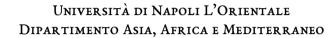


The Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, a text of the Śivadharma corpus
A Critical Edition
Volume 1



The Śivadharma Project

Studies on the History of Śaivism X??

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### Università di Napoli L'Orientale Dipartimento Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo

The Śivadharma Project

Studies on the History of Śaivism XX??

The Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, a text of the Śivadharma corpus
A Critical Edition
Volume 1

Csaba Kiss





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### **CHECK REVISE!!!**

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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,' 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 21th 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.' 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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 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?'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> McGann 1991, 27.

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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 ŚIVA-DHARMA PROJECT has been to better understand the function of individual texts within the so-called Śivadharma 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 Śivadharma 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.



### Śivadharma corpus

The *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (VSS), a 24-chapter long Sanskrit Śaiva text, has always³ been transmitted as part of the so-called Śivadharma 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 Śivadharma-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 Śivadharma texts only when they are relevant for the present inquiry.⁴

### Title

The title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*<sup>5</sup> 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. xviiiff. 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.<sup>6</sup>

- $^3$  For cases that seem exceptions (Ko $_{77}$  and K $_{41}$  CHECK if more) see the manuscript descriptions on pp. 3ff.
  - <sup>4</sup> Mainly in section 'CHECK' on p. xx
  - <sup>5</sup> Read *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* for *Vṛttasārasaṅgraha* in Petech 1984, 84.
- <sup>6</sup> 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





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 dharma*.<sup>7</sup>

In addition, in Saiva contexts, the bull of Dharma does feature as Siva'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.<sup>9</sup>

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.

- <sup>7</sup> 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.'
- <sup>8</sup> 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 Šivadharmottara 12.87 also mentions the 'Dharma bull': īśvarāy-atanasyādhaḥ śrīmān dharmavṛṣaḥ sthitaḥ | yatra vīravṛṣas tatra kṣityāṃ gomātaraḥ sthitā ||

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To laud the bull (vṛṣa) would be surprising if the intended meaning were the bull that is Siva's mount, but not if the word is intended in its figurative meaning, namely dharmah, or sukrtam 'the virtuous actions [prescribed by the Veda].' For this meaning of vṛṣaḥ see, for example, Amarasimha, Nāmalingānuśāsana 1.4.25b (sukṛtam vṛṣaḥ), 3.3.220 (sukṛte vṛṣabhe vṛṣaḥ); Halāyudha, Abhidhānaratnamālā 1.125cd (dharmaḥ puṇyaṃ vṛṣaḥ śreyaḥ sukṛtaṃ ca samaṃ smṛtam); Manu 8[.]16a (vṛṣo hi bhagavān dharmas...); and the Gwalior Museum Stone Inscription of Patangasambhu (Mirashi 1962), l. 15, vṛṣaikaniṣṭho 'pi jitasmaro 'pi yaḥ śankaro 'bhūd bhuvi ko 'py apūrvvaḥ, concerning the Śaiva ascetic Vyomaśambhu: 'He was in the world an extraordinary new Siva, since he too was vrsaikanisthah ('devoted solely to pious observance'; in Siva's case 'riding only on the Bull') and he too was jitasmarah ('one who had defeated sensual urges'; in Siva's case 'the defeater of the Love god Kāmadeva'). This is also the meaning of vrsah in the title Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, one of the works of the Śivadharma 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 Śivadharma, 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 Śivadharma. 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 explicitely taught, while the bull as the personification of Dharma as the four āśramas explicitely appears. Thus the title actually lacks any explicit hint to Śaivism, <sup>10</sup> which fits in well with the rather blurred and multilayered affiliation of the text to Dharmaśāstra, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. <sup>11</sup>

Finally, as a fanciful experiment, and if one accepts that the VSS originated in Nepal,<sup>12</sup> 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;<sup>13</sup> a view confirmed by a local chronicle, which attributes to him the establishing of Buddhist

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> In contrast with, e.g., the UUMS  $C_{94}$  fol. 184r ll. 3–4 (see Kiss 2021, 185–186): īśvara uvāca | na jānanti ca loke 'smin mānavā mūḍhacetasaḥ | catuṣpādo bhaved dharmaḥ śuklo 'yaṃ mama vāhanaḥ ||

<sup>11</sup> See p. xvii.

<sup>12</sup> See CHECK

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> See Vajrācārya 1973, 148, l. 9: sugataśāsanapakṣapātī.



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), amely 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 *vedavyāsas*, 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: (I) primary creation, cosmogony and chronology (sarga); (2) creation, destruction of the world (pratisarga); (3) geneologies (vaṇṣśa); (4) Manu eras (manvantaras); (5) history (vaṇṣśanucarita). 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 the 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 *varṇa*s 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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Gnoli 1956, 1, and https://siddham.network/inscription/ino2001/

<sup>15</sup> See, e.g., SivP 7.1.41: sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṃśo manvantarāṇi ca | vaṃśānu-caritaṃ caiva purāṇaṃ paṃcalakṣaṇam ||



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

F. 25IV of  $K_{41}$  contains a scribal addition that gives a richer and somewhat more nuanced definition of the genre of the VSS, paraphrasing *Mahā-bhārata* 1.56.2I:<sup>16</sup>

pādam ādyam<sup>17</sup> idam śāstram yo 'dhīyīta jitendriyaḥ |
tenādhītam sarvvadharmmam iti nāsty atra saṃśayaḥ ||
arthaśāstram idam puṇyaṃ dharmmaśāstram idaṃ paraṃ |
mokṣaśāstram 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 Dharmi[c 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 Vigatarāga, 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:

xvii



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Mahābhārata 1.56.21 reads: arthaśāstram idaṃ puṇyaṃ dharmaśāstram idaṃ param | mokṣaśāstram idaṃ proktaṃ vyāsenāmitabuddhinā ||. The parallel between the scribal verses in  $K_{41}$  and the Mahābhārata has already been noted in De Simini 2016b, 253 n. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Understand pādamātram?



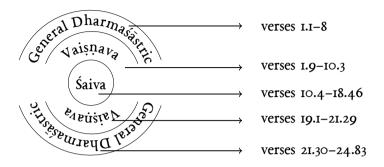


Figure 1: The structure of the VSS (reproduced from Kiss 2021, 188)

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. Saiva chapters do contain Vaisnava 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 Vaisnava chapters would be the following. Anarthayajña, a Vaisnava ascetic, who propagates a system of internalised aśramas/a system beyond the traditional āśramas, and who was born into an obscure or fluid varņa (brāhmana/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 Vișņu to Vișņuloka.

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 Saiva 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-

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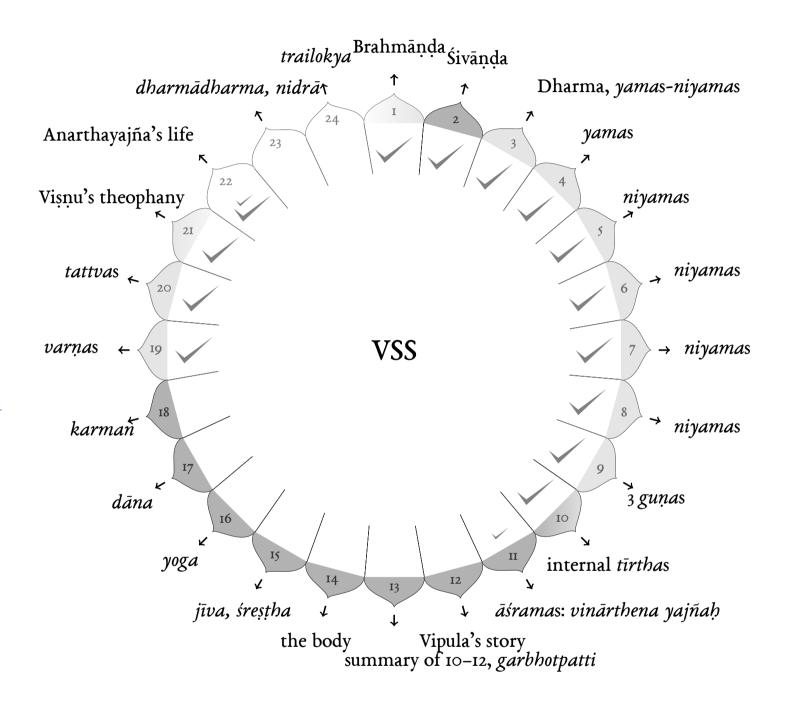


Figure 2: The structure and topics of the VSS



sacrifice Vaiśampāyana recited the whole *Mahābhārata* for the first time. This important moment is where the frame story of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgra-ha* 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 Vigatarāga (in fact Viṣṇu in disguise) and Anarthayajña, an ascetic.<sup>18</sup>

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

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

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

Śivadharma texts:

Embryology

yoga *Dharmaputrikā* see below Dhyāna in the VSS and the DharmP Compare, borrowings

Brhatkālottara,

### Dating and provenance

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

To make assumptions about the place of composition of the VSS, we can consider the following: the location of the manuscript evidence, place

<sup>18</sup> Kiss 2021, 187

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Petech 1984, 31

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Sanderson 2009, 77



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.<sup>21</sup>

The geographical locations mentioned in the VSS include the tīrthas mentioned in chapter ten: Himavat (the Himālayas), Kuruksetra, Prayāga, Vārānasī, Yamunā, Gangā, Agnitīrtha, Somatīrtha, Sūryatīrtha, Puṣkara, Mānasa, Naimisa, Bindusāra (= Bindusaras), Setubandha, Suradraha or Surahrada, Ghantikeśvara, 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, Kuruksetra, 22 Prayaga, Varanasi, Yamuna, Ganga, Puskara (modern Pushkar), and Naimisa.<sup>23</sup> All these are locations in modern North India, or in the case of Himavat, for our purposes and more precisely North India and Nepal. Agnitirtha, Somatirtha and Sūryatīrtha could also be locations in North India, although they are more obscure than the ones above. For Agnitirtha, see, e.g., Padmapurāņa 3.45.27ab: agnitīrtham iti khyātam yamunādaksiņe taţe; and Padmapurāna 6.139.1ab: sābhramatyuttare kūle agnitīrtham iti śrutam; therefore Agnitīrtha may be placed at the souther banks of the Yamuna or at the northern banks of the Sabhramatī 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 sābhramatītațe. Sūryatīrtha is sometimes placed in Kuruksetra.<sup>24</sup> Going further in the list, Mānasa is generally thought to be '[a] lake on the peak of the Himālayas', 25 modern Manasarovar.<sup>26</sup> Bindusāra, which most probably stands for Bindusaras, can be a sacred place north of Mount Kailāsa, 27 two miles south of Gangotri, 28

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> See, e.g., De Simini & Mirnig 2017, 589.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Generally thought to be the area around Thaneswar/Thanesar (Dey 1899, 45), 160km northwest of Delhi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Bisschop 2006, 217: 'Naimiśa 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).'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> See Mani 1975, s.v. 'sūryatīrtha'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Mani 1975, s.v. 'mānasa IV'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Dey 1899, 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Mani 1975, s.v. 'bindusaras'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Dey 1899, 11.



or alternatively Sitpur in Gujarat, north-west of Ahmedabad.<sup>29</sup>

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. 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 Hanumadiśvaraliṅga, which is in the southern outskirts of Bhaktapur in Nepal, at the confluence of two rivers (according to Acharya 1992, 37–38 and 298):

kimciddūre sangamasya yajñabhūmim manoharām | vidhāya munibhir sārddham vājapeyam athākarot || yajñam samāpya vālmīkir navanādīmayam girim | āruroha dvijaśreṣṭho munibhir munisattamaḥ || kaṭake tasya śailasya nānānirjharaśobhite | lingam saṃsthāpayām āsa vālmīkīśvarasaṃjñitam || sthāpayitvā mahālingam vālmīkir munisattamah | svāśrame tamasātīre yayau munigaṇair vṛtaḥ || vālmīkīśvaram ālokya vāgvibhūtiḥ prajāyate | ato vāgīśvaram linga pravadanti manīṣiṇaḥ ||

Not far from the confluence [Vālmīki] prepared a nice sacrificial ground together with the sages, and performed the Vājapeya sacrifice. After having completed the sacrifice, Vālmīki, the best of the twice-born, the truest of sages, climbed the mountain on which fresh grass was growing(?)<sup>31</sup> together with the sages. In a valley of the mountain which was embellished with various waterfalls, he installed a *liṅga* called Vālmīkīśvara. Having installed that great *liṅga*, Vālmīki, 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 Vālmīkīśvara [*liṅga*], one will have the power of speech (*vāg-vibhūti*). That is why the wise call it the Vāgīśvara-liṅga.

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.<sup>32</sup> This sacred place is mentioned as the most important one in 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 gaṅgā nadīṣu ca | anāśanas tapaḥśreṣṭhas tīrthaśreṣṭhaḥ suradrahaḥ || 18.15

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Dey 1899, ibid..

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Sanderson 2009, 113 n. 241.

<sup>31</sup> navanāḍīmayaṃ. Emend to navanadīmayaṃ ('having nine rivers')?

<sup>32</sup> Always spelt surahrada in Naraharinath's edition.



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. <sup>33</sup> 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 Gangā and the Ganḍakī rivers, which is Pāṭaliputra (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. Since this placename, and the Sahya mountains (12.93), 5 come up in 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 Mrgen-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> The references given are the Jaina Jambūdvīpaprajñapti and Sthānāngasūtra.

The city we are looking for is clearly in the South, therefore Karavīrapura as 'the Pīṭha 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 Ghâts near Jooner [Junnar?], on the bank of the Vená [Venna], a branch of the Krishná, where Krishna met Parasuráma and killed its king named Srigála (Harivansa).' See Harivaṃśa App. I. 18.352–355: pūrvajais tava govinda pūrvaṃ puram idaṃ kṛtam | karavīrapuraṃ nāma rāṣṭraṃ caiva niveśitam || pure 'smin nṛpatiḥ kṛṣṇa vāsudevo mahāyaśāḥ | sṛgāla iti vikhyāto nityaṃ paramakopanaḥ ||; and also Padmapurāṇa 6.106.3: āsīt sahyādriviṣaye karavīrapure purā | brāhmaṇo dharmavit kaścid dharmadatto 'tiviśrutaḥ ||.

<sup>35 &#</sup>x27;The northern part of the Western Gháts north of the river Káveri' (Dey 1899, 78).

draśikhara, where Anarthayajña's āśrama is situated, 'on the southern slopes of the Himalayas.'36 This name comes up several times in the Nepālamā-hātmya and thus features on the map in Acharya 1992 (Figure 4). Mṛgen-draśikhara is a mountain situated north of Kathmandu. Today the area is called Śivapurī. See details on the identification and on legends connected to Mṛgendraśikhara in Gögge 2007, 114ff. The VSS specifies that Anarthayajña's āśrama was on the banks of the Mahendrapathaga, 37 but I

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.<sup>38</sup>

have not been able to identify this river.

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 loke yā 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 this, he praises Vipula for his services instead, and all three, Devaśarman, his wife, and Vipula, go to heaven.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, ironically, while the Vipula of the MBh is famous for protecting

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> See VSS 22.4-5: vaiśampāyana uvāca | śṛṇu rājann avahito yogendrasya mahātmanaḥ | āśramaṃ varṇajātīnāṃ vakṣyāmy eva narādhipa || himavaddakṣiṇe pārśve mṛgendraśikhare nṛpa | mahendrapathagānāmanadītīre 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 Mṛgendra peak, O king, on the banks of the river Mahendrapathaga, O King[, was his āśrama]'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> See fn. 36

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> On Anarthayajña's central role in the VSS, see more in Kiss 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> See a summary of Vipula's story in the MBh also in Sukthankar 1944, 317–318.





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

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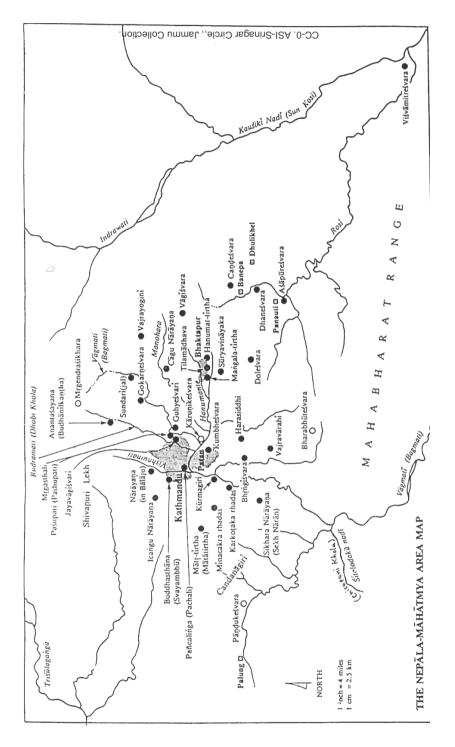


Figure 4: Map in Acharya 1992

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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 Vicaṇḍa, 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.

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 Ko<sub>77</sub>. It is dated to Nepal Saṃvat 156, i.e., 1035-36 CE.<sup>40</sup> In a multiple-text MS<sup>41</sup> that is potentially earlier than Ko<sub>77</sub>, the VSS is written in a hand that seems later than that used for some of the other texts within the MS.<sup>42</sup> The final colophon of the VSS (and the DharmP) in this MS (f. 50r) is followed by the date [Nepāla] 'samvat 192,' 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 and parts of the text could be considerably older that 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  $(n\bar{a}d\bar{t})$  Suṣumnā and Iḍā, is silent on Piṅgalā, which is a situation similar to

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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  $Ko_{77}/8$ .

<sup>41</sup> See more detail on this MS, which is now to be found in Munich, in Harimoto

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Harimoto 2022, 597–598: 'This Śivadharma ms consists of two major parts, easily 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 Śivadharma ms consists of three titles: the *Uttaromāmaheśvarasaṃvāda\** (24 folios), the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (50 folios), and the *Dharmaputrikā* (II folios). We do not know the original order of these three works because each section starts with folio I. 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.'



that in the 6-7-century Niśvāsa naya<sup>43</sup> (see details at the analysis of chapter 10 on pp. xli and in the notes to the translation). Similarly, 11.23a (nivṛttyādi caturvedas) mentions four Saiva 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 Apastambadharmasūtra 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 Sānkhya are called *dhātus* here, the *tanmātras* of classical Sānkhya are called *guṇas*, 44 the buddhi of classical Sankhya is called mati, and the highest tattva is singular unlike the multiple puruşas of classical Sānkhya. 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 Sānkhya than what the MS evidence suggests.<sup>45</sup>

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 trasmits the VSS is close in time to the actual 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 Sivadharma corpus?

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

The Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha's role in the Śivadharma corpus is then twofold: it

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Goodall, Sanderson, & Isaacson 2015, 33-35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> In contrast with, e.g. ŚDhU 10.40–46 and UUMS chapter 5, DharmP 1.42–43, or the ŚivaUp.

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



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

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

MORE...

### Pāśupatas in the VSS

#### Tantric influence?

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

#### Buddhism in the VSS

Misc

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

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### Language

### Newar influence?

The language of the VSS goes beyond the idiosyncrasies of epic Sanskrit. It exhibits strong similarities to Śaiva Aiśa Sanskrit, <sup>46</sup> 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 valley <sup>47</sup>—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. <sup>48</sup> 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. <sup>49</sup> See, e.g., a plural verb (metri causa?) with a singular subject in VSS 1.25ab:

- <sup>46</sup> On Aiśa, see, e.g., Goodall 1998, lxv ff., Törzsök 1999, xxvi ff., Kiss 2015, 77–87, Gerstmayr 2017, Hatley 2018, 28ff.
  - 47 See pp. xx ff.
- <sup>48</sup> The earliest dated Newar document is the Ukū Bāhāḥ landgrand palmleaf manuscript from 1114 CE. See, e.g., Malla 1990.
- <sup>49</sup> Compare Kölver's introductory remarks in his investigation of 'Newarized Sanskrit' (Kölver 1999, 202) in the *Svayambhūpurāṇa* thus (ibid. 192): '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'; onāgakanyā ... vṛṣṭipūrṇaṃ kṛtam 470, 8 'the Nāga girl made (it) full of rain'], and case
- [manuṣyāḥ ... tasmai ... pūjitam 426, 2 etc. 'men worshipped him; he was worshipped by people'; bhavatām apy arthāya karomy upāyakam mayā 452, 5 'I am making an expedient for your sake'].'

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rātryāgame pralīyante jagat sarvam 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:

pramāņam nāma samkhyā 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.<sup>50</sup> See, e.g., verse 1.2cd:

parva cāsya śatam pūrņam śrutvā bhāratasamhitām

... 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.<sup>51</sup> Moreover in Newar, 'nouns denoting inanimate objects are indifferent as to number.'<sup>52</sup> A further clear example is verse 3.6cd:

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

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> 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.

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.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Jørgensen 1941, 5 and 17.



what we often see in Newar.<sup>53</sup> A good example of total number-blindness is 5.17cd:

kīrtitāni viśeșeņa śaucācāram aśeșataḥ

... 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  $k\bar{\imath}rtitam$  ca... Instead, this line gives away something about the author's indifference towards grammatical concord. Also, the participle  $k\bar{\imath}rtit\bar{\imath}ani$  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 Aiśa.<sup>55</sup> 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 awarness of Sanskrit syntax is VSS 17.20:

bhūmipradātā dvija hīnadīnaḥ samṛddhasasyo jalasaṃnikṛṣṭaḥ | sa yāti lokam amarādhipasya vimānayānena 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 ærial vehicle.

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-jalasaṃnikṛṣṭa-bhūmi-pradātā*. This is expressed by a phrase in which a word that should be in the dative or genitive (*dvija*) is in the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> 'Any case [...] and/or plural markers [...], as well as postpositions [...], are added to the last constituent of the N[oun ]P[hrase].' (Otter 2020, II–12.) E.g.: in the Newar phrase thwo khuṃ-na khaṅ-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.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> 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).

<sup>55</sup> See, e.g., Oberlies 2003, XXXVIII-XL, and Kiss 2015, 85 and the Index therein.



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  $p\bar{a}das$  cd are written in perfect standard Sanskrit.<sup>56</sup>

There are dozens, or hundreds, of syntactical oddities in the VSS, even if not all this baffling.<sup>57</sup> 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:

indreņāsmi phalam dattam sa phalam 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., indeṇa 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, 58 this time 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, 59 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 saṃkṣipya prāptaṃ cośanasaṃ purā

[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 purāvṛttam nandinā kathito 'smy aham

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

- <sup>57</sup> Most of them are addressed in the footnotes to the translation.
- This often happens in epic Sanskrit, see Oberlies 2003, 4.1.3, pp. 102–103.
- 59 Although this solution carries the metric fault of being iambic.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> 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.'



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 (*cośanasaṃ*). 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:

eșa garbhasamutpattih kathito 'smi varānane

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

āgneyadhātum somam ca kathito 'smi varānane

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

kathito 'smi samāsena 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 *Vicitrakarnikāvadānoddhṛta*, namely that the phrase *na jñāto 'ham* must in that context mean 'I did not know.'60

Sometimes the agent an active construction with a transitive verb simply imitates an ergative structure: *viṣṇunā*... *papraccha* (1.8), *sa*[!] *hovāca pathīkena* (12.60a).<sup>61</sup>

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  $p\bar{a}da$  a is simply elliptical and that a verb like laksanam or  $svabh\bar{a}vam$  ('the caracteristics/essence [of X]') is missing. 1.37ab is similar:

brahmāṇḍānām prasamkhyātum mayā śakyam katham dvija

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

This phenomenon is difficult to explain by any Newar influence since classical Newar would usually also require an extra word (such as *kham* 'thing,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Jørgensen 1931, 77 and 328. Compare tat phalam sa niveditah ('he gave that fruit') in VSS 12:67d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> This happens also in Aiśa. See, e.g., *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 18.23: pūjayet ... mantriṇā (Törzsök 1999, 42).



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.'62

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*, *dvitīya*, and *tṛtīya*, with higher numbers there seems to be a non-distinction between cardinal and ordinal numbers, and cardinals are used as ordinals. See, e.g., 20.8ab and 11ab:

caturviṃśati yat tattvam prakṛtim viddhi niścayam dvāviṃśati ahamkāras tattvam uktam manīṣibhiḥ

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,<sup>63</sup> and is even more characteristic of classical Newar.<sup>64</sup>

### Stem form nouns

Stem form nouns, or *prātipadikas*, are extremely common in the language of the VSS. They are not alien to the Aiśa Sanskrit of Śaiva Tantras,<sup>65</sup> but the extent to which they prevail in the VSS is striking and it reminds one of the zero suffix of the nominative and accusative, or rather of the 'casus indefinitus' or 'absolutive case' of classical Newar.<sup>66</sup> 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:

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Edgerton 1953, vol. 1, §7.65, p. 47.

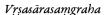
<sup>63</sup> See Oberlies 2003, §5.2.2, pp. 127–128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> See Jørgensen 1941, 42 and Otter 2020, 57.

<sup>65</sup> See, e.g., Kiss 2015, 75-77 and Goodall, Sanderson, & Isaacson 2015, 126 and 441.

<sup>66</sup> Jørgensen 1941, 18 and 21, and Otter 2020, 16.





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1.63a: vāyunā pāda saṃkṣipya (pādaṃ)
1.63c: tenāpi pāda saṃkṣipya (pādaṃ)
2.25c: bhogam akṣaya tatraiva (akṣayaṃ)
2.26d: īśānānāṃ smṛtālayaḥ (smṛta ālayaḥ)
4.19f: prasahyasteya pañcamam (°steyaṃ)
4.72a: caturdhyānādhunā (°dhyānam adhunā)
4.77a: pramādasthāna pañcaiva (°sthānaṃ or °sthānāni)
6.5c: vedādhyayana kartavyaṃ (vedādhyayanaṃ)
6.14a: dvitīyaṃ tattva puruṣaṃ (tattvaṃ)
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#### Vocabulary

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Special vocabulary/language: karhacit, hṛdi as nominative 10.27cd, tirya, me as mayā, āhūtaplavana generate list from index

Modern Nepali: singular after numerals.

Kölver
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#### Metre

As regards metrical licences, perhaps the most striking feature is the generous use of the poetic licence sometimes labelled 'muta cum liquida,'<sup>67</sup> namely that some consonant clusters that would normally turn the previous short (laghu) syllable long (guru) may in some cases do not do so.<sup>68</sup> Syllables beginning with pr, br, hr, kr, especially (or exclusively?) at the beginning of words, are well-known candidates for this licence.<sup>69</sup> In the VSS, tr, vr,  $\acute{sr}$ , pr, and also  $\acute{sy}$ ,  $\acute{sv}$ , sv, dv,<sup>70</sup> 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),<sup>71</sup> who is frequently quoted by Mallinātha, has to say on this phenomenon in his *Vṛṭṭarat-nākara* (here given together with Sulhaṇa's *Sukavihṛḍayanandinī* com-

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 $<sup>^{67}\,</sup>$  For a recent contribution on this phenomenon, see, Sen 2006 (discussing it as it appears in Latin).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> On its appearance in Saiva Tantras, see, e.g., Goodall 2004, lxxxi and Goodall, Sanderson, & Isaacson 2015, 441.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> See, e.g., Apte 1890, Appendix A p. 1.

 $<sup>^{70}</sup>$  See, e.g., the cadence of 5.15b: śukaśyenakān for  $\,\cup\,\cup\text{-}\,\cup\text{-}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Ollett 2013, 333.



mentary):72

padādāv iha varņasya samyogah kramasamjñikah | purahsthitena tena syāl laghutā 'pi kvacid guroḥ || 1.10 ||

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.:] vibhaktyantam padam tasya padasyādau vartamāno yo varņas tasya saṃyogaḥ | sa iha śāstre kramasaṃjño jñeyaḥ | tena krameṇa purovartinā prāk-padānte vartamānasya prāptagurubhāvasyāpi laghutā syāt | kvacil lakṣānurod-hena | nanu ka eṣaḥ kramo nāma saṃyoga ucyate | pūrvācāryāṇāṃ piṅgalanā-gaprabhṛtīnāṃ kālidāsādīnāṃ ca kavīnāṃ samayaḥ parigṛhītaḥ | saṃyogaḥ kramasaṃyogaḥ || 10 || tatra gra-saṃyogena yathā | idam asyodāharaṇam |

A 'word' is [a unit of speach 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 Pingalanāga and poets such as Kālidāsa 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 sarṣapaśākaṃ navaudanaṃ picchalāni ca dadhīni | alpavyayena sundari grāmyajano miṣṭam aśnāti || 1.11 ||

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.<sup>73</sup>

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

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

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:

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Patel 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> I.e.: 'you are pretty, don't waste your time with poor village men.'



#### Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

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padādāv iti kim | anyatra mā bhūt |
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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.

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1.1c: harīndra brahmādibhir āsamagram (upajāti)
4.67c: prajnābodha srutim smṛtim ca labhate mānam ca nityam labhed
(śārdūlavikrīḍita)
4.89a: iti yama pravibhāgaḥ kīrtito 'yam dvijendra (mālinī)
5.5cd: parastrīpara dravyeṣu śaucam kāyikam ucyate (pathyā)
5.9cd: vānaprasthasya triguṇam yatīnām tu caturguṇam (na-vipulā)
5.15ab: haṃsasārasacakrāhvakukkuṭān śuka śyenakān (pathyā)
8.33a: tasmān mauna vratam sadaiva sudṛḍham kurvīta yo niścitam (śārdūla-vikrīḍita)
10.31b: īśānenābhijuṣṭaṃ hṛdi (hrada vimalaṃ nādaśītāmbupūrṇam (srag-dharā)
11.9ab: manaḥśuddhis tu prathamam dravyaśuddhir ataḥ param (na-vipulā)
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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.<sup>74</sup> 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 odditity, or rather metrical licence, that is applied regularly in the VSS, exclusively in non-anustubh 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:

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3:42d: etatpuṇyapha(la)m ahiṃsakajanaḥ prāpnoti niḥsaṃśayaḥ (śārdūla-vikrīḍita)
4.5a: na narmayu(kta)m anṛtaṃ hinasti (upajāti)<sup>75</sup>
4.39c: aśeṣaya(jña)tapadānapuṇyaṃ (upajāti)
4.59c: vijñānadharma)kulakīrtināśa (upajāti)
4.59d: bhavanti vi(pra) damayā vihīnāḥ (upajāti)
5.20a: śaucāśaucavidhijña mānava ya(di) kālakṣaye niścayaḥ (śārdūlavikrī-dita)
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> There are some problematic verses that I ignore here. They are unlikely to change the overall picture.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Versions of this line in the MBh and the MatsP read  $^{\circ}$  yuktaṃ vacanaṃ (see the apparatus at veres 4.5 in the edition).





6.18b: jijñāsyantām dvijendra bhavadahanakaraḥ prārthanākalpavṛkṣaḥ (sragdharā)

7.13b: saubhāgyam atulam labheta sa naro rūpam tathā śobhanam (śārdū-lavikrīḍita)

8.44d: na bhavati punaja nma kalpakoṭyāyute 'pi (mālinī)

II.42b: saṃsāroddharaṇam anityaharaṇam ajñānanirmūlanam (śārdū-lavikrīḍita)

II.42c: prajñāvṛddhikaram amoghakaraṇam kleśārṇavottāraṇam (śārdū-lavikrīḍita)

II.42d: janmavyādhiharam akarmadahanam sevet sa dharmottamam (śā-rdūlavikrīḍita)

12.150c: nityam rogādhivāsam aniyatavapuṣam trāhi mām kālapāśāt (srag-dharā)

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

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Vṛṣasārasamgraha

### 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.<sup>76</sup>

#### Adhyāya 1

After a mangala-verse that addresses a deity whose identity is obscure (is it Siva or the impersonal Brahman?; verse 1.1), we enter the first layer of the text, which comprises a dialogue between Janamejaya and Vaisampāyana and could be labelled Dharmasastric. Janamejaya wishes to hear the essence, the ultimate Dharmic teaching, of the Mahābhārata. In response, Vaiśampāyana starts relating a dialogue during which Viṣnu, diguised as a Brahmin, tests an ascetic called Anarthayajña, reknown for performing nonmaterial sacrifice (anarthayajña, the topic of adhyāya eleven), and a devotee of Visnu (which becomes clear in adhyāya twenty-one). This is the beginning of the layer one could label Vaisnava. 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 truți, nimeşa 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 Brahmanda (1.40-48). In addition, Viṣṇu features as the ruler of the centre of the Brahmāṇḍa (1.49), reconfirming the general Vaisnava 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 Brahmanda. Finally, verses 1.62-75 list the redactors and transmitters of the Purāṇas, from Brahmā to Vyāsa Dvaipāyana, Romaharsa, and Romaharsa's son Amitabuddhi.

Keywords: Brahmā, Brahman

#### Adhyāya 2

2. śivāṇḍasaṃkhyā 3. ahiṃsāpraśaṃsā 4. yamavibhāga 5. śaucācāravidhi 6. yajñavidhi (also lokāḥ) 7. dānapraśaṃsā 8. niyamapraśaṃsā (p. 603: types of svādhyāyana: śaiva, sāṃkhya, purāṇa, smārta, bhārata) 9. traiguṇyav-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> See a Sanskrit summary of the contents of the VSS, based on Naraharinath's edition, in Acharya 2014, 61–72CHECK.



iśeṣaṇīya 10. kāyatīrthavivarṇana 11. caturāśramadharmavidhāna 12. vipulopākhyāna (narrative) 13. garbhotpatti (on conception) 14. praśnavyākaraṇa (why people are tall/short etc.) 15. jīvanirṇaya 16. adhyātmanirṇaya (yoga) 17. dānadharma 18. pūrvakarmavipāka 19. dānayajñaviśeṣa 20. pańcaviṃśatitattvanirṇaya 21. kalpanirṇaya 22. varṇagotrāśrama 23. nidrotpatti 24. śāstravarṇana

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Adhyāya 3
yamas-niyamas: see table in Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, 17
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Adhyāya 5
Adhyāya 6
Adhyāya 7
Adhyāya 8
Adhyāya 9
Adhyāya 10
Adhyāya 11
Adhyāya 12
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
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## 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 Śivadharma 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.<sup>77</sup> 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 law-quality sources,<sup>78</sup> and a lack of any critical apparatus or any documentation of the witness(es) used.<sup>79</sup> 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 methology 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 ... <sup>80</sup>

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



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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Just to quote a few from the first few verses: sahasrādhyāyar uttamam for sahasrādhyāyam uttamam (1.2b), nāradasaṃhitāṃ for bhāratasaṃhitām (1.2d), śaṃkha for śaṅkuḥ (1.34b), omissions in 1.34cd-35, etc.

<sup>79</sup> He must have worked from paper manuscripts, see p. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Hanneder 2009, 5.



#### Vrsasārasamgraha

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 Newar<sup>81</sup> 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 trasmit 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. <sup>82</sup> 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. <sup>83</sup>





<sup>81</sup> See p. xxx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> 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 *Vṛṣasārasaṃ-graha*, 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.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> 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



In recently published and forthcoming critical editions of and articles on the Śivadharma corpus, <sup>84</sup> 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. <sup>85</sup> Since in the case of the VSS all the manuscripts I utilised are written in some variant of the Nepālākṣara script, <sup>86</sup> 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)C<sub>94</sub> Cambridge University Library, Add. 1694.I. 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.<sup>87</sup> 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) Śivadharmasaṃgraha, 4) Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda, 5) Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda, 6) Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, 7) Dharmaputrikā, 8) Śivopaniṣad.

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

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





<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Bisschop 2018, Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, and Bisschop, Kafle, & Kiss forthcoming.

<sup>85</sup> For details of this system and for the underlying reasons, see Bisschop 2018, 50-51.

 $<sup>^{86}\,</sup>$  I have not used NGMCP B 219/3 NAK 4/2537 (paper, Maithilī script), and  $L_{\rm 16}$  (paper, Devanāgarī script, see below).

<sup>87</sup> https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01694-00001/382



#### Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

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  $\stackrel{\smile}{}$  ('illegible'). The quality of the readings of this manuscript is one of the best among the available witnesses, comparable only to  $K_{82}$  and  $P_{57}$ , making it one of the most important sources for the VSS.

(N)C<sub>45</sub> 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.<sup>88</sup> According to this catalogue, its dimensions are 4.4 × 61.7 cm. The manuscript is dated to (Nepāla) 'samvat 259 śrāvaṇa śukla dvādaśiyā di < trayodaśyām,' which converts to July 10/11 Monday/Tuesday, 1139 CE.<sup>89</sup> The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 247 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) Śivadharmaśāstra, 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  $K_{82}$  remarkably closely while transmitting the Sivadharmottara (as observed by De Simini and Harimoto). This is more difficult to see in the case of the VSS, but

<sup>88</sup> https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01645/404

<sup>89</sup> F. 247r line 6. The CUDL website transcribes this colophon as: saṃvat 259 śrāvaṇaśukladvādaśi[pyadi 8 trayodaśyāṃ (retrived 8 Dec 2021). The element dvādaśipyaḍi could be read as dvādaśiyā di, perhaps a mistake for dvādaśyāṃ 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, dvādaśi-yā di meaning 'the day of the twelfth.' Another faint kākapada is perhaps to be seen under daśi, therefore it is possible that the scribe's intention was to delete dvādaśi 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 dvādaśi 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.

<sup>90</sup> Personal communication, 1 Dec 2021.



indeed, they seem closely related.

(N)C<sub>02</sub> 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. 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 Śivadharmaśāstra is lost.

The VSS starts on f. 267r line I (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,  $^{92}$  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  $C_{94}$ , and twenty folios in  $C_{45}$ . Thus this MS did most probably transmit all eight texts of the Śivadharma corpus.  $^{93}$ 

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.<sup>94</sup>



<sup>91</sup> https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02102/181

<sup>92</sup> Image no. 180, Śivopaniṣad 7.122: yauvanasthā gṛhasthāś ca [prāsā]dasthāś ca ye nṛpāḥ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Compare with the claim of the online catalogue: "The present manuscript probably contained seven texts."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Cf. the metadata on the CUDL site: 'I 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. II



#### Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

In this multiple-text manuscript, the VSS is trasmitted 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), 95 the next folio being 306r (starting with carmatāś ca dvijasundarīṣu, 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 °neşu ca sarvveşu 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 Dharmaputrikā, but this multiple-text manuscript contains no more folios.

In the apparatus, the siglum  $C_{\Sigma}$  signifies all three Cambridge MSS described above.

#### Kathmandu palm-leaf manuscripts

(N)K<sub>82</sub> 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. 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). The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 274 folios. Eight texts are

below.

<sup>95</sup> Of course, my verse numbering in chapters 13–24 may change slightly during the editing process.

https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp\_ngmcpdocument\_00098499

<sup>97</sup> See f. 12r line 2 of the *Dharmaputrikā* in this MS: *navottarāsītiyute sate bde āsādhaśuklasya tithau tṛtīye*, translated by De Simini 2016b, 252 n. 49 as: 'in [the year] 189, in the 3rd lunar day of the bright [fortnight] of [the month] Āṣāḍha.' She adds that the date is verified in Petech 1984, 46 as May 24, 1069 CE.



transmitted in this manuscript: 1) Śivadharmaśāstra, 2) Śivadharmotta-ra, 3) Śivadharmasaṃgraha, 4) Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda, 5) Śivopaniṣad, 6) Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, 7) Dharmaputrikā, 8) Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda.

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. 98

(N)K<sub>10</sub> 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. <sup>99</sup> 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) Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda, 3) Śivopaniṣad, 4) Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha.

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 (viṃśakoṭiṣu gulmeṣu ūrdhva°). 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 Sivopanisad. 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

<sup>98</sup> See a similar evaluation in Bisschop 2018, 56.

<sup>99</sup> https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp\_ngmcpdocument\_00085264



Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

continue with the upper one.

(N)K<sub>7</sub> 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. O 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) Śivadharmaśāstra, 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)K<sub>3</sub> 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. According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 58.5 x 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) Śivadharmaśāstra, 2) Śivadharmottara, 3) Śivadharmasaṃ-graha (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 II/3, NAK  $5-738^{102}$ —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.

https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp\_ngmcpdocument\_00062373

http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A\_3-

<sup>3</sup> Śivadharma

http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A\_II-3\_Śivadharmottara



#### Kathmandu paper manuscripts

(N) $K_{41}$  NGMCP A 1341/6, NAK 4-93. Paper, 82 folios, probably from the 17th century (see the description of  $K_{107}$  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 Śivadharma corpus. The script of this MS seems extremely similar to that of  $K_{107}$ , a MS dated to 1688 CE (see below). Thus it seems probable that this MS is also from the 17th century.

 $K_{41}$  is a good example to see how relatively late witnesses, a paper MS, can be important. Its readings are relatively independent of most palmleaf 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 K<sub>41</sub> (and K<sub>107</sub>, see below) read together against most other witnesses. E.g.,  $C_{94}$ ,  $C_{45}$ ,  $C_{02}$ ,  $K_{82}$ ,  $K_{10}$ ,  $K_7$ ,  $K_3$ , and M read bhāratasaṃhitām, or a slightly corrupt form of the same, in 1.2cd, while the two paper MSS  $K_{41}$ , and  $K_{107}$ , and Naraharinath's E read (a clearly wrong) nāradasaṃhitām. Similarly, in 1.17cd most witnesses read *vettum arhasi*, while  $K_{41}$ ,  $K_{107}$ , and E (and M!) read vaktum arhasi. In 1.44b,  $K_{41}$  and E read mrddhe<sup>103</sup> instead of śrņu and *śrnge* in all other witnesses. In some instances, the paper MSS  $K_{41}$  and  $K_{107}$ give readings that might be old or 'original.' E.g., 20.40d is missing in a great number of MSS ( $C_{94}$ ,  $C_{45}$ ,  $K_{82}$ ,  $K_{10}$ ),  $K_7$  gives (improvises?) a less than perfect  $t\bar{a}n$  nibodha dvijottamah, <sup>104</sup> while  $K_{41}$ ,  $K_{107}$ , and E give a similarly imperfect vijñeyā ca manīṣibhiḥ.105 Sometimes these two paper MSS either alter the text, or again, preserve older readings. E.g., in 16.34 K<sub>41</sub>, K<sub>107</sub>, and E give bhagavān uvāca against all other witnesses' maheśvara uvāca. After 12.30d (vipulah punar abravīt),  $K_{41}$ ,  $K_{107}$ , and again E, insert a somewhat unnecessary vipula uvāca. These and many other examples could prove that Naraharinath used manuscripts that were close to K<sub>41</sub> and K<sub>107</sub>, and some of the oddities in his edition originate in fact in actual readings rather than misreadings or 20th-century alterations. 106

<sup>103</sup> K<sub>107</sub> reads a similar *grdbhe*.

<sup>104</sup> One would expect the vocative dvijottama.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> The correct sandhi would be *vijñeyāś ca*.

Compare this with Bisschop, Kafle, & 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).'



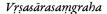




Figure 5: Kākapadas

Another fascinating phenomenon in  $K_{41}$  is traces of editorial activity. There is a rather peculiar  $k\bar{a}kapada$ , 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 a 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, <sup>107</sup> one in the above mentioned Śivadharma MS NGMPP C 57/5 from 1826 CE, <sup>108</sup> and in a *Kālacakratantra* MS written in old Bengali script from 1446 CE, which has (most probably much later) corrections in Nepālākṣara script. <sup>109</sup>

It is difficult to escape the impression that we are dealing with the same editor, whose distinguishing mark is a  $k\bar{a}kapada$  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.

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Einicke 2009, 164 and 328.

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





विच्ताः विच्त

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.<sup>110</sup>

These observations also shed some light on the origin of the first folio of C<sub>02</sub>, which is in a hand that looks later than that in the rest of that MS.111 Most old palm-leaf MSS start with karmahetuḥ śarīrasya etc. at VSS 1.14ab, while the two paper MSS K41 and K107, 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<sub>107</sub> 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), <sup>112</sup> Folios 1–88 are missing. These must have contained the Śivadharmaśāstra and the Śivadharmottara. The MS thus contains only six texts: 1) Śivadharmasaṃgraha ff. 891–133v, 2) Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda ff. 1341–163v, 3) Śivopaniṣad ff. 1641–1811, 4) Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda ff. 1821–206v, 5) Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha ff. 2071–251v, 6) Dharmaputrikā ff. 2521–262v.

II

<sup>110</sup> More on this in volume two.

<sup>111</sup> See p. 5.

<sup>112 (</sup>f. 262v). De Simini reads NS 803 (2016b, 253 n. 51). I prefer reading NS 809.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. De Simini 2016b, 252 n. 48. See also an unfinished table of contents on f. 262r, which confirms that at least the Śivadharmaśāstra was part of this bundle:  $\parallel$  asyānukramaḥ  $\parallel$  prathama śivadharmo nāma.



#### Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

The script of this 17th-century MS seems extremely similar to that of  $K_{41}$ , 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. 114 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) Śivadharmaśāstra, 2) Śivadharmottara, 3) Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda, 4) Śivopanișad, 5) Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, 6) Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda, 7) Dharmaputrikā. The section that must have contained the Śivadharmasamgraha, ff. 82–121, is lost. The portion that contains the VSS and the Dharmaputrikā is dated (f. 50r line 5): || iti vṛṣasārasangrahe caturviṃśatimo dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ | samvat 192 māghakṛṣṇadivāpañcamyām || postakalikhitam iti ||. The year 192 in Nepāla Samvat converts to 1071–1072 CE. The part of the MS the precedes the VSS looks considerably earlier and is potentially an important witness for other texts of the Sivadharma 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  $Dharmaputrik\bar{a}$  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

 $(N)P_{57}$  This is a multiple-text palm-leaf manuscript written in Nepālākṣara script and preserved in the Collection Sylvain Lévi at the Institut d'études

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Harimoto 2022, 596. See more detail in that paper.



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 Newari alphabetical numerals and in the right-hand margin in arabic numerals by a second hand. The portion that contains the VSS is fairly 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) Śivadharmaśastra, 2) Śivadharmottara, 3) Śivadharmasamgraha, 4) Umāmaheśvarasamvāda, 5) Śivopaniṣad, 6) Uttarottaramahāsamvāda, 7) Vṛṣasārasamgraha, 8) Dharmaputrikā. The VSS appears on ff. 212-252. This source gives reliable readings and contains relatively few scribal mistakes.<sup>115</sup>

#### Oxford manuscript

(N)O<sub>15</sub> 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) Śivadharmaśāstra, 2) Śivadharmottara, 3) Śivadharmasaṃgraha, 4) Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda, 5) Śivopaniṣad, 6) Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda, 7) Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, 8) Dharmaputrikā.

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

#### Kolkata manuscripts

(N)Ko<sub>77</sub> MS G<sub>4</sub>O<sub>77</sub> in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Kolkata. <sup>116</sup> 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

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> I am grateful to Daniella Cappello and Marco Francheschini for managing to obtain digital copies of most of the folios of this MS.



#### Vrsasārasamgraha

'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.<sup>117</sup>

**(N)Ko**<sub>76</sub> MS G 4076 in the collection of The Asiatic Society, Kolkata. 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  $22\frac{1}{2} \times 2$  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 Ko<sub>76</sub> (MS G 3852), a Śivadharma corpus MS in the same collection lacking the VSS; see note 82 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)L**<sub>16</sub> This is a paper manuscript in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine under shelf number WI  $\delta$  16 (I-VIII). It contains 406 folios and the following texts: 1) Śivadharmaśāstra, 2) Śivadharmottara, 3) Śivadharmasamgraha, 4) Umāmaheśvarasamvāda, 5) Śi-

117 See, e.g., 8.1–8, as transmitted in this MS: pañcasvādhyāyanam ihāmutra sukhārthinā | saivasankhyā purāṇañ ca smārtabhāratasaṃhitā ||8.1|| saivatatvaṃ vicintata saivāpāsupatadvaye | atra vistarata prokta tatvasārasamucaye ||8.2|| saṃkhyātatvaṃ tu saṃkhyeṣu bodhavya tatvacintakaiḥ | pañcatattvavibhāgena kīrtitāni maharṣibhiḥ ||8.3|| purāṇeṣu mahīkoṣa vistareṇa prakīrtita | āyoyaś ca tiryañ ca yatnataḥ samaveśayet ||8.4|| smārta varṇṇasamācāra dharmāṇyāyapravarttakaṃ | śiṣṭācāro vikalpena grāhya tatva asahitaḥ ||8.5|| itihāsam adhīyānaḥ sarvajñaḥ sa naro bhavet | dharmārthakāmamokṣeṣu saṃśayas tena chidyate || 8:6|| paṃcoprasthavinigraha sṛṇuyāvaṃhito dvija | striyo vā garhitaḥ svargaḥ svayaṃmuktiś ca kīrtyate | svapnopaghātaṃ viprendra divāsvapnaṃ ca pañcamaḥ ||8:7|| agamyastrī divārsyase dharmapatnī ca vā bhavet | viruddhastrī na bhaveta varṇṇavarṇṇabhraṣṭādhikāma ca ||8.8||

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.



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

While collating MS  $L_{16}$  for VSS chapter 22, I realised that it was to be a direct or close copy of  $K_{82}$ . A few examples to prove this will suffice.

 $K_{82}$  (f. 40r) reads:



[spha]ṭikāṃ=ram [= °kāṃbaram] eva ca | daśayogāsanāsīno

L<sub>16</sub> (f. 381v) gives:



sphațikāmsatam eva ca || devayogāsanāsīto

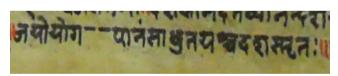
supplying sa for the lost syllable and misreading the damaged da as de and the śa as va.

Here K<sub>82</sub> (f. 39v) reads:



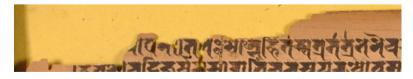
[japo yogas tapo] dhyānam svādhyāyaś ca daśa smṛtaḥ with dhyā and svā damaged;

 $L_{16}$  (f. 381r) cannot read the bit that is completely lost, and it misreads the damaged *dhyānaṃ* as *dhānaṃ*, *svādhyā* as *sādhu*:



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

 $K_{82}$  (f. 39r) gives:





Vṛṣasārasamgraha

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

 $L_{16}$  (f. 380r) gives:



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

trying to make sense of the fragments. The examples above suggest that  $L_{16}$  was copied directly from  $K_{82}$  when the damage had already been done to  $K_{82}$ . 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).<sup>119</sup> 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 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  $K_{41}$  and  $K_{107}$  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.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> See, e.g., De Simini 2016a, 66, n. 190; 2017, 542, Bisschop 2018, 58-59, and Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, 55.

"vss\_book\_xelatex" — 2024/7/22 — 20:45 — page 17 — #58





#### 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.  $a+a=\bar{a}$ ) 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...





# [ प्रथमो ऽध्यायः ]

[स्तुतिः]

अनादिमध्यान्तमनन्तपारं सुसूक्ष्ममव्यक्तजगत्सुसारम् । हरीन्द्रब्रह्मादिभिरासमग्रं प्रणम्य वक्ष्ये वृषसारसंग्रहम् ॥१:१॥

[जनमेजयवैशम्पायनसंवादः]

शतसाहिस्रकं ग्रन्थं सहस्राध्यायमुत्तमम् । पर्व चास्य शतं पूर्णं श्रुत्वा भारतसंहिताम् ॥१:२॥

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1a cf. ŚDhU 10.6: आदिमध्यान्तिनर्मुक्तः स्वभावविमलः प्रभुः । सर्वज्ञः परिपूर्णश्च शिवो ज्ञेयः शिवागमे ॥ 2c cf. MBh 1.2.70ab: एतत्पर्वशतं पूर्णं व्यासेनोक्तं महात्मना

Witnesses used for this chapter:  $C_{94}$  ff. 193v–195v,  $C_{45}$  ff. 201v–203v,  $C_{02}$  ff. 267r–270r,  $K_{82}$  ff. 1v–3v,  $K_{10}$  exp. 44, 43 lower and then upper leaf (1.62cd–2.22 are missing),  $K_7$  ff. 209v–21IV,  $K_3$  ff. 227v–229v (collated only up to 1.15ab),  $K_7$  ff. 1v–4r (collated only up to 1.16),  $K_{41}$  ff. 204r–206r,  $K_{107}$  ff. 206r–209r (collated only up to 1.15),  $E_{10}$  pp. 580–585;  $E_{10}$   $E_{$ 

4

1a ॰न्तमनन्त॰ ]  $\Sigma$ , ॰न्तमन्त॰  $C_{45}^{ac}$  • ॰पारं ]  $C_{\Sigma}K_{7}MK_{41}K_{107}E$ , ॰पारगं  $K_{82}K_{10}$   $K_{3}K_{77}^{\circ}$  1b सुसूक्षम॰ ]  $\Sigma$ , शुसुक्षम॰  $C_{02}$  • ॰ ०व्यक्त॰ ]  $\Sigma$ , ॰व्य॰  $K_{77}^{\circ}$  • ०जगत्सुसारम्]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{7}MK_{77}^{\circ}K_{41}K_{107}E$ , ॰जगशुसारं  $C_{02}$ , ॰जगत्सुरासुरं  $K_{10}$ , ॰जगतसुरासुरं  $K_{10}$ , ॰जगतसुरासम्  $K_{3}$  1c हरी॰ ]  $\Sigma$ , हरीं  $K_{77}^{\circ}$  • ०भिरासमग्रं ]  $\Sigma$ , ॰भिरंत्समग्रं M (unmetr.), ॰भिरोसमग्रं  $K_{107}$  1d वृष० ]  $\Sigma$ , ॰वृषो  $C_{94}^{ac}$  2a ॰िसकं ]  $\Sigma$ , ॰स्रकं  $K_{41}$  • ग्रन्थं ]  $\Sigma$ , ग्रंथ  $K_{77}^{\circ}$  2b सहस्राध्यायमु॰ ]  $\Sigma$ , सहश्रध्यायमु॰  $C_{02}$ , सहस्राध्यायमु॰  $E_{02}$ , सहस्राध्यायमु॰  $E_{02}$ , सहस्राध्या पर॰  $E_{02}$  पर्व चास्य ]  $E_{04}$   $E_{02}$   $E_{02}$   $E_{02}$   $E_{03}$   $E_{02}$   $E_{03}$   $E_{03}$ 

# वषसारसंग्रहे

अतृप्तः पुन पप्रच्छ वैशम्पायनमेव हि । जनमेजयेन यत्पूर्वं तच्छृणु त्वमतिन्द्रतम् ॥१:३ ॥ जनमेजय उवाच । भगवन्सर्वधर्मज्ञ सर्वशास्त्रविशारद् । अस्ति धर्मं परं गृह्यं संसाराणवतारणम् ॥१:४ ॥ द्वैपायनमुखोद्गीर्णं धर्मं वा यद्विजोत्तम । कथयस्व हि मे तृप्तिं कुरु यत्नात्तपोधन ॥१:५ ॥

+‡+

4ab = MBh 13.112.9ab

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(3a) ] em., अतृप्तः पुर≅प्प्रच्छ C94, अतृप्तः पुनः पप्रच्छ C45 K82 K10 K7, अतृप्तः पुनरप्रच्छे  $C_{02}$ , अतृप्तः पुन पःप्रच्छ  $K_3$ , अतृप्तः पुनः पपृच्छ M, पप्रच्छ पुनरतृप्तो  $K_{77}^{\circ}$ , अतृप्ताः पुनः पप्रेच्छ  $K_{41}$ , अतृप्त पुनः पप्रच्छ  $K_{107}$ , अतृप्ता पुनः पप्रच्छ E (3b) वैशम्पायन० ]  $\Sigma$ , वेसम्पायन०  $C_{02}$  3c ]  $C_{94}^{pe}C_{45}K_{7}K_{3}K_{41}K_{107}E$ , जनमेजये य-त्पूर्वं  $\mathbf{C}^{ac}_{94}$ , जन्मेजयेन यम्पूर्वं  $\mathbf{C}_{02}$ , जनमेजयेन यत्पूर्वं  $\mathbf{K}_{82}$ , जनमेजयेन यत्पूर्वं  $\mathbf{K}_{10}$ , जन्मेजयेण यत्पूर्वं M, जन्मेजयेन य ---  $K_{77}^{\circ}$  3d तच्छृणु त्वम $\circ$  ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{7}$  $MK_{41}K_{107}E$ , तच्छुण त्वम॰  $C_{02}$ , ---  $K_{10}$ , तच्छुणु स्वम॰  $K_3$ , त श्रुणु त्वम॰  $K_{77}^{\circ}$  • ॰तिन्द्रितम् ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{7}K_{3}MK_{77}^{\circ}K_{41}K_{107}E$ , ॰तिन्द्रतः  $C_{02}K_{82}$ , ---  $K_{10}$  4 जन-मेजय ]  $\Sigma$ , जन्मेजय  $C_{02}$  (4a) भगवन्स० ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7K_{77}^{\circ}K_{41}K_{107}E$ , भचावं स०  $C_{02}$ , भगव स०  $K_3$ , भगवं स० M • ०धर्मज्ञ ]  $\Sigma$ , ०ज्ञ  $K_{82}$ , ०धर्मज्ञः  $K_3$  4b ०विशारद]  $C_{94}K_{10}K_7K_3K_{41}$ , ०विसारदः  $C_{45}C_{02}K_{82}K_{77}^{\circ}K_{107}E$ , ०विशारदम् M 4cअस्ति धर्म ]  $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}K_{7}K_{41}K_{107}E$ , अस्ति धर्मः  $C_{45}$ , अस्ति धर्म  $C_{02}MK_{77}^{\circ}$ , अधर्म  $K_3$  • परं गृह्यं ]  $C_{94}K_{10}K_3MK_{77}^\circ K_{41}K_{107}E$ , परो गृह्य  $C_{45}$ , परं गृह्य  $C_{02}K_{82}$ , परगृह्यं  $\mathbf{K}_7$   $[\mathbf{4d}]$  ०तारणम् ]  $\Sigma$ , ०तारणा  $\mathbf{K}_{77}^{\circ}$   $[\mathbf{5a}]$  द्वैपायन० ]  $\Sigma$ , द्वेपायन०  $\mathbf{C}_{02}$ , वैसां-पायन॰  $K_{77}^{\circ}$  • ०मुखोद्गीर्णं ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_{7}K_{41}K_{107}$ , ०मुखोद्गीर्णं  $C_{02}K_{77}^{\circ}$ , ०मुद्गीर्णं  $K_3$ , मुखं गीण्णं  $M^{ac}$ , मुखां $\wr$  गीण्णं  $M^{pc}$ , मुखाद्गीणं E  $\stackrel{f 5b}{b}$  धर्मं वा यद्दि $\circ$  ]  $C_{94}K_{82}$  $K_{_{10}}K_{_{7}}K_{_{41}}K_{_{107}}E$ , धर्म यत्तिद्वे  $C_{_{45}}$ , धर्मवत्य द्वि  $C_{_{02}}K_{_{77}}^{\circ}$ , धर्म वा यद्वि  $C_{_{3}}$ , धर्मवाक्यं द्वि॰ M • ॰त्तम ]  $\Sigma$ , ॰त्तमः  $C_{02}$ , ॰तमः M उं हि मे तृप्तिं ]  $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_{7}K_{41}$  $K_{107}E$ , हि मे तृप्ति  $K_3K_{77}^{\circ}$ , प्रसादेन M उत्ते यत्नात्तपोधन ]  $C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7K_{41}K_{107}$ E, यन्नात्त===न  $C_{94}$ , यत्ना तपोधनः  $C_{02}$ , यत्ना तपोधन  $K_3$ , यत्नन्तपोधन M, यंनात्त०  $K_{77}^{\rm o}$ 

# प्रथमो ऽध्यायः

वैशम्पायन उवाच । शृणु राजन्नविहतो धर्माख्यानमनुत्तमम् । व्यासानुग्रहसम्प्राप्तं गुद्धधर्मं शृणोतु मे ॥१:६॥ अनर्थयज्ञकर्तारं तपोव्रतपरायणम् । श्रीलशौचसमाचारं सर्वभूतद्यापरम् ॥१:७॥ जिज्ञासनार्थं प्रश्नेकं विष्णुना प्रभविष्णुना । द्विजरूपधरो भूत्वा पप्रच्छ विनयान्वितः ॥१:८॥ [ब्रह्मविद्या]

[विगतराग उवाच ।] ब्रह्मविद्या कथं ज्ञेया रूपवर्णविवर्जिता । स्वरव्यञ्जननिर्मुक्तमक्षरं किमु तत्परम् ॥१:९॥

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 $oldsymbol{6}$  वैशम्पायन उवाच ]  $\Sigma$ , om.  $oldsymbol{M}^{ac}$ , वै ॥ वैशम्पायन  $oldsymbol{K}_{107}$   $oldsymbol{6a}$  राजन्न $oldsymbol{\circ}$  ]  $\Sigma$ , राजंन॰  $K_3$ , राजन॰ M • ०हितो ]  $\Sigma$ , ०हितं  $K_{41}$  6b ॰ ०ख्यानमनुत्तमम्  $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}K_{7}ME$ , ०ख्यानमुत्तमम्  $C_{45}$ , ०ख्यानमुतमम्  $C_{02}$ , ०धर्मव्याख्यानमुत्तमं  $K_3$  (hypermetr.), ०ख--- मनुत्तमं  $K_{77}^{\circ}$ , ०ख्यानमनुत्तमः  $K_{41}$ , ०ख्यानमुत्तमः  $K_{107}$ 6c) •प्राप्तं] Σ, •प्राप्त C<sub>02</sub> 6d) •धर्मं] Σ, •र्म C<sub>02</sub>, •धर्म K<sub>77</sub> • शृणोतु] Σ, श्रृणोत  $C_{02}$  • में ]  $\Sigma$ , मैं  $C_{45}$   $\overline{7a}$  ०कर्तारं ]  $\Sigma$ , ०कर्त्तन्तं  $K_{10}$   $\overline{7b}$  ०व्रत० ]  $\Sigma$ , ॰प्रत॰ M • ॰यणम् ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{10}MK_{77}^{\circ}K_{41}K_{107}E$ , ॰यन  $C_{02}$ , ॰यणः  $K_{82}$ , ॰यनं  $K_{7}$ , ० यणं  $K_3$  (7c) ० चारं ]  $\Sigma$  , ० चारं  $K_{77}^{\circ}$  (7d) ० परम् ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_7MK_{41}K_{107}$  $\mathbf{E}$ , ०न्वितम्  $\mathbf{C}_{02}\mathbf{K}_3\mathbf{K}_{77}^\circ$ , ० $\mathbf{V}$ र्रं  $\mathbf{K}_{10}$  8a ०थं प्रश्नेकं ]  $\mathbf{C}_{45}\mathbf{K}_{82}\mathbf{K}_{10}\mathbf{K}_7$ , ०थं प्रश्नेकं  $\mathbf{C}_{94}$  $K_3$ , ०र्थप्रश्लेकम्  $C_{02}K_{41}K_{107}E$ , ०र्थप्रश्लेकं M, ०थप्रश्लेक  $K_{77}^{\circ}$  (8b) प्रभ० ]  $\Sigma$ , प्रभु०।  $C_{02}$ , प्राभ॰  $K_7$  (8c) ॰धरो ]  $\Sigma$ , ॰ $\pm$ रो  $C_{94}$ , ॰धरा  $K_{10}$  (8d) ० न्वितः ]  $C_{94}C_{45}$  $K_{82}K_{10}K_{7}K_{77}K_{41}K_{107}E$ , ०न्वितं  $C_{02}K_{3}M$  (9a) कथं ]  $\Sigma$ , कथ  $K_{77}^{\circ}$  • ज्ञेया ]  $C_{94}K_{82}$  $K_{10}K_{7}MK_{77}^{\circ}K_{41}K_{107}$ , ज्ञेयं  $C_{45}C_{02}$ , ज्ञेय  $K_{3}$ , भूयो E 9b ०वर्ण० ]  $\Sigma$ , ०वर्णा० E• ०वर्जिता ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_3MK_{41}K_{107}E$ , ०वर्जितं  $C_{02}$ , ०वर्जिताः  $K_7$ , --- ता  $K_{77}^{\circ}$ ०मुक्त अक्ष०  $C_{45}K_{77}^{\circ}$ , ०मुक्तं अख०  $K_{3}$ , ०मुक्तं अक्ष० M, ०म्मुक्तंमक्ष०  $K_{41}$  9d किमु तत्परम् ]  $C_{94}K_{82}K_{7}K_{77}^{\circ}K_{41}K_{107}E$ , किमतः परम्  $C_{45}C_{02}$ , किमतत्परं  $K_{10}K_{3}M$ 

# वृषसारसंग्रहे

अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच । अनुचार्यमसन्दिग्धमविच्छिन्नमनाकुलम् । निर्मलं सर्वगं सूक्ष्ममक्षरं किमतः परम् ॥१:१०॥ [कालपाशः]

विगतराग उवाच । देही देहे क्षयं याते भूजलाग्निशिवादिभिः । यमदूतैः कथं नीतो निरालम्बो निरञ्जनः ॥१:११ ॥ कालपाशैः कथं बद्धो निर्देहश्च कथं व्रजेत् । स्वर्गं वा स कथं याति निर्देहो बहुधर्मकृत् । एतन्मे संशयं बृहि ज्ञातुमिच्छामि तत्त्वतः ॥१:१२ ॥

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11b cf. KūrmP 2.23.74 : अथ कश्चित्प्रमादेन म्रियते ऽग्निविषादिभिः । तस्याशौचं विधातव्यं कार्यं चैवोदकादिकम् ॥

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10a अनुचार्य | C94 C45 K82 K10 MK41 K107 E, अनुचार्य o C02 K7 K3, अन्त्रचाय o  $K_{77}^{\circ}$  10ab ०सन्दिग्धमविच्छिन्नमनाकुलम् ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{7}K_{3}MK_{41}K_{107}E$ , ०वि-च्छिन्नसन्दिग्धमनाकुन  $C_{02}$ , ०सन्दिग्धमनच्छिन्नमनाकुलम्  $K_{10}$ , ०सन्दिग्धमविच्छि-नमनाकुलं  $K_{77}^{\circ}$  (10c)  $\circ$ गं ]  $\Sigma$ ,  $\circ$ ग  $K_{77}^{\circ}$  (10c)  $\circ$ क्षरं किमतः परम् ]  $C_{45}M$ , ०क्षरं किमु तत्परम्  $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}K_{7}E$ , ०क्षरं किमतत्परं  $C_{02}K_{3}K_{107}$ , ०क्षर किमतः परं  $\mathbf{K}_{77}^{\circ}$ , ०क्षराङ्कमतत्परं  $\mathbf{K}_{41}$  11 ०राग उवाच ]  $\Sigma$ , ०रागोवाच  $\mathbf{K}_{3}$  11a देहे क्ष॰ ]  $C_{94}C_{02}K_7$ , देहात्क्ष॰  $C_{45}$ , देहक्ष॰  $K_{82}K_{10}K_3MK_{77}^\circ K_{41}K_{107}E$  • याते ]  $\Sigma$ , यान्त  $K_3$  (11b) ॰जलाग्निशिवादिभिः ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7MK_{41}K_{107}E$ , ॰जलाग्निशिवा-दिभि  $C_{02}$ , ॰जलाग्निं शिर्दिभि  $K_3$ , ॰जालादिशिवादिभिः  $K_{77}^{\circ}$  (11c) ॰दूतैः ]  $\Sigma$ , ॰ दूते  $C_{02}K_3$  • कथं ]  $\Sigma$ , कथ  $K_{77}^\circ$  • नीतो ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7K_3$ , नीत्वा  $C_{02}$ , नीतः м, नीते  $K_{77}^{\circ}$ , नीता  $K_{41}K_{107}E$  11d निरालम्बो ]  $\Sigma$ , निरोलया  $K_{41}$ , निरोरैन्वो  $\mathbf{K}_{107}$  (12a) ॰पाशैः ]  $\Sigma$ , ॰पाशे  $\mathbf{C}_{02}$ , ॰पाशै  $\mathbf{K}_{3}$  • बद्धो ]  $\Sigma$ , ब $\backslash$ द्धो $\backslash$   $\mathbf{C}_{45}$ , बद्ध  $K_3$  12b निर्देहश्च ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7M^{pc}K_{41}K_{107}E$ , निर्देहः स  $C_{02}$ , निर्देहस्य  $K_3$ , निर्देहन्म  $M^{ac}$ , निर्देहश्च  $K_{77}^{\circ}$  • व्रजेत् ]  $\Sigma$ , भवेत्  $K_{10}$  (12c) स्वर्गं ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}$  $K_7K_{41}K_{107}E$ , स्वगे  $C_{02}K_3M$ , स्वागं  $K_{77}^{\circ}$  • स ]  $\Sigma$ , सं  $K_{10}M$  • याति ]  $K_{82}K_{10}K_7K_3M$  $K_{77}^{\circ}K_{41}K_{107}$ , यान्ति  $C_{\Sigma}E$  12d निर्देहो ]  $\Sigma$ , निर्देहो  $K_{77}^{\circ}$  12e एतन्मे संशयं ]  $C_{\Sigma}K_{7}MK_{41}K_{107}E$ , एतन्मे संशये  $K_{82}$ , एतन्मे संशयो  $K_{10}K_{3}$ , एवं विस्मयसंसय  $K_{77}^{\circ}$ (12f) ०तुमिच्छामि  $] \Sigma$ , ०तुमि  $C_{45}$ 



अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच । अतिसंशयकष्टं ते पृष्टो ऽहं द्विजसत्तम । दुर्विज्ञेयं मनुष्येस्तु देवदानवपन्नगैः ॥१:१३ ॥ कर्महेतु शरीरस्य उत्पत्ति निधनं च यत् । सुकृतं दुष्कृतं चैव पाशद्वयमुदाहृतम् ॥१:१४ ॥ तेनैव सह संयाति नरकं स्वर्गमेव वा । सुखदुःखं शरीरेण भोक्तव्यं कर्मसम्भवम् ॥१:१५ ॥ हेतुनानेन विप्रेन्द्र देहः सम्भवते नृणाम् । यं कालपाशमित्याहुः शृणु वक्ष्यामि सुव्रत ॥१:१६ ॥

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13) अनथेयज्ञ उवाच ]  $\Sigma$ , om.  $K_{82}^{ac}$  13a) ]  $C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7M^{pc}K_{107}$ , अतिशंस- $_{0}$ य $_{0}$ कप्टन्ते  $_{0}$ , अतिशंसयकप्टम्मे  $_{0}$   $_{0}$   $_{0}$  अतिसंशयकप्टो मो  $_{0}$  अतिसंसयकप्टञ्च  $\mathbf{K}_{77}^{\circ}$ , अतिसंसयकष्ट $\mathbf{K}_{10}^{\circ}$  पा  $\mathbf{K}_{41}$  (13b) द्विजसत्तम ]  $\mathbf{C}_{94}\mathbf{C}_{45}\mathbf{K}_{82}\mathbf{K}_{10}\mathbf{K}_{7}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{K}_{41}\mathbf{K}_{107}$  $E_{r}$  च द्विजोत्तमः  $C_{02}K_{77}^{\circ}$ , द्विजसत्तमः  $K_{3}$  (13c) ० ज्ञेयं  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{77}$ , ० ज्ञेय  $C_{02}K_{10}K_3MK_{77}^{\circ}K_{41}K_{107}E$  • मनुष्येस्तु ]  $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}K_7MK_{77}^{\circ}K_{41}K_{107}E$ , मनुषेश्च  $C_{45}$ , मणुक्षे $\langle g_{\langle} \ C_{02} \rangle$  मनुष्येस्तु  $K_3$  14a कर्म० ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7K_3MK_{77}^\circ$ , अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच ॥ कर्म॰  $C_{02}K_{41}K_{107}E$  • ०हेतु ]  $\Sigma$ , ०हेतुः  $C_{45}$ , ०हेंतु  $C_{02}$  • शरीरस्य ]  $\Sigma$ , शरीरस्यं  $C_{02}$ , स--- स्य $(K_{77}^{\circ})$  14b उत्पत्ति नि(0,0) (0E, उत्पतिनि॰  $C_{02}K_3$ , उत्पत्तिर्नि॰ M • च यत् ]  $\Sigma$ , च यः  $K_{10}$ , यत्  $K_3$  14c सुकृतं ]  $\Sigma$ , सुकृतकृतन्  $C_{02}$ , सुकृत  $K_3$  • चैव ]  $\Sigma$ , वापि  $K_3K_{77}^{\circ}$  14d पाश • ]  $\Sigma$ , पासा॰  $K_{77}^\circ$  • ॰हृतम् ]  $\Sigma$ , ॰हृतः  $C_{02}$  (15a) तेनैव ]  $\Sigma$ , तेनेव  $C_{02}K_3$  • सह संयाति ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_{7}K_{107}E$ , सह सा यान्ति  $C_{02}K_{3}$ , सह सा याति M, सह संयान्ति  $K_{77}^{\circ}$ , सहं स याति  $K_{41}$  (15b) नरकं स्वर्ग० ]  $\Sigma$ , नरकदुर्ग०  $K_{77}^{\circ}$  • वा ]  $C_{\Sigma}K_{10}K_{7}M$ K<sub>41</sub>K<sub>107</sub>E, च K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>3</sub>K<sub>77</sub> (15c) सुख० ] ∑, सुखं M • ०दुःखं ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>M, ॰ दुःख  $C_{02}K_{10}K_{77}^{\circ}K_{41}K_{107}E$  15d भोक्तव्यं ]  $\Sigma$ , भोक्तव्यं  $K_{77}^{\circ}$  • ०सम्भवम् ]  $C_{94}$  $C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_{7}M$ , ०सम्भवः  $C_{02}K_{41}K_{107}E$ , ०संभावात्  $K_{77}^{\circ}$  16a हेतुनानेन ]  $\Sigma$ , हेतुना तेन  $K_{77}^{\circ}$ , हेतुनाने  $K_{107}^{ac}$  • ०न्द्र ]  $\Sigma$ , ०न्द्रः  $K_{10}$  16b देहः ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{7}$ E, देहे  $C_{02}$ , देह  $K_{10}MK_{77}^{\circ}K_{41}$ , देहं  $K_{107}$  • नृणाम् ]  $\Sigma$ , नृणा  $C_{45}C_{02}$  (16c) ] em., यं कालपाशमित्याह  $_{\mathrm{C}_{94}\mathrm{C}_{45}\mathrm{K}_{82}}$ , कालपासेति सत्वाह  $_{\mathrm{C}_{02}}$ , यं कालपाशमित्याहु  $_{\mathrm{K}_{10}}$  $K_7K_{41}E$ , कालपाषेति 7पस्त्वे7ह M, यां कालपासिमत्याहु 100 100 ०व्रत 100K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>MK<sub>41</sub>E, ०व्रतः C<sub>45</sub>C<sub>02</sub>K<sub>77</sub>

# वषसारसंग्रहे

न त्वया विदितं किञ्चिजिज्ञास्यिस कथं द्विज । कालपाशं च विप्रेन्द्र सकलं वेत्तुमर्हिस ॥१:१७॥ कलाकिलकालं च कालतत्त्वकलां शृणु । त्रुटिद्वयं निमेषस्तु निमेषद्विगुणा कला ॥१:१८॥ कलाद्विगुणिता काष्ठा काष्ठा वै त्रिंशतिः कला । त्रिंशत्कला मुहूर्तश्च मानुषेन द्विजोत्तम ॥१:१९॥ मुहूर्तत्रिंशकेनैव अहोरात्रं विदुर्बुधाः । अहोरात्रं पुनिस्त्रंशन्मासमाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥१:२०॥ समा द्वादश मासाश्च कालतत्त्वविदो जनाः । शतं वर्षसहस्राणि त्रीणि मानुषसंख्यया । षष्टिं चैव सहस्राणि कालः कलियुगः स्मृतः ॥१:२१॥

21 K<sub>10</sub> omits verses 21ef-24ab

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17a) विदितं ]  $\Sigma$ , विदित  $C_{02}$  17ab) किश्चिज्जि  $C_{45}$ M, किश्चिद्धि  $C_{94}^{pc}$ K $_{82}$ K $_{10}$  $\mathbf{K}_{7}\mathbf{K}_{41}\mathbf{E}$ , किद्वि॰  $\mathbf{C}_{94}^{ac}$ , किञ्चि जि॰  $\mathbf{C}_{02}$   $oxed{17b}$  कथं द्विज ]  $\Sigma$ , ४४४४४४४५म त्वया विदितं किञ्चिद्विज्ञास्यिस्र (cancelled) कथं द्विज  $C_{02}$  (17c) कालपाशं च ]  $\Sigma$ , कालपाषिति M (17d) वेत्तुमहिसि ]  $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}$ , वेत्तुमृहिसि  $K_7$ , वक्तुमहिसि  $MK_{41}$  ${
m E}$  (18a) कला॰ ]  ${
m \Sigma}$ , काला॰  ${
m C}_{02}{
m K}_{82}^{ac}$  • ॰कलित॰ ]  ${
m \Sigma}$ , ०\कन्मित्।॰  ${
m K}_{41}$  • ॰कालं च ]  $\Sigma$ , ॰कालश्च ME (18b) ॰कलां ]  $C_{94}C_{02}K_{10}K_{41}E$ , ॰कला  $C_{45}K_7$ , ॰िविधि  $K_{82}$ , ॰कलाः M 18c त्रुटिह्यं ]  $C_{94}C_{02}K_{7}E$ , तुटिह्य  $C_{45}K_{10}$ , तुटिह्यं  $K_{82}M$ , त्रुविद्वयं  $K_{41}$  • ०मेषस्तु ]  $\Sigma$ , ०मेवस्तु  $C_{94}$ , ०मेषद्वि •  $K_{82}$  (18d) निमेषद्वि • ]  $\Sigma$ , निमेषाद्वि॰ M (19a) ॰गुणिता काष्टा ]  $\Sigma$ , ॰गुणितं काष्टा M, ॰गुणितं काष्टी  $K_{41}$ 19b काष्टा वै त्रिंशतिः ]  $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}K_{7}K_{41}E$ , वै त्रिंशता  $C_{45}$ , काष्टा वै त्रिंशति  $C_{02}$ , काष्टान्वै त्रिंशति M 19c मुहूर्तश्च ]  $\Sigma$ , मुहूर्त्त  $C_{45}$ , मुहूर्तञ्च E 19d मानुषेन ]  $\Sigma$ , मानु $\{ q lpha_{1} \in C_{02} \bullet \circ \pi H \}$   $C_{\Sigma} K_{82} K_{7}^{pc} K_{41} E$ ,  $\circ \pi H \colon K_{10} M$ ,  $\circ \pi H \colon K_{7}^{ac}$  20a मुहूर्त $\circ$  ]  $\Sigma$ , मुहूर्ता M, मुहूर्तं E (20b)  $\circ$ धाः ]  $\Sigma$ ,  $\circ$ धा  $K_{41}$  (20c)  $\circ$ रात्रं ] Σ, ०रात्र Μ (20d) ०नीषिणः ] Σ, ०नीषिन Μ (21a) समा ] Σ, मास C<sub>02</sub>, समा समाया  $K_{41}$  • ॰मासाश्च ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_{7}K_{41}$ , ॰मासश्च  $C_{02}E$ , मासाहुः M21b काल॰ ]  $\Sigma$ , कला॰  $K_7$  21c शतं ]  $\Sigma$ , शत॰  $K_{41}E$  21d मानुष॰ ]  $\Sigma$ , माणुष्य॰  $C_{45}C_{02}$  (unmetr.) 21e) षष्टिं चैव  $C_{\Sigma}K_{7}M$ , षष्टिं वर्ष॰  $K_{82}K_{41}$ , षष्टिश्चैव E (21f) ०युगः ]  $\Sigma$ , ०युग ME



द्विगुणः किलसंख्यातो द्वापरो युग संज्ञितः । त्रेता तु त्रिगुणा ज्ञेया चतुः कृतयुगः स्मृतः ॥१:२२ ॥ एषा चतुर्युगासंख्या कृत्वा वै ह्येकसप्तितः । मन्वन्तरस्य चैकस्य ज्ञानमुक्तं समासतः ॥१:२३ ॥ कल्पो मन्वन्तराणां तु चतुर्द्श तु संख्यया । दश कल्पसहस्राणि ब्रह्माहः परिकल्पितम् । रात्रिरेतावती प्रोक्ता मुनिभिस्तत्त्वदर्शिभिः ॥१:२४ ॥ रात्र्यागमे प्रलीयन्ते जगत्सर्वं चराचरम् । अहागमे तथैवेह उत्पद्यन्ते चराचरम् ॥१:२५ ॥ परार्घपरकल्पानि अतीतानि द्विजोत्तम । अनागतं तथैवाहुर्भृगुरादिमहर्षयः ॥१:२६ ॥

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# वृषसारसंग्रहे

यथार्कग्रहतारेन्दु भ्रमतो दृश्यते त्विह । कालचकं भ्रमित्वैव विश्रमं न च विद्महे ॥१:२७॥ कालः सृजित भूतानि कालः संहरते पुनः । कालस्य वशगाः सर्वे न कालवशकृत्कचित् ॥१:२८॥ चतुर्दश परार्धानि देवराजा द्विजोत्तम । कालेन समतीतानि कालो हि दुरितक्रमः ॥१:२९॥ एष कालो महायोगी ब्रह्मा विष्णुः परः शिवः । अनादिनिधनो धाता स महात्मा नमस्कुरु ॥१:३०॥

[परार्घादि]

विगतराग उवाच । श्रुतं वे कालचक्रं तु मुखपद्मविनिःसृतम् । परार्धं च परं चैव श्रोतुं वः प्रतिदीपितम् ॥१:३१॥

•‡•

28ab  $\approx$  UMS 12.34cd : कालः पचित भूतानि कालः संहरते प्रजाः 28  $\approx$  KūrmP 1.11.32 : कालः सृजित भूतानि कालः संहरते प्रजाः । सर्वे कालस्य वशगा न कालः कस्यचिद्वशे ॥ 29d = MBh 12.220.41d = GarP 1.108.7d

•±•

27a ०आर्क० ]  $\Sigma$ , ०आर्का०  $M^{ac}$  • ०तारेन्दु ]  $\Sigma$ , ०तारेन्दु M 27b अमतो ]  $\Sigma$ , भुमनो  $K_{41}$  • दश्यते त्विह ]  $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}K_7K_{41}E$ , दश्यिन्दिह  $C_{45}$ , दस्यते त्विहः  $C_{02}$ , दश्यते त्विहः M 27c अमित्वैव ]  $C_{07}$ , अमत्वैव  $C_{94}K_{82}K_7E$ , अमत्वेव  $C_{45}K_{10}M$ , अमत्वेह  $C_{02}$ , अमत्येव  $C_{45}K_{10}M$ , अमत्वेह  $C_{02}$ , अमत्येव  $C_{45}K_{10}M$ , अमत्वेह  $C_{02}$ , अमत्येव  $C_{45}K_{10}M$  • श्रमं ]  $C_{25}K_{82}^{pc}K_7K_{41}E$ , ०श्रमो  $C_{82}^{ac}$ , ०श्रामन्  $C_{10}$ , ०श्रामो  $C_{10}$ , ०श्रमो  $C_{10}$ , विद्यहे  $C_{10}$ 



अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच ।
एकं दशं शतं चैव सहस्त्रमयुतं तथा ।
प्रयुतं नियुतं कोटिमर्बुदं वृन्दमेव च ॥१:३२ ॥
सर्वं चैव निखर्वं च शङ्क पद्मं तथैव च ।
समुद्रो मध्यमन्तं च परार्धं च परं तथा ॥१:३३ ॥
सर्वे दशगुणा ज्ञेयाः परार्धं यावदेव हि ।
परार्धिद्वगुणेनैव परसंख्या विधीयते ॥१:३४ ॥
परात्परतरं नास्ति इति मे निश्चिता मितः ।
पुराणवेदपठिता मयाख्याता द्विजोत्तम ॥१:३५ ॥

+‡+

**33ab** = BrahmāṇḍaP 3.2.101

33ab After these two pādas,  $K_{41}$  inserts this : वृन्दश्चैव महावृन्द द्विपरो नन्तनेव च 33cd E omits 34cd–35 and then inserts this : वृन्दश्चैव महावृन्द द्विपरानन्तमेव च

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32) अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच ]  $\Sigma$ , om.  $K_{s2}^{ac}$  32b सहस्र० ]  $\Sigma$ , साहस्र० M • ०युतं ]  $\Sigma$ , ०तन्  $K_{10}$  32c प्र० ]  $\Sigma$ , प०  $K_{41}$  32cd कोटिम० ]  $\Sigma$ , कोटिर०  $K_7$  32d ० वुंदं ]  $\Sigma$ , ० वुदं  $K_7$  33a निखर्वं च ]  $\Sigma$ , निखर्वं तु  $K_{10}$ , निसर्वञ्च M 33b राङ्क ]  $\Sigma$ , रांख E • पद्मं ]  $\Sigma$ , पद्म M 33c समुद्रो ]  $\Sigma$ , समुद्र० M • मध्यमन्तं च ]  $C_{\Sigma}K_{s2}^{ac}MK_{41}$ , मध्यमान्तं च  $K_{s2}^{pc}$ , मध्य,मन्तञ्च  $K_{10}$ , मध्यमन्तञ्च  $K_7$  33d ]  $\Sigma$ , परार्ष्टपरद्वेगुणाम् M 34a सर्वे ]  $\Sigma$ , सर्वं  $K_{41}$  34b परार्धं ]  $K_7$ , परार्ध्व  $C_{94}$ , परार्ध  $C_{45}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}MK_{41}$  34c परार्ध० ]  $\Sigma$ , परार्ध  $K_7$  34d ०संख्या ]  $\Sigma$ , ०संख्या M 35ab ]  $C_{\Sigma}K_{10}K_7^{pc}K_{41}E$ , परात्परतरं नास्ति इति में निश्चिता मित  $K_{82}K_7^{ac}$ , परापरतरन्नास्ति इति में निश्चिता मित M 35c ०वेद० ]  $C_{94}E$ , ०वेदे  $C_{45}C_{02}K_{10}K_7K_{41}$ , ०वेदा  $K_{82}$ , ०वेदैः M 35d ०ख्याता ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$ , ०ख्यातं  $C_{02}K_{10}K_7MK_{41}E$  • ०त्तम ]  $\Sigma$ , ०तम M



### [ब्रह्माण्डम्]

विगतराग उवाच । ब्रह्माण्डं कित विज्ञेयं प्रमाणं ज्ञापितं किचित् । कित चाङ्गिलिमूर्ध्वेषु सूर्यस्तपित वै महीम् ॥१:३६ ॥ अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच । ब्रह्माण्डानां प्रसंख्यातुं मया शक्यं कथं द्विज । देवास्ते ऽपि न जानित्त मानुषाणां च का कथा ॥१:३७ ॥ पर्यायेण तु वक्ष्यामि यथाशक्यं द्विजोत्तम । ब्रह्मणा यत्पुराख्यातो मातिरश्वा यथा तथा ॥१:३८ ॥ शिवाण्डाभ्यन्तरेणैव सर्वेषामिव भूभृताम् । दश नाम दिशाष्टानां ब्रह्माण्डे कीर्तितं शृणु ॥१:३९ ॥

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38cd cf. BrahmāṇḍaP 3.4.58cd: ब्रह्मा ददौ शास्त्रमिदं पुराणं मातरिश्वने

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# [भूभृतां नामानि]

[पूर्वतः]

सहासहः सहः सद्यो विसहः संहतो ऽसभा ।

प्रसहो ऽप्रसहः सानुः पूर्वतो दश नायकाः ॥१:४० ॥

[आग्नेये]

प्रभासो भासनो भानुः प्रद्योतो चुितमो चुितः । दीप्ततेजाश्च तेजाश्च तेजा तेजवहो दश । आग्नेये त्वेतदाख्यातं याम्ये शृण्वथ भो द्विज ॥१:४१ ॥

[याम्ये]

यमो ऽथ यमुना यामः संयमो यमुनो ऽयमः । संयनो यमनोयानो यनियुग्मा यनोयनः ॥१:४२॥

+‡+

40a सहासहः ]  $K_7$ , साहासह  $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}MK_{41}E$  • सहः सह्यो ]  $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}$  $K_7$ , सहः सज्ञा  $C_{45}$ , सहो सद्यः M, सहः सज्ञो  $K_{41}E$  (40b) विसहः ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$  $K_{_{10}}K_{_{7}E}$ , विसह  $C_{_{02}}M$ , विसहः  $K_{_{41}}$  • ऽसभा ]  $C_{_{94}}C_{_{02}}K_{_{82}}K_{_{10}}K_{_{7}}$ , सभाः  $C_{_{45}}$ , सहा M, सता  $K_{41}E$  (40c) प्रसहो ]  $\Sigma$ , प्रसहेः  $E \bullet V$  प्रसहः ]  $\Sigma$ , प्रस्रवः  $C_{02}$ , सप्रहः  $E \bullet V$ सानुः ]  $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_{41}$ , सानु  $K_{7}ME$  (40d) पूर्वतो ]  $\Sigma$ , पर्वतो E (41a) भासनो ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_{7}M$ , भास ---  $C_{02}$ , भांसतो  $K_{41}$ , भासतो  $E \bullet$  भानुः ]  $\Sigma$ , भानु  $C_{45}M$ 41b द्युतिमो ]  $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}M$ , द्युतिनो  $K_{7}K_{41}E$  41c ]  $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_{7}K_{41}$ , दीप्ततेजाश्च तेजश्च  $C_{\scriptscriptstyle 45}$ , दीप्ततेजस् तेजश्च M ( $_{
m unmetr.}$ ), दीप्ततेजश्च तेजाश्च  $_{
m E}$   ${f 41d}$ तेजा तेजवहो ]  $\Sigma$ , तेजतेजयह M (41e) आग्नेये ]  $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}E$ , आग्नेय  $K_{7}K_{41}$ , आग्नेर्ये M • त्वेतदा॰ ]  $\Sigma$ , त्वेचमा M (41f) शृणवथ ]  $\Sigma$ , शृणुथ M • द्विज ]  $\Sigma$ , द्विजः K10 42a यमो ] 5, यमा K41 42b संयमो ] 5, संयम M, संयमा K41 • यमुनो ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{10}K_{41}$ , यमनो  $C_{02}K_7$ , युमुना  $K_{82}$ , यमतो M, यमुना॰ E • यमः ]  $\Sigma$ , यन M, यामः  $K_{41}$  (unmetr.) 42c ]  $K_{82}$ , संयमो यमनोयानो  $C_{94}C_{02}E$ , संयमो यमुनोयानो  $C_{45}K_{10}$ , संयमा यमनो यामो  $K_7$ , यमियुग्मा यनो यानः M, संयमा यमनो यानो  $K_{41}$  (42d) ]  $K_{10}$ , यनियुग्मा नयो यनः  $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}$ , यनियुग्मा नयो नयः  $C_{45}K_{41}$ , यनियुग्मा नयो यमः  $K_{7}$ , दशमा याम्यमाश्वता M, यनियुग्मा नयोनय E

# वृषसारसंग्रहे

[नैऋते]

नगजो नगना नन्दो नगरो नग नन्दनः । नगर्भो गहनो गुह्यो गूढजो दश तत्परः ॥१:४३॥

[वारुणे] वारुणेन प्रवक्ष्यामि शृणु विप्र निबोध मे । बभ्रः सेतुर्भवोद्भद्रः प्रभवोद्भवभाजनः । भरणो भुवनो भर्ता दशैते वरुणालयाः ॥१:४४॥

[वायव्ये] नृगर्भो ऽसुरगर्भश्च देवगर्भो महीधरः । वृषभो वृषगर्भश्च वृषाङ्को वृषभध्वजः ॥१:४५॥ ज्ञातव्यश्च तथा सम्यग् वृषजो वृषनन्दनः । नायका दश वायव्ये कीर्तिता ये मया द्विज ॥१:४६॥

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(43a) नगना नन्दो ]  $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_{7}$ , नगजा नन्दो  $C_{45}$ , नगनागेन्द्र M, नगनो नदो  $K_{41}E$  (43b) ]  $K_{10}M^{ac}K_{41}$ , नगरोरगनन्दनः  $C_{94}K_{7}$ , नगरोरनगनन्द्रनः  $C_{45}$ , नग $\{$ रो $\}$ --- नन्दनः  $C_{02}$ , नगरोगरनन्दनः  $K_{82}$ , नगरो नननन्दनः  $M^{pc}$ , नगरोन्नगन-न्दनः E (43c) नगर्भो ]  $\Sigma$ , नृगभो  $K_{10}$ , नगर्भ M • गहनो गुह्यो ]  $\Sigma$ , गुहनो गुह्य M, गहनो गुह्ये E (43d) गूढजो ]  $\Sigma$ , गुडजो M • तत्परः ]  $\Sigma$ , तत्परम् M (44a) वारुणेन ]  $\Sigma$ , वारुणे च E (44b) श्रणु ]  $K_{10}M$ , श्रङ्गे  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_7$ , श्रङ्गे  $C_{02}$ , मृद्धे ्पाप्तः (cancelled)  $K_{41}$ , मृद्धे E (44c) बभ्रः सेतुर्भ० ] corr., बभ्रं सेतुर्भ०  $C_{94}C_{45}$ , बभ्रं सेतु भ०  $C_{02}$ , बभ्रः सेतु भ०  $K_{82}$ , बभ्रं सोतुर्भ०  $K_{10}$ , बभ्र सेतुर्भ०  $K_{7}$ , बभ्रू सेतु भ० M, बभ्रून्सेतुर्भ०  $K_{41}$ , बभ्रून्सतुर्भ० E (44d) प्रभवोद्भव० ]  $\Sigma$ , प्रभवोभव० M • ०भाजनः ]  $\Sigma$ , ०भाजन E (44e) भरणो ]  $C_{45}K_7$ , भरण  $C_{94}K_{82}$ , भरणां  $C_{02}K_{41}E$ , भरणा  $K_{10}$ , भरणः M 44f दशैते ]  $\Sigma$ , दशेते  $K_7$ , दशैता M • ०लयाः ]  $\Sigma$ , ०लया ME 45a नृगर्भों ]  $\Sigma$ , नृगभा M • ०गर्भश्च ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{10}K_7K_{41}$ , ०गर्भाश्च  $C_{02}K_{82}$ ME (45b) देवगर्भो  $]_{\Sigma}$ , देवगर्भ M (45c) ०गर्भश्च  $]_{C_{\Sigma}K_{10}K_{7}E}$ , ०गर्भाश्च  $[_{82}$ , ०गभौंश्च M, ०शभश्च  $K_{41}$  (45d) वृषाङ्को ]  $\Sigma$ , वृषांगो M • वृषभ० ]  $\Sigma$ , वृष $\times$  ०  $C_{02}$  $[46a] C_{\Sigma} K_{82} K_{10} K_{7}$ , वृषञ्जवृषनन्दश्च M, ज्ञानवाञ्च तथा सम्य  $K_{41}$ , ज्ञानवाञ्च तथा सत्य॰ E (46b) ]  $\Sigma$ , वृषनन्दनः  $K_{82}$ , दशनायक वायवे M (46cd) ]  $C_{94}C_{45}$  $K_{\rm s2}K_{\rm 41}E$ , नायका दश वायव्ये कीर्तिता ये मया द्विजः  $C_{\rm 02}K_{\rm 10}$ , नायका दश वायव्ये कीर्तिता य मया द्विज к,, कीर्तितो यं मया द्विप्र यथा तथ्येन सुव्रतः м



[उत्तरे]

सुलभः सुमनः सौम्यः सुप्रजः सुतनुः शिवः । सतः सत्य लयः शम्भुर्दश नायकमुत्तरे ॥१:४७॥

[ईशाने]

इन्दु बिन्दु भुवो वज्र वरदो वर वर्षणः ।

इलनो वलिनो ब्रह्मा दशेशानेषु नायकाः ॥१:४८॥

[मध्यमे]

अपरो विमलो मोहो निर्मलो मन मोहनः । अक्षयश्चाव्ययो विष्णुर्वरदो मध्यमे दश ॥१:४९॥

[परिवाराः]

सर्वेषां दशमीशानां परिवारशतं शतम् । शतानां पृथगेकैकं सहस्रैः परिवारितम् ॥१:५०॥

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47a) सुलभः ]  $\Sigma$ , सुरभः  $K_{41}E$  • सुमनः ]  $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}E$ , सुमनाः  $K_7$ , सुमनो M, सुमन  $K_{41}$  • सौम्यः ]  $\Sigma$ , सोम्य M (47c) सतः सत्य ] corr., सत सत्य  $C_{\Sigma}K_{7}K_{41}$ , सत्यसत्य  $K_{s2}$ , सुत सत्य  $K_{10}$ , सुतः सत्य M, सत सत्या॰ E • लयः ]  $\Sigma$ , लयं  $K_7$ 47cd शम्भुर्द० ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{10}K_{41}E$ , शम्भु द०  $C_{02}K_{82}K_7$ , शम्भुं द० M 47doनायकमुo] ∑, oनायक उo E (48a) वज्र] ∑, व्रजः M (48b) oवर्षणः]  $C_{\Sigma}K_{s2}K_{10}M$ , ० $\times$ ोर्शणम्  $K_{7}$ , ०दर्प्पणः  $K_{41}$ , ०दर्प्य च E (48c) ]  $\Sigma$ , इलिनो विलनो ब्रह्मः м (48d) दशे० ] С94K82K7K41E, दशै० С45С02K10, दिशै० м • नायकाः ]  $\Sigma$ , नायका M (49a) ]  $\Sigma$ , अपरः विमला मोहा M (49b) निर्मलो म $\circ$  ]  $_{\rm em.}$ , निमलो म०  $_{\rm C_{94}}$ , निर्मलोन्म०  $_{\rm C_{45}K_7K_{41}}$ , निर्मलोत्म०  $_{\rm C_{02}E}$ , निमलोर्म०  $_{\rm K_{82}}$  $K_{10}$ , निर्मलोन्म० M  $\boxed{49c}$  अक्षयश्चाव्ययो ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_{7}K_{41}$ , अक्षयाश्चाव्ययो  $C_{02}$ , अक्षयश्चाव्ययं M, अक्षयञ्चाव्ययो E 49cd विष्णुर्व० ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_7K_{41}E$ , विष्णु व॰  $C_{_{02}}K_{_{82}}M$ , विष्णुर्व  $K_{_{10}}$  (49d) मध्यमे दश ]  $C_{_{94}}C_{_{45}}K_{_{7}}K_{_{41}}$ , मध्यमो दश  $C_{_{02}}$  $K_{s2}$ , वरवर्षणः  $K_{10}$ , मध्यमो दशः M, मध्यमे दशः E 50a सर्वेषां ]  $\Sigma$ , सर्वेषा  $K_7$ • दशमीशानां ]  $\Sigma$ , दशरीशानां  $\mathrm{E}$  (50b) परिवार $\circ$  ]  $\Sigma$ , परि $\circ$   $\mathrm{C}_{\scriptscriptstyle{45}}$ , परिवारं  $\mathrm{K}_{\scriptscriptstyle{82}}$ 50d) सहस्रैः ]  $\Sigma$ , सहस्रै M • ०वारितम् ]  $C_{94}C_{45}C_{02}^{pc}K_{82}K_{10}K_{7}K_{41}$ , ०वारिता  $C_{02}^{ac}$ , oalta: M, oalta: E



सहस्रेषु च एकैकमयुतैः परिवारितम् । अयुतं प्रयुतैर्वृन्दैः प्रयुतं नियुतैर्वृतम् ॥१:५१॥ एकैकस्य परीवारो नियुतः पृथगेव च । कोटिभिर्द्शकोट्येन एकैकः परिवारितः ॥१:५२॥ दशकोटिषु एकैकं वृन्दवृन्दभृतैर्वृतम् । वृन्दवर्गेषु एकैकं खर्वभिः परिवारितम् ॥१:५३॥ खर्ववर्गेषु एकैकं दशखर्वगणैर्वृतम् । दशखर्वेषु एकैकं राङ्कुभिः परिवारितम् ॥१:५४॥ दशखर्वेषु एकैकं राङ्कुभिः परिवारितम् ॥१:५४॥

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[51ab] एकैकम $\circ$  ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{10}K_{7}K_{41}E$ , एकैकं म $\circ$   $C_{02}K_{82}M$  [51b] परिवारि-तम्]  $\Sigma$ , परिवारितः M, परिवारितमाः E 51c अयुतं ] E, अयुतैः  $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{7}M$  $K_{41}$ , अयुतै  $K_{10}$  • प्रयुतैर्वृन्दैः ]  $\Sigma$ , प्रयुतै वृन्दैः  $K_7$ , प्रयुतैर्भृत्य M 51d ] corr., प्रयुतैर्नियुतैर्वृतः  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{7}$ , प्रयुतेर्नियुतैर्वृतः  $C_{02}$ , प्रयुतै नियुतै वृतः  $K_{10}$ , प्रयुतः नियुतैः वृतः M, प्रयुते नियुतैर्वृतः K<sub>41</sub>, प्रयुतं नियुतैर्वृतः E (52a) परीवारो ] D, परिवार M (unmetr.), परिवारो E (unmetr.) 52b नियुतः ]  $\Sigma$ , नियुत  $C_{02}$  • च ]  $\Sigma$ , चः  $K_7^{ac}$  52c ]  $C_{94}C_{02}K_{41}E$ , कोटिभि दशकोट्येन  $C_{45}$ , कोटिभिर्दशको-ट्योन  $K_{s2}K_7$ , कोटिभिर्दशकोट्येनः  $K_{10}$ , कोटिभिः परिवाराणि कोटिभि दशकोटिकम् कैकपरिवाराणां M, एकैकः परिवारितं  $K_{\scriptscriptstyle 41}$   $m{53a}$  ]  $C_{\scriptscriptstyle 45}C_{\scriptscriptstyle 02}K_{\scriptscriptstyle 10}K_{\scriptscriptstyle 41}E$ , दशकोटीषु एकैकं  $C_{94}K_{82}K_7$ , दशकोट्येषु एककं M (53b)  $C_{\Sigma}K_{10}$ , वृन्दवृन्दवृतेवृतं  $K_{82}$ , वृन्दवृन्दभृतै वृतं  $K_7$ , वृन्द्रवृन्देषु एकैकं M, वृन्दवृन्दवृतैर्वृत  $K_{41}$ , वृन्दवृन्दं वृतैर्वृतः E 53c वृन्दवर्गेषु]  $\Sigma$ , वृन्दवर्गेभिः तै वृतम् M 53d ]  $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}$ , खर्विभिः परिवारितम्  $K_7$ , खर्वाभिः परिवाराणि M, खर्विभिः परिवारित  $K_{41}$ , खर्विभिः परिवारितः E 54a ]  $_{\Sigma}$ , खर्ववर्गेव एककम्  $_{M}$  54b ]  $_{C_{94}}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_{41}$ , दशख्वगणे वृतम् С45, दशखर्वगणे वृत्तं К7, दशखर्वेषु एकैकं दशखर्वगणैर्वृतम् М, दशखर्वगणै-र्वृतः E (54c) ० वर्षेषु  $| \Sigma$ , ० गर्वेषु  $| K_7$  (54d) परिवारितम्  $| \Sigma$ , परिवारित  $| K_{41}$ , परिवारितः E

#### प्रथमो ऽध्यायः

शङ्काभिः पृथगेकैकं पद्मेन परिवारितम् ॥१:५५ ॥
पद्मवर्गेषु एकैकं समुद्रैः परिवारितम् ॥१:५५ ॥
समुद्रेषु तथैकैकं मध्यसंख्येस्तु तैर्वृतम् ।
मध्यसंख्येषु एकैकमनन्तैः परिवारितम् ॥१:५६ ॥
अनन्तेषु च एकैकं परार्धपरिवारितम् ।
परार्धेषु च एकैकं परेण परिवारितम् ।
एष वै कथितो विप्र शक्यं सांख्यमुदीरितम् ॥१:५७ ॥
[प्रमाणम्]
प्रमाणं शृणु मे विप्र संक्षेपाद्भुवतो मम ।
चन्द्रोद्ये पूर्णमास्यां वपुरण्डस्य तादृशम् ॥१:५८ ॥
कोटिकोटिसहस्रं तु योजनानां समन्ततः ।
अण्डानां च परीमाणं ब्रह्मणा परिकीर्तितम् ॥१:५९ ॥

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55a पृथगेकैकं ] em., पृथगेनैव  $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7MK_{41}E$ , पृथगेनैव  $C_{45}$  55b ॰वारितम् ]  $K_{82}^{pc}M$ , ॰वारितः  $C_{\Sigma}K_{10}K_{7}K_{41}E$ , ॰तं  $K_{82}^{ac}$  (55d) समुद्रैः ]  $\Sigma$ , समु-दैं:  $C_{94}$ , दमु(दैः(  $C_{45}$  • ०वारितम् ]  $\Sigma$ , ०वारितः E (56a तथै० ]  $\Sigma$ , तथे०  $C_{02}$  $[C_{\Sigma}K_{s_2}MK_{_{41}},$  मध्यसख्यैस्तु तै वृतम्  $K_{_{10}},$  मध्यसख्यैस्तु तेर्वृतं  $K_{_7},$  मध्ये राह्यायुतैर्वृतः E (56c) मध्यसंख्येषु ]  $\Sigma$ , मध्यसांखो च M, मध्ये शंखेषु E (56cd)एकैकमनन्तैः  $] \Sigma$ , एकैकं मनतैः  $K_7$ , एकैकं अनन्तै M (56d) ०वारितम्  $] \Sigma$ , ०वा-रितः E (57b) ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_{7}K_{41}$ , परार्ध --- रितम्  $C_{02}$ , परार्धे परिवारितम् । अनन्तेषु च एकैकं परार्धपरिवारितं M, परार्धैः परिवारितः  ${ t E}$  (57 ${ t d}$ )  ${ t o}$  वारितम् ]  ${ t \Sigma}$ , ०वारिवारितं  $K_{10}$ , ०वारितः E (57e) कथितो ] ∑, ∑कथितो∑  $K_{10}$ , कथिता E (57f) शक्यं ]  $\Sigma$ , शक्य  $\mathbf{C}_{02}$ , संख्यां शक्यं  $\mathbf{K}_{41}$  • सांख्यमु॰ ]  $\mathbf{C}_{94}\mathbf{C}_{02}\mathbf{K}_{10}\mathbf{M}$ , साख्यमु॰  $\mathbf{C}_{45}$ , स्यख्यमु॰  $K_{82}$ , संख्यमु  $K_7$ , संख्यामु॰  $K_{41}E$  58a प्रमाणं ]  $C_{02}K_{82}K_7MK_{41}E$ , प्रणामं  $C_{94}C_{45}$ , प्रमाण  $K_{10}$  58b संक्षेपाद्भवतो ]  $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_{41}E$ , संक्षेपाद्भ-दतो  $C_{45}$ , संख्येपाद्भवतो  $K_7$ , संक्षेप ब्रुवतो M (59a) कोटिकोटि० ]  $\Sigma$ , कोटीकोटि० M (59b) योज॰ ]  $\Sigma$ , याज॰  $K_{41}$  (59c) च परीमाणं ]  $\Sigma$ , च परिमाणं  $C_{45}$ (unmetr.), परिमाणञ्च M (59d) ब्रह्मणा  $] \Sigma_{1}, --- C_{02} \bullet \circ कीर्तितम् <math>] C_{94}C_{45}K_{10}$  $K_7K_{41}E$ , ०कीर्ति $\wr$ ताः $\wr$   $C_{02}$ , ०कीर्तितः  $K_{82}M$ 



सप्तकोटिसहस्राणि सप्तकोटिशतानि च । विश्वकोटिष्वङ्गुलीषु ऊर्ध्वतस्तपते रविः ॥१:६०॥ प्रमाणं नाम संख्या च कीर्तितानि समासतः । ब्रह्माण्डं चाप्रमेयाणां लक्षणं परिकीर्तितम् ॥१:६१॥ [पुराणम] पुराणाशीसहस्राणि शतानि द्विजसत्तम । ब्रह्मणा कथितं पूर्णं मातरिश्वा यथातथम् ॥१:६२॥ वायुना पाद संक्षिप्य प्राप्तं चोशनसं पुरा । तेनापि पाद संक्षिप्य प्राप्तवांश्च बृहस्पतिः ॥१:६३॥

बृहस्पतिस्तु प्रोवाच सूर्यं त्रिंशत्सहस्रिकम् । पञ्चविंशत्सहस्राणि मृत्युं प्राह दिवाकरः ॥१:६४॥

**60cd** The folio in  $K_{10}$  ends with उच्चिं°, and the folios that may have contained verses 1.60d-2.22 are missing.

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एकविंशत्सहस्राणि मृत्युनेन्द्राय कीर्तितम् । इन्द्रेणाह विसष्ठाय विंशत्श्लोकसहस्रिकम् ॥१:६५॥ अष्टादशसहस्राणि तेन सारस्वताय तु । सारस्वतिस्रिधामाय सहस्रदश सप्त च ॥१:६६॥ षोडशानां सहस्राणि भरद्वाजाय वै ततः । दश पञ्चसहस्राणि त्रिवृषाय अभाषत ॥१:६०॥ चतुर्दशसहस्राणि अन्तरीक्षाय वै ततः । त्रय्यारुणि सहस्राणि त्रयोदश अभाषत ॥१:६८॥ त्रय्यारुणि सहस्राणि त्रयोदश अभाषत ॥१:६८॥ त्रय्यारुणि सहस्राणि संक्षिप्य पुनरबवीत् ॥१:६९॥ कृतंजयाय सम्प्राप्तो धनंजयमहासुनिः । कृतंजयाय सम्प्राप्तो धनंजयमहासुनिः ।

+‡+

65a ०विंशत्० ] E, ०विंश०  $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{7}MK_{41}$  65b कीर्तितम् ] E, कीर्तितः  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_7^{pc}M$ , कीर्तिताः  $C_{02}$ , कीर्त्तित  $K_7^{ac}$ , कीर्तितंः  $K_{41}$  (65c) इन्द्रे०]  $\Sigma$ , इन्दे॰  $K_{41}$   $\overline{65c}$  वसिष्ठाय ]  $\Sigma$ , विशिष्ठाय  $C_{45}$ , विहिष्ठाय  $K_7$   $\overline{65d}$  विशित्शो॰ ] corr., विराश्लो॰  $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{7}K_{41}E$ , विराश्लो॰  $C_{45}$ , त्रिराश्लो॰ M (66a) ]  $\Sigma$ , आ-ष्टादशसहस्राणि  $K_7$ , वसिष्ठेदशसहस्रं M (66c) सारस्वतिस्रि $\circ$  ] em., सारस्वता त्रि॰  $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{7}K_{41}E$ , सारस्वतास्त्रि॰  $C_{45}$ , सारस्वत तृ॰ M • ॰धामाय ]  $\Sigma$ , om.  $\mathbf{K}_{82}^{ac}$  (66d) सहस्रदश ]  $\Sigma$ , सहस्रादश  $\mathbf{M}$  (67b) भर $\circ$  ]  $\Sigma$ , भार $\circ$   $\mathbf{C}_{02}$ , सन $\circ$ м 67d अभाषत ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{41}$ , अ $\lambda$ भाषत $\lambda$   $C_{02}$ , अभाषतः  $K_7E$ , मभासतः  $_{
m M}$  (68b) अन्तरी॰ ]  $_{
m \Sigma}$ , अन्तरि॰  $_{
m M}$  (68c) त्रय्यारुणि ]  $_{
m corr.}$ , त्र्यैयारुणि  $_{
m C_{94}}$  $C_{45}K_{82}MK_{41}$ , त्रैयारुणि  $C_{02}E$ , त्र्यैयारूपिनि  $K_7$  (68d) अभाषत ]  $C_{94}C_{02}K_7K_{41}$ , अभाषतः C<sub>45</sub>, स्वभावत K<sub>82</sub>, मभासतः M, ह्यभाषत E (69a) त्रय्यारुणि० ] corr., त्र्यैयारुणि  $C_{\Sigma}K_{7}K_{41}$ , त्रैयारुणि  $K_{82}E$ , त्र्यैर्यारुणि M • विप्रेन्द्रो ]  $\Sigma$ , विप्रेन्द  $C_{02}$ M  $\overline{(69b)}$  धनंजय $\circ$  ]  $\Sigma$ , धन $\circ$   $K_{82}^{ac}$   $\bullet$   $\circ$  भाषत ]  $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{7}K_{41}$ ,  $\circ$  भाषतः  $C_{45}$ ME 70b ॰मुनिः ]  $\Sigma$ , ॰मुणि M 70c कृतंजयाद्दि॰ ]  $C_{94}K_{82}K_{41}E$ , कृतंजया द्वि॰  $_{C_{45}C_{02}K_{7}}$ , धनञ्जय द्वि॰  $_{M}$  • ०श्रेष्ठ ]  $_{\Sigma}$ , ०श्रेष्ठो  $_{E}$  (70d) ऋणंजय॰ ]  $_{\Sigma}$ , ऋणंजाय० C45 • ०महात्मने ] 🔈 ०मभाशतः M



ऋणञ्जयात्पुनः प्राप्तो गौतमाय महर्षिणे । गौतमाच भरद्वाजस्तस्माद्धर्यद्वताय तु ॥१:७१ ॥ राजश्रवास्ततः प्राप्तः सोमशुष्माय वै ततः । सोमशुष्मात्ततः प्राप्तस्तृणबिन्दुस्तु भो द्विज ॥१:७२ ॥ तृणबिन्दुस्तु वृक्षाय वृक्षः शक्तिमभाषत । शक्तिः पराशरं प्राह जतुकर्णाय वै ततः ॥१:७३ ॥ द्वैपायनं तु प्रोवाच जतुकर्णो महर्षिणम् । रोमहर्षाय सम्प्राप्तो द्वैपायनमहामुनिः ॥१:७४ ॥ रोमहर्षण प्रोवाच पुत्रायामितबुद्धये । दश द्वे च सहस्राणि पुराणं सम्प्रकाशितम् ।

॥ इति वृषसारसंग्रहे ब्रह्माण्डसंख्या नामाध्यायः प्रथमः ॥

मानुषाणां हितार्थाय कें भूयः श्रोतुमिच्छसि ॥१:७५॥

75ab ≈ BrahmāṇḍaP 3.4.67ab: मया चैतत्पुनः प्रोक्तं पुत्रायामितबुद्धये

(71a) प्राप्तो ] Σ, प्राप्तः M, प्राप्तौ E (71b) महर्षिणे ] Σ, महर्षिणः M (71c) गौतमाच ] C<sub>2</sub>K<sub>82</sub>E, गौतमाश्च K<sub>7</sub>K<sub>41</sub>, गौतमेन M (71cd) भरद्वाजस्तस्मार्द्धर्य-द्वताय ]  $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{7}$ , भरद्वारस्तस्माद्धर्यद्वताय  $C_{45}$ , भरद्वाज तस्मा हर्यद्वताय  $M_{p}$ भरद्वाजस्तरमाद्धर्यद्वनाय K<sub>41</sub>, भरद्वाजस्तरमाद्दम्याद्दमाय E (72a) राजश्रवास्त० ] em., राजश्रव त॰  $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{41}E$ , राजश्रव त॰  $K_{7}$ , राजर्षव त॰ M 72ab प्राप्तः सोम $\circ$  ]  $\Sigma$ , प्राप्त साम $\circ$   $K_{41}$  72c  $\circ$  शुष्मात्त $\circ$  ]  $\Sigma$ ,  $\circ$ शुष्मा त $\circ$   $K_{82}$  72cd प्राप्तस्तृणबिन्दुस्तु ]  $\Sigma$ , प्रा $\chi$ प्त तृ $\chi$ णबिन्दुस्तु  $\chi$ 002, प्राप्तस्तृणविन्दुन्तु  $\chi$ 41 (72d) भो ]  $\Sigma$ , om.  $C_{45}$  (73b) वृक्षः ]  $\Sigma$ , वृक्ष M • ॰ भाषत ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{7}K_{41}$ , ॰ भाषतः  $C_{02}ME$  73c शक्तिः पराशरं ]  $\Sigma$ , शपरासर  $M^{ac}$ , शक्ति परासर  $M^{pc}$  73d जतु॰ ]  $\Sigma$ , तु॰  $C_{45}$ , जंतु॰ M 74a द्वैपायनं तु ] em., द्वैपायनस्तु  $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{7}M$  $K_{41}$ , द्वैपायनाय E (unmetr.) 74b ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}^{pc}K_{7}$ , जतुकणो महर्षिणः  $C_{02}$ , जकर्णों महर्षिणं  $K_{\mathrm{s}2}^{ac}$ , जंतुकर्णमहर्षिणा M, जतुकर्णा महर्षिण  $K_{\mathrm{41}}$ , जतुकर्णमहर्षिणा E 74d ॰मुनिः ]  $\Sigma$ , ॰मुनि ME 75a ॰हर्षेण ] M, ०हर्षाय  $C_{\Sigma}K_{s2}K_{7}K_{41}$ , ०हर्षणाय  $\mathbf{E}$  (75b) ०बुद्धये ]  $\Sigma$ , ०बुद्धयः  $\mathbf{M}$  (75d) ]  $\Sigma$ , पुराण सम्प्रकाशितां  $C_{02}$  75e मानुषाणां ]  $\Sigma$ , मनुषाणां  $C_{45}$ , मानुषाना M • हिताथांय ]  $\Sigma$ , हित्यथाय  $M_{\rm p}$  हिताथिय  $K_{41}$  (75f) भूयः ]  $\Sigma_{\rm p}$  भूय ΜΕ

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प्रथमो ऽध्यायः

**.** 

 $egin{align*} \mathbf{Colophon}: \\ \mathbf{Start} & \mathbf{E} \end{bmatrix} \Sigma$ , नामाध्यायः प्रथमः श्लोक ७७  $\mathbf{M}$ , नाम प्रथमो









# An Annotated Translation







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### [prathamo 'dhyāyaḥ] [Chapter One]

[stutiḥ— Invocation]

anādimadhyāntam anantapāram susūkṣmam avyaktajagatsusāram | harīndrabrahmādibhir āsamagram praṇamya vakṣye vṛṣasārasaṃgraham || I:I ||

Having bowed to the One who has no beginning, no middle part and no end, whose boundaries are limitless, who is very subtle and who is the unmanifest and fine essence of the world, and also to Indra, Brahmā and the other [gods], I shall recite [the work called] 'A Compendium on the Essence of the Bull [of Dharma]'.

1.1 This verse echoes VSS 20.3: nādimadhyam na cāntam ca yan na vedyam surair api | atisūkṣmo hy atisthūlo nirālambo nirānjanaḥ ||

This could suggest that *pāda* c above might be parallel with *na vedyaṃ surair api*. Perhaps understand *asamagraṃ* [*vedyaṃ*] ('incompletely [known]).

Pāda a is also reminiscent of, among other famous passages, BhG 11.19: anādimadhyāntam anantavīryam anantabāhum śaśisūryanetram | paśyāmi tvām dīptahutāśavaktram svatejasā viśvam idam tapantam || See also BhG 10.20cd:

aham ādiś ca madhyam ca bhūtānām anta eva ca ||

A faint reference to the BhG seems proper at the beginning of a work that claims to deliver a teaching based on, but also to surpass, the MBh (see following verses of the VSS). Compare also, e.g., KūrmP 1.11.237:

rūpam tavāseṣakalāvihīnam agocaram nirmalam ekarūpam |

anādimadhyāntam anantam ādyam namāmi satyam tamasah parastāt ||

In general, to say that a god has no beginning and no end in a temporal or spacial sense is natural (anādi ... antam), but to have no 'middle part' (madhya) in these senses is slightly less so. Thus the rather commonly occuring phrase anādimadhyāntam is probably a fixed expression usually referring to a deity that is endless, eternal and immaterial. As to which deity or what form of a deity this stanza refers to, one could argue that it is Śiva, his name missing in pāda c, but the phrasing of the verse is vague enough to keep the question somewhat open: the impersonal Brahman might be another option, even more so if we look at verses 1.9–10, whose topic is brahmavidyā.

In pāda b jagat-susāram is most probably not to be interpreted as jagatsu sāram ('the essence in the worlds'). Another way to translate avyaktajagatsusāram would be: 'who is the fine essence of the unmanifest world.'

Strictly speaking, *pāda* c is unmetrical, but it is better to simply acknowledge here the phenomenon of 'muta cum liquida', namely that syllables followed by consonant clusters such as *ra*, *bra*, *hra*, *kra*, *śra*, *śya*, *śva*, *sva*, *dva* can be treated as short (*laghu*). (See Introduction pp. xxxvi ff.) Thus *harīndrabrahmā*° can be treated as a regular beginning

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[ janamejayavaiśampāyanasaṃvādaḥ — Dialogue of Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana ] śatasāhasrikaṃ granthaṃ sahasrādhyāyam uttamam | parva cāsya śataṃ pūrṇaṃ śrutvā bhāratasaṃhitām || 1:2 ||

Having listened to the *Bhāratasaṃhitā* [i.e. the *Mahābhārata*], the supreme book of a hundred thousand [verses] and a thousand chapters (*adhyāya*), with all its hundred sections (*parvan*),

atṛptaḥ puna papraccha vaiśampāyanam eva hi | janamejayena yat pūrvaṃ tac chṛṇu tvam atandritam || 1:3 ||

Janamejaya remained unsatisfied. Listen attentively to what he asked Vaiśampāyana in the past.

of an *upajāti* ( $\cup$  -  $\cup$  - -), the syllable *bra* not turning the previous syllable long (*guru*).

The reading asamagram in pada c is suspect (see a preliminary comment on this above), although the initial ā- might convey some sort of completeness, meaning 'all round' (see e.g. Kale 1992, 226). The fact that we could percieve the ending of pādas a and b (pāram-sāram), as well as pādas c and d, as (in the latter case, oddly) rhyming pairs (gramgraham) suggests that accepting the reading asamagram could be the right decision (as suggested by Alessandro Battistini). I translate this verse accordingly. M gives an exciting, albeit unmetrical, alternative (yat samagram), but this seems more of a guess than the correct reading. For some time I was considering emending āsamagram. The most tempting of all the possible options (arcyam/arhyam/arghyam/idyam/adhyam/aptam agram, āsamastam) seemed to be āptam agram, meaning 'appointed/received/respected [by Hari, Indra, Brahmā etc.] as the foremost one'. The fact that the akṣaras āsam and āptam look similar in most of the scripts used in the witnesses could support this conjecture. āptam could also possibly refer to the text itself, although then the syntax becomes slightly confusing: 'I shall recite the Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha that was first received by Hari...' etc. Another candidate was adhyam agram: 'Having bowed to [Him] who contains/is rich with Hari, Indra, Brahmā etc.' I have not emended the text because it is difficult to know if there is any need for change and if there is, which reading to chose. There was no consensus when this verse was discussed in our extended Sivadharma reading group.

Pāda d seems hypermetrical, but it can be interpreted as a *vaṃśastha* line, a change from *triṣṭubh* to *jagatī* (as suggested by Dominic Goodall).

1.2 The dialogue of Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana makes up the outermost layer of the VSS (see Introduction p. xvii), mostly containing general *dharmaśāstric* material.

That the MBh should contain a hundred thousand verses is hinted at, e.g., in line 19 of the Khoh Charter 2 of Śarvanātha, year 214 (Siddham Database IN00088; *uktań ca mahābhārate śatasāhasryaṃ* [understand °*ryāṃ*] *saṃhitāyāṃ*...). The hundred *parvans* of the *Mahābhārata* are listed in MBh 1.2.33–70. Note the use of the singular (*parva*) in connection with numerals (*śataṃ*), one of the hallmarks of this text (see p. xxxi).

I.3 My emendation from the unmetrical punah to the unusual, or rather, Middle Indic (Edgerton 1953, vol. 2, p. 347), and Newar (Jørgensen 1941, II3), puna is based on the assumption that in the original the metre must have overridden morphology, similarily to what may have happened in 8.44d (Mālinī metre): na bhavati punajanma kalpakoṭyāyute



#### Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

janamejaya uvāca | bhagavan sarvadharmajña sarvaśāstraviśārada | asti dharmam param guhyam samsārārnavatāranam || 1:4 ||

Janamejaya spoke: O venerable sir, O knower of the entire Dharma, O you who are well-versed in all the sciences (śāstra)! There is a supreme and secret Dharma [that brings about] liberation from the ocean of mundane existence (saṃsāra),

dvaipāyanamukhodgīrņam dharmam vā yad dvijottama | kathayasva hi me tṛptim kuru yatnāt tapodhana || 1:5 ||

that is, the Dharma that emerged from [Vyāsa] Dvaipāyana's mouth, O best of Brahmins. Teach [it] to me and help me find satisfaction at all cost, O great ascetic!

vaiśampāyana uvāca |

'pi, and in 12.151c (Sragdharā metre): garbhāvāsaṃ na ca tvan na ca punamaraṇaṃ kleśam āyāsapūrṇam.

For an unsatisfaction or dissatisfaction (*atṛpti*) with previous teachings in a somewhat similar manner to what Janamejaya experiences here, see, e.g., *Niśvāsa* mūla 1.9:

vedāntam viditam deva sāmkhyam vai pañcavimśakam | na ca trptim gamiṣyāmo hy rte śaivād anugrahāt ||

Vaiśampāyana, a Rṣi, disciple of Vyāsa, great-grandson to Arjuna, recited the *Mahā-bhārata* at the snake sacrifice of Janamejaya. This setting is an echo of the starting point of the MBh, see MBh 1.1.8ff. In fact the next few verses in the VSS make it clear that the VSS picks up where the MBh left off: Janamejaya has heard the whole *Mahābhārata* from Vaiśampāyana, but he is eager to hear more, or rather a concised version of the Dharmic teachings of the *Mahābhārata*.

It is tempting to emend pāda c to contain a stem form proper noun (janamejaya) in order to maintain the metre, and note how the manuscripts struggle with this pāda. Stem form nouns, prātipadikas, abound in the VSS: see Introduction p. xxxv. On the other hand, the contracted/syncopated form janmejaya occurs, e.g., in BhāgP 12.06.16 and BrahmaVP 4.14.41 and 46. (It is even lexicalised in Monier-Williams' Sanskrit-English Dict.) The hypermetrical form janamejayena, and the construction finite verb + instrumental (papraccha... janamejayena), could be original; compare 1.8 and 4.75 below. Alternatively, 1.3cd could be taken as a separate, and elliptical, sentence standing for janamejayena yac chrutam pūrvam tac chrnu.

1.4 Note dharma as a neuter noun in pāda c and in the next verse.

1.5 The majority of the MSS consulted include a  $v\bar{a}$  in  $p\bar{a}da$  b, and although  $C_{45}$ 's reading seems a bit smoother, that manuscript rarely gives superior readings. Therefore I have chosen dharmam  $v\bar{a}$  yad, in which  $v\bar{a}$  functions probably in a weak sense ('that is'). That the secret Dharma Janamejaya is seeking is the one taught by Vyāsa Dvaipāyana, and thus no real options are involved here, becomes clear in 1.6cd. The reading of M in  $p\bar{a}da$  b (dharmavākyaṃ) is tempting but could be a later correction. In general, M's readings here are unique but probably secondary: hi me tṛṛptiṃ in  $p\bar{a}da$  c seems more attractive than M's prasādena because it echoes prasadena in 1.3a



śṛṇu rājann avahito dharmākhyānam anuttamam | vyāsānugrahasamprāptam guhyadharmam śṛṇotu me || 1:6 ||

Vaisampāyana spoke: Listen with great attention, O king, to this unsurpassed narration of Dharma. Hear the secret Dharma that I received through the grace of Vyāsa.

anarthayajñakartāram tapovrataparāyaṇam | sīlaśaucasamācāram sarvabhūtadayāparam || 1:7 || jijñāsanārtham praśnaikam viṣṇunā prabhaviṣṇunā | dvijarūpadharo bhūtvā papraccha vinayānvitaḥ || 1:8 ||

Viṣṇu, the great Lord, assuming the form of a twice-born [Brahmin], wanted to test [Anarthayajña, the ascetic yogin] who practised nonmaterial sacrifices (anarthayajña), focused on his austerities and observances, whose conduct was virtuous and pure, and who was intent on compassion towards all living beings; therefore he [Viṣṇu] humbly asked him a question.

# [ *brahmavidyā* — Knowledge of Brahman ]

[vigatarāga uvāca | ]
brahmavidyā kathaṃ jñeyā rūpavarṇavivarjitā |
svaravyañjananirmuktam akṣaraṃ kimu tat param || 1:9 ||

[Vigatarāga spoke:] How is the knowledge of the Brahman to be understood if it is devoid of form and colour? Why is that supreme syllable which is devoid of vowels and consonants the supreme one?

anarthayajña uvāca | anuccāryam asandigdham avicchinnam anākulam | nirmalaṃ sarvagaṃ sūkṣmam akṣaraṃ kim ataḥ param || 1:10 ||

Anarthayajña replied: That syllable is not to be pronounced, is unquestionable, non-dividable, consistent, spotless, all-pervading and subtle: what could be higher than that?

I.7 On Anarthayajña, the interlocutor of VSS I.9-IO.2 and I9.I-2I.22, and an important figure discussed in 22.3ff, as well as a concept ('nonmaterial sacrifice'), see Kiss 202I and Introduction p. xvii.

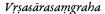
I.8 Note the syntax here involving the agent in the instrumental with a finite verb (ergative structure): viṣṇunā... dvijarūpadharo bhūtvā papraccha. Compare 1.3.

1.9 The translation of this verse, and the reconstruction and interpretation of  $p\bar{a}da$  d, which is echoed in 1.10d, is slightly tentative. I doubt if kimu could have the standard (Vedic) meaning 'how much more/less' here. Rather u is probably just an expletive. In general it seems that this verse references the syllable om.

1.10 In pāda d, I have choosen, somewhat randomly, kim ataḥ instead of kimu tat, trying to make sense of 10.9–10.







[ kālapāśaḥ — Noose of death and time ]

vigatarāga uvāca | dehī dehe kṣayaṃ yāte bhūjalāgniśivādibhiḥ | yamadūtaiḥ kathaṃ nīto nirālambo nirañjanaḥ || 1:11 ||

Vigatarāga spoke: When the body disintegrates in the ground, in water, in fire, or [is torn apart] by jackals and other [animals], how is the supportless and spotless soul led [to the netherworld] by Yama's messengers?

kālapāśaiḥ kathaṃ baddho nirdehaś ca kathaṃ vrajet | svargaṃ vā sa kathaṃ yāti nirdeho bahudharmakṛt | etan me saṃśayaṃ brūhi jñātum icchāmi tattvataḥ || 1:12 ||

How is it bound by the nooses of death [/ time] (kālapāśa)? And if it is bodiless, how can it move? And how does the [soul of a] virtuous [person] (bahudharmakrt) reach heaven if it has no body? This is my doubt. Teach me. I want to know the truth.

anarthayajña uvāca |
atisaṃśayakaṣṭaṃ te pṛṣṭo 'haṃ dvijasattama |
durvijñeyaṃ manuṣyais tu devadānavapannagaiḥ || 1:13 ||

Anarthayajña spoke: You are asking me about an extremely doubtful and problematic matter, O truest of the twice-born. [This is a matter that] is difficult to understand by humans, and [even] by gods (deva), demons ( $d\bar{a}$ -nava) and serpents (pannaga).

karmahetu śarīrasya utpatti nidhanam ca yat | sukṛtam duṣkṛtam caiva pāśadvayam udāhṛtam || 1:14 ||

I.II The word  $° siv \bar{a}°$  in  $p\bar{a}da$  b is slightly suspect, and could be the result of metathesis, from  $°vis\bar{a}°$  ('by poison'). Nevertheless, jackals seems appropriate in this context, for they are commonly associated with human corpses, death and the cremation ground (see e.g. Ohnuma 2019). Furthermore,  $p\bar{a}da$  b lists phenomena that cause the body to disintegrate, and not causes of death; thus the reading siva is probably correct.

I.12 The word  $k\bar{a}la$  has, as usual, a double meaning here:  $k\bar{a}lap\bar{a}\dot{s}a$  is both Yama's noose, and also the limitations and bondage caused by time, as becomes clear at the discussion on the different time units in verses I.18–30.  $sam\dot{s}aya$  seems to be treated as neuter in  $p\bar{a}da$  e.

1.13 Note *te* used for *tvayā* in *pāda* a. Alternatively, taking *te* as genitive, the line could be translatied as: 'I am being asked about a great problem of yours that originates in doubts...'



The cause of both the birth and death of the body is karma. Good and bad deeds are called the two nooses.

tenaiva saha saṃyāti narakaṃ svargam eva vā | sukhaduḥkhaṃ śarīreṇa bhoktavyaṃ karmasambhavam || 1:15 ||

[The soul] goes to hell or heaven [bound and led] by the same [nooses of Yama's messengers, or the karmas]. Happiness and suffering, both arising from karma, are to be experienced by the body.

hetunānena viprendra dehaḥ sambhavate nṛṇām | yaṃ kālapāśam ity āhuḥ śṛṇu vakṣyāmi suvrata || 1:16 ||

It is for this reason, O great Brahmin, that the human body is born. Now learn about that which they call the noose of time  $(k\bar{a}lap\bar{a}sa)$ , I shall teach you, O you of great observances.

na tvayā viditam kiñcij jijñāsyasi katham dvija | kālapāśam ca viprendra sakalam vettum arhasi || 1:17 ||

[If] you do not know anything, how could you start your investigation, O twice-born? O great Brahmin, you should know the noose of time (*kālapāśa*) in its entirety.

kalākalitakālam ca kālatattvakalām śrņu | truṭidvayam nimeṣas tu nimeṣadviguṇā kalā || 1:18 ||

Learn about time  $(k\bar{a}la)$  which is divided into digits  $(kal\bar{a})$ , [i.e. about] the division[s]  $(kal\bar{a})$  of the entity [called] time  $(k\bar{a}latattva)$ . Two atomic units of time (truti) are one twinkling (nimesa). One digit  $(kal\bar{a})$ , cca. I.6 second) is twice a twinkling.

kalādviguņitā kāṣṭhā kāṣṭhā vai triṃśatiḥ kalā | triṃśatkalā muhūrtaś ca mānuṣena dvijottama || 1:19 ||

I.14 The MSS give *karmahetu* in  $p\bar{a}da$  a overwhelmingly, which could work as a neuter *bahuvrīhi* compound picking up both a stem-form *utpatti* and *nidhanaṃ. karmahetuḥ* (C<sub>45</sub>) is grammatically more correct, picking up the feminine *utpatti*, but a neuter stem-form *utpatti* is unsurprising in this text.

I.17 The variant  $jij\tilde{n}$  asyasi seems to be the lectio difficilior as opposed to  $vij\tilde{n}$  asyasi, but the latter could also work fine here. Note how M (agreeing with two paper MSS,  $K_{41}$  and  $K_{107}$ , as well as E) gives a reading (*vaktum arhasi*) that is clearly out of context. This confirms that while M comes up with interesting readings, they are mostly to be ignored.

I.18 I.18d and I.19a are problematic in the light of I.19b, which redefines *kalā* in harmony with the traditional interpretation, see e.g. *Arthaśāstra* 2.20.33: *trimśatkāṣṭhāḥ kalāḥ*. On divisions of time, see also, e.g., Manu I.64ff. I have calculated I.6 second for one *kalā* backwards, starting from one day (see I.20ab).



#### Vṛṣasārasamgraha

Two digits (kalā) form one bit (kāṣṭhā, 3.2 seconds). Thirty bits (kāṣṭhā) make one digit (kalā?, 1.6 minutes). Thirty digits (kalā) make up one section (muhūrta, 48 minutes) in human terms, O great Brahmin.

muhūrtatriṃśakenaiva ahorātraṃ vidur budhāḥ | ahorātram punas triṃśan māsam āhur manīṣiṇah || 1:20 ||

Thirty sections (*muhūrta*) are known to the wise as one night and day [i.e. a full day]. Thirty days and nights are taught by the wise to be one month.

samā dvādaśa māsāś ca kālatattvavido janāḥ | śataṃ varṣasahasrāṇi trīṇi mānuṣasaṃkhyayā | ṣaṣṭiṃ caiva sahasrāṇi kālaḥ kaliyugaḥ smṛtaḥ || 1:21 ||

One year is twelve months [according to] people who know the entity of time. The time span of three hundred and sixty thousand years by human counting is said to be the Kali age (kaliyuga).

dviguṇaḥ kalisaṃkhyāto dvāparo yuga saṃjñitaḥ | tretā tu triguṇā jñeyā catuḥ kṛtayugaḥ smṛtaḥ || 1:22 ||

The Dvāpara age is known to be twice as long as the Kali age. The Tretā age is thrice [as long], the Kṛta age four [times as long as the Kali age].

eṣā caturyugāsaṃkhyā kṛtvā vai hy ekasaptatiḥ | manvantarasya caikasya jñānam uktaṃ samāsataḥ || 1:23 ||

This is the figure related to the four ages (yuga). Multiplying it by seventy-one, the knowledge about one time-span of a Manu (manvantara) has been briefly taught.

1.19 Underestand mānuṣena as mānuṣasaṃkhyayā (1.21d).

1.21 Note how a verb (e.g. iti vadanti, iti prāhur) is missing in pādas ab.

1.22 Note the stem form noun *yuga* in *pāda* b metri causa, or rather the compound *dvāparo-yuga-saṃjñitaḥ* (the end of *dvāparo* lengthened to avoid the metrical fault of two *laghus*), and also M's unique but confused readings.

1.23 Note the lengthened vowel in °yugā (metri causa).

The 'figure' mentioned in this verse is the sum of the duration of the four *yugas*, which makes up one *mahāyuga*: Kaliyuga = 360,000 years, Dvāparayuga = 720,000 years, Tretāyuga = 1,080,000 years, Dvāparayuga = 1,440,000 years; altogether 3,600,000 years. 71 *mahāyugas* make up a *manvantara* (= 255,600,000 years; cf. Manu 1.79). One *kalpa* is 14 *manvantaras* (= 3,578,400,000 years). Ten thousand *kalpas* are one day of Brahmā, and his night is of the same length, which would make one full day of Brahmā 71,568,000,000,000 human years. See next verses and, e.g., González-Reimann 2016. See VSS 21.34ff on *kalpa* etc.



kalpo manvantarāṇāṃ tu caturdaśa tu saṃkhyayā | daśa kalpasahasrāṇi brahmāhaḥ parikalpitam | rātrir etāvatī proktā munibhis tattvadarśibhiḥ || 1:24 ||

One æon (kalpa) is fourteen manvantaras in total. Brahmā's day (brahmāhar) is made up of ten thousand æons (kalpa). [Brahmā's] night is of the same duration according to the wise who know the truth.

rātryāgame pralīyante jagat sarvam carācaram | ahāgame tathaiveha utpadyante carācaram || 1:25 ||

When [Brahma's] night falls, the whole moving and unmoving universe dissolves. And when [his] daylight arrives, similarly, the moving and unmoving [universe] is born here.

parārdhaparakalpāni atītāni dvijottama | anāgatam tathaivāhur bhṛgurādimaharṣayaḥ || 1:26 ||

One *para* times *parārdha* [number of, i.e. two hundred quadrillion times a hundred quadrillion] æons (*kalpa*) have passed [thus far], O great Brahmin. Bhṛgu and the other sages say that the future is the same [time span].

yathārkagrahatārendu bhramato dṛśyate tv iha | kālacakram bhramitvaiva viśramam na ca vidmahe || 1:27 ||

Just as the sun, the planets, the stars and the moon are perceived in this world as circling around, we, wandering around riding the wheel of time (kālacakra), can never have a rest.

kālaḥ srjati bhūtāni kālaḥ saṃharate punaḥ | kālasya vaśagāḥ sarve na kālavaśakṛt kvacit || 1:28 ||

Time creates living beings and time destroys them again. Everything is under the control of time. There is nothing that can bring time under control.

I.24 The accepted reading kalpo in  $p\bar{a}da$  a is probably not original. M has a separator sign (|o|) at the end of  $p\bar{a}da$  b, as if a section ended here.

1.25 The plural form *pralīyante* in *pāda* a is metri causa for *pralīyate*, perhaps also influencing *utpadyante* (for *utpadyate*) in *pāda* d, which in turn is used here to avoid an iambic pattern  $(-- \cup - \cup - \cup -)$ . Note a general lack of a sense of grammatical number (see p. xxx).

1.26 On the definition of the numbers *para* and *parārdha*, see verses 1.31–35. Note the peculiar compound *bhṛgu-r-ādi-maharṣayaḥ*, for *bhṛgvādimaharṣayaḥ*.

1.27 bhramato in pāda b seems to stand for the neuter participle bhramat. Alternatively, bhramato might mean 'erroneously' (bhrama-tas, abl.), but this would make the verse difficult to interpret. I have corrected bhramatvaiva to the standard form bhramitvaiva, although the former might conceal a finate verb (bhramāmaḥ?).



#### Vṛṣasārasamgraha

caturdaśa parārdhāni devarājā dvijottama | kālena samatītāni kālo hi duratikramaḥ || 1:29 ||

Fourteen *parārdha* [fourteen hundred quadrillion] god kings, O Brahmin, have passed with time, for time is difficult to overcome.

eṣa kālo mahāyogī brahmā viṣṇuḥ paraḥ śivaḥ | anādinidhano dhātā sa mahātmā namaskuru || 1:30 ||

Time is [manifest] as a great yogin, as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and supreme Śiva, is beginningless and endless, is the Creator and the great soul. Pay homage [to Time].

[ parārdhādi — Parārdha etc.: numbers ]

vigatarāga uvāca | śrutaṃ vai kālacakraṃ tu mukhapadmaviniḥsṛtam | parārdhaṃ ca paraṃ caiva śrotuṃ vaḥ pratidīpitam || 1:31 ||

Vigatarāga spoke: I have now heard about the 'wheel of time' (*kālacakra*) from [your] lotus mouth. [I wish] to hear about [the terms] *parārdha* and *para* [mentioned above], as elaborated by you.

anarthayajña uvāca |
ekaṃ daśaṃ śataṃ caiva sahasram ayutaṃ tathā |
prayutam niyutaṃ koṭim arbudaṃ vṛndam eva ca || 1:32 ||

Anarthayajña spoke: One, ten, a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand (*ayuta*), a hundred thousand (*prayuta*), a million (*niyuta*), ten million (*koṭi*), a hundred million (*arbuda*), one billion (*vṛnda*, 10<sup>9</sup>),

1.29 Note that *samatītāni* (neuter) most probably picks up *devarājāḥ* (masculine) in this verse, or rather *devarājā* stands for *devarājānāṃ* and *samatītāni* picks up °*parā-rdhāni*. It is not clear to me what *devarāja* ('god king') means exactly (Indra?).

1.31 I have corrected the unmetrical *vinisṛtam* in *pāda* b to *viniḥṣṛtam*. The reading of all manuscripts consulted, *viniṣṛtam*, may be considered metrical if we interpret it, loosely, as *viniṣṛtam*. Read *tvanmukhapadma*° ('your lotus mouth') over the *pāda*-boundary? See, e.g., SivP 2.3.27.6ab: *taj jñātvā nikhilam devi śrutvā tvanmukhapaṃkajāt*.

Pāda d is suspect and my translation tentative. M's reading in pāda d (śrotum naḥ pratidīyatām) might make sense ('give it back/repeat it for us to hear'), but it sounds forced, as if the scribe tried to come up with a reading that he understood better than śrotum vaḥ pratidīpitam, the reading of the majority of the witnesses, which is in fact not easy to interpret. One would expect a phrase meaning 'please tell me about these.' Finally, I have deicided to take vaḥ as instrumental ('by you'). Still, a verb is missing.

1.32 See a similar teaching of numbers in BrahmāṇḍaP 3.2.91ff.

IOIO





kharvam caiva nikharvam ca śańku padmam tathaiva ca | samudro madhyam antam ca parārdham ca param tathā | 1:33 ||

ten billion (*kharva*), a hundred billion (*nikharva*), one trillion (*śańku*, 10<sup>12</sup>), ten trillion (*padma*), a hundred trillion (*samudra*), one quadrillion (*madhya*, 10<sup>15</sup>), ten quadrillion ([*an*]*anta*), a hundred quadrillion (*parārdha*), and two hundred quadrillion (*para*).

sarve daśaguṇā jñeyāḥ parārdhaṃ yāvad eva hi | parārdhadviguṇenaiva parasaṃkhyā vidhīyate || 1:34 ||

Each should be known as powers of ten up to *parārdha*. The number corresponding to *para* is double that of *parārdha*.

parāt parataram nāsti iti me niścitā matih | purāṇavedapaṭhitā mayākhyātā dvijottama || 1:35 ||

There is no higher number than *para*. This is my firm conviction, which is based on my readings of the Purāṇas and the Vedas and [which I have now] taught [to you], O great Brahmin.

[ brahmāṇḍam — Brahmā's Egg: the Universe ]

vigatarāga uvāca | brahmāṇḍaṃ kati vijñeyaṃ pramāṇaṃ jñāpitaṃ kvacit | kati cāṅguli-m-ūrdhveṣu sūryas tapati vai mahīm || 1:36 ||

Vigatarāga spoke: What is the extent of the Brahmāṇḍa [i.e. the universe]? Is it disclosed anywhere? From how many finger's breadths high does the sun heat the earth?

1.33 Note that  $K_{41}$  inserts a line here. See apparatus. For *anta* meaning *ananta*, see 1.57. M's reading in  $p\bar{a}da$  d may be a result of an eyeskip to 1.34c.

1.35 Note that E inserts the line here that  $K_{41}$  inserted above. See apparatus.

1.36 The use of the singular next to numerals is one of the hallmarks of the VSS (see p. xxxi). This means that pāda a may well refer to multiple brahmānḍas. Nevertheless, in the light of VSS 2.2d (pramāṇaṃ tasya vā kati), I suspect that the first question here could be rendered in slightly more standard Sanskrit as brahmāṇḍasya pramāṇaṃ kati yojanāni vijñeyaṃ. cāpitaṃ kvacit in pāda b in the witnesses is enigmatic. One may conjecture prāpitaṃ (perhaps: 'is it available somewhere?'), The intended form may have been jñātaṃ kenacit ('is it known by anyone?'), or jñāpitaṃ ('is it disclosed somewhere?'). I have chosen the latter. to which 1.37 below could be a reply. Of course, cāpitaṃ could be analysed as cāpi taṃ (possibly for cāpi tat), but that would help little, unless we imagine that the question is 'and where is it?' (cāpi tat kva).

My emendation of *cānguli-mūrdheṣu* to *cānguli-m-ūrdhveṣu* (with a hiatus-filler) is based on *ūrdhvatas* in 1.60d, which is part of the reply to the question posed in this line. In turn, *anguli* here triggered an conjecture in 1.60c.

IOII



#### Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

anarthayajña uvāca |

brahmāṇḍānāṃ prasaṃkhyātuṃ mayā śakyaṃ kathaṃ dvija | devās te 'pi na jānanti mānuṣāṇām ca kā kathā || 1:37 ||

Anarthayajña spoke: How could I enumerate [all the details of] the Brahmāṇḍa, O twice-born? Even the gods do not know, not to mention humans.

paryāyeṇa tu vakṣyāmi yathāśakyaṃ dvijottama | brahmaṇā yat purākhyāto mātariśvā yathā tathā || 1:38 ||

I shall teach [you], as far as I can, in due order and truthfully, that, O great Brahmin, which Mātariśvan was taught by Brahmā in the past.

śivāṇḍābhyantareṇaiva sarveṣām iva bhūbhṛtām | daśa nāma diśāṣṭānāṃ brahmāṇḍe kīrtitam śṛṇu || 1:39 ||

Ten names of all the [cosmic] rulers of each of the eight directions in Brahmā's Egg, [which is] inside Śiva's Egg, are being taught now, listen.

[ bhūbhṛtāṃ nāmāni —
Names of the cosmic rulers ]
[ pūrvataḥ —
East ]

sahāsahaḥ sahaḥ sahyo visahaḥ saṃhato 'sabhā | prasaho 'prasahaḥ sānuḥ pūrvato daśa nāyakāḥ || 1:40 ||

- [1] Sahā, [2] Asaha, [3] Saha, [4] Sahya, [5] Visaha, [6] Samhata, [7] Asabhā,
- [8] Prasaha, [9] Aprasaha, [10] Sānu: [these are] the ten Leaders in the East.

1.37 One would expect *brahmāṇḍāni* in *pāda* a instead of *brahmāṇḍānāṃ*, but we should probably understand *brahmāṇḍānāṃ viśeṣān prasaṃkhyātuṃ...* The structure noun in genitive + verb meaning 'telling' occurs also in 4.69a and CHECK.

1.38 The claim that Brahmā taught Mātariśvan is confirmed in 1.62cd, and also, e.g., in *Brahmānḍapurāṇa* 3.4.58cd (see the apparatus).

1.39 My conjecture in *pāda* b (*bhūbhṛtām*) is based on the fact that the readings transmitted in the MSS seem unintelligible, and, more importantly, that these names are said, in the subsequent verses, to belong to *nāyakas* ('chiefs, lords'), a possible synonym of *bhūbhṛt* ('a king'), and also that it is a minute intervention.

In pāda c, understand diśāṣṭānām as diśām aṣṭānām or digaṣṭakānām, and note that one of the hallmarks of the language of the VSS is the use of the singular in the proximity of numbers, where a plural would be expected (daśa nāma).

1.40 Note that many of the names here and in the following verses are, in the absence of any parallel passage, rather insecure. In order to avoid the repetition of the name Saha, I take the first name here as feminine; Asabhā seems also to be a feminine ruler's name. Later on there seem to come more feminine names (Tejā, Yamunā, Naganā, etc.), therefore it may be correct to interpret some of the names as names of queens. What is clear here is that the list evokes the name Sahasrākṣa, one of the appellations of Indra, the guardian of the eastern direction.



[ āgneye — South-East ]

prabhāso bhāsano bhānuḥ pradyoto dyutimo dyutiḥ | dīptatejāś ca tejāś ca tejā tejavaho daśa | āgneye tv etad ākhyātaṃ yāmye śṛṇv atha bho dvija || 1:41 ||

- [1] Prabhāsa, [2] Bhāsana, [3] Bhānu, [4] Pradyota, [5] Dyutima, [6] Dyuti,
- [7] Dīptatejas, [8] Tejas, [9] Tejā, [10] Tejavaho: [these are] the ten [rulers] in the direction of Agni [SE]. Now listen to [the names for] Yama's region, O twice-born.

[ *yāmye* — South ]

yamo 'tha yamunā yāmaḥ saṃyamo yamuno 'yamaḥ | saṃyano yamanoyāno yaniyugmā yanoyanaḥ || 1:42 ||

[1] Yama, [2] Yamunā, [3] Yāma, [4] Saṃyama, [5] Yamuna, [6] Ayama, [7] Saṃyana, [8] Yamanoyāna, [9] Yaniyugmā, [10] Yanoyana.

[ nairṛte — South-West ]

nagajo naganā nando nagaro naga nandanaḥ | nagarbho gahano guhyo gūḍhajo daśa tatparaḥ || 1:43 ||

[1] Nagaja, [2] Naganā, [3] Nanda, [4] Nagara, [5] Naga, [6] Nandana, [7] Nagarbha, [8] Gahana, [9] Guhyo, [10] Gūḍhaja: [these are] the ten associated with [the South-West].

[vāruņe — West]

vāruņena pravakṣyāmi śṛṇu vipra nibodha me | babhraḥ setur bhavodbhadraḥ prabhavodbhavabhājanaḥ | bharaṇo bhuvano bhartā daśaite varuṇālayāḥ || 1:44 ||

1.41 Here, in the region of Agni, the names evidently evoke the image of flames.

I.42 I have chosen the variant saṃyano in pāda c only to avoid the repetition of the name saṃyama, and the variant yanoyanaḥ in pāda d because I suspect that most of the names here should begin with ya, except for ayamaḥ in in pāda b, which is a guess to avoide the repetition of yamaḥ. All the name forms in this verse are to be taken as tentative. The only guiding light is the presence of ya, reinforcing a connection with Yama.

I.43 naga in pāda b is a stem form noun metri causa tatparaḥ in pāda d might be another example of a singular form next to a number (see I.39c above). Note that the reconstruction of these names are tentative. What is clear here is that the initials should be na and ga, probably suggesting a connection with nirṛti, narakas, and nāgas.



#### Vṛṣasārasamgraha

I shall teach you [the names] in Varuṇa's region [in the west]. Listen, O Brahmin, learn from me. [I] Babhra, [2] Setu, [3] Bhava, [4] Udbhadra, [5] Prabhava, [6] Udbhava, [7] Bhājana, [8] Bharaṇa, [9] Bhuvana, and [10] Bhartṛ: these ten dwell in Varuṇa's region [in the west].

[ vāyavye — North-West ]

nṛgarbho 'suragarbhas' ca devagarbho mahīdharaḥ | vṛṣabho vṛṣagarbhas' ca vṛṣānko vṛṣabhadhvajaḥ || 1:45 ||

- [1] Nṛgarbha, [2] Asuragarbha, [3] Devagarbha, [4] Mahīdhara, [5] Vṛṣabha,
- [6] Vṛṣagarbha, [7] Vṛṣāṅka, [8] Vṛṣabhadhvaja,

jñātavyaś ca tathā samyag vṛṣajo vṛṣanandanaḥ | nāyakā daśa vāyavye kīrtitā ye mayā dvija || 1:46 ||

[9] Vṛṣaja, and [10] Vṛṣanandana: these are to be known properly as the ten leaders in Vāyu's region [in the north-west], as I taught them, O twiceborn.

[ uttare — North ]

sulabhaḥ sumanaḥ saumyaḥ suprajaḥ sutanuḥ śivaḥ | sataḥ satya layaḥ śambhur daśa nāyakam uttare || 1:47 ||

- [1] Sulabha, [2] Sumana, [3] Saumya, [4] Supraja, [5] Sutanu, [6] Śiva, [7] Sata,
- [8] Satya, [9] Laya, [10] Sambhu: [these are] the ten leaders in the north.

[ *īśāne* — North-East ]

indu bindu bhuvo vajra varado vara varṣaṇaḥ | ilano valino brahmā daśeśāneṣu nāyakāḥ || 1:48 ||

1.44 Varuna upholds (*bibharti/bharati*) the sky and the earth. This could be the reason why these names include *bharaṇa* and *bhartṛ*.

I.45 The connection between *vṛṣa* and the north-west or Vāyu is not evident to me. CHECKIn a tantric context, a western position is more standard for *vṛṣa*, see e.g. Goodall, Rout, Sathyanarayanan *et al* 2005, 40.

1.46 Note how M deviates here again in a significant way.

I.47 I prefer the form sumanah to the more standard sumanah ( $K_7$ ) in  $p\bar{a}da$  a because it suits the slightly irregluar language of the VSS (see pp. CHECK), and because the solitary reading of  $K_7$  may well only be an attempt to standardise. It is also not inconceivable that sumanah stands compounded with saumyah. Note how daśa  $n\bar{a}yakam$  (neuter singular for masculine plural) could again be an example for the use of the singular next to a number in  $p\bar{a}da$  d. It seems that here it is the northern region that is associated with Śiva, rather than the north-east, the  $\bar{\imath}s\bar{a}na$  direction, which is here occupied by Brahmā: see next verse. In a tantric context, Brahmā is sometimes associated with the north-east, see, e.g., Goodall, Rout, Sathyanarayanan et al 2005, 39. I have left satya in stem form.



[1] Indu, [2] Bindu, [3] Bhuva, [4] Vajra, [5] Varada, [6] Vara, [7] Varṣaṇa, [8] Ilana, [9] Valina, [10] Brahmā: [these are] the ten rulers in the Īśāna direction [i.e. in the north-east].

[ madhyame — Center ]

aparo vimalo moho nirmalo mana mohanaḥ | akṣayaś cāvyayo viṣṇur varado madhyame daśa || 1:49 ||

[1] Apara, [2] Vimala, [3] Moha, [4] Nirmala, [5] Mana, [6] Mohana, [7] Akṣaya,

[8] Avyaya, [9] Viṣṇu, [10] Varada: [these are] the ten [leaders] in the centre.

[ parivārāḥ — Subordinates ]

sarveṣāṃ daśa-m-īśānāṃ parivāraśataṃ śatam | śatānāṃ pṛthag ekaikaṃ sahasraiḥ parivāritam || 1:50 ||

Each of the ten rulers has a retinue of a hundred subordinates. Each one of [these] hundred is surrounded by a thousand subordinates.

sahasresu ca ekaikam ayutaih parivāritam | ayutam prayutair vṛndaih prayutam niyutair vṛtam | 1:51 ||

Each one of the thousand is surrounded by ten thousand [subordinates], the ten thousand is surrounded by a multitude of a hundred thousand, the hundred thousand by a million,

ekaikasya parīvāro niyutaḥ pṛthag eva ca | koṭibhir daśakoṭyena ekaikaḥ parivāritaḥ || 1:52 ||

1.48 I consider *indu*, *bindu* and *vajra* stem form nouns. The north-east seems to be occupied by Brahmā, and by rulers whose names should somehow evoke Brahmā's name.

I.49 Note that the last three lists above have been associated with Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, respectively, and here, in a layer of the text that can be labelled Vaiṣṇava (see pp. CHECK), it is Viṣṇu that seems to occupy a central position. mana mohanaḥ (or nirmalonmana) in pāda b may sound like one single name, but we are forced to separate these two words (mana being in stem form metri causa) to arrive at a list of ten names.

1.50 I take <code>daśa-m-īśānām</code> as a split compound (<code>daśeśānām</code>). It is conceivable that each of the above ninety rulers has ten subordinates, therefore each group of ten rulers has a hundred subordinates altogether, but the original idea may have been that each one of the above ninety rulers has a hundred subordinates. Alternatively, this verse may only refer to the central group of ten rulers mentioned in 1.49, and each one of them has a hundred subordinates.

1.51 We are forced to follow E's reading in  $p\bar{a}da$  c in order to make sense of this passage. My correction in  $p\bar{a}da$  d is motivated by the same. Note that vrnda is not a number in this line. Elsewhere in this chapter vrnda is the word that signifies 'a billion.'



#### Vrsasārasamgraha

[that is] each one has a retinue of a million (*niyuta*) [subordinates]. [Then those] are surrounded by ten million (*koṭi*) [subordinates], [they in turn] by a hundred million (*daśakoṭi*).

daśakoţişu ekaikam vṛndavṛndabhṛtair vṛtam | vṛndavargesu ekaikam kharvabhih parivāritam || 1:53 ||

Each one of the hundred million is surrounded by a billion (*vṛnda*) subordinates (*bhṛta*). Each one in these groups of a billion (*vṛnda*) is surrounded by ten billion (*kharva*) [subordinates].

kharvavargeşu ekaikam dasakharvaganair vṛtam | dasakharveşu ekaikam sankubhih parivāritam || 1:54 ||

Each in these groups of ten billion (*kharva*) is surrounded by a hundred billion (*daśakharva*). Each of those hundred billion is surrounded by a trillion (*śańku*) [deities].

śankubhih pṛthag ekaikam padmena parivāritam | padmavargeṣu ekaikam samudraih parivāritam || 1:55 ||

Each of those one trillion is surrounded by ten trillion (*padma*). Each of those ten trillion is surrounded by a hundred trillion (*samudra*).

samudreşu tathaikaikam madhyasamkhyais tu tair vṛtam | madhyasamkhyeşu ekaikam anantaiḥ parivāritam || 1:56 ||

And each of those hundred trillion is surrounded by those whose number is one quadrillion (*madhya*). Each of those quadrillion is surrounded by ten quadrillion (*ananta*).

ananteşu ca ekaikam parārdhaparivāritam | parārdheşu ca ekaikam pareņa parivāritam | eşa vai kathito vipra śakyam sāmkhyam udīritam || 1:57 ||

Each of those ten quadrillion is surrounded by a hundred quadrillion (*parārdha*). Each of those hundred quadrillion is surrounded by two hundred quadrillion (*para*). This is how it is taught, O Brahmin. The enumeration [of the rulers of the Brahmāṇḍa] has been taught as much as it is possible.

1.52 It seems that *pādas* ab repeat what has been stated in 1.51cd. °koṭyena stands for °koṭyā (thematisation). Note how the scribe of M gets confused at 1.52c due to an eye-skip and fully regains control only at 1.54b.

1.55 Note that in pāda a śańkubhiḥ stands for śańkūṣu (instrumental for locative).





[ pramāṇam — Measurements ]

pramāṇaṃ śṛṇu me vipra saṃkṣepād bruvato mama | candrodaye pūrṇamāsyāṃ vapur aṇḍasya tādṛśam || 1:58 ||

Listen to me and learn about the measurements [of the universe, or Brahmā's Egg], O Brahmin, I shall teach [you] in a concise manner. The body of the Egg is like that of [the moon] at moonrise on the day of the full moon.

koțikoțisahasram tu yojanānām samantatah | anḍānām ca parīmāṇam brahmaṇā parikīrtitam || 1:59 ||

The whole circumference of the Egg has been declared by Brahmā to be ten million (koți) times a thousand times ten million yojanas.

saptakoțisahasrāṇi saptakoțisatāni ca | viṃśakoțiṣv aṅgulīṣu ūrdhvatas tapate raviḥ || 1:60 ||

The Sun shines from the height of seven thousand seven hundred and twenty *koṭi* finger's breadth.

pramāṇaṃ nāma saṃkhyā ca kīrtitāni samāsataḥ | brahmāṇḍaṃ cāprameyāṇāṃ lakṣaṇaṃ parikīrtitam || 1:61 ||

The numbers pertaining to the measurements have been taught in brief. The characteristics of the unmeasurable Brahmānda[s] have been taught.

[ purāṇam — Redactors of the Purāṇa[s] ]

purāṇāśīsahasrāṇi śatāni dvijasattama | brahmaṇā kathitaṃ pūrṇaṃ mātariśvā yathātatham || 1:62 ||

O truest of the twice-born, the Purāṇa[s of] 8,000,000 [verses] were taught by [I] Brahmā to [2] Mātariśvan [= Vāyu] in their entirety, in their true form.

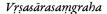
1.59 Note on plural CHECK

1.60 This verse is the reply to the question in 1.36cd, which contains the word *aṅguli*: this hints at the possibility that the unintelligible *gulmeṣu* transmitted in most of the witnesses might be corrupted from *aṅguṣu*; hence my conjecture, resulting in a *ra-vipulā*.

1.61 Note the mixture of different grammatical genders and numbers in this verse. Understand pramāņeşu saṃkhyāḥ kīrtitāḥ samāsataḥ and brahmāṇḍānām aprameyānām...

1.62 *Pāda* a should probably be analysed and interpreted as *purāṇam brahmaṇā* kathitam (purāṇānām ašītisahasrāṇi śatāni ślokāni brahmaṇā kathitāni). Alternatively, pāda a may have originally read purāṇāni sahasrāṇi, and then the initial number of verses





vāyunā pāda saṃkṣipya prāptaṃ cośanasaṃ purā | tenāpi pāda saṃkṣipya prāptavāṃś ca bṛhaspatiḥ || 1:63 ||

Vayu abridged the verses and then gave [the Puranas] to [3] Usanas. He [Usanas]

transmitted by Brahmā is a hundred thousand. That the number refers to the number of ślokas transmitted is confirmed in 1.65d: viṃśatślokasahasrikam.

On the idea that initially there was only one Purāṇa, see, e.g., Rocher 1986, 41ff.

In pāda d, either understand mātariśvā (nom.) as mātariśvānam (acc.) or emend kathitam to kathitah in the sense 'Mātariśvan was taught,' echoing 1.38cd: brahmaṇā yat purākhyāto mātariśvā yathā tathā.

Compare this list to a list of twenty-eight *vedavyāsas*, from Brahmā to Vyāsa Dvaipāyana, in ViṣṇuP 3.3.10–19, taught by Parāśara, the twenty-sixth *vyāsa* of this list and our text (in the numbering that I add here I follow the translation in Dutt 1896, 178–179):

vedavyāsā vyatītā ye aṣṭāviṃśati sattama | caturdhā yaiḥ kṛto vedo dvāpareṣu punaḥ punaḥ || dvāpare prathame vyastāḥ svayaṃ vedāḥ [1] svayaṃbhuvā | dvitīye dvāpare caiva vedavyāsaḥ [2] prajāpati || tṛtīye [3] cośanā vyāsaś caturthe ca [4] bṛhaspatiḥ | [5] savitā pañcame vyāsaḥ [6] mṛtyuḥ ṣaṣṭhe smṛtaḥ prabhuḥ || saptame ca [7] tathaivendro [8] vasiṣthaś cāṣṭame smṛtaḥ || [9] sārasvataś ca navame [10] tridhāmā daśame smṛtaḥ || ekādaśe tu [11] trivṛṣā [12] bhāradvājas tataḥ param | trayodaśe [13] cāntarikṣo [14] varṇī cāpi caturdaśe || [15] trayyāruṇaḥ pañcadaśe ṣoḍaśe tu [16] dhanaṃjayaḥ | [17] kratuṃjayaḥ saptadaśe [18] ṛṇajyo 'ṣṭādaśe smṛtaḥ || tato vyāso [19] bharadvājo bharadvājāt tu [20] gautamaḥ || gautamād uttamo vyāso [21] haryātmā yo 'bhidhīyate || atha haryātmano [22] venaḥ smṛto vājaśravās tu yaḥ | somaḥ śuṣmāyaṇas tasmāt [23] tṛṇabindur iti smṛtaḥ || [24] ṛkṣo 'bhūd bhārgavas tasmād vālmīkir yo 'bhidhīyate | tasmād asmatpitā [25] śaktir vyāsas tasmād [26] ahaṃ mune || [27] jātukarṇo 'bhavan mattaḥ kṛṣṇadvaipāyanas [28] tataḥ | aṣṭaviṃśatir ity ete vedavyāsāḥ purātanāḥ ||.

Another relevant passage is BrahmāṇḍaP 3.4.58cd-67 ( $\approx$  VāyuP 2.41.58-67). Note how Tṛṇabindu is, perhaps by mistake, different from Somaśuṣma/Śuṣmāyaṇa here, but, more importantly, note Amitabuddhi of VSS 1.75b appearing at the end of this list:

[1] brahmā dadau śāstram idam purāṇam [2] mātariśvane || tasmāc [3] cośanasā prāptam tasmāc cāpi [4] bṛhaspatiḥ | bṛhaspatis tu provāca [5] savitre tadanantaram || savitā [6] mṛtyave prāha mṛtyuś [7] cendrāya vai punaḥ | indraś cāpi [8] vasiṣṭāya so 'pi [9] sārasvatāya ca || sārasvatas [10] tridhāmne 'tha tridhāmā ca [11] śaradvate | śaradvāṃs tu [12] triviṣṭāya so [13] 'ntarikṣāya dattavān || [14] carṣiṇe cāntarikṣo vai so 'pi [15] trayyāruṇāya ca | trayyāruṇād [16] dhanañjayaḥ sa vai prādāt [17] kṛtañjaye || kṛtañjayāt [18] tṛṇañjayo [19] bharadvājāya so 'py atha | [20] gautamāya bharadvājaḥ so 'pi [21] niryyantare punaḥ || niryyantaras tu provāca tathā [22] vājaśravāya vai | sa dadau [23] somaśuṣmāya sa cādāt [24] tṛṇabindave || tṛṇabindus tu [25] dakṣāya dakṣaḥ provāca [26] śaktaye | śakteḥ [27] parāśaraś cāpi garbhasthaḥ śrutavān idam || parāśarāj [28] jātukarṇyas tasmād [29] dvaipāyanaḥ prabhuḥ | dvaipāyanāt punaś cāpi [30] mayā prāptaṃ dvijottama || mayā caitat punaḥ proktaṃ [31] putrāyāmitabuddhaye | ity eva vākyaṃ brahmādiguruṇāṃ samudāḥṛtam ||.

The list of *vedavyāsa*s in LinP 1.7.15–18 includes these twenty-five names: Kratu, Satya, Bhārgava, Angiras, Savitr, Mṛtyu, Śatakratu, Vasiṣṭha, Sārasvata, Tridhāman, Trivṛta, Śatatejas, Tarakṣu, Āruṇi, Kṛtamjaya, Rṭamjayo, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Vācaśravas, Tṛṇabindu, Rūkṣa, Śakti, Jātūkarṇya, Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana.





also abridged the verses, and [4] Brhaspati received them.

brhaspatis tu provāca sūryam trimsatsahasrikam | pancavimsatsahasrāni mṛtyum prāha divākarah || 1:64 ||

Bṛhaspati taught 30,000 [verses] to [5] Sūrya [the Sun]. Divākara [= the Sun] taught 25,000 [verses] to [6] Mṛtyu [Death].

ekavimsatsahasrāņi mṛtyunendrāya kīrtitam | indreņāha vasiṣṭhāya viṃsatslokasahasrikam || 1:65 ||

Mṛtyu taught 21,000 [verses] to [7] Indra. Indra taught 20,000 verses to [8] Vasiṣṭha.

aṣṭādaśasahasrāṇi tena sārasvatāya tu | sārasvatas tridhāmāya sahasradaśa sapta ca || 1:66 ||

And he[, Vasiṣṭha taught] 18,000 [verses] to [9] Sārasvata. Sārasvata [taught] 17,000 [verses] to [10] Tridhāma[n].

şodasānām sahasrāni bharadvājāya vai tatah | dasa pancasahasrāni trivṛṣāya abhāṣata || 1:67 ||

[He taught] 16,000 verses to [11] Bharadvāja. [Bharadvāja] taught 15,000 verses to [12] Trivṛṣa.

caturdaśasahasrāṇi antarīkṣāya vai tataḥ | trayyāruṇiṃ sahasrāṇi trayodaśa abhāṣata || 1:68 ||

[Trivṛṣa] then [taught] 14,000 verses to [13] Antarīkṣa. [Antarīkṣa] taught 13,000 [verses] to [14] Trayyāruṇi.

trayyāruņis tu viprendro dhanamjayam abhāṣata | dvādaśāni sahasrāṇi saṃkṣipya punar abravīt || 1:69 ||

Trayyāruṇi, the great Brahmin, having abridged them again, taught 12,000 [verses] to [15] Dhanaṃjaya.

kṛtaṃjayāya samprāpto dhanaṃjayamahāmuniḥ | kṛtaṃjayād dvijaśreṣṭha ṛṇaṃjayamahātmane || 1:70 ||

1.63 Note the stem form noun *pāda* twice in this verse and the slightly odd grammatical structure in *pāda* b, (*purāṇaṃ*) *prāptam uśanasam* ('the Purāṇa reached Uśanas'), as opposed to the solution in *pāda* d with *prāptavān*.

I.64 *Pāda*s ab are a ma-*vipulā*, or simply a *pathyā* if *pra* in *provāca* does not turn the previous syllable long (muta cum liquida).



#### Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

Dhanamjaya, the great sage, handed [them] over to [16] Kṛtamjaya. [That recension was transmitted] from Kṛtamjaya, O best of the twice-born, to [17] noble Ḥṇamjaya.

ṛṇañjayāt punaḥ prāpto gautamāya maharṣiṇe | gautamāc ca bharadvājas tasmād dharyadvatāya tu || 1:71 ||

Then from Rṇaṃjaya it was given to [18] Gautama, the great sage, from Gautama to [19] Bharadvāja, from him to [20] Haryātman.

rājasravās tataḥ prāptaḥ somasuṣmāya vai tataḥ | somasuṣmāt tataḥ prāptas tṛṇabindus tu bho dvija || 1:72 ||

Then [21] Rājaśravas received it, then [22] Somaśuṣma. Then from Somaśuṣma [23] Tṛṇabindu received it, O twice-born.

tṛṇabindus tu vṛkṣāya vṛkṣaḥ śaktim abhāṣata | śaktiḥ parāśaraṃ prāha jatukarṇāya vai tataḥ || 1:73 ||

Tṛṇabindu taught it to [24] Vṛkṣa, Vṛkṣa to [25] Śakti [the father of Parāśara]. Śakti taught it to [26] Parāśara, then [Parāśara] to [27] Jatukarṇa.

dvaipāyanam tu provāca jatukarņo maharṣiṇam | romaharṣāya samprāpto dvaipāyanamahāmuniḥ | 1:74 ||

Jatukarṇa taught it to [28] [Vyāsa] Dvaipāyana, the great sage. Dvaipāyana, the great sage, gave it to [29] Romaharṣa.

romaharṣeṇa provāca putrāyāmitabuddhaye | daśa dve ca sahasrāṇi purāṇaṃ samprakāśitam | mānuṣāṇāṃ hitārthāya kiṃ bhūyaḥ śrotum icchasi || 1:75 ||

I.70 Note the odd structure in pādas ab: dhanamjayaḥ kṛtamjayāya samprāptaḥ, for a more standard dhanamjayena (purāṇam) samprāpitam kṛtamjayam ('the Purāṇa was transmitted to Kṛtamjaya').

1.71 The structure of *pādas* ab is as odd as that of 1.70ab. What was intended is probably *rṇañjayena prāpitaṃ gautamāya*. The name Haryadvata in *pāda* d seem to be a variant on the attested Haryatvata and Haryātman (the latter is in the list of *vedavyāsas* in ViṣṇuP 3.3.16–17, see note to 1.62 above).

1.72 The syntax is again slightly odd here. The intention may have been *prāpitaṃ* rājaśravasā somaśuṣmāya... tatas tṛṇabindunā prāptam.

1.73 In other list of *vedavyāsas*, Tṛṇabindu hands the Purāṇas down to Ḥkṣa, Rūkṣa or Dakṣa (see note to 1.62 above). *vṛkṣa* in *pāda* a is probably a corrupted form. The name Jatukarṇa may be a corrupted form of Jātū- or Jātukarṇa.

1.74 *Pāda*s ab are a *pathyā* if *pra* in *provāca* does not turn the previous syllable long (muta cum liquida). The syntax of *pāda*s cd echoes that of 1.70ab above.



Romaharṣa taught the Purāṇa[s] of 12,000 [verses], now fully revealed, to his son, [30] Amitabuddhi, for the benefit of humankind. What else do you wish to know?

|| iti vṛṣasārasaṃgrahe brahmāṇḍasaṃkhyā nāmādhyāyaḥ prathamaḥ ||

Here ends the first chapter in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* called the Description of the Brahmānda[s].

1.75 Romaharṣa is usually considered to be the same person as Sūta, disciple of Vyāsa Dvaipāyana.

In Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 3.4.67ab (mayā caitat punaḥ proktaṃ putrāyāmitabuddhaye, see note to 1.62 above) Amitabuddhi is clearly the name (or epithet) of Romaharṣa's son. This suggests that the reading romaharṣāya in some of the MSS in pāda a is a mistake for romaharṣa's ca, or similar. MS M is either transmitting an otherwise syntactically problematic reading (romaharṣeṇa) that is more original than that in most other witnesses, or M's scribe is trying to correct the text. Supposing the former, in this case I accepted M's reading.

Manuscripts  $C_{02}$  and M place the *iti* of the colophon at the end of the last *śloka*, before the *daṇḍas*, thus: *icchasīti*  $\|O\|$  ( $C_{02}$ ) and *icchasī iti*  $\|o\|$  (M). Note also that M gives the number of *ślokas* in this chapter, 77, which is almost exactly the number of verses this critical edition has produced. The scribe of M struggled with eyeskips in this chapter, therefore it seems unlikely that he himself counted the number of verses he had copied and arrived at this very figure. Rather, he copied the number from his exemplar.



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Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha





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# Appendices

passeges from part two

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Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha









# Symbols and Abbreviations

## Symbols

 $\approx$ 

cf.

=

#### **Abbreviations**

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

f.

ff.

#### **MGMCP**

#### **MGMPP**

**MS(S)** = manuscript(s)

**Siddham** = Siddham, the Asia Inscriptions 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 II: 143-61.

\_\_\_



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Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha









# References

### **Primary Sources**

*Arthaśāstra*: see Kangle 1969 *Uttarottara*: see CHECK

Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda: see CHECK Rgveda-khila: see Scheftelowitz 1906 Kūrmapurāṇa: see Mukhopādhyāya 1890

Padmapurāṇa: see CHECK
Buddhacarita: see CHECK
Bodhisattvabhūmi: see CHECK
Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa: see CHECK

Bhagavadgītā: see Sukthankar & al. 1927–1966 CHECK

Manu: see Dave 1972

Mahābhārata: see Sukthankar & al. 1927–1966 Mahāsubhāṣitasaṃgraha: see Sternbach 1974–2007

Mātangalīlā: see Śāstri 1910

YS: see CHECK

Raghuvaṃśa: see

Vāgmatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsā:

Vājasaneyisamhitā: see Weber 1972

Visnudharmottara:

Viṣṇudharma: see Grünendahl 1983

Viṣṇupurāṇa: see Pathak 1997-1999

OTHER PURANAS

CHANGE repeated authornames with ———

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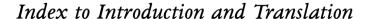
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