ (37d) स्वर्ग०] Σ, स्व० C₄₅ (38a) गोभिर्न
तु०] K₇, न गोभिस्तु० C₂K₈₂K₁₀ (unmetr.), न गावतु० E

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तृणानि भुक्त्वा अमृतं स्रवन्ति
विप्रेषु दत्ताः कुलमुद्धरन्ति ॥ ४:३८ ॥

गवाहिकं यश्च करोति नित्यं
शुश्रूषणं यः कुरुते गवां तु ।
अशेषयज्ञतपदानपुण्यं
लभत्यसौ तामनृशंसकर्ता ॥ ४:३९ ॥

अतिथिं यो ऽनुगच्छेत अतिथिं यो ऽनुमन्यते ।
अतिथिं यो ऽनुपूज्येत अतिथिं यः प्रशंसते ॥ ४:४० ॥

अतिथिं यो न पीड्येत अतिथिं यो न दुष्यति ।
अतिथिप्रियकर्ता यः अतिथेः परिचारकः ।
अतिथेः कृतसंतोषस्तस्य पुण्यमनन्तकम् ॥ ४:४१ ॥

आसनेनार्घपात्रेण पादशौचजलेन च ।
अन्नवस्त्रप्रदानैर्वा सर्वं वापि निवेदयेत् ॥ ४:४२ ॥

पुत्रदारात्मनो वापि यो ऽतिथिमनुपूजयेत् ।

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38 cf. ŚDhU 12.92: तृणानि खादन्ति वसन्त्यरण्ये पिबन्ति तोयान्यपरिग्रहाणि । दुहन्ति वाहन्ति पुनन्ति पापं गवां रसैर्जीवति जीवलोकः ॥

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(38d) दत्ताः] Σ , दत्ता_l C₀₂, दत्ता E (39a) गवाहिकं] Σ , गवांहिकं C₉₄ •
यश्च करोति] Σ , यः प्रकरोति E (39b) गवां तु] C₄₅K₇, गवान्तु C₉₄C₀₂K₈₂
K₁₀, गवानाम् E (39c) ंतप०] Σ , ०_lतप_l० K₁₀, ०जप० E (39d)] em.,
लभत्यसौ तमनृशंसकर्ता C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇, लभत्यसौ भमनृशंसकर्ता C₉₄, लभत्यसौ
तमनृतं स कर्ता C₀₂, भवत्यसौ धर्ममशेषकर्ता E (40d) प्रशंसते] Σ , प्रशंस्यते C₀₂
(41a) न पीड्येत] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂E, न गच्छेत (eyeskip to 4.40c) C₀₂, न पी_l० K₁₀,
निपीड्येत K₇ (41b) अतिथिं] Σ , अति C₀₂, ००० K₁₀ • न दुष्यति] Σ , नुदुष्यति
C₄₅, ० दुष्यति K₁₀ (41c) अतिथि०] C₉₄K₈₂, अतिथि C₄₅C₀₂K₇E, अतिथि_l K₁₀
• ०प्रिय०] Σ , प्रियः C₀₂ • यः] Σ , य_l C₉₄, य K₈₂ (41e) अतिथेः] C₄₅C₀₂
K₇, अतिथि० C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀, अतिथि E (41ef) ०संतोषस्तस्य] Σ , ०संता यस्य C₄₅
(41f) पुण्य०] Σ , पून० K₇ (42a) ०आर्घ्य०] Σ , ०आर्घ्य० E • ०पात्रेण] conj.,
०पाद्येन C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀K₇E (42c) अन्नव०] Σ , अन्नम्व० C₀₂, अन्नव० K₁₀ (42d)
निवेदयेत्] Σ , प्रदापयेत् E (43a) ०दारात्मनो] Σ , ०दारा_lत्मनो C₉₄, ०दारात्मको
E (43b) ०पूजयेत्] C₉₄K₈₂E, ०पूज्यते C₄₅C₀₂K₁₀, ०पूजते K₇

चतुर्थोऽध्यायः

श्रद्धया चाविकल्पेन अक्लीबमानसेन च ॥ ४:४३ ॥
 न पृच्छेद्भोत्रचरणं स्वाध्यायं देशजन्मनी ।
 चिन्तयेन्मनसा भक्त्या धर्मः स्वयमिहागतः ॥ ४:४४ ॥
 अश्वमेधसहस्राणि राजसूयशतानि च ।
 पुण्डरीकसहस्रं च सर्वतीर्थतपःफलम् ॥ ४:४५ ॥
 अतिथिर्यस्य तुष्येत नृशंसमतमुत्सृजेत् ।
 स तस्य सकलं पुण्यं प्राप्नुयान्नात्र संशयः ॥ ४:४६ ॥
 †न गतिमतिथिज्ञस्य† गतिमाप्नोति कर्हचित् ।
 तस्मादतिथिमायान्तमभिगच्छेत्कृताञ्जलिः ॥ ४:४७ ॥
 सक्तुप्रस्थेन चैकेन यज्ञ आसीन्महाद्भुतः ।
 अतिथिप्राप्तदानेन स्वशरीरं दिवं गतम् ॥ ४:४८ ॥

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44ab = UUMS 10.7ab = UMS 6.11ab ≈ MBh 13.62.18ab : न पृच्छेद्भोत्रचरणं स्वाध्यायं देशमेव
 वा 44cd cf. 12.37cd : द्विजरूपधरो धर्मः स्वयमेव इहागतः 47cd = VāyuP 2.17.8 =
 BrahmanḍaP 2.15.8 ≈ ŚDhU 4.4.4ab : तस्मादतिथिमायान्तमनुगच्छेत्कृताञ्जलिः

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(43c) श्रद्धया] Σ, श्रद्धाया C₀₂ • चाविकल्पेन] Σ, चापि कल्पेन C₉₄ (44a)
 ०चरणं] Σ, ०प्रवरं E (44b) देशजन्मनी] Σ, देशजन्मना C₉₄ (44c) चिन्त-
 येन्म०] Σ, चित्तयेत्म० C₄₅, चिन्तयेत्म० K₇ (44d) ०गतः] Σ, ०गताः C₀₂,
 ग०तम् K₁₀ (45b) ०सूय०] C₉₄K₈₂K₇E, ०सूर्य० C₄₅C₀₂, ०सूर्य० K₁₀ (45d)
 ०तपः०] Σ, ०तप० K₇ (unmetr.) (46b)] C₉₄K₈₂K₇, नृशंसमत उत्सृजेत् C₄₅,
 नृशंसकमममुत्सृजेत् C₀₂, नृससमतमुत्सृजेत् K₁₀, न संशय समश्नुते E (47a) न
 गतिम०] C₉₄C₄₅K₁₀K₇, न तिथिम० C₀₂E, न गति ना० K₈₂ (47b) कर्हचित्] Σ,
 कर्हचित् C₉₄E (47c) ०यान्त०] Σ, ०यान्ति० C₀₂ (48a) सक्तु०] em., शक्तु०
 C₉₄C₄₅, शक्तु० C₀₂, शक्तु० K₈₂K₇, शक्थु० K₁₀, शक्ति० E • चैकेन] Σ, चेकेन K₇
 (48b) आसीन्महाद्भुतः] corr., आसीन्महद्भुतः C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀, आसी महद्भुतः
 C₀₂, आसीन्महाद्भुतः K₇, आसीन्महद्भुतम् E (48c) ०दानेन] Σ, ०प्रादानेन C₀₂
 (48d) स्व०] Σ, स्व० K₇, स० E • ०गतम्] Σ, ०गतः C₀₂

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नकुलेन पुराधीतं विस्तरेण द्विजोत्तम ।
विदितं च त्वया पूर्वं प्रस्थवार्त्ता च कीर्तिता ॥ ४:४९ ॥

[यमेषु दमः (५)]

दम एव मनुष्याणां धर्मसारसमुच्चयः ।
दमो धर्मो दमः स्वर्गो दमः कीर्तिर्दमः सुखम् ॥ ४:५० ॥

दमो यज्ञो दमस्तीर्थं दमः पुण्यं दमस्तपः ।
दमहीनमधर्मश्च दमः कामकुलप्रदः ॥ ४:५१ ॥

निर्दमः करि मीनश्च पतङ्गभ्रमरमृगाः ।
त्वग्जिह्वा च तथा घ्राणा चक्षुः श्रवणमिन्द्रियाः ॥ ४:५२ ॥

दुर्जयेन्द्रियमेकैकं सर्वे प्राणहराः स्मृताः ।
दमं यो जयते ऽसम्यग्निर्दमो निधनं व्रजेत् ॥ ४:५३ ॥

मृगे श्रोत्रवशान्मृत्युः पतङ्गाश्चक्षुषोर्मृताः ।
घ्राणया भ्रमरो नष्टो नष्टो मीनश्च जिह्वया ॥ ४:५४ ॥

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50b cf., e.g., MBh Suppl. I4.4.2477: श्रोतुमिच्छामि कात्स्न्येन धर्मसारसमुच्चयम् 54 cf. BuddhCar II.35: गीतैर्हियन्ते हि मृगा वधाय रूपार्थमग्नौ शलभाः पतन्ति । मत्स्यो गिरत्यायस-
मामिषार्थं तस्मादनर्थं विषयाः फलन्ति ॥

✧

(49b) उत्तम] Σ , उत्तमम् C_{02} , उत्तमः E (49d) कीर्तिता] Σ , कीर्तितम् C_{02} ,
कीर्तिताः E (50b) धर्मसारं] em., धर्मः सारं $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, धर्मभारं E (50c)
स्वर्गो] Σ , स्वर्ग C_{02} (50d) कीर्तिर्दं] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{10}E$, कीर्ति दं $C_{02}K_{82}K_7$ (51a)
दमस्तीं] Σ , दम तीं C_{45} (51d) दमः] Σ , दम C_{02} , दमं E • कामं] Σ , काम
 K_7 (52a) दमः] Σ , दम C_{02} (52b) भ्रमरं] Σ , भ्रमरा K_7 (52c)
घ्राणा] Σ , घ्राणं C_{45} , घ्राण C_{02} (52d) इन्द्रियाः] Σ , इन्द्रियः E (53b) सर्वे]
 Σ , सर्वं C_{45} • हराः] Σ , हरा E (53d) व्रजेत्] Σ , व्रजे--- C_{94} (54a) मृगे]
 Σ , मृगो $K_{10}E$ • श्रोत्रं] Σ , श्रोत्रं C_{02} , श्रोतं K_7 • वशां] Σ , वचशां C_{45}
(54b) पतङ्गाश्च] Σ , पतङ्गा चं E • षोर्मृताः] Σ , सो मृताः C_{02} , षो मृताः
 K_7 (54c) घ्राणया] Σ , घ्रातया C_{45} (54cd) नष्टो नष्टो] Σ , नष्टो C_{45}

चतुर्थो ऽध्यायः

स्पर्शेन च करी नष्टो बन्धनावासदुःसहः ।
किं पुनः पञ्चभुक्तानां मृत्युस्तेभ्यः किमद्भुतम् ॥ ४:५५ ॥
पुरूरवो ऽतिलोभेन अतिकामेन दण्डकः ।
सागराश्चातिदर्पेण अतिमानेन रावणः ॥ ४:५६ ॥
अतिक्रोधेन सौदास अतिपानेन यादवाः ।
अतितृष्णाच्च मान्धाता नहुषो द्विजवज्ञया ॥ ४:५७ ॥
अतिदानाद्वलिर्नष्ट अतिशौर्येण अर्जुनः ।
अतिद्यूतान्नलो राजा नृगो गोहरणेन तु ॥ ४:५८ ॥
दमेन हीनः पुरुषो द्विजेन्द्र
स्वर्गं च मोक्षं च सुखं च नास्ति ।
विज्ञानधर्मकुलकीर्तिनाश
भवन्ति विप्र दमया विहीनाः ॥ ४:५९ ॥

✧

56d cf. MahāSubhS 563cd : विनष्टो रावणो लौल्यादति सर्वत्र वर्जयेत् 58a cf. MahāSubhS 563ab : अतिदानाद्वलिर्वद्धो नष्टो मानात्सुयोधनः

58 After this verse, E adds : तस्माद्दम सदा स रक्षेत् अति सर्वत्र वर्जयेत् (understand : तस्माद्दमं सदा रक्षेत् अति सर्वत्र वर्जयेत्); cf. MahāSubhS 563cd : विनष्टो रावणो लौल्यादति सर्वत्र वर्जयेत्

✧

(55b) ०सदुःसहः] Σ , ०सदुःसह C_{45} , ०सुदुस्सहः K_{10} (55c) पुनः] Σ , पुन C_{94}^{ac} (55d) तेभ्यः] Σ , तेभ्य E (56a) पुरूरवो] Σ , पुरोरवे C_{02} , पुरुरवा० E (56ab) तिलोभेन अतिकामेन] Σ , तिकामेन अतिलोभेन E (56b) दण्डकः] Σ , पुण्डकः E (56c) सागरा०] em., सगर० $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$, सागर० C_{02} (57b) अतिपानेन] Σ , अतिपापेन E (57c)] conj., अतितृष्णा च मान्धातो C_{94} , अतितृष्णा च मान्धातो $C_{45}C_{02}K_{82}K_7$, अतितृष्णा च मन्धातो K_{10} , अतितृष्णा च मानाच्च च E (57d) नहुषो] Σ , नघुषो K_{10} (58a) ०र्नष्ट] Σ , ०र्नष्टो C_{45} , नष्टो C_{02} (58c) अतिद्यूतान्नलो] $C_{94}C_{02}K_{10}K_7$, अतिद्यूतान्नरो $C_{45}K_{82}$, अतिख्यातान्नलो E (58d) नृगो गो०] E , नृगङ्गो० $C_{94}C_{02}K_{10}K_7$, नृगं गो० $C_{45}K_{82}$ (59a) हीनः पुरुषो द्विजेन्द्र] Σ , हीन पुरुषो द्विजेन्द्र K_{10} , हीनं पुरुषं द्विजेन्द्रः E (59c) ०नाश] C_{45} , ०नाशो E ०नाम $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}$, ०नश्च K_{10} , ०नागा K_7 (59d) विप्र] Σ , विप्रा $K_{82}K_7$ • दमया] Σ , दया C_{45}^{ac}

वृषसारसंग्रहे

[यमेषु घृणा (६)]

निर्घृणो न परत्रास्ति निर्घृणो न इहास्ति वै ।
 निर्घृणे न च धर्मो ऽस्ति निर्घृणे न तपो ऽस्ति वै ॥ ४:६० ॥
 परस्त्रीषु परार्थेषु परजीवापकर्षणे ।
 परनिन्दापरान्नेषु घृणां पञ्चसु कारयेत् ॥ ४:६१ ॥
 परस्त्री शृणु विप्रेन्द्र घृणीकार्या सदा बुधैः ।
 राज्ञी विप्री परिव्राजा स्वयोनिपरयोनिषु ॥ ४:६२ ॥
 परार्थे शृणु भूयो ऽन्य अन्यायार्थमुपार्जनम् ।
 आढप्रस्थतुलाव्याजैः परार्थं यो ऽपकर्षति ॥ ४:६३ ॥
 जीवापकर्षणे विप्र घृणीकुर्वीत पण्डितः ।
 वनजावनजा जीवा विलगाश्चरणाचराः ॥ ४:६४ ॥

✦

63b cf. BhG 16.12: आशापाशशतैर्वद्धाः कामक्रोधपरायणाः । ईहन्ते कामभोगार्थमन्यायेनार्थ-
 संचयान् ॥

✦

(60a) निर्घृणो] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{10}$, निर्घृणो $C_{02}K_7$, निर्घृण K_{82}^{ac} , निर्घृणे K_{82}^{pc} , निर्घृणे E
 (60b) निर्घृणो] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}^{ac}K_{10}$, निर्घृणो $C_{02}K_7$, निर्घृणे $K_{82}^{pc}E$ (60c) निर्घृणे]
 $C_{94}C_{45}K_{10}E$, निर्घृणे $C_{02}K_{82}K_7$ (60d) निर्घृणे] Σ , निर्घृणे $C_{02}K_7$ (61b) °जीवा-
 पकर्षणे] Σ , °जीवापकर्षणे C_{45} , °जीवापकर्षणे E (61c) परनिन्दा°] Σ , परनिन्द°
 C_{94} • °परान्नेषु] Σ , °परान्नेषु K_{10} (61d) घृणां] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_7$, घृणा $C_{02}K_{10}E$
 (62a) घृणी°] Σ , घृणा C_{45} (62c) °ब्राजा] $C_{\Sigma}K_7$, °ब्राजी $K_{82}K_{10}$, °ब्राज्या
 E (62d) °पर°] Σ , °पशु° K_{10} (63b) अन्याया°] Σ , अन्याया° K_{10} • °र्ज-
 नम्] Σ , °र्जवम् K_{10} (63c) °तुला°] Σ , °तुल° K_{10} (63d) °र्थ°] $C_{94}C_{45}$
 $K_{82}E$, °र्थ° C_{02} , °र्थ° K_{10} , °र्थ° K_7 (64a) विप्र] Σ , विप्र° C_{94} , विप्रे C_{02} (64b)
 घृणी°] Σ , घृणां E (64c) वनजावनजा] $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}E$, वनजाव°जा C_{45}^{ac} , व-
 नजा व°निजा C_{45}^{pc} , वनज विनजा K_7 (64d)] corr., विलगाचरणाचराः $C_{94}C_{45}$
 K_7 , विलगोचरगोचरः $C_{02}E$, विलगोचरगोचराः K_{82} , विलगाचर°णाचराः K_{10}

चतुर्थोऽध्यायः

परनिन्दा च का विप्र शृणु वक्ष्ये समासतः ।
देवानां ब्राह्मणानां च गुरुमातातिथिद्विषः ॥ ४:६५ ॥

परान्नेषु घृणा कार्या अभोज्येषु च भोजनम् ।
सूतके मृतके शौण्डे वर्णभ्रष्टकुले नटे ॥ ४:६६ ॥

एते पञ्चघृणासु सक्तपुरुषाः स्वर्गार्थमोक्षार्थिनो
लोकेऽनिन्दनमाप्नुवन्ति सततं कीर्तिर्यशोऽलंकृतम् ।
प्रज्ञाबोधश्रुतिं स्मृतिं च लभते मानं च नित्यं लभेद्
दाक्षिण्यं सभवेत्स आयुष परं प्राप्नोति निःसंशयः ॥ ४:६७ ॥

[यमेषु पञ्चविधो धन्यः (७)]

चतुर्मौनं चतुःशत्रुश्चतुरायतनं तथा ।
चतुर्ध्यानं चतुष्पादं पञ्चधन्यविधोच्यते ॥ ४:६८ ॥

चतुर्मौनस्य वक्ष्यामि शृणुष्वावहितो भव ।

65cd These two pādas are illegible in K₁₀ 66 This verse is mostly illegible in K₁₀

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(65b) वक्ष्ये] Σ , वक्ष्या E (66b) अभोज्येषु] Σ , अभोज्ये C₄₅ (66c) शौण्डे]
K₈₂, सौण्ड्ये C₉₄C₀₂K₇, शौण्ड्ये C₄₅, सौण्डे K₁₀, सौण्डो E (67a) ०पुरुषाः]
K₇, ०पुरुषः C Σ K₈₂K₁₀E • ०र्थिनो] em., ०र्थिनः K₇^{pc}, ०र्थिनां C Σ K₈₂K₁₀E, ०र्थिना
K₇^{ac} (67b) ऽनिन्दनमाप्नुवन्ति] Σ , ऽनिन्दनवाप्नुवन्ति C₀₂, नन्दनवायुवान्ति E
(67c) ०श्रुतिं] K₇, ०श्रुतिं C Σ K₈₂K₁₀E • नित्यं] Σ , नित्य C₄₅ (67d) स
आयुष] em., समायुष C Σ K₇, समायुषः K₈₂ (unmetr.), समायुष K₁₀, स मानुष
E • निःसंशयः] Σ , निसंशयः K₈₂ (68a) चतुर्मौनं च०] corr., चतुर्मौनश्च० C₉₄
C₄₅K₈₂K₇E, चतुर्मौणश्च० C₀₂, चतुर्मौनश्च० K₁₀ (68ab) ०तुःशत्रुश्च०] C₉₄C₄₅
K₈₂K₁₀K₇, ०तुःशत्रु च० C₀₂, ०तुःशत्रु च० E (68b) ०तुरायतनं] C₄₅C₀₂K₈₂K₇
E, ०तुरायतनं C₉₄, ०तुरायतनम् K₁₀ (68c) ०पादं] C Σ K₇E, ०पादः K₈₂, ०
K₁₀ (68d) पञ्चधन्य०] C Σ K₈₂K₁₀K₇, धन्यपञ्च० E (69a) ०मौनस्य] C₉₄C₀₂
K₈₂K₁₀K₇E, ०मोनस्य C₄₅

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पारुष्यपिशुनामिथ्यासम्भिन्नानि च वर्जयेत् ॥ ४:६९ ॥

कामः क्रोधश्च लोभश्च मोहश्चैव चतुर्विधः ।

चतुःशत्रुर्निहन्तव्यः सो ऽरिहा वीतकल्मषः ॥ ४:७० ॥

चतुरायतनं विप्र कथयिष्यामि तच्छृणु ।

करुणा मुदितोपेक्षा मैत्री चायतनं स्मृतम् ॥ ४:७१ ॥

चतुर्ध्यानाधुना वक्ष्ये संसारार्णवतारणम् ।

आत्मविद्याभवः सूक्ष्मं ध्यानमुक्तं चतुर्विधम् ॥ ४:७२ ॥

आत्मतत्त्वः स्मृतो धर्मो विद्या पञ्चसु पञ्चधा ।

षट्त्रिंशाक्षरमित्याहुः सूक्ष्मतत्त्वमलक्षणम् ॥ ४:७३ ॥

चतुष्पादः स्मृतो धर्मश्चतुराश्रममाश्रितः ।

गृहस्थो ब्रह्मचारी च वानप्रस्थो ऽथ भैक्षुकः ॥ ४:७४ ॥

✧

69cd cf. Divyāv 186.21: आर्य, किमेभिः कर्म कृतम्येनैवंविधानि दुःखानि प्रत्यनुभवन्तीति ? स कथयति । एते प्राणातिपातिका अदत्तादायिकाः काममिथ्याचारिका मृषावादिताः पैशुनिकाः पारुषिकाः संभिन्नप्रलापिका अभिध्यालवो व्यापन्नचित्ता मिथ्यादृष्टिकाः ।; cf. DharmP I.31cd–32ab : मिथ्या पिशुनसम्भिन्नपारुष्यवचनानि च ॥ जल्पतः सम्भवन्त्येते तस्मान्मौनं प्रशस्यते । 74cd = MBh 12.234.13ab ≈ MBh 14.4513ab etc. 74 cf. 3.4 above : श्रुतिस्मृतिद्वयोर्मूर्तिश्चतुष्पादवृषः स्थितः । चतुराश्रम यो धर्मः कीर्तितानि मनीषिभिः ॥

✧

(69c) पारुष्यं] $C_{\Sigma}K_{10}K_7E$, पारुष्यं K_{82} • ०पिशुनां] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, ०पिण्डानां E (70c) चतुःशत्रुर्निं] $C_{94}C_{45}E$, चतुःशत्रु निं $C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$ (70d) सो ऽरिहा] $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, सोरिहा C_{45} , सर्वथा E (71c) मुदितो] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, मुदितौ E (71d) चायतनं] $C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$, चायतन C_{94} , चायतनं C_{45} (72c) ०भवः] $C_{45}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, ०भव $C_{94}C_{02}^a$, ०भव E (72cd) सूक्ष्मं ध्यां] $C_{94}K_{82}K_7E$, सूक्ष्मान्यां C_{45} , सूक्ष्मध्यां C_{02} , सूक्ष्मध्यानं K_{10} (72d) ०नमुक्तं चतुर्विधम्] $C_{02}K_{10}$, ०नमुक्तश्चतुर्विधम् C_{94} , ०नमुक्तश्चतुर्विधः $C_{45}K_{82}$, ०नमुक्तं चतुर्विधि K_7 , ०नयज्ञश्च E (73a) स्मृतो] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, स्मृता $C_{02}E$ • धर्मो] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, धन्या E (73cd) आहुः सू] $C_{45}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$, आहुः C_{94} (74ab) धर्मश्च] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_7E$, धर्म च $C_{02}K_{10}$ (74b) ०श्रितः] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}E$, ०श्रिताः K_7 (74d) भैक्षुकः] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, भक्षकः E

चतुर्थोऽध्यायः

धन्यास्ते यैरिदं वेत्ति निखिलेन द्विजोत्तम ।
पावनं सर्वपापानां पुण्यानां च प्रवर्धनम् ॥ ४:७५ ॥
आयुः कीर्तिर्यशः सौख्यं धन्यादेव प्रवर्धते ।
शान्तिः पुष्टिः स्मृतिर्मेधा जायते धन्यमानवे ॥ ४:७६ ॥

[यमेष्वप्रमादः (८)]

प्रमादस्थान पञ्चैव कीर्तयिष्यामि तच्छृणु ।
ब्रह्महत्या सुरापानं स्तेयो गुर्वङ्गनागमम् ।
महापातकमित्याहुस्तत्संयोगी च पञ्चमः ॥ ४:७७ ॥
अनृतं च समुत्कर्षे राजगामी च पैशुनः ।
गुरोश्चालीकनिर्वन्धः समानि ब्रह्महत्याया ॥ ४:७८ ॥
ब्रह्मोज्झं वेदनिन्दा च कूटसाक्षी सुहृद्वधः ।

✧

77c–f ≈ MBh Suppl. 12.30 : ब्रह्महत्यां सुरापानं स्तेयं गुर्वङ्गनागमम् । महान्ति पातकान्याहुः संयोगं चैव तैः सह ॥ ≈ Manu 11.55 (in Olivelle’s edition) : ब्रह्महत्या सुरापानं स्तेयं गुर्वङ्गनागमः । महान्ति पातकान्याहुः संसर्गश्चापि तैः सह ॥ cf. also YājñS 3.228 : ब्रह्महा मद्यपः स्तेनस्तथैव गुरुतल्पगः । एते महापातकिनो यश्च तैः सह संवसेत् ॥ 78 ≈ MBh 5.40.3 and Manu 11.56 : अनृतं च समुत्कर्षे राजगामि च पैशुनम् । गुरोश्चालीकनिर्वन्धः समानि ब्रह्महत्याया ॥ ≈ ViṣṇuS 37.1–4 ≈ AgniP 168.25

✧

(75a) यैरिदं] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀K₇E, यैरिदं C₄₅C₀₂ • वेत्ति] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇E, वेत्ति C₀₂ (75d) प्रवर्धनम्] C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇, प्रवर्धनः E (76b) धन्यादेव] C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇, धर्मादेव E (76c) पुष्टिः] C₄₅C₀₂K₈₂K₁₀K₇E, पुष्टिः C₉₄ • स्मृतिर्मेधा] C₉₄C₄₅K₁₀K₇E, स्मृति मेधा C₀₂K₈₂ (76d) मानवे] em., मानवः C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇E (77a) स्थान] C₉₄C₀₂K₈₂K₁₀, स्थानं C₄₅K₇E (unmetr.) • पञ्चैव] C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇, पञ्चैवं E (77b) कीर्तयिष्यामि] C_ΣK₈₂K₇E, कीर्तयिष्यामि K₁₀ (78a) समुत्कर्षे] em., समुत्कर्ष C₉₄K₈₂, समुत्कर्ष C₄₅, समुत्कर्ष C₀₂K₁₀K₇E (78b) राजं] C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇, राजीं E (78c) निर्वन्धः] em., निर्वन्धः C₄₅K₇, निर्वन्धस् C₉₄C₀₂K₈₂K₁₀, निर्वन्धस् E (78d) ब्रह्महत्याया] C₄₅C₀₂K₈₂K₁₀K₇E, ब्रह्महत्याया C₉₄ (79a) ब्रह्मोज्झं] em., ब्रह्मो ऋग्ं C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇, ब्रह्म ऋग्ं E (79b) सुहृद्वधः] C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇, सकृद्वधः E

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गर्हितानाद्ययोर्जग्धिः सुरापानसमानि षट् ॥ ४:७९ ॥

रेतोत्सेकः स्वयोन्यासु कुमारीष्वन्त्यजासु च ।

सख्युः पुत्रस्य च स्त्रीषु गुरुतल्पसमः स्मृतः ॥ ४:८० ॥

निक्षेपस्यापहरणं नराश्वरजतस्य च ।

भूमिवज्रमणीनां च रुक्मस्तेयसमः स्मृतः ॥ ४:८१ ॥

चत्वार एते सम्भूय यत्पापं कुरुते नरः ।

महापातकपञ्चैतत् तेन सर्वं प्रकाशितम् ।

पञ्चप्रमादमेतानि वर्जनीयं द्विजोत्तम ॥ ४:८२ ॥

[यमेषु माधुर्यम् (९)]

कायवाङ्मनमाधुर्यश्चक्षुर्बुद्धिश्च पञ्चमः ।

✧

79 ≈ Manu II.57: ब्रह्मोज्झता वेदनिन्दा कौटसाक्ष्यं सुहृद्वधः । गर्हितानाद्ययोर्जग्धिः सुरापानसमानि षट् ॥ cf. YājñS 3.229: गुरुणामध्यधिक्षेपो वेदनिन्दा सुहृद्वधः । ब्रह्महत्यासमं ज्ञेयमधीतस्य च नाशनम् ॥ 80 ≈ Manu II.59: रेतःसेकः स्वयोनीषु कुमारीष्वन्त्यजासु च । सख्युः पुत्रस्य च स्त्रीषु गुरुतल्पसमं विदुः ॥ 81 = Manu II.58

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(79c) ०नाद्ययोर्जग्धिः] em., ०न्नञ्च यो जग्धिस् C₉₄, ०न्नञ्च यो जग्धि C₄₅, ०न्नञ्च योद्विग्नः C₀₂, ०न्नं च यो जग्धिः K₈₂, ०न्नं च यो जग्धिः K₁₀, ०न्नञ्च यो जवे K₇, ०न्नश्च यो विप्रः E (80a) स्वयोन्यासु] C₉₄C₀₂K₈₂K₁₀K₇E, सुतोन्त्यासु C₄₅ (80c) सख्युः] em., सख्य C_ΣK₈₂E, ० = K₁₀, सख्यु K₇ • पुत्रस्य च स्त्रीषु] C_ΣK₈₂K₇, ० = ० = ० = K₁₀, पुत्रीषु चास्त्रीषु E (80d) ०समः] C_ΣK₈₂K₇, ० = K₁₀, ०सम E (81a) निक्षेप०] C₉₄C₀₂K₈₂K₇E, निखेप० C₄₅, निक्षेप० K₁₀ (81b) नराश्वरजतस्य] C₉₄C₀₂K₈₂K₇E, नराणां स्वजनस्य C₄₅, नराश्वरजतस्य K₁₀ (81d) रुक्मस्तेय०] em., रूग्म्य० य० C₉₄, रुग्मस्तेय० C₄₅C₀₂K₈₂K₇, ० = ० = ० = K₁₀, हतस्तेय० E • ०समः] C₉₄C₄₅C₀₂K₈₂K₁₀K₇, सः C₄₅, ०सम E (82a) एते] C_ΣK₈₂K₇, एते K₁₀, एव E • सम्भूय] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₇E, संभूयो C₀₂, संभूयो K₁₀ (82c) ०पञ्चैतत्] corr., ०पञ्चैतन् C_ΣE, ०पञ्चैते K₈₂, ०पञ्चैतम् K₁₀, ०पञ्चैतन् K₇ (82e) ०मादम्] C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇, ०माद E (82f) वर्जनीयं] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇E, वर्जनीयो C₀₂ (83ab) मनमाधुर्यश्च०] em., ०मनसा धूर्यश्च० C₉₄C₀₂K₈₂K₇, ०मनमाधूर्यश्च० C₄₅, ०मन-धूर्य० = K₁₀, ०मनसा भूयश्च० E (83b) ०क्षुर्बुद्धि०] C₉₄C₄₅K₇E, ०क्षु बुद्धि० C₀₂K₈₂, ० = ० = K₁₀

चतुर्थोऽध्यायः

सौम्यदृष्टिप्रदानं च क्रूरबुद्धिं च वर्जयेत् ॥ ४:८३ ॥

प्रसन्नमनसा ध्यायेत्प्रियवाक्यमुदीरयेत् ।

यथाशक्तिप्रदानं च स्वाश्रमाभ्यागतो गुरुः ॥ ४:८४ ॥

इन्धनोदकदानं च जातवेदमथापि वा ।

सुलभानि न दत्तानि इन्धनाग्न्युदकानि च ।

क्षुते जीवेति वा नोक्तं तस्य किं परतः फलम् ॥ ४:८५ ॥

[यमेष्वाजवम् (१०)]

पञ्चार्जवाः प्रशंसन्ति मुनयस्तत्त्वदर्शिनः ।

कर्मवृत्त्याभिवृद्धिं च पारतोषिकमेव च ।

स्त्रीधनोत्कोचवित्तं च आर्जवो नाभिनन्दति ॥ ४:८६ ॥

आर्जवो न वृथा यज्ञ आर्जवो न वृथा तपः ।

आर्जवो न वृथा दानमार्जवो न वृथाग्नयः ॥ ४:८७ ॥

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- (83c) °दानं च] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_7$, $\simeq K_{10}$, °दानश्च E (83d) °बुद्धिं च] $C_{94}K_{82}K_7$, बुद्धिश्च C_{45} , °दृष्टिं च $C_{02}E$, $\simeq K_{10}$ (84a) प्रसन्नं] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}E$, {प्रसन्नः° K_{10} , प्रसन्नं° K_7 (84c) यथा°] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, यस्य E • °दानं] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, °दातश्च E (84d) स्वाश्रमा°] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$, स्वासमा° C_{02} • °गतो] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}E$, °सतो K_7 (85b) इन्धनो°] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}E$, इत्वनो° K_7 • जात°] $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$, जा° C_{45} (85c) सुलभानि न] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, सुलभानि च E (85d) °दकानि] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_7E$, °तकानि K_{10} (85e) क्षुते] conj., क्षुतं $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, शतं E (86a) पञ्चार्जवाः] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_7$, पञ्चार्जवः C_{02} , $\simeq K_{10}$, पञ्चार्जवा E • प्रशंसन्ति] $C_{\Sigma}K_7$, प्रशंसन्ति $K_{82}E$, {प्रससन्ति° K_{10} (86c) कर्म°] $C_{45}C_{02}K_{82}K_7E$, °र्म° C_{94} , {कम्मा° K_{10} • °वृत्त्याभिवृद्धिं च] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_7$, °वृत्तिभिवृद्धिश्च K_{10} , °वृत्त्याभिवृद्धिश्च E (86d) पारितोषिक°] em., पारतोषिक° $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$ (86e) स्त्रीधनोत्कोच°] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, स्त्रीधनज्ञो च E • °वित्तं च] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_7E$, °वित्तिश्च K_{10} (86f) आर्जवो ना°] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, आर्जवश्च C_{02} , आर्जवेना° E (87ab) आर्जवो न वृथा यज्ञ आर्जवो न वृथा तपः] $C_{\Sigma}K_{10}K_7$, om. K_{82}^{ac} , आर्जवो न वृथा यज्ञ आर्जवो न वृथा तप K_{82}^{pc} , आर्जवो न वृथा यज्ञश्चार्जवो न वृथा तपः E (87cd) (आर्जवो... वृथाग्नयः)] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, om. E

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आर्जवस्येन्द्रियग्रामः सुप्रसन्नो ऽपि तिष्ठति ।
 आर्जवस्य सदा देवाः काये तस्य चरन्ति ते ॥ ४:८८ ॥
 इति यमप्रविभागः कीर्तितो ऽयं द्विजेन्द्र
 इह परत सुखार्थं कारयेत्तं मनुष्यः ।
 दुरितमलपहारी शङ्करस्याज्ञयास्ते
 भवति पृथिविभर्ता ह्येकछत्रप्रवर्ता ॥ ४:८९ ॥
 ॥ इति वृषसारसंग्रहे यमविभागो नामाध्यायश्चतुर्थः ॥



(88ab) (आर्जव... तिष्ठति)] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, om. E (88a) °ग्रामः] $C_{94}C_{45}K_7$
 E, °ग्रामात् $C_{02}K_{10}$, °ग्रामाः K_{82} (88d) तस्य चरन्ति] $C_{45}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, त^५ ---
 न्ति C_{94} , तस्य रमन्ति E (89a) यमप्रविभागः] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{10}K_7$, यमविभागः C_{02} ,
 यमप्रविभागः K_{82} , नियमपरिभागः E • द्विजेन्द्र] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, नरेन्द्र E (89b)
 °येत्तं मनुष्यः] corr., °येत्तन्मनुष्यः $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$, °येत्त मनुष्यः C_{45} , °येत्तत्म-
 नुष्यः C_{02} (89c) दुरित°] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, इरित° E • °पहारी] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$
 E, °पलपहारी C_{02} • °ज्ञयास्ते] $C_{\Sigma}K_{10}K_7E$, °ज्ञयाते K_{82} (89d) °वर्ता] conj.,
 °वृत्ता $C_{\Sigma}K_{10}K_7$, °वृत्ताः $K_{82}E$ (Colophon) नामाध्यायश्चतुर्थः] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$,
 नामश्चतुर्थो ऽध्यायः E

Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṅgraha

An Annotated Translation

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[caturtho 'dhyāyaḥ]
[Chapter Four]

[yameṣu satyam (2) —
Second Yama-rule: truthfulness]

anarthayañña uvāca |
sadbhāvaḥ satyam ity āhur dr̥ṣṭapratyayam eva vā |
yathābhūtārthakathanam tat satyakathanam smṛtam || 4:1 ||

Anarthayañña spoke: The state of being real (*sad-bhāva*) is called truth (*sat-ya*). Alternatively, it is also a certainty (*pratyaya*) that originates in perception (*dr̥ṣṭa*). Relating things in a way that corresponds to reality is called ‘speaking the truth.’

ākrośatādanādīni yaḥ saḥeta suduḥsaham |
kṣamate yo jītātmā tu sa ca satyam udāhṛtam || 4:2 ||

He who endures severe abuse and beating etc. and resists [giving away secrets], his self being conquered, is said to be [an example of] truth[fulness].

vadhārtham udyataḥ śastraṁ yadi pr̥ccheta karhicit |
na tatra satyam vaktavyam anṛtam satyam ucyate || 4:3 ||

If one is being interrogated at any time with a sword lifted to strike him down, in this case the truth is not to be spoken, and a lie can be called truth.

4.1 Compare ŚDhŚ 11.105:

svānubhūtam svadr̥ṣṭam ca yaḥ pr̥ṣṭārtham na gūhati |
yathābhūtārthakathanam ity etat satyalakṣaṇam ||

Translation in Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, p. 124: ‘If one does not conceal a matter one is asked about, whether it was experienced by oneself or witnessed with one’s own eyes, but gives an account of things as they happened, this is the definition of ‘truth.’’ This verse makes it tempting to emend *satyakathanam* to *satyalakṣaṇam* in VSS 4.1d, but I rather take the VSS verse to introduce two views on truth: one philosophical, and one ordinary that relates to the moral aspect of truthfulness. Also consider the commentator’s remark on the same verse in the ŚDhŚ (11.105; Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, p. 124 n. 181 and p. 143): *yathābhūtārthakathane prāṇivadhaprāptāu asatyasya sādhutvāt para pīḍāvinirmuktam eva satyam ity āha*. Translation *ibid.*: ‘... he states that [speech is] truth only as long as it is devoid of harm of others, for untruth is good when giving an account of something as it really happened will result in the slaughter of a living creature.’

4.2 *suduḥsaham* (singular) in *pāda* b picks up °*ādīni* (plural) in *pāda* a. The *-m* in *satyam* may be a sandhi-bridge and the phrase may refer to a masculine subject (‘a truthful person’) thus: *sa ca satya-m-udāhṛtaḥ*. Compare with ŚDhŚ 11.82 (see apparatus), which is a definition of forbearance (*kṣānti*).

4.3 Understand *udyataḥ* (nom.) in an active sense (‘holding/lifting’).

Translation of chapter 4

vadhārhaḥ puruṣaḥ kaścid vrajet pathi bhayāturaḥ |
prcchato 'pi na vaktavyaṁ satyaṁ tad vāpi ucyate || 4:4 ||

A person who is walking on the road and is afraid of being killed should not reply to [people who are potentially dangerous] even if they ask him. This is also called truth[fulness].

na narmayuktam anṛtaṁ hinasti
na strīṣu rājan na vivāhakāle |
prāṇātyaye sarvadhanāpahāre
pañcānṛtaṁ satyaṁ udāharanti || 4:5 ||

A lie does not hurt when it is connected with joking, with women, O king, at the time of marriage, at the departure from life and when one's entire wealth is about to be taken away. They call these five kinds of lies truths.

devamānuṣatīryeṣu satyaṁ dharmāḥ paro yataḥ |
satyaṁ śreṣṭhaṁ variṣṭhaṁ ca satyaṁ dharmāḥ sanātanaḥ || 4:6 ||

Since truth is the supreme Dharma in [the world of] gods, humans and animals, truth is the best, the most preferable. Truth is the eternal Dharma.

satyaṁ sāgaram avyaktaṁ satyaṁ akṣayabhogadam |
satyaṁ potaḥ paratrārthaṁ satyaṁ panthāna vistaram || 4:7 ||

Truth is an unmanifest ocean. Truth yields imperishable pleasures. Truth is a ship bound for the other world. Truth is the wide path.

satyaṁ iṣṭagatiḥ proktaṁ satyaṁ yajñam anuttamam |
satyaṁ tīrthaṁ param tīrthaṁ satyaṁ dānam anantakam || 4:8 ||

Truth is said to be the desired path. Truth is the supreme sacrifice. Truth is a pilgrimage place, a supreme pilgrimage place. Truth is endless donation.

4.4 ‘being killed’ is not the most obvious translation for *vadhārhaḥ* in *pāda* a, but the context suggests that it is not a person who ‘deserves death’ that may have been intended.

4.5 This *upajāti* verse appears in countless sources, beginning with the MBh (see the apparatus). All versions contain a vocative addressing a king, which is out of context in the VSS, the addressee being Vigatarāga, i.e. Viṣṇu disguised as a Brahmin. The redactors did not notice or did not care about this small inconsistency. Note the metrical licence that allows the last syllable of °*yuktam* to count as long (see p. xxxviii). The reading with *anṛtaṁ*, as opposed to *vacanaṁ*, in *pāda* a, can be found in the apparatus of the MBh critical edition.

4.7 *Pāda* d is slightly problematic because it is difficult to ascertain if some of the MSS actually read *panthāna* or *pasthāna* (or *yasthāna*). I suspect that *panthāna* is a stem form noun formed (*metri causa*) to stand for an irregular nominative of *pathin*.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

satyaṃ śīlaṃ tapo jñānaṃ satyaṃ śaucaṃ damaḥ śamaḥ |
satyaṃ sopānaṃ ūrdhvasya satyaṃ kīrtir yaśaḥ sukhaṃ || 4:9 ||

Truth is virtue, austerity, knowledge. Truth is purity, self-control, and tranquillity. Truth is the ladder [that leads] upwards. Truth is fame and glory and happiness.

aśvamedhasahasraṃ ca satyaṃ ca tulayā dhṛtam |
aśvamedhasahasrād dhi satyam eva viśiṣyate || 4:10 ||

[When] a thousand Aśvamedha sacrifices and truth are measured on a pair of scales, truth indeed surpasses a thousand Aśvamedha sacrifices.

satyena tapate sūryaḥ satyena prthivī sthitā |
satyena vāyavo vānti satye toyaṃ ca śītaḥ || 4:11 ||

The Sun shines because of truth. The Earth stays in place by truth. The winds blow because of truth. Water has a cooling effect through truth.

tiṣṭhanti sāgarāḥ satye samayena priyavrataḥ |
satye tiṣṭhati govindo balibandhanakāraṇāt || 4:12 ||

The oceans exist by the truthful encounter with Priyavrata. Govinda abides in truth because He [as Vāmana] stopped [Mahā]Bali [in spite of the fact that this was achieved by a trick].

4.9 Considering a similar line in the VarP (193.36cd, see the apparatus), one wonders if the slightly odd *ūrdhvasya* in *pāda* c is not a corrupt form of *svargasya* somehow.

4.11 In general, see sections similar to VSS 4.11–17 on *satya* in MBh 12.192.63–72, RKS 91.68–70, VDh 55.1ff, VDhU 3.265.1ff, etc. Here in VSS 4.11d, and several times below, *satye* is probably to be taken as standing for *satyena*.

4.12 *Pāda* b, *samayena priyavrataḥ*, probably stand for *samayena priyavratasya* although it is unclear to me what exactly *samaya* refers to here.

For the story of Priyavrata, Manu’s son, in which he wanted to turn nights into days by circling around Mount Meru in a chariot, and by this produced the seven oceans, see, e.g., BhāgP 5.1.30–31: *yāvad avabhāsayati suragirim anuparīkrāman bhagavān ādityo vasudhātalam ardhenaiva pratapaty ardhēnāvachhādayati, tadā hi [priyavrataḥ] bhagavadupāsanopacitātipuruṣaprabhāvas tad anabhinandan samajavena rathena jyotir-mayena rajanīm api dīnaṃ kariṣyāmīti saptakṛtvā taramīm anuparyakrāmad dvitīya iva patāṅgaḥ | ye vā u ha tadrathacarananemikṛtaparikhātās te sapta sindhava āsan yata eva kṛtāḥ sapta bhuvo dvīpāḥ |*

Pādas cd: for a somewhat similar reference to the story of Mahābali, see, e.g., VarP 65.66:

evam purā cakradhareṇa viṣṇunā
baddho balir vāmanarūpadhārīṇā |
śakrapriyārthaṃ surakāryasiddhaye
hitāya vipraśabhagodvijānām ||

Translation of chapter 4

agnir dahati satyena satyena śaśinaś carah |
satyena vindhyās tiṣṭhanti vardhamāno na vardhate || 4:13 ||

Fire burns according to truth. The Moon’s course is [governed] by truth.
 It is because of truth that the Vindhya mountain stands in place and that
 although it was growing, it is not growing [anymore].

4.13 *Pāda* a might as well be a reference to a story mentioned in Manu 8.116:

vatsasya hy abhiśastasya purā bhrātrā yavīyasā |
nāgnir dadāha romāpi satyena jagataḥ spaśaḥ ||

Olivelle’s translation (2005, 311): ‘Long ago when Vatsa was accused by his younger brother, Fire, the world’s spy, did not burn a single hair of his because he told the truth.’ Olivelle’s note on this verse (ibid. 311) reads: ‘Vatsa was accused by his brother of being the son of a Śūdra woman and thus not a pure Brahmin. Vatsa went through fire to prove his pedigree. See *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* 14.6.6.’

Since *śaśi* (instead of *śaśin*) is a possible stem in this text, *śaśir ācarah* (K₈₂K₁₀K₇) in *pāda* b could be acceptable here, perhaps standing metri causa for the compound *śaśicarah*. Nevertheless, I have chosen to conjecture *śaśinaś carah*, now preferring it to my previous conjecture, *śaśinā carah*. Other possibilities, suggested by Judit Törzsök and other colleagues, include *śaśibhāskarah*, *śaśigocarah*, *śiśiro ’carah*, and *śiśirāmbhasah*. Similar passages quoted in the apparatus suggest that the Moon waxes, or shines, by truth (*satyena vardhate/rājate*). Compare also a passage in the MBh (quoted in the apparatus) that compares Hariścandra, renowned for his truthfulness, to the Moon, using the verb *carati*. These passages seem to support a reading close to my conjecture.

While it is not clear if *pādas* ab refer to specific legends or not, *pādas* cd hint at the story of Agastya and the Vindhya mountain (as pointed out to me by Judit Törzsök): Vindhya became jealous of the Sun’s revolving around Mount Meru, and when the Sun refused him the same favour, he decided to grow higher and obstruct the Sun’s movement. As a solution to this situation, Agastya asked Vindhya to bend down to make it easier for him to reach the south and to remain thus until he returned. Vindhya agreed to do what Agastya asked him but Agastya never returned. See MBh 3.102.1–14 (see the word *samaya* in verse 13 in this passage, and compare it to VSS 4.12b):

yudhiṣṭhira uvāca |
kimartham sahasā vindhyaḥ pravṛddhaḥ krodhamūrchitaḥ |
etad icchāmy aham śrotuṃ vistareṇa mahāmune ||
lomaśa uvāca |
adrirājam mahāśailam meruṃ kanakaparovatam |
udayāstamaye bhānuḥ pradakṣiṇam avartata ||
taṃ tu drṣtvā tathā vindhyaḥ śailaḥ sūryam athābravīt |
yathā hi merur bhavatā nityaśaḥ parigamyate |
pradakṣiṇam ca kriyate mām evaṃ kuru bhāskara ||
evaṃ uktas tataḥ sūryaḥ śailendraṃ pratyabhāṣata |
nāham ātmecchayā śaila karomy enaṃ pradakṣiṇam |
eṣa mārگاḥ pradīṣṭo me yenedaṃ nirmitaṃ jagat ||
evaṃ uktas tataḥ krodhāt pravṛddhaḥ sahasācalaḥ |
sūryācandramasor mārگاṃ roddhum icchan paramtapa || 5 ||
tato devaḥ sahitāḥ sarva eva; sendraḥ samāgamya mahādrirājam |
nivārayām āsur upāyatas taṃ; na ca sma teṣāṃ vacanaṃ cakāra ||

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

*lokālokaḥ sthitaḥ satye meruḥ satye pratiṣṭhitaḥ |
vedās tiṣṭhanti satyeṣu dharmāḥ satye pratiṣṭhati || 4:14 ||*

The [mythical] Lokāloka mountains are located in truth. Mount Meru stands by truth. The Vedas abide in truth. Dharma is rooted in truth.

*satyaṃ gauḥ kṣarate kṣīraṃ satyaṃ kṣīre gṛtaṃ sthitam |
satye jīvaḥ sthito dehe satyaṃ jīvaḥ sanātanaḥ || 4:15 ||*

The milk a cow yields is truth. Ghee in milk is present as truth. The soul dwells in the body by truth. The eternal soul is truth.

*satyam ekena samprāpto dharmasāadhananiścayaḥ |
rāmarāghavavīryeṇa satyam ekaṃ surakṣitam || 4:16 ||*

If truth is obtained by somebody (*ekena*), he/she will be one for whom Dharma is surely accomplished. By the heroism of Rāma Rāghava, the only truth was well-guarded.

*evam satyavidhānasya kīrtitaṃ tava suvrata |
sarvalokahitārthāya kim anyac chrotum icchasi || 4:17 ||*

Thus have [I] taught the rules of truth to you, O virtuous one, to favour the whole world. What else do you wish to hear?

*athābhijagmur munim āśramasthaṃ; tapasvinam dharmabhṛtām varīṣṭham |
agastyam atyadbhutavīryadīptam; taṃ cārtham ūcuḥ sahitāḥ surās te ||
devā ūcuḥ |
sūryācandramasor mārgam nakṣatrāṇām gatim tathā |
śailarājo vṛṇoty eṣa vindhyaḥ krodhavaśānugah ||
taṃ nivārayitum śakto nānyaḥ kaś cid dvijottama |
ṛte tvām hi mahābhāga tasmād enaṃ nivāraya ||
lomaśa uvāca |
tac chrutvā vacanam vipraḥ surāṇām śailam abhyagāt |
so 'bhigamyābravīd vindhyaṃ sadāraḥ samupasthitaḥ || 10 ||
mārgam icchāmy ahaṃ dattam bhavatā parvatottama |
dakṣiṇām abhigantāsmi diśam kāryeṇa kena cit ||
yāvadāgamanam mahyam tāvat tvam pratipālāya |
nivṛtte mayi śailendra tato vardhasva kāmataḥ ||
evam sa samayaṃ kṛtvā vindhyenāmitrakarṣana |
adyāpi dakṣiṇād deśād vāruṇir na nivartate ||
etat te sarvam ākhyātam yathā vindhyo na vardhate |
agastyasya prabhāvena yaṃ mām tvam paripṛcchasi || 14 ||*

4.15 satye (for satyena?) in pāda c may also stand for *satyaṃ*: ‘The soul dwells in the body as truth.’

4.16 Or: ‘If truth alone (*ekena*) is obtained, Dharma is surely accomplished.’

Translation of chapter 4

[*yameṣv asteyam* (3) —

Third Yama-rule: refraining from stealing]

vigatarāga uvāca |

na hi tṛptiṃ vijānāmi śrutvā dharmam tavāpy aham |

upariṣṭād ato bhūyaḥ kathayasva tapodhana || 4:18 ||

Vigatarāga spoke: I can't have enough of learning about [this teaching of] your[s on] Dharma. Teach me further than this, O great ascetic.

anarthayajña uvāca |

steyam śṛṇu atha viprendra pañcadhā parikīrtitam |

adattādānam ādau tu utkocam ca tataḥ param |

prasthavyājas tulāvyājah prasahyasteya pañcamam || 4:19 ||

Anarthayajña spoke: Now listen to [my teaching about] stealing, O great Brahmin, which is taught to be of five kinds. Firstly, [listen to] theft, then bribery, cheating with weights, cheating with scales, and the fifth kind, robbery.

dhr̥ṣṭaduṣṭaprabhāvena paraḍravyāpakarṣaṇam |

vāryamāṇo 'pi durbuddhir adattādānam ucyate || 4:20 ||

When somebody's wealth is taken away by an impudent and wicked person, it is called theft, even if that fool is prevented [from committing the crime].

utkocam śṛṇu viprendra dharmasaṃkarakāṇakam |

mūlyam kāryavināśārtham utkocah parigrhyate |

tena cāsau vijānīyād dravyalobhabalāt kṛtam || 4:21 ||

O great Brahmin, listen to bribery, which causes confusion in Dharma. A sum of money taken in order to dismiss a lawsuit is a bribe. Therefore this

4.18 It is not inconceivable that *tava* is meant to carry the sense of the ablative ('I can't have enough of learning about Dharma from you').

4.19 'Theft' (*adattādāna*): literally 'taking what has not been given.' Note the stem form °*steya* in *pāda* f.

4.20 My impression is that *prabhāva* in *pāda* a stands for *bhāva*, *duṣṭabhāva* ('vicious') being a common expression. The implications of *vāryamāṇo* in *pāda* c are unclear to me, therefore my translation is tentative. One could consider emending to *vāryamāṇāpi*, possibly suggesting that 'it is a wicked thought (*durbuddhi*) even if suppressed (*vāryamāṇa*).'

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

[also] should be considered as such [i.e. as stealing because] it is committed out of greed for material goods.

prasthavyāja-upāyena kuṭumbaṃ trātum icchati |
taṃ ca stenaṃ vijānīyāt paraḍravyāpahārakam || 4:22 ||

[Even if] somebody wants to protect a family by the method of cheating with weights, that person should be considered a thief, because he takes away other people’s wealth.

tulāvvyāja-upāyena parasvārthaṃ hared yadi |
cauralakṣaṇakāś cānye kūṭakāpaṭikā narāḥ || 4:23 ||

If somebody takes away somebody else’s belongings by the method of cheating with scales, that person is another kind of a deceitful swindler (*kūṭa-kāpaṭika*) having the characteristics of thieves.

durbalārjavabāleṣu cchadmanā vā balena vā |
apahr̥tya dhanam mūḍhaḥ sa cauraś cora ucyaṭe || 4:24 ||

If someone, by deceit or by force, snatches away the wealth of weak and honest people and simpletons, that morally corrupt usurper is [simply] a thief.

nāsti steṃyasamaṃ pāpaṃ nāsty adharmas ca tatsamaḥ |
nāsti stenasamākīrtir nāsti stenasamo ’nayaḥ || 4:25 ||

There is no sin equal to stealing. There is no crime (*adharma*) equal to it. There is no ill-fame comparable to that of being a thief. There is no bad-conduct comparable to being a thief.

nāsti steṃyasamāvidyā nāsti stenasamaḥ khalah |
nāsti stenasama ajño nāsti stenasamo ’lasaḥ || 4:26 ||

4.21 Note that *mūlyam* in *pāda* c is a conjecture for *mūla*. It is partly based on a relevant passage in the *Mitākṣarā* (ad *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 2.176cd): *paṇyasya kṛitadravyasya yaṃ mūlyam dattam, bhṛtir vetanam kṛtakarmaṇe dattam... utkocena kāryapratibandhanirāsārtham adhikṛtebhya dattam...* Note *asau* in *pāda* e as an accusative form (for *amum* or *adaḥ*). It is not unlikely that *tēna* is a corruption from *stēna*, and the *pāda* may have originally read *stenaṃ taṃ ca vijānīyāt* (‘he should be known as a thief’), or similar (cf. 4.22c below). M (f. 7r) reads *tēna steṃya vijānīyāt* here.

4.23 I take *anye* in *pāda* c rather liberally, and as connected to *pādas* ab, because I suspect that this verse introduces one single category, albeit using clumsy syntax.

4.24 It is possible that *pāda* d read differently originally, e.g., *sa coras cora ucyaṭe*, meaning ‘that thief is [rightly] called a thief’.

Translation of chapter 4

There is no greater ignorance than stealing. There are no bigger rogues than thieves. There is nobody as ignorant as a thief. There is no lazy person that is comparable to a thief.

nāsti stenasamo dveṣyo nāsti stenasamo 'priyaḥ |
nāsti steyasamaṁ duḥkhaṁ nāsti steyasamo 'yaśaḥ || 4:27 ||

There is nobody as detestable as a thief. There is nobody disliked as much as a thief. There is no greater suffering than stealing. There is no greater disgrace than theft.

pracchanno briyate 'rtham anyapuruṣaḥ pratyakṣam anyo haret
nikṣepād dhanahāriṇo 'nya-m-adhamo vyājena cānyo haret |
anye lekhyavikalpanāhṛtadhanā †anyo hṛtād vai hṛtā†
anyaḥ kṛitadhano 'paro dhayahṛta ete jaghanyāḥ smṛtāḥ || 4:28 ||

Some [thieves] take away [other people's] wealth in disguise, some in broad daylight. Other wicked people take money from deposits, and some people steal through fraud. Some gather wealth by forging documents, others steal from stolen money[?]. Some people's wealth is from purchased [children?] (*kṛita*). Others take away others' inheritance[?]. These are considered the vilest.

stenatulya na mūḍham asti puruṣo dharmārthahīno 'dhamah
yāvaj jīvati śaṅkayā narapateḥ samtrasyamāno raṭan |
prāptaḥśāsana tīvrasahyaviṣamaṁ prāpnoti karmeritaḥ
kālena mriyate sa yāti nirayam ākrandamāno bhṛśam || 4:29 ||

There is no bigger idiot than a thief, who is a wicked person without Dharma and financial gain (*artha*). As long as he lives, he trembles in fear of the

4.26 Note the peculiar sandhi in *pāda c* (*°sama ajño*), which still leaves the *pāda a* *sa-vipulā*.

4.27 Note how *stena* and *steya* are used interchangeably (or chaotically) in the above passages in the MSS to denote both ‘thief’ and ‘theft/stealing’. The scribe of *K₇* ends up writing *stenya* in 4.27e.

4.28 Metre *śārdūlavikṛīḍita*. It appears that *briyate* in *pāda a* is to be taken as an active verb (*harate*). Note also how *C₄₅* and *K₇* read the same here against the other witnesses. Take *°hāriṇo* in *pāda b* as singular and *m* in *'nya-m-adhamo* as a sandhi-bridge. Alternatively, read as plural: *°hāriṇo 'nya adhamo...* The second half of *pāda c* is difficult to reconstruct. The translation of *pāda d* is mostly guesswork. Tentatively, I take *kṛita* as *kṛitaka* (‘a purchased son’, see *Manu* 9.174). *dhayahṛta* makes little sense to me. Florinda De Simini suggested that *dhaya* might stand for *daya*, which in turn may stand for *dāya* (‘inheritance’) metri causa. Lacking any better solution, I supplied these in my translation, marked with question marks. Note also the metrical licence that the last syllable of *dhayahṛta* counts as long.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

king, wailing. Having received his punishment, he gets into severe and [in]tolerable difficulties, propelled by [his] karma. When his time comes, he dies and goes to hell, weeping vehemently.

*nītvā durgatikotikalpa nirayāt tiryatvam āyānti te
tiryatve ca tathaivam ekaśatikam prabhramya varṣārbudam |
mānuṣyaṃ tad avāpnuvanti vipule dāridryarogākulam
tasmād durgatihetu karma sakalam tyaktvā śivam cāśrayet || 4:30 ||*

Having spent ten million æons of suffering, they emerge from hell to the state of animal existence. Similarly, they roam about in animal existence for a hundred and one times ten million years. Then they reach the status of human existence on earth which is full of poverty and disease. Then abandoning all one’s karmas, the causes of suffering, one seeks refuge in Śiva.

[*yameṣv ānṛśaṃsyam* (4) —

Fourth Yama-rule: absence of hostility]

*aṣṭamūrtiśivadvēṣṭā pitur mātus ca yo dviṣet |
gavāṃ vā atither dveṣṭā nṛśaṃsāḥ pañca eva te || 4:31 ||*

4.29 For some time I was wondering if one should accept E’s reading *stenastulya na mūḍham asti* as a metri causa version of *stenatulyo na mūḍho ’sti*; see a similar case of a nominative ending inside of compound in *pāda c* below. One major concern remained: the accepted reading would be of an edition that rarely emerges as the sole transmitter of the best reading. Another possible solution could be to emend to *stenamṭulya...*, meaning ‘there is no bigger foolishness than theft’, but then the second part of *pāda a* is difficult to connect. In the end, I decided to go for the most widely attested reading (*stenatulya*), which is unmetrical.

Understand *prāptaḥśāsana tīvrasahyaviṣamaṃ* in *pāda c* as *prāptaśāsanaḥ tīvrām asahyaṃ ca viṣamaṃ prāpnoti*. Alternatively, understand *tīvrasahya°* as *duḥsahya°*. The actual reading of C₉₄, *prāptaś*, lost in the process of normalization and standing in contrast with that of all other MSS that read *prāptaḥ*, may suggest a doubling of the ś of *śāsana* metri causa. More likely is that a licence of having a nominative ending inside of a compound is applied here, as may have been the case above in *pāda a*.

4.30 Note the stem form °*kalpa* for °*kalpaṃ* metri causa in *pāda a*. In *pāda c*, *tathaivam*, or *tathaikam*, and *ekaśatikam* are suspect. I understand *vipule* as *vipulāyām*, *vipulā* appearing in *Amarakośa* 2.1.7 as a synonym of *dhātṛī*, ‘earth.’ It is difficult to interpret it otherwise. This is still problematic because both human and animal existence takes place on earth, thus, if *tiryatva* (i.e. *tiryaktva*) indeed means ‘animal existence,’ there is no contrast between *pādas b* and *c* as regards location. As for *tiryaktva*, see, e.g., Manu 12.40:

devatvaṃ sāttvikā yānti manuṣyatvaṃ ca rājasāḥ | tiryaktvaṃ tāmasā nityam ity eṣā trividhā gatih ||

It is not unlikely that the original form of *dāridryarogākulam* was *dāridryarogākule*, picking up *vipule*. Note the switch from plural to singular in *pāda d* (*āśrayet*).

Translation of chapter 4

The one who is hostile towards the eight-formed Śiva, he who hurts his mother or father, he who is hostile towards cows or guests: these are the five types of hostile people.

aṣṭamūrtiḥ śivāḥ sākṣāt pañcavyomasamanvitaḥ |
sūryaḥ somaś ca dīkṣaś ca dūṣakaḥ sa nṛśaṃsakaḥ || 4:32 ||

Śiva, when manifest (*sākṣāt*), has eight form, possessing the five elements (*vyoman*), and the Sun, the Moon, and the sacrificer. [He who] disgraces [any of these] is a hostile person.

pitākāśasamo jñeyo janmotpattikaraḥ pitā |
pitṛdaivataḥ mādīś cam ānṛśaṃsa tamanvitaḥ || 4:33 ||

The father is to be considered similar to the [element] sky, he is the cause of one's birth. One should not be hostile to a father, god...[?].

4.31 Note *pitur* and *mātur* used as accusative forms in *pāda* b, or rather, understand *pitur mātuś ca yo dveṣṭā*, i.e. *dviṣet* is metri causa for *dveṣṭā*.

4.32 Törzsök has suggested emending *sa nṛśaṃsakaḥ* in *pāda* d to *tannṛśaṃsakaḥ*. I don't think that it is inevitably necessary. I think that *pādas* a-c form a list that is meant to be in the genitive, understanding ... *ity eteṣāṃ dūṣakaḥ sa nṛśaṃsakaḥ* or similar. This is clumsy but in a way that is more than possible within the style of this text.

I have not been able find any other attestation of *vyoman* meaning the five elements. Perhaps it is meant to mean *vyomādi* ('the atmosphere/sky and the other four elements').

For Śiva of eight forms, see, e.g., *Śakuntalā* 1.1:

[1] *yā sṛṣṭiḥ sraṣṭur ādyā vahati* [2] *vidhihutaṃ yā havir* [3] *yā ca hotrī*
[4, 5] *ye dve kālāṃ vidhattaḥ* [6] *śruti-viśaya-guṇā yā sthitā vyāpya viśvam* |
[7] *yām āhuḥ sarva-bīja-prakṛtir iti yayā prāṇināḥ prāṇavantaḥ* [8]
pratyakṣābhiḥ prapannas tanubhir avatu vas tābhir aṣṭābhir īśaḥ ||

Here the eight *mūrtis*, or rather, *tanus*, are: [1] *jala*, [2] *agni*, [3] *hotrī* ('the form that sacrifices'), [4 + 5] *sūrya* + *candra*, [6] *ākāśa*, [7] *bhūmi*, [8] *vāyu*.

For a similar interpretation of *aṣṭamūrti*, see, e.g., *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* 2.29.34 (*mantrapāda*; note *yajamāna* for our *dīkṣa*):

kṣmā-vahni-yajamānārka-jala-vāy-vindu-puṣkaraiḥ |
aṣṭābhir mūrtibhiḥ śambhor dvitīyāvaraṇaṃ smṛtam ||

(For *puṣkara* as 'sky, atmosphere', see, e.g., *Amarakośa* 1.2.167: *dyodivau dve striyām abhram vyoma puṣkaram ambaram*.)

A closely related *Aṣṭamūrti*-hymn appears in *Niśvāsa mukha* 1.30–41 (I owe thanks to Nirajan Kafle for drawing my attention to this); see Kafle 2020, 62, 63, 116, 119. Kafle notes that this hymn is closely parallel to some passages in the *Prayogamañjarī* (1.19–26), the *Tantrasamuccaya* (1.16–23), and the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* (*kriyāpāda* 26.56–63). See also TAK I s.v. *aṣṭamūrti*.

4.33 It is difficult to restore *pādas* cd, although the general meaning of this line is predictable. Some questions remain. Is *āditya* a good reading or is *mātr* hidden in *daivata-mādīśca*? Is *ānṛśaṃsa* right or was it *nṛśaṃsa* that was meant by the author of this line? Does *tamanvitaḥ* (or *tamānvitaḥ*) has anything to do with *tamas* ('darkness')?

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

*prthvyā gurutarī mātā ko na vandeta mātaram |
yajñadānatapovedās tena sarvaṃ kṛtaṃ bhavet || 4:34 ||*

The mother is more venerable than the earth. Who would not praise a mother? By that [praise], sacrifices, donations, austerities and [the study of] the Vedas, all will be completed.

*gāvaḥ pavitraṃ maṅgalyaṃ devatānāṃ ca devatāḥ |
sarvadevamayā gāvas tasmād eva na hiṃsayet || 4:35 ||*

Cows are an auspicious blessing, they are the gods of the gods. Cows contain in themselves all the gods. That is exactly why one should not hurt them.

*jātamātrasya lokasya gāvas trātā na saṃśayaḥ |
ghṛtaṃ kṣīraṃ dadhi mūtraṃ śakṛtkarṣaṇam eva ca || 4:36 ||*

Cows are the protectors of the world as if the world were their new-born [calf], there is no doubt about it. Collecting [the five products of the cow, the *pañcagavya*,] ghee, milk, curd, and [the cow's] urine and dung [is auspicious].

*pañcāmṛtaṃ pañcapavitrāpūtaṃ
ye pañcagavyaṃ puruṣāḥ pibanti |
te vājimedhasya phalaṃ labhanti
tad akṣayaṃ svargam avāpnūvanti || 4:37 ||*

People who drink the five products of the cow, the five nectars, purified by the five Pavitras, will obtain the fruits of a horse sacrifice, and then reach the undecaying heavens.

*gobhir na tulyaṃ dhanam asti kiṃcid
duhyanti vāhyanti bahiś caranti |
trṇāni bhuktvā amṛtaṃ sravanti
vipreṣu dattāḥ kulam uddharanti || 4:38 ||*

There is no wealth comparable to a cow. They yield milk, they carry things, they roam under the sky. Feeding on grass, they issue nectar. When given

4.36 Note the number confusion in the phrase *gāvas trātā*, for *gāvas trātāras*. Alternatively, this line might try to echo *Harivaṃśa* 45.30ab: *trātavyāḥ prathamam gāvas trātās trāyanti tā dvijān* (‘First the cows should be protected. When protected, they protect the Brahmins’). *Pāda* c is a *sa-viplulā*. The use of *karsaṇa* in *pāda* d, most probably in the sense of ‘collecting,’ is slightly odd.

4.37 The five *pavitras* can be the five *brahmamantras*, see, e.g., TAK III s.v. *pavitra* I.

Translation of chapter 4

to Brahmins, they deliver the family [from *saṃsāra* or the suffering experienced in hell].

gavāhnikam yaś ca karoti nityam
śuśrūṣaṇam yaḥ kurute gavām tu |
aśeṣayaājñatapadānapuṇyam
labhaty asau tām anṛśaṃsakartā || 4:39 ||

He who feeds the cows daily, he who serves the cows, he who is kind to her [i.e. to the cow], will obtain the merits of all sacrifices, austerities and donation.

atithim yo ’nugaccheta atithim yo ’numanyate |
atithim yo ’nupūjyeta atithim yaḥ praśaṃsate || 4:40 ||

He who looks after a guest, he who respects a guest, he who worships a guest, he who praises a guest,

atithim yo na pīḍyeta atithim yo na duṣyati |
atithipriyakartā yaḥ atitheḥ paricārakah |
atitheḥ kṛtasamtoṣas tasya puṇyam anantakam || 4:41 ||

he who does not harm a guest, he who does not commit a fault towards a guest, he who keeps the guest happy, he who attends to the needs of a guest, he who makes a guest satisfied: his merits are endless.

āsanenārghapātreṇa pādaśaucajalena ca |
annavastrapradānair vā sarvaṃ vāpi nivedayet || 4:42 ||

He should offer [the guest] a seat, a vessel with water-offering, and water for washing his feet, or gifts of food and clothes, or all [of these].

4.38 Note that *duhyanti* and *vāhyanti* are supposed to be understood as passive, as in the similar verse in ŚDhU 12.92 (see apparatus).

4.39 Strictly speaking, *pāda c* is unmetrical. The second syllable of *yajña* counts as long (see Introduction p. xxxviii). Although the accusative with *°kartā* in *pāda d* is still not optimal, my emendation of *tam* to *tām* at least restores the metre and improves upon the meaning of the sentence. Alternatively, as suggested by Törzsök, *tam* could be understood as *tad*, picking up *puṇyam* in *pāda c*, but in this way any reference to cows here is only implied.

4.40 Note the peculiar active verb forms *anugaccheta* and *anupūjyeta*. On this formation, see a remark about *Niśvāsa mūla* 2.8 in Goodall, Sanderson, & Isaacson 2015, 247: ‘We have assumed that *pūjyeta* is intended to mean *pūjayet* and is perhaps a contraction of *pūjayeta*.’

4.41 On the form *pīḍyeta*, see previous note.

4.42 My conjecture in *pāda a* (*°pātreṇa* for *°pādyena*) is inspired by the fact that in the MSS *pāda b* seems to awkwardly repeat what *°pādyena* in *pāda a* signifies.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

putradārātmano vāpi yo 'tithim anupūjayet |
śraddhayā cāvikalpena aklībamānasena ca || 4:43 ||

He who worships the guest by [offering him] his own son or wife with willingness, without hesitation, and with a brave heart,

na prcched gotracaraṇaṃ svādhyāyaṃ deśajanmanī |
cintayen manasā bhaktyā dharmah svayam ihāgataḥ || 4:44 ||

and does not ask [the guest about his] lineage, Vedic affiliation (*carana*), studies, country or birth, and imagines mentally, with devotion, that it is Dharma himself who has come to visit,

aśvamedhasahasrāṇi rājasūyaśatāni ca |
puṇḍarikasahasraṃ ca sarvatīrthatapaḥphalam || 4:45 ||

[will obtain all the fruits of] thousands of Aśvamedha sacrifices and hundreds of Rājasūya sacrifices, a thousand Puṇḍarika sacrifices and the fruit of [visiting] all the pilgrimage places and [performing] all the austerities;

atithir yasya tuṣyeta nṛśaṃsamatam utsrjet |
sa tasya sakalaṃ puṇyaṃ prāpnuyān nātra saṃśayaḥ || 4:46 ||

he whose guest is satisfied [and] he who can abandon the sentiment of cruelty, will obtain all the merits of the above, there is no doubt about it.

4.43 I analyse *pāda* a as if it read *putradārair ātmano* (*putradārair* being a common expression). Another solution would be to emend to °*ātmanā*, and thus to include the possibility of sacrificing one's own life for the guest.

For the requirement that one should in certain circumstances part with his wife or son, or his own life, for the benefit of someone else, see VSS 2.38, and the narrative in VSS chapter 12 which tells about a Brahmin giving away his own wife to a guest. Note that in fact VSS 4.44cd below echoes verse 37cd in the above mentioned chapter 12 (see the apparatus).

4.46 The demonstrative pronoun *tasya* in *pāda* c may refer to the guest: ‘he will obtain all his [i.e. the guest’s] merits,’ hinting at some sort of karmic exchange. Nevertheless, I think rather that *tasya* points to the merits one can obtain by the rituals listed in the previous verse. This is suggested by passages such as the following:

MBh Suppl. 13.14.379–380:

ahany ahani yo dadyāt kapilāṃ dvādaśiḥ samāhi |
māsi māsi ca satreṇa yo yajeta sadā naraḥ ||
gavāṃ śatasahasraṃ ca yo dadyāj jyeṣṭhapuṣkare |
na taddharmaphalaṃ tulyam atithir yasya tuṣyati ||

BrahmaVP 3.44–46:

atithiḥ pūjito yena pūjitāḥ sarvadevatāḥ |
atithir yasya saṃtuṣṭas tasya tuṣṭo hariḥ svayam ||

Translation of chapter 4

†na gatim atithijñasya† gatim āpnoti karhacit |
tasmād atithim āyāntam abhigacchet kṛtāñjalīḥ || 4:47 ||

One will never reach a path that is the path of one who knows his guest.[?]
Therefore one should go up to the arriving guest with respectfully joined palms.

saktuprasthena caikena yajña āsīn mahādbhutaḥ |
atithiprāptadānena svaśarīraṃ divaṃ gatam || 4:48 ||

By one *prastha*[, a small unit of weight] of coarsely ground grains given to a guest, an extremely wonderful sacrifice was performed, and his body [i.e. the protagonist in his mortal form] reached heaven.

nakulena purādhītaṃ vistareṇa dvijottama |
viditaṃ ca tvayā pūrvaṃ prasthavārttā ca kīrtitā || 4:49 ||

The mongoose related [this story in the *Mahābhārata*] in the past in detail,
O great Brahmin, and you must know it already. The story of the *prastha* is well-known.

snānena sarvatīrtheṣu sarvadānena yat phalam |
sarvavratopavāseṇa sarvayajñeṣu dīkṣayā ||
sarvaiḥ tapobhir vividhair nityair naimittikādibhiḥ |
tad evātithisevāyāḥ kalām nārhanṭi śoḍaśīm ||

4.47 Something has gone wrong with *pādas* ab and I am unable to reconstruct the meaning. The translation tries to reflect what is actually transmitted. The line may have begun with something like *nāgatātithyavajña*^o (“he who despises a guest that has arrived will not...”). I have accepted *karhacit* for standard *karhicit* in *pāda* b because it is attested in Buddhist texts, see Edgerton 1953, s.v. *karhacid*, and because the readings support it overwhelmingly, unlike in 4.3b above.

4.48 This verse is a reference to the story related by a mongoose in MBh 14.92–93: A Brahmin who practises the vow of gleaning (*uñcha*) and his family receive a guest. They feed the guest with the last morsels of the little food they have. In the end, the guest reveals that he is in fact Dharma (14.93.80cd) and as a reward the family departs to heaven. The noble act of the poor Brahmin and his family is depicted as yielding greater rewards than Yudhiṣṭhira’s grandiose horse-sacrifice. (See an analysis of this story in Takahashi 2021.)

We would be forced to accept the reading of E in *pāda* d (*saśarīro*) if the expression were in the masculine (*divaṃ gataḥ*). This would make sense and it would also echo expressions occurring, e.g., in the MBh: 3.164.33cd: *paśya puṇyakṛtām lokān saśarīro divaṃ vraja*; 14.5.10cd: *saṃjīvyā kālām iṣṭam ca saśarīro divaṃ gataḥ*. It is tempting to emend accordingly, but instead I have retained *svaśarīraṃ divaṃ gatam*, and I interpret it in a general way.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

[*yameṣu damaḥ* (ṣ) —

Fifth Yama-rule: self-restraint]

dama eva manuṣyāṇāṃ dharmasārasamuccayaḥ |
damo dharmo damaḥ svargo damaḥ kīrtir damaḥ sukham || 4:50 ||

Self-restraint is in itself the distilled essence of Dharma for man.
 Self-restraint is Dharma, self-restraint is heaven, self-restraint is fame, self-restraint is happiness.

damo yajño damas tīrthaṃ damaḥ puṇyaṃ damas tapaḥ |
damahīna-m-adharmaś ca damaḥ kāmakulapradaḥ || 4:51 ||

Self-restraint is sacrifice, self-restraint is a pilgrimage-place, self-restraint is merit, self-restraint is religious austerity. If one has no self-restraint, one is a sinner (*adharma*), [while] self-restraint yields a multitude of desired objects.

nirdamaḥ kari mīnaś ca pataṅgabhrāmaramṛgāḥ |
tvag jihvā ca tathā ghrāṇā cakṣuḥ śravaṇam indriyāḥ || 4:52 ||

The elephant, the fish, the moth, the bee, and the deer are without self-restraint. The senses are the skin, the tongue, the nose, the eye, and the ear.

durjayendriyam ekaikaṃ sarve prāṇaharāḥ smṛtāḥ |
damam yo jayate 'samyag nirdamo nidhanaṃ vrajet || 4:53 ||

Each of these sense faculties are hard to conquer and all are known to be fatal [if unconquered]. If one masters self-restraint in a less than proper way, one remains unrestrained and will die.

mṛge śrotravaśān mṛtyuḥ pataṅgāś cakṣuḥ mṛtāḥ |
ghrāṇayā bhrāmāro naṣṭo naṣṭo mīnaś ca jihvayā || 4:54 ||

In the case of the deer, death comes about because of hearing [when, e.g., hunters use buck grunts]. Moths die because of their eyes [as they are attracted to the light of a lamp]. Bees perish because of their smelling [as

4.51 I suspect that the final *m* in *dhamahīnam* in *pāda* c is a hiatus-filler. Understand *dhamahīno 'dharmaś ca. kāmakulapradaḥ* in *pāda* d is slightly suspect. It may have originally read *sarvakāmapradaḥ* ('fulfilling all desires') or *kulakāmapradaḥ* ('fulfilling the desires of the family'). ŚDhŚ 4.28b reads *sarvakāmasukhapradam*, which opens up further possibilities.

4.52 Note *kari* for *kārī* metri causa, and the end of *pāda* b, °*mṛgāḥ*, which should be treated metrically as if it read °*mṛigāḥ*.

4.53 The only way to make sense of *pādas* cd is to supply and *avagraha* before *samyag*. Otherwise some text may have dropped out here.

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they are attracted to smells], fish because of their tongues [when attracted by the bait].

sparsēna ca karī naṣṭo bandhanāvāsaduḥsahaḥ |
kiṃ punaḥ pañcabhuktānām mṛtyus tebhyaḥ kim adbhutam || 4:55 ||

The elephant perishes because of touch, not tolerating to be kept in fetters.
How much more true it is for those who enjoy all five [senses]! Why should death come as a surprise for them?

purūravo 'tilobhena atikāmena daṇḍakaḥ |
sāgarās cātidarpeṇa atimānena rāvaṇaḥ || 4:56 ||

Purūravas [perished] by excessive greed, Daṇḍaka by excessive desire, Sagara's sons by excessive pride, Rāvaṇa by excessive haughtiness,

4.54 My comments in square brackets in the translation are tentative. See a verse from the *Buddhacarita* (11.35) in the apparatus that may have been the inspiration for this verse in the VSS. In Johnston's translation (1936, II. 157): 'For deer are lured to their destruction by songs, moths fly into the fire for its brightness, the fish greedy for the bait swallows the hook; therefore the objects of sense breed calamity.'

4.55 *Mātāṅgalīlā* 11.1 may shed some light on elephants dying in captivity:
vānyas tatra sukhoṣitā vidhivaśād grāmāvatīrṇā gajā baddhās tikṣṇakaṭū-
gravāgbhir atisugbhīmohabandhādibhiḥ | udvignās ca manahśarīrajanitair duḥkhair
atīvākṣamāḥ prāṇān dhārayitum ciraṃ naravaśaṃ prāptāḥ svayūthād atha ||

In Edgerton's translation (1931, 92):

'Forest elephants who dwell there happily and by the power of fate have been brought to town in bonds, afflicted by harsh, bitter, cruel words, by excessive grief, fear, bewilderment, bondage, etc., and by sufferings of mind and body, are quite unable for long to sustain life, when from their own herds they have come into the control of men.'

4.56 We may treat *purūravo* in *pāda* a as a stem form noun or thematised stem, or imagine that the original reading was *purūravā°* with double sandhi: *purūravās ati°* → *purūravā ati°* → *purūravāti°*.

Pāda a may refer to the following passage in the MBh (1.70.16–18, 20ab):

purūravās tato vidvān ilāyāṃ samapadyata |
sā vai tasyābhavan mātā pitā ceti hi naḥ śrutam ||
trayodaśa samudrasya dvīpān aśnan purūravā |
amānuṣair vṛtaḥ sattvair mānuṣaḥ san mahāyaśā ||
vipraiḥ sa vīgrahaṃ cakre vīryonmattaḥ purūravā |
jahāra ca sa viprāṇām ratnāny utkrośatām ap ||
[...]
tato maharṣibhiḥ kruddhaiḥ śaptaḥ sadyo vyanaśyata |

'The wise Purūravas was born to Ilā. We heard that Ilā was both his mother and his father. The great Purūravas ruled over thirteen islands of the ocean and, though human, he was always surrounded by superhuman beings. Intoxicated with his power, Purūravas quarrelled with some Brahmins and robbed them of their wealth even though they were protesting. [...] Therefore, cursed by the great Ṛṣis, he perished.'

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

atikrodhena saudāsa atipānena yādavāḥ |
atitṛṣṇāc ca māndhātā nahuṣo dvijavajñayā || 4:57 ||

Saudāsa by excessive anger, the Yādavas by excessive drinking, Māndhātṛ by excessive desire, Nahuṣa by contempt for Brahmins,

See also BuddhCar 11.15 (Aiḍa = Purūravas):

aiḍas ca rājā tridivam vigāhya
nītvāpi devīm vaśam urvaśīm tām |
lobhād ṛṣibhyaḥ kanakam jihīṣur
jagāma nāśam viśayeṣv atrptaḥ ||

In Johnston’s translation (1936, II. 152):

‘Although the royal son of Idā penetrated the triple heaven and brought the goddess Urvaśī into his power, he was still unsatisfied with the objects of sense and came to destruction in his greedy desire to seize gold from the ṛṣis.’

For Daṇḍa(ka)’s story, see *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.71.31 ff.: Daṇḍa meets Arajā, a beautiful girl, in a forest and rapes her. As a consequence, her father, Śukra/Bhārgava, destroys Daṇḍa’s kingdom, which thus becomes the desolate Daṇḍaka-forest.

For two versions of the destruction of Sagara’s sons (note emendation in *pāda c*), who were chasing the sacrificial horse of their father’s Aśvamedha sacrifice, and by doing so disturbed Kapila’s meditation, and who in turn burnt them to ashes, see MBh 3.105.9 ff. and BrahmāṇḍaP 2.52–53.

As for Rāvaṇa’s haughtiness, especially the fact that he chose to be invincible by all creatures except humans, and its consequences, one should recall the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Rāvaṇa’s destruction brought about by Rāma therein.

4.57 Saudāsa (note the sandhi between the two *pādas*), also known as Kalmāṣapāda, hit Śakti, Vasiṣṭha’s son, with a whip because the latter did not give way to him, and as a consequence Śakti cursed Saudāsa: Saudāsa had to roam the world as a Rākṣasa for twelve years. See MBh 1.166.1ff.

As for the end of the Yādavas, see the short *Mausalaparvan* of the MBh (canto 16): cursed by the sages Viśvāmitra, Kaṇva and Nārada, and seeing menacing omens, the Yādavas take to drinking in Prabhāsa and destroy each other.

Most probably, *atitṛṣṇā* in the MSS stands for *atitṛṣṇāt* (intending *atitṛṣṇayā*), and the forms *māndhāto/mandhāto* in C₄₅ stand for *māndhātā* (nominative of *māndhātṛ*). I have corrected these in spite of the fact that the authors’ knowledge about Māndhātṛ’s story may come from Divyāv 17, where it sometimes appears to be an a-stem noun (*māndhātā*). *dvijavajñayā* in *pāda d* stands for *dvijavajñayā* metri causa.

Māndhātṛ was born from his father’s body who, being excessively thirsty once, had drank some decoction prepared for ritual purposes and as a result become pregnant with him. Nevertheless, BuddhCar 11.13 suggests that Māndhātṛ himself was still unsatisfied with wordly objects even after he had obtained half of Indra’s throne:

devena vṛṣṭe ’pi hiraṇyavarṣe
dvīpān samagrāṁś caturo ’pi jītvā |
śakrasya cārdhāsanam apy avāpya
māndhātur āsīd viśayeṣv atrptiḥ ||

In Johnston’s translation (1936, II. 151):

‘Though the heavens rained gold for him and though he conquered the whole of the four continents and won half the seat of Śakra, yet Māndhātṛ’s longing for the objects

Translation of chapter 4

atidānād balir naṣṭa atisāuryeṇa arjunah |
atidyūtān nalo rājā nṛgo goharaṇena tu || 4:58 ||

[Mahā]bali perished by excessive donations, Arjuna by excessive heroism,
 King Nala by excessive gambling, Nṛga by taking a cow.

damena hīnaḥ puruṣo dvijendra
svargaṃ ca mokṣaṃ ca sukhaṃ ca nāsti |
vijñānadharmakulakīrtināśa
bhavanti vipra damayā vihīnāḥ || 4:59 ||

[For] a person who is without self-restraint, O great Brahmin, there is no
 heaven, liberation or happiness. O Brahmin, people without self-restraint

of sense remained unappeased.’

In fact, as Monika Zin points out (Zin 2021, 149), Māndhātṛ/Māndhātā’s rise and fall is a very popular theme in the ‘Narrative Art of the Amaravati School’: ‘Statistics show that in the Amaravati School the most frequently represented narrative is the story of King Māndhātā, which appears 47 times.’

Nahuṣa was elevated to the position of Indra for a period of time and he also wanted to take Śacī, Indra’s wife. Indra instructed Śacī to tell Nahuṣa to harness some Ṛsis to a vehicle and use this vehicle to take Śacī. Agastya, one of the Ṛsis, was insulted even further by Nahuṣa, therefore he cursed Nahuṣa, who then fell from the vehicle. See MBh 12.329.35ff and a verse in the BuddhCar (11.14) that follows the one about Māndhātṛ:

bhuktvāpi rājyaṃ divi devatānām
śatakratau vṛtrabhayāt pranaṣṭe |
darpan maharṣin api vāhayitvā
kāmeṣv atrpto nahuṣaḥ papāta ||

In Johnston’s translation (1936, II. 151):

‘Although he enjoyed sovereignty over the gods in heaven, when Śatakratu hid himself for fear of Vṛtra, and though out of wanton pride he made the great ṛsis carry him, yet Nahuṣa fell, being still unsatisfied with the passions.’

4.58 *Pāda* a is most probably a reference to Mahābali’s promises made to Vāmana that caused his own fall. The ultimate cause of Arjuna’s death while the Pāṇḍavas were on the way to the underworld was summarised by Yudhiṣṭhira thus (MBh 17.2.21ab):

ekāhnā nirdaheyaṃ vai śatrūn ity arjuno ’bravīt |
na ca tat kṛtavān eṣa śūramānī tato ’patat ||

‘Arjuna claimed that he could destroy the enemy in one single day. He failed to do so. He was a boaster, that is why he fell.’

King Nala was an expert in the game of dice but once he lost his kingdom to Puṣkara. See, e.g., MBh 3.56.1ff.

As for Nṛga, see MBh 14.93.74:

gopradānasahasrāṇi dvijebhyo ’dān nṛgo nṛpaḥ |
ekāṃ dattvā sa pārayāṃ narakaṃ samavāptavān ||

‘King Nṛga had donated thousands of cows to the twice-born. By giving away one single cow that belonged to someone else, he fell into hell.’

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

are the destruction of knowledge, Dharma, family and fame.

[*yameṣu ghrṇā* (6) —
Sixth Yama-rule: taboos]

nirghṛṇo na paratrāsti nirghṛṇo na ihāsti vai |
nirghṛṇe na ca dharmo ’sti nirghṛṇe na tapo ’sti vai || 4:60 ||

A person without taboos does not exist either in this or the other world.
If one has no taboos, one cannot have Dharma or religious austerity.

parastrīṣu parārtheṣu parajīvāpakarṣaṇe |
paranindāparāṇṇeṣu ghrṇāṃ pañcasu kārayet || 4:61 ||

These five should be treated as taboo: women who are not depending on oneself, others’ wealth, taking away others’ lives, hurting others and [consuming] others’ food.

parastrī śṛṇu vipreṇ dra ghrṇīkāryā sadā budhaiḥ |
rājñī viprī parivrājā svayoniparayoniṣu || 4:62 ||

Listen, O great Brahmin. The wise should always treat women who are not dependent on oneself as taboo, [be she] a queen, a Brahmin’s wife, a wandering religious mendicant, a relative or of another caste.

parārthe śṛṇu bhūyo ’nya anyāyārtha-m-upārjanam |
ādhaprasthatulāvyaṅjayaiḥ parārtham yo ’pakarṣati || 4:63 ||

Listen further to something else, with regards to others’ wealth. [It may include] gaining wealth through unlawful means, when somebody takes away other people’s wealth by cheating with weights of one *ādha*[ka] or a *prastha* and with scales.

4.59 *Pāda* b: *svarga* and *mokṣa* are usually masculine in standard Sanskrit. The majority of the witnesses suggest that *pāda* c ends in a stem form noun (*°nāśa*), although a singular masculine nominative (as in E) may work. This *pāda* is unmetrical, or rather it applies the licence of a word-final short syllable being counted as potentially long (*°dharMA°*; see p. xxxviii). Note how *viprā* in *pāda* d is probably an attempt in some MSS to restore the metre. This *pāda* is also unmetrical, or rather the licence of a word-final short syllable being counted as potentially long is applied again (*viPRA*).

4.60 The implications of *pādas* ab are not crystal clear to me. Perhaps: such a person has no right for existence in society and has no place in heaven.

4.62 The translation of *parayoni* in *pāda* d is tentative.

4.63 Although *’nya* in *pāda* a could be interpreted several ways (e.g. *anye* for *anyas-min*, or taken to be the first element of a compound: *anya-anyāyārtha-*), I think that *bhūyo ’nyat* is a fixed expression meaning ‘something/anything more.’ See, e.g., BhG 7.2cd: *yaj jñātvā neha bhūyo ’nyaj jñātvayam avaśiṣyate*. Understand *pāda* b as a compound (*anyāya-artha-upārjanam*). See cheating with scales mentioned in 4.23.

Translation of chapter 4

jīvāpakarṣaṇe vipra ghrṇīkurvīta paṇḍitaḥ |
vanajāvanajā jīvā vilagāś caranācarāḥ || 4:64 ||

O Brahmin, the wise should regard taking away lives as taboo, [be they] wild or domesticated living beings, serpents, plants and animals.

paranindā ca kā vipra śṛṇu vakṣye samāsataḥ |
devānām brāhmaṇānām ca gurumātātithidviṣaḥ || 4:65 ||

And what is the hurting of others? Listen, O Brahmin, I shall tell you briefly. He who is hostile to the gods, Brahmins, the guru, a mother, and guests [hurts others].

parānneṣu ghrṇā kāryā abhojyeṣu ca bhojanam |
sūtake mṛtake śauṇḍe varṇabhraṣṭakule naṭe || 4:66 ||

As regards other people’s food, eating together with people whose food is not to be accepted (*abhojyeṣu*) is taboo, [e.g.] after birth or death [in a family], in case of vendors of alcohol, or a family having lost their caste, and in the case of a [member of the] Naṭa [caste of dancers].

ete pañcaghrṇāsu saktapurūṣāḥ svargārthamokṣārthino
loke ’nindanam āpnuvanti satatam kīrtir yaśo’lamkṛtam |

4.64 In *pāda* d, I take *caranācarāḥ* as standing for *carācarāḥ* (*cara-acarāḥ*) metri causa. Alternatively, one may understand it as *caranacarāḥ* (metri causa), meaning ‘those who move on their feet,’ perhaps as opposed to snakes (*bilaga* or *bilamga*). Neither solution is fully satisfactory. Note that this *pāda* also involves a small correction.

4.65 Note *mātā* as a stem form in *pāda* d.

4.66 One should probably understand *śauṇḍe* in *pāda* c as *śauṇḍike*, ‘a distiller,’ or, alternatively, it may be corrupted from *śaṇḍhe*, ‘a eunuch’; see both in *Vāsiṣṭhadharmaśāstra* 14.1–3:

athāto bhojyābhojyam ca varṇayīṣyāmaḥ | cikitsaka-mṛgayu-puṃścalī-ḍaṇḍika-
stenābhiṣastar-śaṇḍha-patitānām annam abhojyam | kadarya-dikṣita-baddhātura-
soma-vikrayi-takṣa-rajaka-śauṇḍika-sūcaka-vārdhuṣika-carmāvakṛtānām || etc.

It is translated by Olivelle (1999, 285) as: ‘Next we will describe food that is fit and food that is unfit to be eaten [...] The following are unfit to be eaten: food given by a physician, a hunter, a harlot, a law enforcement agent, a thief, a heinous sinner [...] a eunuch, or an outcaste; as also that given by a miser, a man consecrated for a sacrifice, a prisoner, a sick person, a man who sells Soma, a carpenter, a washerman, a liquor dealer, a spy, an usurer, a leather worker...’

In support of reading *śaṇḍhe*, one might consult Manu 3.239:

cāṇḍāś ca varāhaś ca kukkuṭaḥ svā tathaiva ca |
rajasvalā ca śaṇḍhaś ca nekṣerann aśnato dvijān ||

Translated by Olivelle (1999, 120) as:

‘A Cāṇḍāla, a pig, a cock, a dog, a menstruating woman, or a eunuch must not look at the Brahmins while they are eating.’

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

*prajñābodhaśrutim smṛtim ca labhate mānaṃ ca nityaṃ labhed
dākṣiṇyaṃ sabhabet sa āyusa paraṃ prāpnoti niḥsaṃśayaḥ* || 4:67 ||

Those people who stick to the five kinds of taboo [and thus] seek heaven, wealth and liberation, will reach eternal faultlessness in this world, embellished with fame and glory. [A person like that] will obtain wisdom, intelligence, [knowledge of] the Śruti and Smṛti traditions, and honour forever. Kindness will arise and he will obtain an extra long life, no doubt.

[*yameṣu pañcavidho dhanyaḥ* (7) —
Seventh Yama-rule: five kinds of virtue]

*caturmaunaṃ catuḥśatruś caturāyatanam tathā |
caturdhyānaṃ catuṣpādaṃ pañcadhanyavidhocyate* || 4:68 ||

The four cases of observing silence, [victory over] the four enemies, the four sanctuaries, the four meditations, and the four legged [Dharma] are called the five ways of being virtuous.

*caturmaunasya vakṣyāmi śṛṇuṣvāvahito bhava |
pāruṣyapiśunāmithyāsambhinnāni ca varjayet* || 4:69 ||

I shall tell you about the four cases of observing silence. Listen, be attentive. One should avoid violent and slanderous [words], lies, and idle [talk].

*kāmaḥ krodhaś ca lobhaś ca mohaś caiva caturvidhaḥ |
catuḥśatrur nihantavyaḥ so 'rihā vītakalmaṣaḥ* || 4:70 ||

The fourfold enemy [made up of] desire, anger, greed and delusion is to be destroyed. He who destroys [these] enemies will become sinless.

4.67 Understand *kīrtir-yaśo°* as *kīrtiyaśo°* ('r' being an intrusive consonant here metri causa), as in 5.20b below. Alternatively, emend to *kīrtim yaśo'laṃkṛtām*. In *pāda* c, note the muta cum liquida licence that allows °*bodhaśrutim°* to scan as - U U - , the consonant cluster *śr* not turning the previous syllable long. *Pāda* d has several problems. I take *sabhabet* as standing for *sambhabet* metri causa, and I had to emend *samāyusa* to *sa āyusa* to make sense of it. Understand *āyusa* as *āyuh* (metri causa), otherwise accept E's *sa mānuṣa*. Also consider correcting *niḥsaṃśayaḥ* to *niḥsaṃśayam*.

4.68 Understand *pāda* d as *pañcavidho dhanya ucyate*.

4.69 Note the genitive with a verb meaning 'to tell' in *pāda* a, similarly to 1.37a and **CHECK**. Similar teachings on *mauna* in DharmP 1.31cd–32ab and Divyāv 186.21 are quoted in the apparatus.

4.70 Possible direct sources for the idea that *kāma* is an enemy to be defeated or avoided include BuddhCar 11.17:

*cirāmbarā mūlaphalāmbubhākṣā jaṭā vahanto 'pi bhujamgādīrghāḥ | yair
nānyakāryā munayo 'pi bhagnāḥ kaḥ kāmasaṃjñān mṛgayeta śatrūn ||;*

Translation of chapter 4

*caturāyatanam vipra kathayiṣyāmi tac chṛṇu |
karuṇā muditopekṣā maitrī cāyatanam smṛtam || 4:71 ||*

I shall teach you the four sanctuaries. Listen, O Brahmin. Compassion, sympathy in joy, indifference, and benevolence are the four sanctuaries.

*caturdhyānādhunā vakṣye saṃsārārṇavatāraṇam |
ātmavidyābhavaḥ sūkṣmam dhyānam uktam caturvidham || 4:72 ||*

I shall now teach you the four meditations, which will liberate you from transmigration. Meditation is taught to be fourfold: of the Self, *vidyā*, *bhava* [= Śiva] and the subtle one (*sūkṣma*).

*ātmatattvaḥ smṛto dharmo vidyā pañcasu pañcadhā |
ṣaṭtriṃśākṣaram ityāhuḥ sūkṣmatattvam alakṣaṇam || 4:73 ||*

The *tattva* of the Self is Dharma. *Vidyā* is in the five in a fivefold way[?]. They call the thirty-sixth the imperishable one, [and] the subtle *tattva* has no attributes.

*catuṣpādaḥ smṛto dharmas caturāśramam āśritaḥ |
gṛhastho brahmacārī ca vānaprastho 'tha bhaikṣukaḥ || 4:74 ||*

The four-legged one is said to be Dharma [as] it rests on the four *āśramas*, [those of] the householder, the chaste one, the forest-dweller and the mendicant.

*dhanyās te yair idam vetti nikhilena dvijottama |
pāvanam sarvapāpānām puṇyānām ca pravardhanam || 4:75 ||*

see also BhG 3.43:

evam buddheḥ param buddhvā saṃstabhyātmānam ātmanā | jahi śatrum mahābāho kāmārūpaṃ durāsadam || As for *arihā* in *pāda* d, the notion that a saint is a ‘destroyer of the enemies’ [that are evil states of mind] (*arihanta/arahanta*) in Jainism, but less so in Buddhism, is discussed in Gombrich 2013, 57–58.

4.71 This verse teaches the four Buddhist *brahmavihāras* under the label *caturāyātana*. Therefore the word *āyatana* seems to be a synonym of *vihāra* here, and its use a simple method of appropriating it, turning the list into a Brahmanical one.

4.72 Note the stem form *dhyāna* in °*dhyānādhunā* (for °*dhyānam adhunā*) in *pāda* a. For contrast, but also for similarities, see the *dhyānayajña* section in VSS 6.7ff, in which five types of related meditations are taught. See analysis on pp. Intro **CHECK**.

4.73 This verse is difficult to interpret. *Pādas* a to d should define *ātman*, *vidyā*, *bhava*, and *sūkṣma*, objects of meditation, respectively. In *pāda* a, *dharmo* is suspect: it may be the result of an eyeskip to *pāda* a of the next verse. *Pāda* b might refer to *tattvas* in an ontological system of 25, 26 or 36 *tattvas*. If *pāda* c is in fact a reference to a 36-*tattva* philosophical system, it is in striking contrast with the 25-*tattva* system described in VSS chapter 20. I take *ṣaṭtriṃśa* as being in stem form.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

Virtuous are those who know these thoroughly, O great Brahmin. [They will experience] the purification of all sins and the growth of merits.

āyuh kīrtir yaśaḥ saukhyaṃ dhanyād eva pravardhate |
śāntiḥ puṣṭiḥ smṛtir medhā jāyate dhanyamānave || 4:76 ||

One’s life-span, fame and glory and happiness grow only through virtue (*dhanya*). In a virtuous person piece, prosperity, tradition (*smṛti*) and intelligence will arise.

[*yameṣv apramādaḥ* (8) —

Eighth Yama-rule: lack of negligence]

pramādashāna pañcaiva kīrtayiṣyāmi tac chṛṇu |
brahmahatyā surāpānaṃ steyo gurmaṇānāgamam |
mahāpātakaṃ ity āhuḥ tatsaṃyogī ca pañcamah || 4:77 ||

There are five areas of negligence. I shall teach them to you, listen. Murdering a Brahmin, drinking alcohol, stealing, having sex with the guru’s wife: they call these grievous sins. The fifth is when one is connected with them [i.e. with these sins or with people involved in these sinful acts].

anṛtaṃ ca samutkarṣe rājagāmī ca paśūnaḥ |
guroś cālīkanirbandhaḥ samāni brahmahatyayā || 4:78 ||

A lie concerning one’s superiority, a slander that reaches the king’s ear, and false accusations against an elder are equal to killing a Brahmin.

brahmojjhaṃ vedanindā ca kūṭasākṣī suhṛdvaḍhaḥ |
garhitānādayayor jagdhiḥ surāpānasamāni śaṭ || 4:79 ||

4.75 Note the plural instrumental (*yair*) with a singular active verb (*vetti*; anacoluthic structure CHECK).

4.76 Emending °*mānavah* to °*mānave* might err by overcorrection, and °*mānavah* may have originally been felt like a genitive (“for a person...”).

4.77 Note the stem form noun in *pāda* a (°*sthāna*) metri causa, and also that this stem form noun may function as a singular noun next to a number (*pañca*), a frequently seen phenomenon in this text. See the apparatus to the Sanskrit text for very similar verses in the MBh, Manu and the YājñS, and note how *pāda* f slightly deviates from Manu 11.55, which is translated in Olivelle 2005, 217–218 as: ‘Killing a Brahmin, drinking liquor, stealing, and having sex with an elder’s wife—they call these “grievous sins causing loss of caste”; and so is establishing any links with such individuals.’

4.78 This verse being a quotation of Manu 11.56, my translation is based on Olivelle 2005, 218.

Translation of chapter 4

Abandoning the Vedas, reviling the Vedas, being a false witness, murdering a friend, eating unfit or forbidden food are six [deeds that are] equal to drinking alcohol.

retotsekaḥ svayonyāsu kumārīṣv antyajāsu ca |
sakhyuḥ putrasya ca strīṣu gurutalpasamaḥ smṛtaḥ || 4:80 ||

Sexual intercourse with a female relative, with an unmarried girl, with women of the lowest castes, with the wife of a friend or of one’s own son are said to be equal to violating the guru’s bed.

nikṣepasyāpaharaṇaṁ narāśvarajatasya ca |
bhūmivajramaṇīnāṁ ca rukmasteyasamaḥ smṛtaḥ || 4:81 ||

Stealing deposits, people, horses, silver, land, diamonds, or gems are said to be equal to stealing gold.

catvāra ete sambhūya yat pāpaṁ kurute naraḥ |
mahāpātakapañcaītat tena sarvaṁ prakāśitam |
pañcapramādam etāni varjanīyaṁ dvijottama || 4:82 ||

If a man is associated with [any of these] four [i.e. *brahmahatyā*, *surāpāna*, *stena*, *gurvaṅganāgama*], he commits sin. By this all the five grievous sins have been explained. These five kinds of negligence are to be avoided, O great Brahmin.

[*yameṣu mādhyamam* (9) —
Ninth Yama-rule: charm]

kāyavāṇimanamādhuryaś cakṣur buddhiś ca pañcamah |
saumyadrṣṭipradānaṁ ca krūrabuddhiṁ ca varjayet || 4:83 ||

[Charm has five types:] bodily, verbal and mental charm, [charm of] the eyes and [of one’s] thoughts as fifth. Giving [others] a friendly glance [is

4.79 This verse continues quoting Manu. *Pāda* a in the witnesses may actually be no more than the result of misreading of the syllable *jjha* in Manu 11.57. Note the variant *brahmojjhaṁ vedanindā ca* in both the ‘Northern’ and ‘Southern’ transmissions in Olivelle’s critical edition of Manu (Olivelle 2005, 847).

4.80 The text, and my emendation in *pāda* c, still follow Manu (11.59).

4.81 This is Manu 11.58. I have emended *rugma*^o to *rukma*^o in *pāda* d, although *rugma*^o is attested in a great number of Southern MSS and one Śāradā MS in Olivelle 2005, 847.

4.82 Perhaps understand *pāda* c as *etan mahāpātakapañcakaṁ*. Note the confusion of number and gender: understand *pañca pramādāḥ etā varjanīyāḥ* or *pañca prāmādāny etāni varjanīyāni*.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

commendable] and one should avoid cruel thoughts.

prasannamanasā dhyāyet priyavākyaṃ udīrayet |
yathāśaktipradānaṃ ca svāśramābhyāgato guruḥ || 4:84 ||

One should meditate with a tranquil mind and should speak [to other people using] gentle words. [When] respectable people arrive at one's own hermitage, [one should] present them with as many gifts as one can,

indhanodakadānaṃ ca jātavedam athāpi vā |
sulabhāni na dattāni indhanāgnyudakāni ca |
kṣute jīveti vā noktaṃ tasya kiṃ parataḥ phalam || 4:85 ||

with gifts of fire-wood, water and fire. [If] fire-wood, fire and water are easily available [but] are not given [as gift] or [if the phrase] ‘Live [for a hundred years]’ is not uttered when [somebody] sneezes, what reward could there be for such a person in the afterlife?

[*yameṣv ārjavam* (10) —
Tenth Yama-rule: sincerity]

pañcārjavāḥ praśamsanti munayaḥ tattvadarśinaḥ |
karmavṛttyābhivṛddhiṃ ca pāratoṣikam eva ca |
strīdhanotkocavittaṃ ca ārjavo nābhinandati || 4:86 ||

The sages who see the truth praise five types of sincerity. A sincere person does not rejoice in prosperity arising from the operation of karma or by a

4.83 My emendation from °*manasā dhūryaś* to °*mana-mādhuryaś* is based on the fact that following the list of *yamas* in 3.16cd–17ab, we need some reference to *mādhurya* here and that it is easy to see how this corruption came about: °*mano-mādhuryaś* would be unmetrical, hence the form °*mana-mādhuryaś*; °*mana-mā* is easily corrupted to °*manasā* (not to mention the fact that *manasā* comes up in the next verse). In addition, we need five items in this line because of *pañcamah*. As always, I correct *mādhūrya* to *mādhurya*, although it seems that the former is acceptable in this text. I did not correct *mādhuryaś* to *mādhuryaṃ* because of the corresponding *pañcamah*.

4.84 *Pādas* cd of the previous verse, and *pādas* ab of the present one cover four categories of the above: *caḥsurmādhurya*, *buddhimādhurya*, *dṛṣṭimādhurya* and *vāg-mādhurya*. This suggests that what follows is on *kāyamādhurya*. Emending *pāda* d to *svāśramābhyāgate gurau* would make the line smoother, as suggested by Kengo Harimoto.

4.85 Understand *jātavedam* in *pāda* b as *jātavedasam* or *jātavedāḥ*, or rather as belonging to the compound °*dānaṃ: jātavedodānaṃ*. For *pāda* e, see an Āryāgīti verse in the MahāSubhS (2558): *amṛtāyatām iti vadet pīte bhukte kṣute ca śataṃ jīva | choṭikayā saha jṛmbhāsamaye syātām cirāyurānandau ||* (“When eating or drinking, one should say: “May it turn into nectar!”; and after sneezing: “Live for a hundred years!” By snapping the thumb and forefinger when yawning, there will be long life and happiness.”)

Translation of chapter 4

reward, in riches from women, from property, and bribery.

ārjavo na vrthā yajña ārjavo na vrthā tapaḥ |
ārjavo na vrthā dānam ārjavo na vrthāgnayah || 4:87 ||

If one is not sincere, sacrifice is in vain. If one is not sincere, austerity is in vain. If one is not sincere, donation is in vain. If one is not sincere, [sacrificial] fires are in vain.

ārjavasyendriyagrāmaḥ suprasanno 'pi tiṣṭhati |
ārjavasya sadā devāḥ kāye tasya caranti te || 4:88 ||

The sense faculties of a sincere person are firm even when he is delighted. The gods are always present in the body of a sincere person.

iti yamaprabhāgaḥ kīrtito 'yam dvijendra
iha parata sukhārtham kārayet tam manuṣyaḥ |
duritamalapahārī śaṅkarasyājñayāste
bhavati prthivibhartā hy ekachatrpravartā || 4:89 ||

Thus has been taught this section on the *yama*-rules, O great Brahmin. Humans should follow them to reach happiness here and in the other world. One will stand removing one's filth of sins, and shall by Śaṅkara's command become a ruler of the world [that he subjugates] under one royal umbrella.

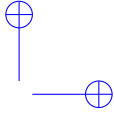
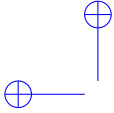
|| iti vṛṣasārasaṃgrāhe yamavibhāgo nāmādhyāyaś caturthaḥ ||

Here ends the fourth chapter in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* called the Section on the Yama-rules.

4.86 °*ārjavāḥ* should be in the accusative, therefore it is to be taken as feminine (rather than neuter) or as an irregular form for °*ārjavāni*. I have emended *pāratoṣikam* to *pārītoṣikam*. My translation of the categories listed here is tentative, the only guiding light being that, if the first line is right, there should be five of them. In addition, I have tried to find categories that seem to be, more or less, in conflict with 'sincerity' or 'straightness.'

4.87 I thank Nirajan Kafle for helping me interpret this verse.

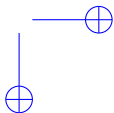
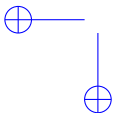
4.89 In *pāda* a °*pra*° does not make the previous syllable long: this is the phenomenon of 'muta cum liquida,' one of the hallmarks of the VSS, that is, syllables such as *tra*, *pra*, *bra*, *dra* do not necessarily make the previous syllable long. In *pāda* b, *parata* most probably stands for *paratra* or *parataḥ* metri causa. We may correct it to *para-tra*, presupposing the presence of the licence 'muta cum liquida.' °*malapahārī* in the MSS stands either for °*malāpahārī* or °*malaprahārī* metri causa. I could have chosen to emend it to °*malaprahārī* (again applying the licence 'muta cum liquida'), but I decided not to because *apahārīn*, *apahāra*, *apahāraka* are used in the text very frequently. See also 8.44c, which contains a very similar expression: *sakalamalapahāre dharmapañcāśad etat*.



Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṅgraha

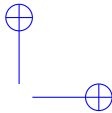
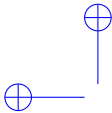
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Appendices

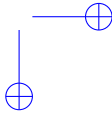
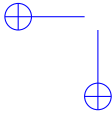
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Symbols and Abbreviations

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Abbreviations

CUDL = University of Cambridge Digital Library (<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk>)

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MGMCP

MGMPP

MS(S) = manuscript(s)

Siddham = Siddham, the Asia Incriptions Database: <https://siddham.network>

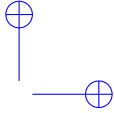
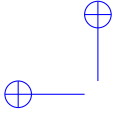
ŚDhŚ = *Śivadharmaśāstra*

ŚDhU = *Śivadharmottara*

VSS = asdfadfasdfadsa

TO BE SUPPLIED

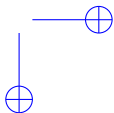
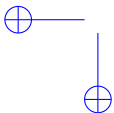
- Balogh 2018? ON THE SAME TOPIC
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Uttarottara: see **CHECK**
Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda: see **CHECK**
Rgveda-khila: see Scheftelowitz 1906
Kūrmapurāṇa: see Mukhopādhyāya 1890
Padmapurāṇa: see **CHECK**
Buddhacarita: see **CHECK**
Bodhisattvabhūmi: see **CHECK**
Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa: see **CHECK**
Bhagavadgītā: see Sukthankar & al. 1927–1966 **CHECK**
Manu: see Dave 1972
Mahābhārata: see Sukthankar & al. 1927–1966
Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha: see Sternbach 1974–2007
Mātāṅgalilā: see Śāstri 1910
YS: see **CHECK**
Raghuvamśa: see
Vāgmatīmāhātmyaprasaṃsā:
Vājasaneyisaṃhitā: see Weber 1972
Viṣṇudharmottara:
Viṣṇudharma: see Grünendahl 1983
Viṣṇupurāṇa: see Pathak 1997–1999
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REVISE **CHECK** In the Index, the surnames of modern authors, as well as mantra-syllables, are typeset in SMALL CAPITALS, Sanskrit words in general in *italics*, Sanskrit names of deities, humans, including authors, in non-italic normal typeface with capital initial letters, English words in non-italic normal typeface, and titles of works in *slanted font*.

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