

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

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

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 kṣityāṃ gomātarah 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 *vṛṣah* see, for example, Amarasimha, *Nāmalingānuśāsana* 1.4.25b (*sukṛtam vṛṣah*), 3.3.220 (*sukṛte vṛṣabhe vṛṣah*); Halāyudha, *Abhidhānatnamālā* 1.125cd (*dharmah puṇyam vṛṣah śreyah sukṛtam ca samam smṛtam*); *Manu* 8[.]16a (*vṛṣo hi bhagavān dharmas...*); and the Gwalior Museum Stone Inscription of Pataṅgaśambhu (Mirashi 1962), l. 15, *vṛṣaikaniṣṭho* ‘*pi jitasmaro*’ *pi yah śaṅkaro* ‘*bhūd bhuvi ko*’ *py apūrvvah*, 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 *vṛṣah* 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* | *catuspādo bhaved dharmah śuklo*’ *yaṃ mama vāhanaḥ* ||

¹¹ See p. xvii.

¹² See **CHECK**

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

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*?

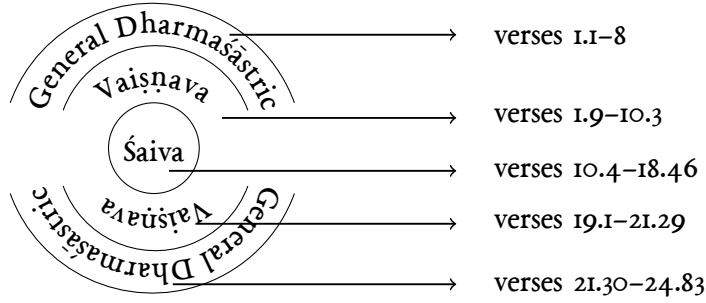


Figure 1: The structure of the VSS (reproduced from Kiss 2021, 188)

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

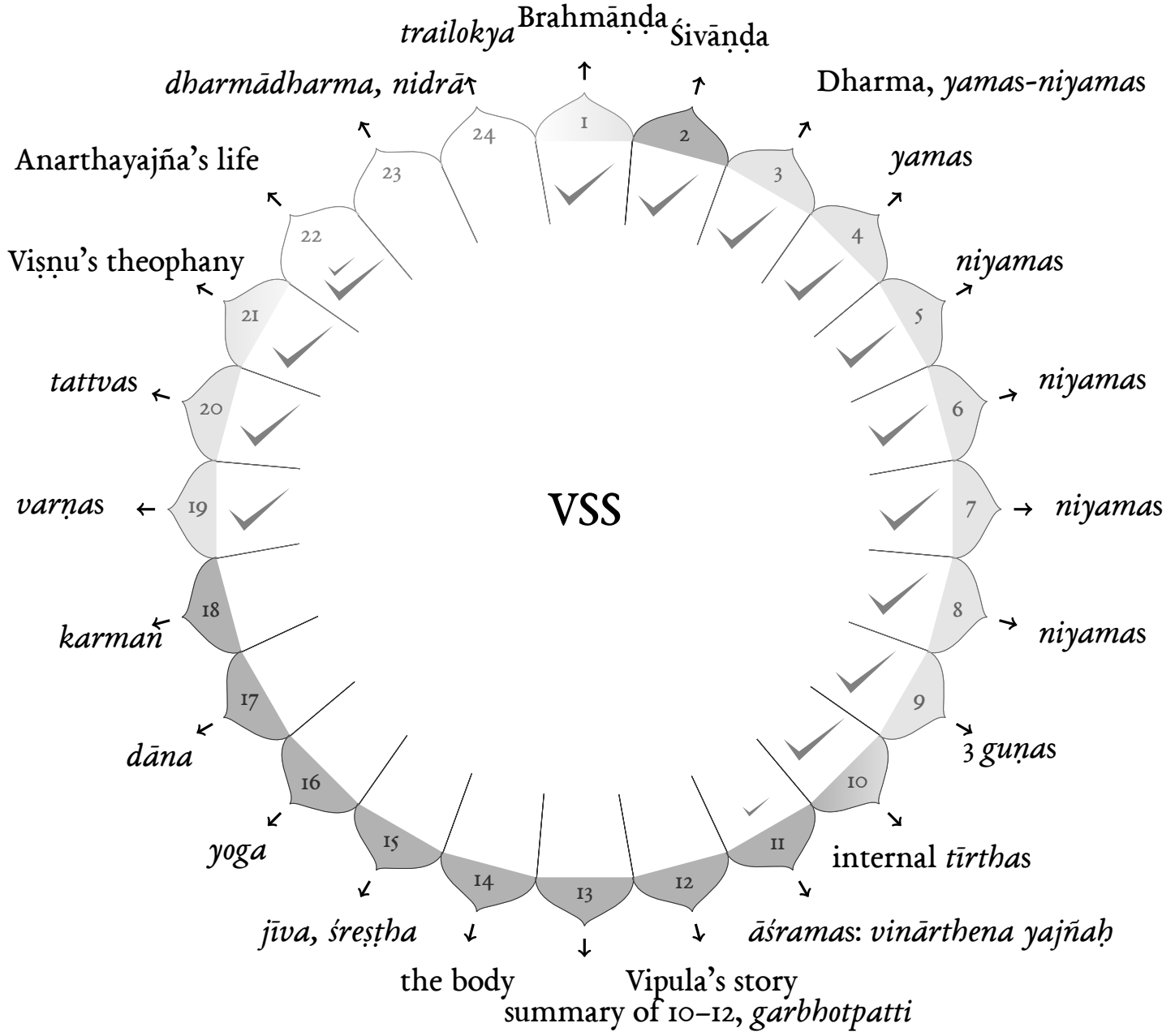


Figure 2: The structure and topics of the VSS

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 Anarthayajña, 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.

Manu: VSS 4.77–81, 5.8–9, 5.13ab, 5.14ab

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

Śivadharmas texts:

Embryology

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

Compare, borrowings

Buddhacarita

Bṛhatkāṇṭika,

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.

¹⁸ Kiss 2021, 187

¹⁹ Petech 1984, 31

²⁰ Sanderson 2009, 77

Introduction

To make assumptions about the place of composition of the VSS, we 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 khyātam yamunādakṣiṇe taṭe*; and *Padmapurāṇa* 6.139.1ab: *sābhramatyuttare 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 guptam sābhramatītaṭe*. 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 |
līṅgam saṃsthāpayām āsa vālmīkiśvarasaṃjñitam ||
sthāpayitvā mahālīṅgam 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 suradrahah || 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 *Jambūdvīpaprājñapti* 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 idam 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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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 (sKt⁵), in Devanāgarī/Old Nāgarī MSS (Lo⁴, nPu¹, Pu², Pu⁴, Pu¹⁰), as well as in two South-Indian MSS (cMd¹, 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 Śivadharmas 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 *Vṛṣasārasaṅgraha*’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.”

4.73 36-tattva system?

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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1.2ṣab:

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 ... pūjitaṃ* 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:

indreṇāsmi 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 in an active construction with a transitive verb simply imitates an ergative structure: *viṣṇunā... papraccha* (1.8), *dhanyās te yair idaṃ veti* (4.75ab), *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., *Siddhayogēśvarīmata* 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?

evam 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 21.12cd

Cardinal and ordinal numbers

Although the VSS does use simple ordinal numbers such as *prathama*, *dvi-tīya*, and *ṭṭīya*, 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 maṇīṣibhiḥ

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 saṃkṣipya* (*pādam*)
- 1.63c: *tenāpi pāda saṃkṣipya* (*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 padasyādaḥ 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 piṅgalanāgaprabhṛtīnāṃ 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 morā, 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*(*kr*)*hvakukkuṭān 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: *vijñānadha(rma)kulakīrtināśa* (upajāti)
- 4.59d: *bhavanti vi(pra)damayā vihīnāḥ* (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 ajñānānirmūlanam* (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 Brahmāṇḍa (1.40–48). In addition, Viṣṇu features as the ruler of the centre of the Brahmāṇḍa (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 Brahmāṇḍa. 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, sāmṃkhyā,
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) *Śivadharmasamgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*, 5) *Uttarottaramahāsamvāda*, 6) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha*, 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 *Dharmaṃputrikā*, 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 *Dharmaṃputrikā* in this MS: *navottarāsītiyute sate bde āsāḍhaśuklasya tithau tṛtiye*, 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 vanaspatīnām 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 *śṛṅge* 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 *viññeyā 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 *viññeyās 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).’

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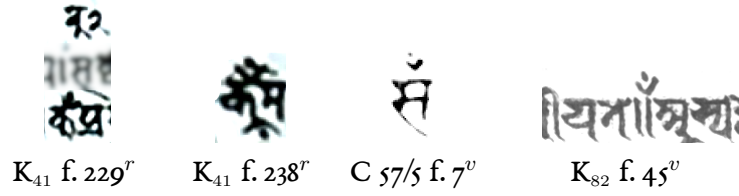


Figure 5: *Kākapadas*

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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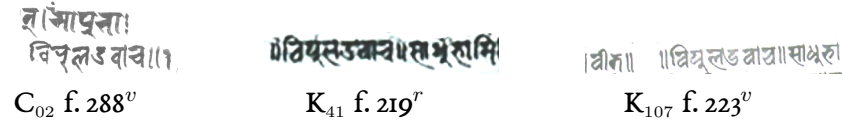


Figure 6: Insertion of *vipula uvāca* in C_{02}

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 *सिंह* (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) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha*, 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) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha*, 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) *Śivadharmaśaṃgraha*, 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 śṛṇuyāvaṃhito 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.

Introduction

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 [= °kāṃbaram] *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*.

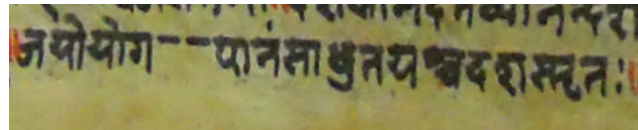
Here K₈₂ (f. 39v) reads:



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

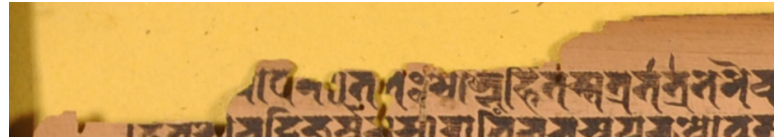
with *dhyā* and *svā* damaged;

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*.

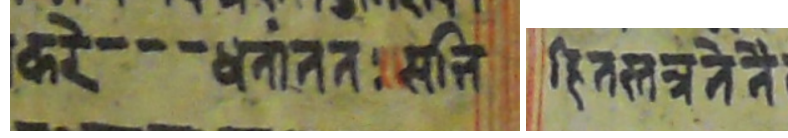
K₈₂ (f. 39r) gives:



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

[षष्ठोऽध्यायः]

[नियमेष्विज्या (२)]

अथ पञ्चविधामिज्यां प्रवक्ष्यामि द्विजोत्तम ।
धर्ममोक्षप्रसिद्ध्यर्थं शृणुष्वनावहितो द्विज ॥ ६:१ ॥

अर्थयज्ञः क्रियायज्ञो जपयज्ञस्तथैव च ।
ज्ञानं ध्यानं च पञ्चैतत्प्रवक्ष्यामि पृथक्पृथक् ॥ ६:२ ॥

[अर्थयज्ञः]

अग्न्युपासनकर्मादि अग्निहोत्रक्रतुक्रिया ।
अष्टका पार्वणी श्राद्धं द्रव्ययज्ञः स उच्यते ॥ ६:३ ॥

[क्रियायज्ञः]

आरामोद्यानवापीषु देवतायतनेषु च ।
स्वहस्तकृतसंस्कारः क्रियायज्ञः स उच्यते ॥ ६:४ ॥

[जपयज्ञः]

जपयज्ञं ततो वक्ष्ये स्वर्गमोक्षफलप्रदम् ।

Witnesses used for this chapter : C₉₄ ff. 202r–203r, C₄₅ ff. 209r–209v, C₀₂ ff. 278r–279r,
K₈₂ ff. 9v–10v, K₁₀ exp. 51 (lower–upper) – 52 (lower), K₇ ff. 218r–218v, E pp. 599–601 ;
C_Σ = C₉₄ + C₄₅ + C₀₂

❖

(1a) °मिज्यां] C₄₅, °मीज्यां C₉₄C₀₂K₈₂K₁₀K₇E (1b) °त्तम] C_ΣK₈₂E, °त्तमः
K₁₀K₇ (1c) °मोक्षप्रसिद्ध्यर्थं] C_ΣK₇, °मोक्षप्रसिद्ध्यर्थं K₈₂K₁₀, °मोक्षेशसिद्ध्यर्थं E
(1d) द्विज] C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇, भव E (2a) अर्थयज्ञः] C₉₄C₀₂K₈₂, अनर्थयज्ञः C₄₅,
अर्थयज्ञ K₁₀K₇, अर्थयज्ञ° E (2c) ज्ञानं] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀E, ज्ञान C₀₂K₇ (3b)
अग्नि°] C₄₅C₀₂K₈₂K₇E, अग्नि--- C₉₄, ° = K₁₀ • °क्रिया] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀K₇E, °क्रियाः
C₄₅C₀₂ (3c) पार्वणी] C₉₄C₀₂K₈₂K₇E, पर्वणी C₄₅, पर्वणी K₁₀ (3d) °यज्ञः]
C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₇E, °यज्ञ C₀₂, ° = K₁₀ (4b) °यतनेषु] C₄₅C₀₂E, °लयनेषु C₉₄K₈₂
K₇, °यत° = K₁₀ (4c) °हस्त°] C_ΣK₈₂K₇, ° = K₁₀, °हस्तैः E (5a) °यज्ञं
ततो] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀K₇E, °यज्ञं तपो C₄₅ °यज्ञस्ततो C₀₂

वृषसारसंग्रहे

वेदाध्ययन कर्तव्यं शिवसंहितमेव च ।
इतिहासपुराणं च जपयज्ञः स उच्यते ॥ ६:५ ॥

[ज्ञानयज्ञः]

इदं कर्म अकर्मैदमूहापोहविशारदः ।
शास्त्रचक्षुः समालोक्य ज्ञानयज्ञः स उच्यते ॥ ६:६ ॥

[ध्यानयज्ञः]

ध्यानयज्ञं समासेन कथयिष्यामि ते शृणु ।
ध्यानं पञ्चविधं चैव कीर्तितं हरिणा पुरा ।
सूर्यः सोमो ऽग्नि स्फटिकः सूक्ष्मं तत्त्वं च पञ्चमम् ॥ ६:७ ॥

सूर्यमण्डलमादौ तु तत्त्वं प्रकृतिरुच्यते ।
तस्य मध्ये शशि ध्यायेत्तत्त्वं पुरुष उच्यते ॥ ६:८ ॥

चन्द्रमण्डलमध्ये तु ज्वालामग्निं विचिन्तयेत् ।
प्रभुतत्त्वः स विज्ञेयो जन्ममृत्युविनाशनः ॥ ६:९ ॥

अग्निमण्डलमध्ये तु ध्यायेत्स्फटिकं निर्मलम् ।
विद्यातत्त्वः स विज्ञेयः कारणमजमव्ययम् ॥ ६:१० ॥

✧

(5c) वेदा०] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_7E$, अदा० K_{10} (5e) ०पुराणं च] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, ०पुरा-
णश्च E (5f) ०यज्ञः] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$, ०यज्ञ C_{02} (6a) कर्म] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}$
 K_7 , क्रमम् E (6c) ०चक्षुः] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$, ०चक्षु C_{02} (6d) ०यज्ञः] C_{94}
 $C_{45}K_{82}K_7E$, ०यज्ञ C_{02} , ०यज्ञस K_{10} (7a) ०यज्ञं] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_7E$, ०यज्ञ $C_{02}K_{10}$
(7c) ध्यानं] $C_{\Sigma}K_{10}E$, ध्यान $K_{82}K_7$ (7e) सोमो] $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_7$, सोमा० C_{45}
 $K_{10}E$ (7f) सूक्ष्मं तत्त्वं च पञ्चमम्] C_{45} , सूक्ष्मं तत्त्वं --- पञ्चमम् C_{94} , सूक्ष्मतत्त्वं च
पञ्चमः $C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}$, सूक्ष्मं तत्त्वञ्च पञ्चमः K_7 , सूक्ष्मां तत्त्वश्च पञ्चमम् E (8c) श-
शि] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}E$, शशि K_{10} , शशिन् K_7 (8cd) ध्यायेत्त०] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$, ध्याये
त० C_{02} (9b) ज्वालामग्निं] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}E$, ज्वालामग्नि K_7 (9c) ०तत्त्वः] C_{Σ}
 K_7 , ०तत्त्व K_{82} , ०तत्त्वं $K_{10}E$ (9d) ०नाशनः] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, ०नाशनम् $C_{02}E$
(10b) ध्यायेत्स्फटिक] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, ध्यायेत्स्फटि C_{94}^{ac} , ध्याये स्फटिक $C_{02}E$
• ०मलम्] $C_{\Sigma}K_{10}E$, ०मलः K_{82} , ०मलः K_7 (10c) तत्त्वः स] $C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$,
तत्त्वन् --- C_{94} , तत्त्व स C_{02} , तत्त्व स E (10d) ०जमव्ययम्] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$,
०मव्ययं C_{02}

षष्ठो ऽध्यायः

विद्यामण्डलमध्ये तु ध्यायेत्तत्त्वमनुत्तमम् ।
अकीर्तितमनौपम्यं शिवमक्षयमव्ययम् ।
पञ्चमं ध्यानयज्ञस्य तत्त्वमुक्तं समासतः ॥ ६:११ ॥

विगतराग उवाच ।
एकैकस्य तु तत्त्वस्य फलं कीर्तय कीदृशम् ।
कानि लोकाः प्रपद्यन्ते कालं वास्य तपोधन ॥ ६:१२ ॥

अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच ।
ब्रह्मलोकं तु प्रथमं तत्त्वप्रकृतिचिन्तया ।
कल्पकोटिसहस्राणि शिववन्मोदते सुखी ॥ ६:१३ ॥

द्वितीयं तत्त्व पुरुषं ध्यायमानो मृतो यदि ।
विष्णुलोकमितो याति कल्पकोट्ययुतं सुखी ॥ ६:१४ ॥

प्रभुतत्त्वं तृतीयं तु ध्यायमानो मरिष्यति ।
शिवलोके वसेन्नित्यं कल्पकोट्ययुतं शतम् ॥ ६:१५ ॥

विद्यातत्त्वामृतं ध्यायेत्सदाशिवमनामयम् ।
अक्षयं लोकमाप्नोति कल्पानान्तपरं तथा ॥ ६:१६ ॥

पञ्चमं शिवतत्त्वं तु सूक्ष्मं चात्मनि संस्थितम् ।

✧

11cd DharmP 4.14ab: अकीर्तितमनौपम्यं पञ्चमं शिवमण्डलम्

✧

(11ab) ध्यायेत्त०] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇E, ध्याये त० C₀₂ (11e) ंयज्ञस्य] C₉₄C₄₅
K₈₂K₁₀K₇, ंयज्ञश्च C₀₂E (11f) समासतः] C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇, सनातनः E (12a)
तु] conj., त्रि० C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇, हि E (12c) लोकाः] C₉₄K₈₂K₇, लोका C₄₅C₀₂
K₁₀E • प्रपद्यन्ते] C₄₅C₀₂K₈₂K₁₀K₇E, प्र॒ ॒ ॒ ॒ ॒ C₉₄ (12d) ंधन] C₉₄C₀₂K₈₂K₁₀
E, ंधनः C₄₅K₇ (13ab) प्रथमं तत्त्व०] C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇, om. K₈₂^{ac}, प्रथमं तत्त्वं E
• प्रकृतिचिन्तया] C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇, च कृतिचिन्तय E (13d) सुखी] C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇,
सुखम् E (14c) याति] C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇, यान्ति E (15a) ंतत्त्वं] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇
E, ंतत्त्व C₀₂ • तृतीयं] C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇, तृतीयस् E (15b) ध्यायमानो मरिष्यति]
C₄₅C₀₂K₈₂K₁₀K₇, ध्याय॒ ॒ ॒ ॒ ॒ रिष्यति C₉₄, ध्यायामानो मरिष्यति E (15c) शि-
वलोके] C₉₄C₀₂K₈₂K₁₀K₇, शिवलोक C₄₅, रुद्रलोके E • वसेन्नि०] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀
K₇E, वसे नि० C₀₂ (15d) ंयुतं] C_ΣK₈₂K₇E, ंयुत K₁₀ (16a) ंतत्त्वामृतं]
C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇, ंतत्त्वमृतन् C₀₂, ंतत्त्वामृतं E (16c) अक्षयं] C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇,
अक्षय० E

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न कालसंख्या तत्रास्ति शिवेन सह मोदते ॥ ६:१७ ॥

पञ्चध्यानाभियुक्तो भवति च न पुनर्जन्मसंस्कारबन्धः

जिज्ञास्यन्तां द्विजेन्द्र भवदहनकरः प्रार्थनाकल्पवृक्षः ।

जन्मेनैकेन मुक्तिर्भवति किमु न वा मानवाः साधयन्तु

प्रत्यक्षान्नानुमानं सकलमलहरं स्वात्मसंवेदनीयम् ॥ ६:१८ ॥

[नियमेषु तपः (३)]

मानसं तप आदौ तु द्वितीयं वाचिकं तपः ।

कायिकं च तृतीयं तु मनोवाक्कर्म तत्परम् ।

कायिकं वाचिकं चैव तपो मिश्रक पञ्चमम् ॥ ६:१९ ॥

मनःसौम्यं प्रसादश्च आत्मनिग्रहमेव च ।

मौनं भावविशुद्धिश्च पञ्चैतत्तप मानसम् ॥ ६:२० ॥

अनुद्वेगकरा वाणी प्रियं सत्यं हितं च यत् ।



20 ≈ MBh 6.39.16 (BhG 17.16): मनःप्रसादः सौम्यत्वं मौनमात्मविनिग्रहः । भावसंशुद्धिरित्येतत्तपो मानसमुच्यते ॥



(18a) ०युक्तो] $C_{45}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, ०यु_२ C_{94} (tops of akṣaras lost), ०युक्तौ E • च] $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, om. $C_{45}E$ • पुनर्जन्म०] $C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$, पुनर्जन्म० C_{94} (tops of akṣaras lost), पुनर्जन्म० C_{02} (18b) जिज्ञास्यन्तां] $C_{94}K_{10}K_7E$, जिज्ञास्यतां $C_{45}K_{82}$ (unmetr.), जिज्ञास्यन्ता C_{02} (18c) जन्मेनैकेन] $C_{45}K_{10}K_7E$, जन्मेनैकेन $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}$ (unmetr.) • मुक्तिर्भ०] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$, मुक्तिर्भ० C_{02} • न वा] $C_{\Sigma}K_{10}K_7E$, भवा K_{82} • मानवाः] $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, मानमानवाः C_{45} , मानवा C_{02} , मानव E (18d) प्रत्यक्षा०] $C_{\Sigma}K_{10}K_7E$, प्रत्यक्ष० K_{82} • ०वेदनीयम्] $C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}$, ०वेदनीयः $C_{94}C_{02}K_7$, ०वेदनीय E (19a) ०तप] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, ०तपम् E (19c) कायिकं च तृतीयं तु] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_7E$, मानसं तप आदौ तु K_{10} (eyeskip) (19d) मनोवाक्कर्म] $C_{94}K_7E$, मनोक्कर्म C_{45} , मनोवाक्कर्म० C_{02} , मनोवाक्काय० $K_{82}K_{10}$ • ०परम्] C_{02} , ०परः $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$ (19e) कायिकं] $C_{\Sigma}K_{10}K_7E$, कायिक K_{82} (20a) ०सौम्यं] K_7 , ०सौम्य० $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}E$, ०सौम्य० C_{02} (tops of akṣaras lost) • प्रसादश्च] $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_7$, प्रसादं च $C_{45}E$, प्रदानश्च K_{10} (20c) मौनं] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, मौन_२ E • ०शुद्धिश्च] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, ०शुद्धिं च $C_{02}E$ (20d) पञ्चैतत्] $C_{94}K_{10}K_7$, पञ्चैते $C_{45}K_{82}$, पञ्चैतत् C_{02} , पञ्चैतन् E

षष्ठो ऽध्यायः

स्वाध्यायाभ्यसनं चैव वाचिकं तप उच्यते ॥ ६:२१ ॥

आर्जवं च अहिंसा च ब्रह्मचर्यं सुरार्चनम् ।

शौचं पञ्चममित्येतत्कायिकं तप उच्यते ॥ ६:२२ ॥

इष्टं कल्याणभावं च धन्यं पथ्यं हितं वदेत् ।

मनोमिश्रक पञ्चैतत्तप उक्तं महर्षिभिः ॥ ६:२३ ॥

स्वस्ति मङ्गलमाशीर्भिरतिथिगुरुपूजनम् ।

कायमिश्रक पञ्चैतत्तप उक्तं महात्मभिः ॥ ६:२४ ॥

मण्डूकयोगी हेमन्ते ग्रीष्मे पञ्चतपास्तथा ।

अभ्रावकाशो वर्षासु तपः साधनमुच्यते ॥ ६:२५ ॥

स्वमांसोद्धृत्य दानं च हस्तपादशिरस्तथा ।

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21cd \approx MBh 6.39.15cd (BhG 17.15): अनुद्वेगकरं वाक्यं सत्यं प्रियहितं च यत् । स्वाध्यायाभ्यसनं चैव वाङ्मयं तप उच्यते ॥ 22 cf. MBh 6.39.14 (BhG 17.14): देवद्विजगुरुप्राज्ञपूजनं शौचमार्जवम् । ब्रह्मचर्यमहिंसा च शरीरं तप उच्यते ॥ 24ab cf. ŚDhŚ II.79: नमस्काराभिवा-
देशु स्वस्तिमङ्गलवाचकैः । शिवं भवतु सर्वत्र प्रब्रूयात्सर्वकर्मसु ॥ 25ab \approx MBh Appendices 15.801: मण्डूकशायी हेमन्ते ग्रीष्मे पञ्चतपा भवेत् \approx UMS 6.26ab: मण्डूकयोगो हेमन्ते ग्रीष्मे पञ्चतपास्तथा; cf. ŚDhSaṅgr 9.32ab: अभ्रावकाशं शीतोष्णे पञ्चाग्निर्जलशायिता

❖

(21c) ०भ्यसनं चैव] $C_{45}C_{02}K_{82}K_7E$, ०भ्यसनं \approx C_{94} , ०भ्यसनं चैव K_{10} (22a) आर्जवं च अहिंसा च] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, आर्जवत्वमहिंसाश्च E (22b) ०चर्यं] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, ०चर्यं $C_{02}E$ (22c) शौचं] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, शौच E (23a) इष्टं] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_7E$, इष्ट $C_{02}K_{10}$ • ०भावं] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, ०भावश्च E (23b) पथ्यं] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, सत्यं E (23c) मनो] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, मन E • पञ्चैतत्] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}$, पञ्चैतत् K_7 , पञ्चैतान् E (23d) तप उक्तं महर्षिभिः] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, तपमुक्तं महर्षिभिः E (24a) ०शीर्भिः] $C_{94}E$, ०शीर्भिः $C_{45}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$ (24b) ०तिथिः] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, ०तिथि E (24c) ०मिश्रक] $C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$, ० \approx क C_{94} , ०मित्यश्रक C_{45} • पञ्चैतत्] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, पञ्चैतन् E (24d) तप उक्तं] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, तपमुक्तं E (25b) ग्रीष्मे] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, गृष्मे E (25c) ०वकाशो] em., ०वकाशे $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$ (25d) तपः] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$, तप C_{02} • साधनमु] $C_{94}K_{82}K_7E$, साधन उ $C_{45}C_{02}K_{10}$ (26a) दानं] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_7$, दान K_{10} (tops of akṣaras lost), दानश्च E

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पुष्पमुत्पाद्य दानं च सर्वे ते तपसाधनाः ॥ ६:२६ ॥

कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रं नक्तं च तप्तकृच्छ्रमयाचितम् ।
चान्द्रायणं पराकं च तपः सांतपनादयः ॥ ६:२७ ॥

येनेदं तप तप्यते सुमनसा संसारदुःखच्छिदम्
आशापाश विमुच्य निर्मलमतिस्त्यक्त्वा जघन्यं फलम्
।
स्वर्गाकाङ्क्षानृपत्वभोगविषयं सर्वान्तिकं तत्फलं
जन्तुः शाश्वतजन्ममृत्युभवने तन्निष्ठसाध्यं वहेत् ॥ ६:२८ ॥

॥ इति वृषसारसंग्रहे षष्ठोऽध्यायः ॥



(26c) दानं] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, दानश् E (26d) तप] E, तपः $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$ (unmetr.) (27a) कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रं] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}E$, कृच्छ्रादिकृच्छ्र C_{02} , कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्र K_{10} , कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रं K_7 (27b) ऽयाचितम्] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, ऽयाचितः E (27c) चान्द्रायणं पराकं] $C_{94}C_{02}K_{10}K_7$, चान्द्रायनं पराकं C_{45} , चान्द्रायणं पराकं K_{82} , चान्द्रायणवराकश् E (27d) तपः सांतपनादयः] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, तपसान्तपनादयः $C_{02}E$ (28a) तप तं] E, तपस्तं $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$ (unmetr.) • ऽमनसा] em., ऽमनसः $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$ (28b) निर्मलमतिं] $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$, निर्मलमतिं C_{45} • जघन्यं] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, जगत्यं E (28c) ऽकाङ्क्षं] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, ऽकाक्षं E • सर्वान्तिकं] $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$, सर्वार्त्तिकं C_{45} (28d) ऽभवने] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}E$, ऽभवेने K_7 • ऽसाध्यं वहेत्] $C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, ऽसाध्यम् \asymp C_{94} , ऽसाध्य वहेत् C_{45} , ऽसाध्यं वदेत् E

Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṅgraha

An Annotated Translation

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[ṣaṣṭho ’dhyāyaḥ]
[Chapter Six]

[*niyameṣv iḥyā* (2) —

Second Niyama-rule: sacrifice]

atha pañcavidhām iḥyām pravakṣyāmi dvijottama |
dharmamokṣaprasiddhyartham śṛṇuṣvāvahito dvija || 6:1 ||

[Anarthayajña continued:] Now I shall teach you the five types of sacrifice (*iḥyā*), O excellent Brahmin, for success in Dharma and liberation. Listen carefully, O Brahmin.

arthayajñāḥ kriyāyajño japayajñas tathaiva ca |
jñānam dhyānam ca pañcaitat pravakṣyāmi pṛthak pṛthak || 6:2 ||

Material sacrifice, sacrifice through work, sacrifice through recitation, knowledge and meditation: I shall teach you these five one by one.

[*arthayajñāḥ* —

Material sacrifice]

agniyupāśanakarmādi agnihotrakratukriyā |
aṣṭakā pārvaṇī śrāddham dravyayajñāḥ sa ucyate || 6:3 ||

Material sacrifice includes the following: the domestic ritual fire worship etc., the public performance of the ritual of Agnihotra, [and the so-called *pākayajñas* such as] the Aṣṭakā oblation, the Pārvaṇī oblation, and the ancestral ritual (*śrāddha*).

6.2 Note the singular *etat* after a number (see Intro **CHECK**).

Compare this list of five to the somewhat similar BhG 4.28: *dravyayajñās tapoyajñā yogayajñās tathāpare | svādhyāyajñānāyajñās ca yatayaḥ saṁśīta-vratāḥ ||*. ŚDhU chapter 3 can be also relevant since it uses the terms *japayajña*, *jñānāyajña*, and *dhyānāyajña*. See also ŚDhU 1.10 (C₉₄ f. 42v 14): *karmayajñas tapoyajñāḥ svādhyāyo dhyānam eva ca | jñānāyajñās ca pañcaite mahāyajñāḥ prakīrtitāḥ ||*. Note how this definition of the five *mahāyajñas* in the ŚDhU is different from the one, e.g., in Manu 3.69–71 (*brahma*°, *pitṛ*°, *daiva*°, *bhauta*°, and *nṛyajña*).

6.3 By somewhat overtranslating the items in this list, I want to emphasise that the text introduces three categories of sacrificial rituals well-known from the time of the Gṛhyasūtras and Śrautasūtras: those of the domestic or *aupāsana* fire (*gṛhyakarman*), the Śrauta rituals such as the Agnihotra, and the Smārta *pākayajñas*, such as the *aṣṭakā*, the *pārvaṇī* and the *śrāddha*. For a mention of the *pākayajñas* in a manner similar to our *pādas* cd here, see, e.g. the *Dikṣottara* quoted in Goodall, Sanderson, & Isaacson 2015, 275: *aṣṭakāḥ pārvaṇī śrāddham śrāvany āgrāyaṇī tathā | caitrī cāśvayujī caiva pākaya-jñāḥ prakīrtitāḥ ||*. For an earlier list of *pākayajñas*, see GautDhS 1.8.19: *aṣṭakā pārvaṇāḥ śrāddham śrāvanyāgrahāyaṇīcaitryāśvayujīti sapta pākayajñasamsthāḥ*.

Translation of chapter 6

[*kriyāyajñah* —

Sacrifice through work]

ārāmodyānavāpīṣu devatāyataneṣu ca |
svahastakṛtasamskārah kriyāyajña sa ucyate || 6:4 ||

Sacrifice through work is taking care of/ cleaning/ embellishing (*samskāra*)
a grove, a park, a pond or a temple with one’s own hands.

[*japayajñah* —

Sacrifice through recitation]

japayajñaṃ tato vakṣye svargamokṣaphalapradaṃ |
vedādhyayana kartavyaṃ śivasamhitam eva ca |
itihāsapurāṇaṃ ca japayajñah sa ucyate || 6:5 ||

Next I shall teach you the sacrifice through recitation, the bestower of the
fruits of heaven and liberation. One should recite the Vedas, Śaiva texts or
the *Mahābhārata*, the epics and the Purāṇas: this is called sacrifice with
recitation.

[*jñānayajñah* —

Sacrifice through knowledge]

idaṃ karma akarmedaṃ ūhāpohaviśāradaḥ |
śāstracakṣuḥ samālokya jñānayajñah sa ucyate || 6:6 ||

[He who can decide if] ‘this is [proper] action; the other is improper action’
because he is knowledgeable about reasoning pro and contra, and investi-
gates with his eyes on the Śāstras, is called [a person performing] sacrifice
through knowledge.

[*dhyānayajñah* —

Sacrifice through meditation]

dhyānayajñaṃ samāsenā kathaiṣyāmi te śṛṇu |
dhyānaṃ pañcavidhaṃ caiva kīrtitaṃ harinā purā |
sūryaḥ somo ’gni sphaṭikaḥ sūkṣmaṃ tattvaṃ ca pañcamam || 6:7 ||

6.5 Note the stem form *vedādhyayana* in *pāda* c metri causa. As for the interpre-
tation of *śivasamhitam* in *pāda* d, see 5.17b above: *śaivabhāratasamhite*. The proximity
of these two phrases, and the fact that both give instructions on using texts, suggest that
we should interpret them similarly. It is then a *samāhāradvandvasamāsa* again, in the
neuter. Both *śivasamhitam* and *itihāsapurāṇaṃ* should be interpreted as being part of the
compound in *pāda* c: *śivasamhitādhyayanaṃ* and *itihāsapurāṇādhyayanaṃ*.

See *japayajña* mentioned, e.g., in BhG 10.25c (*yajñānāṃ japayajño ’smi*) and Manu
2.86 (*vidhiyajñāḥ japayajño viśiṣṭo daśabhir guṇaiḥ*).

6.6 For the expression *śāstracakṣuḥ*, see, e.g., BrahmaP 24.21: *tena yajñān yathāprok-
tān mānavāḥ śāstracakṣuṣaḥ | kurvate ’harahaś caiva devān āpyāyanti te* ||. In G. P.
Bhatt’s translation (? , 126): ‘Day by day men with the sacred scriptures as their guides
perform sacrifices in the manner they have been laid down and thereby nourish the gods.’

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

I shall teach you concisely about sacrifice through meditation. Listen to me. Meditation was taught by Hari in the past as of five kinds. [Meditation on] the Sun, the Moon, Fire, Crystal and the subtle *tattva* as fifth.

sūryamaṇḍalam ādau tu tattvaṃ prakṛtir ucyate |
tasya madhye śaśiṃ dhyāyet tattvaṃ puruṣa ucyate || 6:8 ||

First it is the Sun [that should be meditated upon], which is said to be *prakṛti-tattva*. He should visualize the Moon in its centre: that *tattva* is said to be *puruṣa*.

candramaṇḍalamadhye tu jvālām agniṃ vicintayet |
prabhutattvaḥ sa vijñeyo janmamṛtyuvinaśanaḥ || 6:9 ||

In the centre of the Moon’s disk, he should visualise a flame, a fire. That is said to be *prabhu-tattva*, the destroyer of [the circle of] birth and death.

agnimaṇḍalamadhye tu dhyāyet sphaṭika nirmalam |
vidyātattvaḥ sa vijñeyaḥ kāraṇam ajam avyayam || 6:10 ||

In the centre of the ring of Fire, he should visualize a spottless crystal. That is said to be *vidyā-tattva*, the never-born, imperishable cause.

vidyāmaṇḍalamadhye tu dhyāyet tattvaṃ anuttamam |
akīrtitam anaupamyam śivam akṣayam avyayam |
pañcamaṃ dhyānayaājñasya tattvaṃ uktaṃ samāsataḥ || 6:11 ||

In the centre of the disk of *vidyā*, he should visualize the highest *tattva*, never-heard, unparalleled, undecaying and imperishable Śiva. The fifth *tattva* of the sacrifice through meditation has been taught in short.

vigatarāga uvāca |
ekaikasya tu tattvasya phalaṃ kīrtaya kīdṛśam |
kāni lokāḥ prapadyante kālaṃ vāsya tapodhana || 6:12 ||

Vigatarāga spoke: Teach me, what are the fruits of [reaching] each *tattva*? Which worlds can be attained and how much time [can one spend there], O great ascetic?

6.7 For an analysis of this fivefold method of meditation, and this ancient-looking *tattva*-system, see Intro **CHECK**, and for different versions of the same teaching of meditation, see VSS 22.19–28 and DharmP 4.5–14.

6.8 Note the form *śaśiṃ* for *śaśinaṃ*.

6.10 Note the stem form *sphaṭika* in *pāda* b metri causa.

6.12 The reading *tritattvasya* in *pāda* a in the MSS is a problem because we have just finished a section mentioning five *tattvas*. (This was probably noticed by E, hence printing *hi* for *tri*°.) My conjecture (*tu*) is based on the assumption that *tri* is often written as *tṛ* in Nepalese MSS (e.g. in M at this point) and that *tṛ* may then easily get corrupted to *tu*.

Translation of chapter 6

*anarthayajña uvāca |
brahmalokaṃ tu prathamam tattvapraṛticintayā |
kalpakotīśahasrāṇi śivavan modate sukhī || 6:13 ||*

Anarthayajña spoke: Through meditation on the first *tattva*, *prakṛti*, [one reaches] Brahmaloka. He will rejoice [there] happily like Śiva for millions of æons.

*dvitīyaṃ tattva puruṣaṃ dhyāyamāno mṛto yadi |
viṣṇulokaṃ ito yāti kalpakotīyayutam sukhī || 6:14 ||*

If one dies while meditating on the second *tattva*, *puruṣa*, one will depart from this world and go to Viṣṇuloka, [and will dwell there] happily for billions of æons.

*prabhutattvaṃ tṛtīyaṃ tu dhyāyamāno mariṣyati |
śivaloke vasen nityaṃ kalpakotīyayutam śatam || 6:15 ||*

Should one die while meditating on the third, the *prabhu-tattva*, one can live in Śivaloka continuously for a hundred billion æons.

*vidyātattvāmṛtaṃ dhyāyet sadāśivam anāmayam |
akṣayaṃ lokam āpnoti kalpānāntaparam tathā || 6:16 ||*

If he visualizes the nectar of *vidyā-tattva*, [i.e.] *Sadāśiva*, he can reach [His] diseaseless, imperishable world [and can live there] well beyond endless æons.

*pañcamam śivatattvaṃ tu sūkṣmaṃ cātmani samsthitam |
na kālasamkhyā tatrāsti śivena saha modate || 6:17 ||*

The fifth one, the subtle *śiva-tattva* dwells in the Self. There is no counting of time there and he will be rejoicing [there] together with Śiva.

6.13 Understand *pādas* ab as *brahmalokaṃ prathamatattvacintayā prakṛtitattvacintayā*. One might take *prathamam* adverbially (‘firstly’: *prathamam brahmalokaṃ prakṛtitattvacintayā*), but in the next verses, the ordinal numbers (*dvitīyaṃ*, *tṛtīyaṃ*, *pañcamam*) always refer to the *tattvas*.

6.14 Note the stem form *tattva* in *pāda* a metri causa.

6.15 E changes *śivaloka* to *rudraloka*, probably for more contrast with *sadāśiva* in 6.16 and *śivatattva* in 6.17. **CHECK**

6.16 In *pāda* a, *amṛta* is suspect. It may refer to the world of *Sadāśiva* and then *vidyātattva* is in stem form. Alternatively, since this verse is the only one in this list of worlds (6.13–17) without an ordinal number, *amṛtaṃ* may mean ‘four’ or possibly ‘fourth,’ as suggested by Monier-Williams and Apte in their dictionaries. This meaning would fit in nicely. In addition, dying has been mentioned above, thus *amṛtaṃ* might be a corrupted form of a participle from the verbal root *mṛ* (*mṛyan* or *maran*): e.g., *vidyātattvaṃ mṛyan dhyāyet...* (‘should he meditation upon Vidyātattva while dying...’).

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

*pañcadhyānābhīyukto bhavati ca na punarjanmasaṃskārabandhaḥ
 jīṇāśyantāṃ dvijendra bhavadahanakaraḥ prārthanākālpavṛkṣaḥ |
 janmenaikena muktir bhavati kimu na vā mānavāḥ sādhayantu
 pratyakṣān nānumānaṃ sakalamalaharam svātmasaṃvedanīyam || 6:18 ||*

[If] he practises the five meditations, there will be no rebirth and no more fetters of transmigration. O excellent Brahmin, [the Lord] should be sought, a wishing tree of desires, [as] he burns away existence. Liberation comes within one single birth! People, why should you not strive [for it]? [It is known] as the destroyer of all impurity. [It’s ascertainable] by direct perception. It is not inference. It is to be experienced by one’s own Self.

[*niyameṣu tapaḥ* (3) —

Third Niyama-rule: penance]

*mānasaṃ tapa ādau tu dvitīyaṃ vācikaṃ tapaḥ |
 kāyikaṃ ca tṛtīyaṃ tu manovākkarma tatparam |
 kāyikaṃ vācikaṃ caiva tapo miśraḥ pañcamam || 6:19 ||*

The first type of penance is mental penance, the second is verbal penance, the third is the bodily one, the next one is the one which is [characterised by] both mental and verbal action. The fifth type of penance is a mixture of the bodily and the verbal ones.

*manahsaumyaṃ prasādaś ca ātmanigrahaṃ eva ca |
 maunaṃ bhāvaviśuddhiś ca pañcāitat tapa mānasaṃ || 6:20 ||*

Gentleness of the mind, calmness, self-control, observing silence, and the purification of one’s state of mind: mental penance comprises these five.

*anudvegakarā vānī priyaṃ satyaṃ hitaṃ ca yat |
 svādhyāyābhyasanaṃ caiva vācikaṃ tapa ucyate || 6:21 ||*

6.18 Note how a plural passive imperative form (*jīṇāśyantāṃ*) stands for the singular (*jīṇāśyatām*) metri causa. Note also that the last syllable of *dvijendra* (at the caesura) counts here as long: this phenomenon of a word-ending syllable becoming long by position is common in the VSS. The non-standard *janmena* in *pāda* d seems superior to *janmanā* for it preserves the metre.

6.19 The reading *manovākkāya*^o (K₈₂K₁₀) in *pāda* d is probably secondary, influenced by such common expressions as, e.g., *manovākkāyakarmabhiḥ* in YājñS 1.27d. Note the stem form *miśraḥ* in *pāda* f metri causa.

6.20 Again, we can see the use of the singular (*etat*) next to numbers; note also the stem form *tapa* in *pāda* d metri causa. This verse is a paraphrase of MBh 3.39.16 (BhG 17.16; see text in the apparatus).

Translation of chapter 6

Verbal penance is taught as speech that causes no anxiety, which is kind, true and useful, and it includes also the practice of recitation.

*ārjavam ca ahimsā ca brahmacaryam surārcanam |
śaucam pañcamam ity etat kāyikam tapa ucyaṭe || 6:22 ||*

Bodily penance is taught as the following: honesty, harmlessness, chastity, the worship of gods, and purity as the fifth.

*iṣṭam kalyāṇabhāvam ca dhanyam pathyam hitam vadet |
manomīśraka pañcāitat tapa uktaṃ maharṣibhiḥ || 6:23 ||*

[Penance] which is a mixture of the mental [and the verbal] is taught by the great sages to be these five: he should speak [about things that are] agreeable, of a virtuous character, auspicious, salutary and useful.

*svasti maṅgalam āśīrbhir atithigurupūjanam |
kāyamiśraka pañcāitat tapa uktaṃ mahātmabhiḥ || 6:24 ||*

[Penance] in which bodily [and verbal actions] mix is taught by the great-souled ones to be these five: the worship of the guest and the guru, benediction, greetings, and blessings.

*maṇḍūkayogī hemante grīṣme pañcatapās tathā |
abhrāvakāśo varṣāsu tapaḥ sādhanam ucyaṭe || 6:25 ||*

[Being] a [so-called] frog-yogin in the winter, or one with the five fires in the summer, or one who has the clouds [i.e. the open sky] for shelter in the rainy season: these kinds of penance is called *sādhana*.

6.21 This verse is a variant of MBh 6.39.15 (BhG 17.15; see it in the apparatus).

6.22 This verse seems to be a paraphrase of MBh 6.39.14 (BhG 17.14; see it in the apparatus).

6.23 Note the use of the singular (*etat*) next to a number and the stem form noun in *pāda* c.

6.24 See ŚDhŚ 11.73–79 (and ? ? , 91–93 and 120–121) for a somewhat similar discussion on ‘kind speech.’

6.25 *Manu* 6.23 mentions three kinds of penance that corresponds to three seasons: *grīṣme pañcatapās tu syād varṣāsu abhrāvakāśikah | ārdravāsās tu hemante kramaśo vardhayams tapaḥ ||*. Translated in Olivelle 2005, 149 as: ‘[He should] surround himself with the five fires in the summer; live in the open air during the rainy season; and wear wet clothes in the winter—gradually intensifying his ascetic toil.’ This and ŚDhSaṃgr 9.32ab (quoted in the apparatus) may suggest that being a ‘frog-yogin’ could be the same as wearing wet clothes or standing in water for a long time. A footnote to verse MBh 12.309.9 in the Kumbakonam edition of the MBh (? ?) suggests otherwise: *maṇḍūkavāt pāṇipādām saṅkocya nyubjaḥ śete iti maṇḍūkāśāyī*. (‘The word ‘frog-sleeper’ means somebody who sleeps like a frog, with his hands and feet withdrawn and with his back humped.’)

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

svamāṃsoddhṛtya dānaṃ ca hastapādaśiras tathā |
puṣpaṃ utpādya dānaṃ ca sarve te tapasāḍhanāḥ || 6:26 ||

Carving out his own flesh as a donation, or [offering his own] hand, feet and head, or drawing [his own] blood (*puṣpa*) as a donation: all these are *sādhana*-penances,

kṛcchrātikṛcchraṃ naktaṃ ca taptakṛcchraṃ ayācitam |
cāndrāyaṇaṃ parākaṃ ca tapaḥ sām̐tapanādayaḥ || 6:27 ||

[as also] the ‘painful penance’ and the ‘extremely painful one’, [eating only] at night, the ‘hot and painful’ and [the one in which only food obtained] without solicitation [can be eaten], the *cāndrāyaṇa* and *parāka* penances, the *sām̐tapana*, etc.

yenedaṃ tapa tapyate sumanasā saṃsāraduḥkhacchidam
āśāpāśa vimucya nirmalamatis tyaktvā jaghanyaṃ phalam |
svargākāṅkṣyanṛpatvabhogaviśayaṃ sarvāntikaṃ tatphalaṃ
jantuḥ śāśvatajanmamṛtyubhavane tanniṣṭhasādhyaṃ vahet || 6:28 ||

He who performs with a well-disposed mind this penance that puts an end to the suffering caused by transmigration (*saṃsāra*), abandoning the trap of hope, with a spotless mind, giving up the lowest rewards [such as] wishing for heaven, being a king and having enjoyments for the senses, will have an ultimate (*sarvāntika*) reward. In this home of eternal births and deaths, man can bring about an accomplishment that puts an end to them.

|| iti vṛṣasārasaṃgrāhe ṣaṣṭho ’dhyāyaḥ ||

Here ends the sixth chapter in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*.

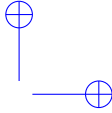
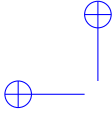
6.26 Note the stem form *svamāṃsa* in *pāda* a for the accusative. The translation of *pāda* c is tentative, but taking *puṣpa* as ‘blood’ is not only normal e.g. in tantric texts (see e.g. **CHECK**), but VSS 17.37–38 suggest the same in a similar context: *devī uvāca | svamāṃsarudhiraṃ dānaṃ dānaṃ putrakalatrayoḥ | kiṃ praśasyaṃ mahādeva tattvaṃ vaktum ihārhasi || maheśvara uvāca | svamāṃsarudhiraṃ dānaṃ praśaṃsanti maṇiṣiṇaḥ | śrūyatāṃ pūrvavṛttāni saṃkṣīpya kathayāmy aham ||*. (‘Devī spoke: Why are one’s own flesh and blood and one’s son and wife praised as donation, O Mahādeva? Tell me the truth please. Maheśvara spoke: The wise praise one’s own flesh and blood as donation. Let’s hear the old legends, I shall tell you briefly.’)

6.27 For short descriptions and the loci classici of these penances, see, e.g., ? ? , v. 4, 130–152. For *nakta/naktāṇna* see VSS 8.22 below and, e.g., ŚDhŚ chapter 10, and for *ayācita*, VSS 8.23 below.

6.28 Note my emendation in *pāda* a (*sumanasā* from *sumanasah*) and that in order to restore the metre, I accepted E’s stem form *tapa*. Note the stem form °*pāśa* in *pāda* b metri causa.

Appendices

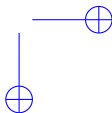
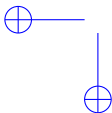
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Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṅgraha

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Symbols and Abbreviations

Symbols

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Abbreviations

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

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ff.

MGMCP

MGMPP

MS(S) = manuscript(s)

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

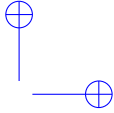
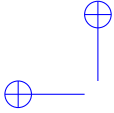
ŚDhŚ = *Śivadharmaśāstra*

ŚDhU = *Śivadharmottara*

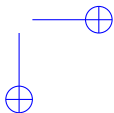
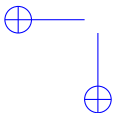
VSS = asdfadfasdfadsa

TO BE SUPPLIED

- Balogh 2018? ON THE SAME TOPIC
- Ranjan Sen 2006. ‘Vowel-weakening before muta cum liquidā sequences in Latin. A problem of syllabification?’ In: Oxford University Working Papers in Linguistics, Philology & Phonetics 11: 143–61.



Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṅgraha



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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
Mātaṅgalilā: 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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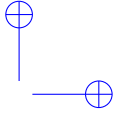
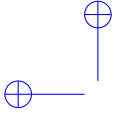
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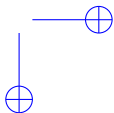
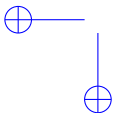
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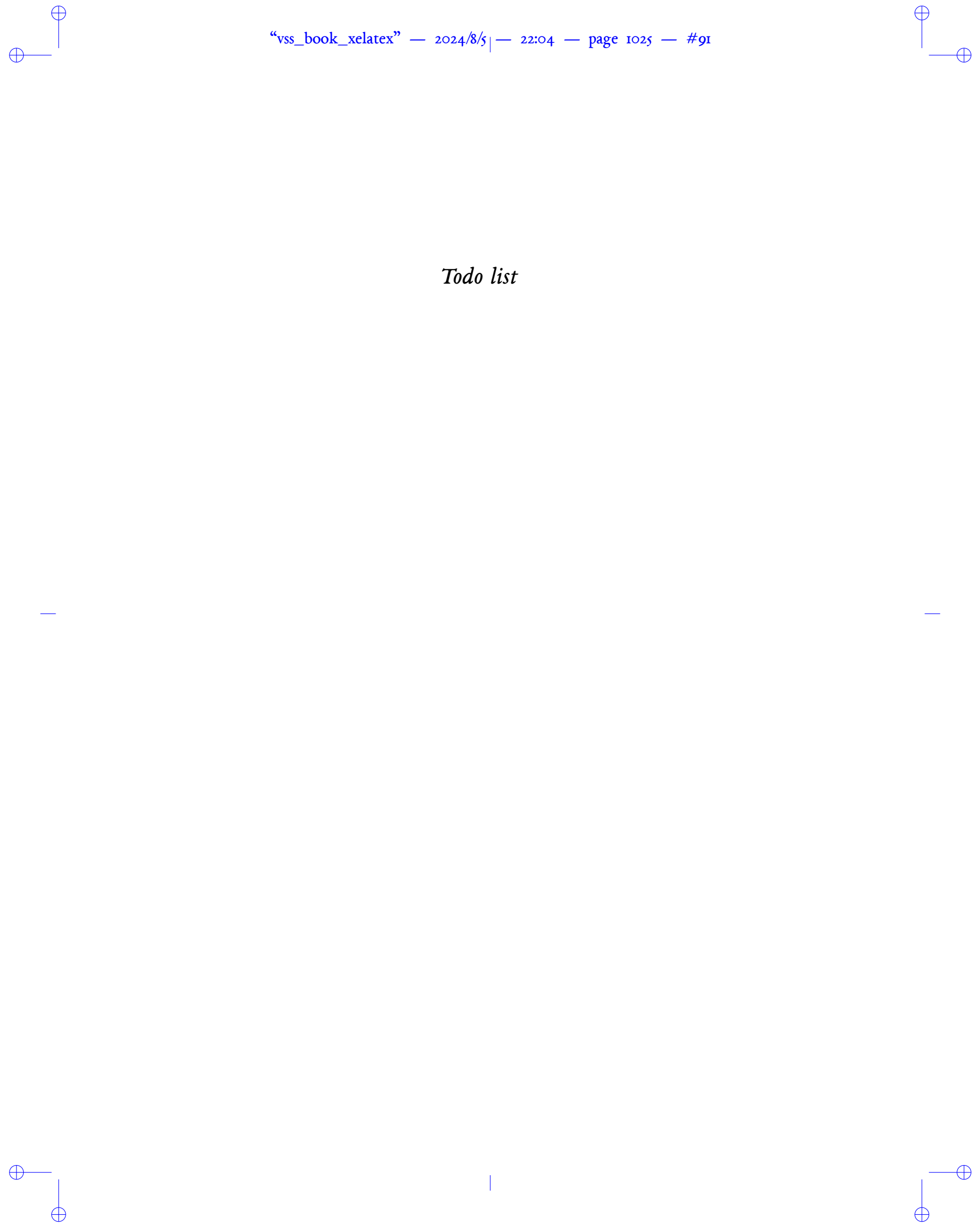


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