

वृषसानसंश्रुतः

The Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, a text of the Śivadharma corpus

A Critical Edition

Volume I

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

THE ŚIVADHARMA PROJECT

Studies on the History of Śaivism
X??

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A Critical Edition

Volume I

Csaba Kiss



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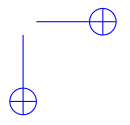
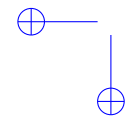
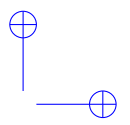
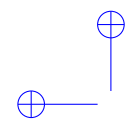
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Preface

Aims and problems

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

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

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

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

² McGann 1991, 27.

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

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

Introduction

Śivadharmā corpus

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

Title

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Or putting it more bluntly:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Introduction

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

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

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

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

¹¹ See p. xvii.

¹² See **CHECK**

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

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

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

Genre

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Structure

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

Each layer is characterised by a dialogue between two interlocutors. The layer that I label general Dharmaśāstric is a dialogue between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana; the Vaiṣṇava layer is presented as a dialogue between 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:

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

¹⁷ Understand *pādamātram*?

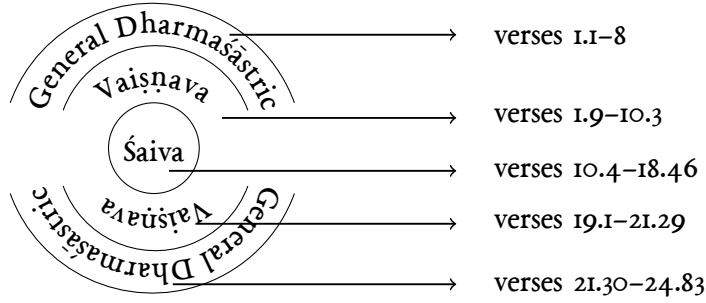


Figure 1: The structure of the VSS (reproduced from Kiss 2021, 188)

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

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

Connection to other texts

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

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

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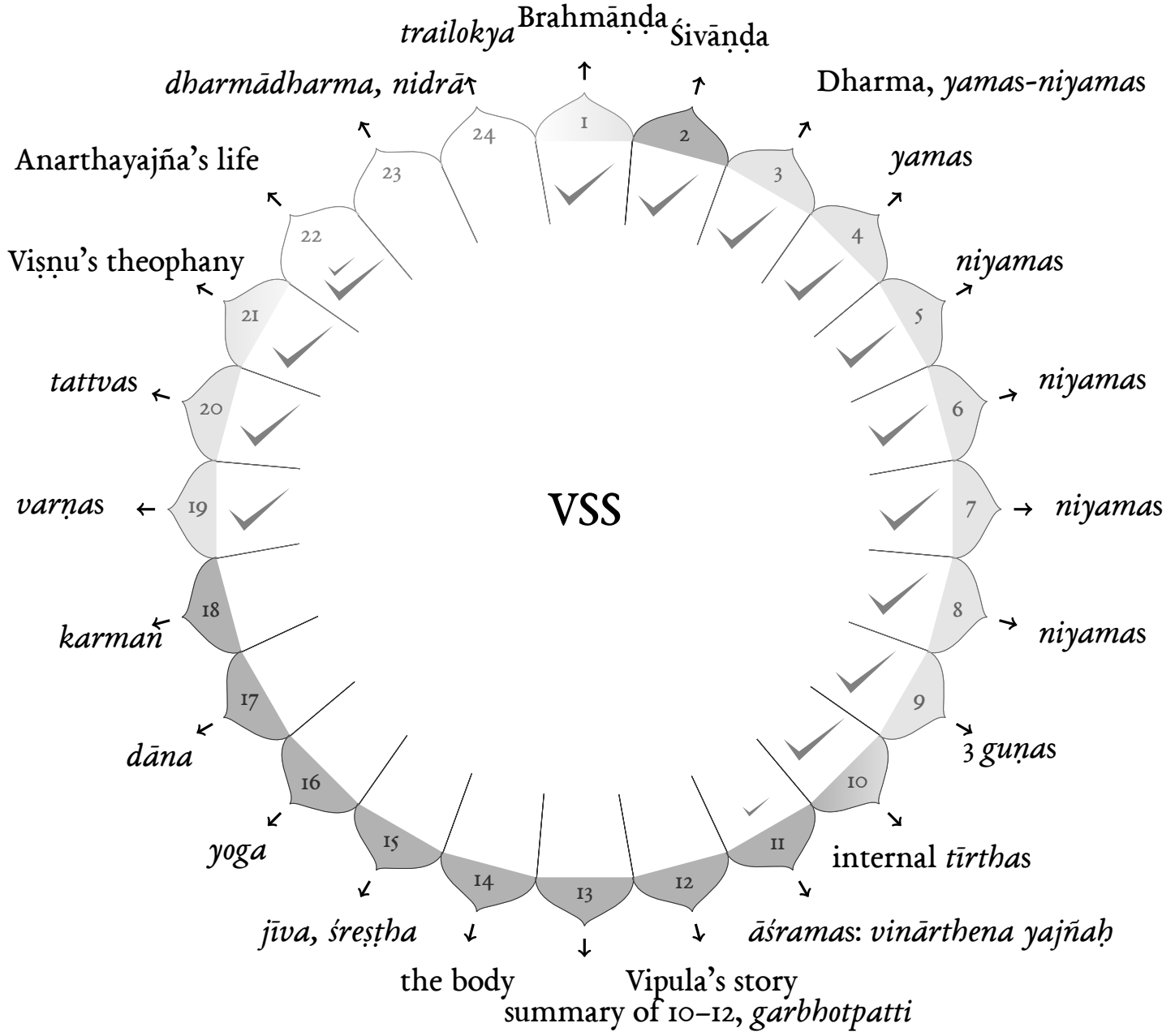


Figure 2: The structure and topics of the VSS

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

Thus the frame story in the VSS suggests that the text is to be ideally read as a summary or higher synthesis of the Dharmic teachings found in the MBh. The VSS’s connection to the MBh is also evident from quotations from and paraphrases of MBh passages. EXAMPLES (tattvasystem). References to other works - Mahābhārata - nakule - vipule etc. MBh VSS 8.21 BhG 17.16 and 15 and 14: VSS 6.20–22

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

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

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

Śivadharmas texts:

Embryology

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

Compare, borrowings

Buddhacarita

Brhatkālottara,

Dating and provenance

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

¹⁸ Kiss 2021, 187

¹⁹ Petech 1984, 31

²⁰ Sanderson 2009, 77

Introduction

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 names and individuals mentioned in the text, and a possible influence of any local language on the style and grammar of the text.

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

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

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

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

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

²⁴ See Mani 1975, s.v. ‘sūryatīrtha’.

²⁵ Mani 1975, s.v. ‘mānasa IV’.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

Manasarovar.²⁶ Bindusāra, which most probably stands for Bindusaras, can be a sacred place north of Mount Kailāsa,²⁷ two miles south of Gaṅgotri,²⁸ or alternatively Sitpur in Gujarat, north-west of Ahmedabad.²⁹

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

kiṃciddūre saṅgamasya yajñabhūmiṃ manoharām |
vidhāya munibhir sārddham vājapeyam athākarot ||
yajñam samāpya vālmīkir navanāḍimayam girim |
āruroha dvijaśreṣṭho munibhir munisattamaḥ ||
katake tasya śailasya nānānirjharasobhite |
liṅgam saṃsthāpayām āsa vālmīkiśvarasaṃjñitam ||
sthāpayitvā mahāliṅgam vālmīkir munisattamaḥ |
svāśrame tamasātīre yajau munigaṇair vṛtaḥ ||
vālmīkiśvaram ālokyā vāgvibhūtiḥ prajāyate |
ato vāgīśvaram liṅga pravadanti maṇiṣiṇaḥ ||

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(?)³¹ together with the sages. In a valley of the mountain which was embellished with various waterfalls, he installed a *liṅga* called Vālmīkiśvara. 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 Vālmīkiśvara [*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.³² This sacred place is mentioned as the most important one in

²⁶ Dey 1899, 57.

²⁷ Mani 1975, s.v. ‘bindusaras’.

²⁸ Dey 1899, 11.

²⁹ Dey 1899, *ibid.*

³⁰ Sanderson 2009, 113 n. 241.

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

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

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

devatānām hariḥ śreṣṭhaḥ śreṣṭhā gaṇḍā nadiṣu ca |
anāśanas tapaśśreṣṭhas tirthaśśreṣṭhaḥ suradrahaḥ || 18.15

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁷ See fn. 36.

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

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

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

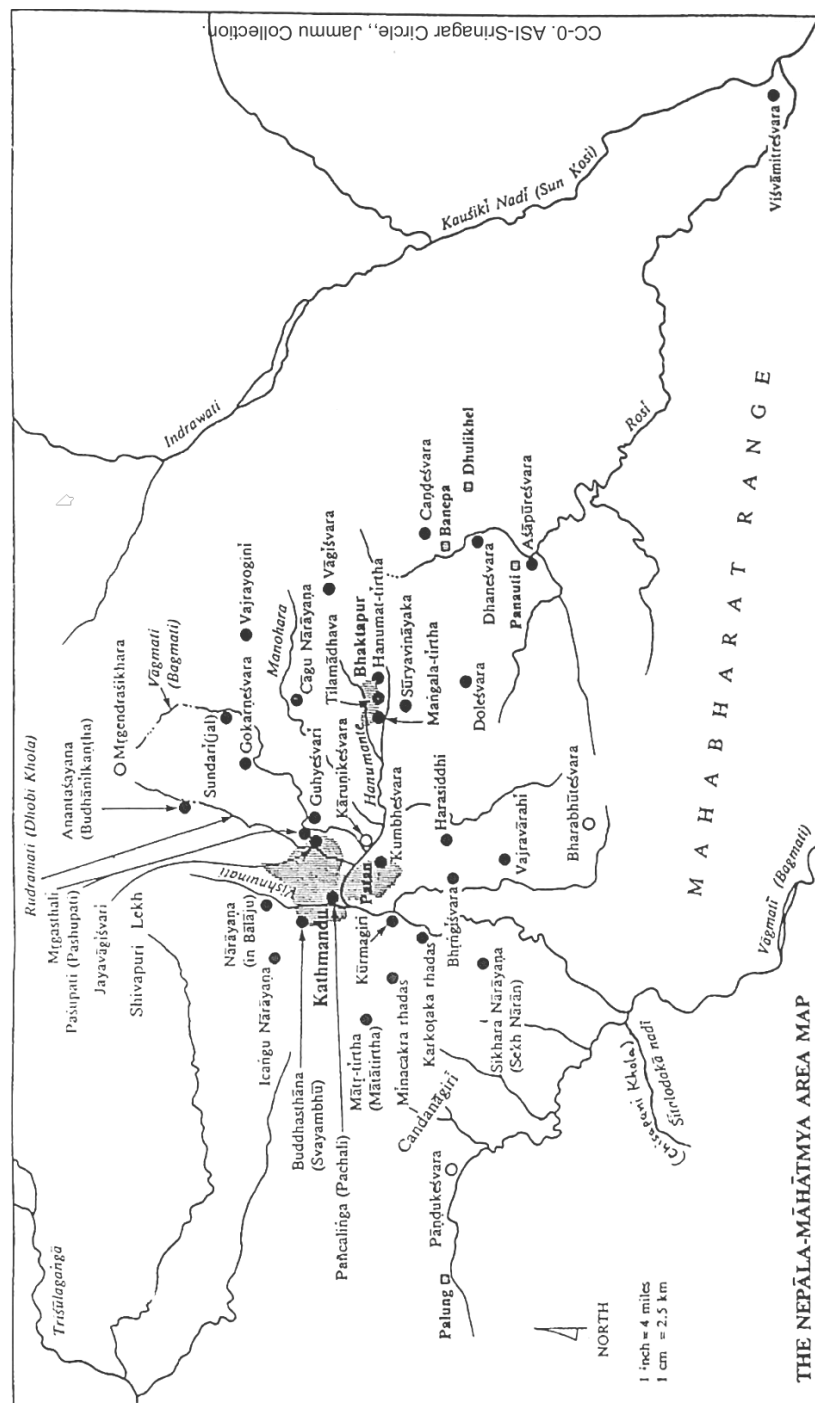


Figure 4: Map in Acharya 1992

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁰ See, e.g., *pāpakṛt* in VSS 3.34d (≈ *Manu* 5.52) attested in Devanāgarī MSS Pu⁵, Pu⁷, Pu⁹; *nānyatra manur abravīt* in VSS 3.35d (≈ *Manu* 5.41) attested in Śāradā MSS sOx¹, sPu⁶ and Devanāgarī MS Tr²; *kūṭa* in VSS 4.79 (≈ *Manu* 11.57) in a MS from Kathmandu (bKt⁵), in Devanāgarī/Old Nāgarī MSS (Lo⁴, nPu¹, Pu², Pu⁴, Pu¹⁰), as well as in two South-Indian MSS (cMd¹, tMd³).

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

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

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

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

i.e., 1071–1072 CE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Authors, redactors and target audience

Why was the VSS included in the Śivadharma corpus?

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

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

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

MORE...

Pāśupatas in the VSS

8.2 vratas in ch 8

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 Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā 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.”

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

4.73 36-tattva system?
5.7–11 dhyāna

Buddhism in the VSS

Misc

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

Language

Newar influence?

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

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

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

⁴⁸ See pp. xx ff.

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

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Number and gender

One of the most evident deviation from Pāṇinian grammar in the text of the VSS is a general disregard of grammatical concord as to number and gender.⁵⁰ See, e.g., a plural verb (metri causa?) with a singular subject in VSS 1.25ab:

rātryāgame praliyante jagat sarvaṃ carācaram

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

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

pramāṇaṃ nāma saṃkhyā ca kīrtitāni samāsataḥ

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

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

parva cāsya śataṃ pūrṇaṃ śrutvā bhāratasaṃhitām

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

Here one would expect either a plural genitive (*parvāṇāṃ śataṃ*), a compound (*śataparvāṇi*), or a plural accusative (*parvāṇi śataṃ*). Similarly, *gatiś ca pañca vijñeyāḥ* in 3.5a stands for *gatayaś ca pañca vijñeyāḥ* (‘and the paths are to be known as five’), partly metri causa; and an interrogative

⁵⁰ 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 maṇḍalaṇi ca* 429,19 (cf. 429, 21), *narāḥ pañcagatiṇi ca na labhec ca* 428,12], as is gender

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

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

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

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quantifier (*kati*, ‘how many?’) can trigger the same: *gatis tasya kati smṛtāḥ* (3.1d; ‘how many are its path[s]?’). It is not without interest that classical Newar rarely applies any plural marker in noun phrases with numerals.⁵² Moreover in Newar, ‘nouns denoting inanimate objects are indifferent as to number.’⁵³ A further clear example is verse 3.6cd:

tasya patnī mahābhāgā trayodaśa sumadhyamāḥ

He has thirteen beautiful wives with nice waists.

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

kīrtitāni viśeṣeṇa śaucācāram aśeṣataḥ

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

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

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

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

⁵³ Jørgensen 1941, 5 and 17.

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

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

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

Introduction

Case and syntax

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

*bhūmipradātā dvija hīnadīnaḥ
samṛddhasasyo jalasaṃnikṛṣṭaḥ |
sa yāti lokam amarādhipasya
vimānāyānena manohareṇa ||*

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

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 vocative, and everything else is in the nominative: endings seem but decorations. This is difficult to explain by classical Newar influence since Newar does have a dative case marker, with animate nouns added to the genitive marker. Similarly difficult is to explain why then *pādas* cd are written in perfect standard Sanskrit.⁵⁷

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

indreṇāsmi phalaṃ dattaṃ sa phalaṃ datta me bhavān

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

Again, this is the translation that seems to fit the context. Here the skeleton of *pāda* c is a well-constructed passive: *indreṇa phalaṃ dattaṃ*, but then, instead of adding a dative or genitive (e.g., *indreṇa me phalaṃ dattaṃ*), the author chooses a finite verb (*asmi*). In *pāda* d, after seemingly

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

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

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treating *phalaṃ* as a masculine noun, and leaving *datta* in stem form metri causa, and using *me* for *mayā*,⁵⁹ this time he ends the phrase with a noun in the nominative (*bhavān*) instead of the dative or genitive. Why not try to write *dattaṃ tad eva te mayā*,⁶⁰ or *dattaṃ tava tad eva ca*? Constructions with *datta/kathita* plus an expected dative are especially prone to confusion. See, e.g., VSS 1.62cd–63ab and 10.2d:

brahmaṇā kathitaṃ pūrṇaṃ mātariśvā yathātatham
vāyunā pāda saṃkṣīpya prāptaṃ cośanasam 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 purāvṛttaṃ nandinā kathito 'smi aham

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

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

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

eṣa garbhasamutpattiḥ kathito 'smi varānane

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

āgneyadhātum somaṃ ca kathito 'smi varānane

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

kathito 'smi samāseṇa kim anyac chrotum icchasi

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

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

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

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

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

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Sometimes the agent in an active construction with a transitive verb simply imitates an ergative structure: *viṣṇunā... papraccha* (1.8), *dhanyās te yair idam vetti* (4.75ab), *sa[!] hovāca pathikena* (12.60a).⁶²

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

caturmaunasya vakṣyāmi śṛṇuṣvāvahito bhava

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

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

brahmāṇḍānām prasamkhyātum mayā śakyam katham dvija

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

evam satyavidhānasya kīrtitam tava suvrata

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

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

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

yajec cakre ca vidhivad yoginīśiddhim icchatā 21.12cd

Cardinal and ordinal numbers

Although the VSS does use simple ordinal numbers such as *prathama*, *dvi-tīya*, and *trītiya*, 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 prakṛtiṃ viddhi niścayam

dvāviṃśati ahaṃkāras tattvam uktaṃ maṇiśibhiḥ

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

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

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

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

Stem form nouns

Stem form nouns, or *prātipadikas*, are extremely common in the language of the VSS. They are not alien to the Aśa Sanskrit of Śaiva Tantras,⁶⁶ but the extent to which they prevail in the VSS is striking and it reminds one of the zero suffix of the nominative and accusative, or rather of the ‘casus indefinitus’ or ‘absolutive case’ of classical Newar.⁶⁷ Often stem forms are required to restore the metre, and they would thus be difficult to emend, and often they blend in sandhi with the following word. See some clear examples below with the expected, but usually unmetrical, form in parentheses:

- 1.63a: *vāyunā pāda saṃkṣipya (pādam)*
- 1.63c: *tenāpi pāda saṃkṣipya (pādam)*
- 2.25c: *bhogam akṣaya tatraiva (akṣayam)*
- 2.26d: *iśānānam smṛtālayaḥ (smṛta ālayaḥ)*
- 4.19f: *prasahyasteya pañcamam (°steyam)*
- 4.72a: *caturdhyānādhunā (°dhyānam adhunā)*
- 4.77a: *pramādashāna pañcaiva (°sthānam or °sthānāni)*
- 6.5c: *vedādhyayana kartavyam (vedādhyayanam)*
- 6.14a: *dvitīyam tattva puruṣam (tattvam)*

Vocabulary

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

generate list from index

Modern Nepali: singular after numerals.

Kölver

No short-long

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

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

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

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

Introduction

Metre

As regards metrical licences, perhaps the most striking feature is the generous use of the poetic licence sometimes labelled ‘muta cum liquida,’⁶⁸ namely that some consonant clusters that would normally turn the previous short (*laghu*) syllable long (*guru*) may in some cases do not do so.⁶⁹ Syllables beginning with *pr*, *br*, *hr*, *kr*, especially (or exclusively?) at the beginning of words, are well-known candidates for this licence.⁷⁰ In the VSS, *tr*, *vr*, *śr*, *pr*, and also *śy*, *śv*, *sv*, *dv*,⁷¹ can also trigger this licence. All these syllables involve conjunct consonants with a semivowel in second position.

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

padādāu iha varṇasya saṃyogaḥ kramasaṃjñikah |
purahsthiteṇa tena syāl laghutā ’pi kvaacid 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.:] *vibhaktiyantaṃ padaṃ tasya padasyādaḥ vartamāno yo varṇas tasya saṃyogaḥ | sa iha śāstre kramasaṃjñō jñeyah | tena krameṇa purovartinā prāk-padānte vartamānasya prātagurubhāvyāpi laghutā syāt | kvacil lakṣānurodhena | nanu ka eṣah kramo nāma saṃyoga ucyate | pūrvācāryāṇāṃ piṅgalanā-gaprabhṛtīnāṃ kālīdāsādīnāṃ ca kavināṃ samayaḥ parigrhitah | saṃyogaḥ kramasaṃyogaḥ || 10 || tatra gra-saṃyogena yathā | idam asyodāharaṇam |*

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

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

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

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

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

⁷² Ollett 2013, 333.

⁷³ Patel 2020.

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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 sarṣapaśākāṃ 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.⁷⁴

The example verse given above (1.11) is in *āryā*, and the metric pattern of the second half-verse is, strictly speaking, the following:

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

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

- - | U - U | - U U | - U U | - - | U | - - | - |

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

padādāv iti kim | anyatra mā bhūt |

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

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

- 1.1c: *harīndra*(*br*)*ahmādibhir āsamagraṃ (upajāti)*
 4.67c: *prajñābodha*(*sr*)*uṭiṃ smṛtiṃ ca labhate mānaṃ ca nityaṃ labhed*
(śārdūlavikṛīḍita)
 4.89a: *iti yama*(*pr*)*avibhāgaḥ kīrtito ’yaṃ dvijendra (mālinī)*
 5.5cd: *parastrīpara*(*dr*)*avyeṣu śaucaṃ kāyikam ucyate (pathyā)*
 5.9cd: *vānaprasthasya*(*tr*)*iguṇaṃ yatīnāṃ tu caturguṇaṃ (na-vipulā)*
 5.15ab: *haṃsasārasacakraḥvakukkuṭān śuka*(*sy*)*enakān (pathyā)*
 6.13ab: *brahmalokaṃ tu*(*pr*)*athamam tattvaparakṛticintayā (na-vipulā)*
 8.33a: *tasmān mauna*(*vr*)*atam sadaiva sudṛḍham kurvīta yo niścitam (śārdūla-*
vikṛīḍita)
 10.31b: *īśānenābhijūṣṭam hr̥di*(*hr*)*ada vimalam nādaśītāmbupūrṇam (srag-*
dharā)
 11.9ab: *manaḥsuddhis tu*(*pr*)*athamam dravyasuddhir atah param (na-vipulā)*

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

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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.⁷⁵ To understand how unique the VSS’s indulgence in the ‘muta cum liquida’ licence is, the epics and the Purāṇas should be examined from this perspective.

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

- 3.42d: *etatpunyapha(la)m ahiṃsakajanah prāpnoti niḥsaṃśayaḥ* (śārdūlavikrīḍita)
 4.5a: *na narmayu(kta)m anṛtaṃ hinasti (upajāti)*⁷⁶
 4.39c: *aśeṣaya(jña)tapadānapunyaṃ* (upajāti)
 4.59c: *vijñānadha(rma)kulakīrtināśa* (upajāti)
 4.59d: *bhavanti vi(pra)damayā vihīnāḥ* (upajāti)
 5.20a: *śaucāśaucavidhijña mānava ya(di) kālakṣaye niścayaḥ* (śārdūlavikrīḍita)
 6.18b: *jijñāsyantāṃ dvijen(dra) bhavadahanakarah prārthanākalpavṛkṣaḥ* (sragdharā)
 7.13b: *saubhā(gya)m atulaṃ labheta sa nara rūpaṃ tathā śobhanam* (śārdūlavikrīḍita)
 8.44d: *na bhavati punaja(nma) kalpakotyaṃyute ’pi* (mālinī)
 11.42b: *saṃsāroddhara(na)m anityahara(na)m ajñānanirmūlanam* (śārdūlavikrīḍita)
 11.42c: *prajñāvṛddhika(ra)m amoghakaraṇam kleśārṇavottāraṇam* (śārdūlavikrīḍita)
 11.42d: *janmavyādhiha(ra)m akarmadahanaṃ sevet sa dharmottamam* (śārdūlavikrīḍita)
 12.150c: *nityaṃ rogādhivā(sa)m aniyatavapuṣaṃ trāhi māṃ kālāpāśāt* (sragdharā)

CHECK the more original a section the more extreme language? see ch11

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

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

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Contents and analysis of chapters 1–12

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

Adhyāya 1

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

Keywords: Brahmā, Brahman

Adhyāya 2

Perhaps a later, tantric, insertion?

2. śivāṇḍasaṃkhyā

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

Introduction

Adhyāya 3

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

Adhyāya 4

Adhyāya 5

Adhyāya 6

Adhyāya 7

Well-written? Simple

Adhyāya 8

Similarly quasi well-written? Simple

Adhyāya 9

Adhyāya 10

Adhyāya 11

Adhyāya 12

3. ahimsāpraśaṃsā 4. yamavibhāga 5. śaucācāraavidhi 6. yajñavidhi (also lokāḥ)
7. dānapraśaṃsā 8. niyamaśaṃsā (p. 603: types of svādhyāyana: śaiva, sāmkhya,
purāṇa, smārta, bhārata) 9. traiguṇyaviśeṣaṇīya 10. kāyatīrthavivarṇana 11.
caturāśramadharmavidhāna 12. vipulopākhyāna (narrative) 13. garbhotpatti
(on conception) 14. praśnavyākaraṇa (why people are tall/short etc.) 15. jī-
vanirṇaya 16. adhyātmanirṇaya (yoga) 17. dānadharma 18. pūrvakarmavipāka
19. dānayajñaviśeṣa 20. pañcaviṃśatitattvanirṇaya 21. kalpanirṇaya 22. varṇagotrāśrama
23. nidrotpatti 24. śāstravarṇana

everybody is donating to everybody,

the final donor is Brahmā

lot of testing going on in the frame story and also

in chapter 12

also the disguise thing is recurring: 12.37 and ch 1 and

when Viṣṇu reveals his identity

Topics in chapters 13–24

A Critical Edition of Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha 1–12

Introduction to the Critical Edition

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁸¹ Hanneder 2009, 5.

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

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

Witnesses

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

⁸² See p. xxx.

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

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

Introduction

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

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

Cambridge manuscripts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹¹ Personal communication, 1 Dec 2021.

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indeed, they seem closely related.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kathmandu palm-leaf manuscripts

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

below.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹⁹ See a similar evaluation in Bisschop 2018, 56.

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

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continue with the upper one.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Kathmandu paper manuscripts

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

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

¹⁰⁴ K₁₀₇ reads a similar *grdbhe*.

¹⁰⁵ One would expect the vocative *dvijottama*.

¹⁰⁶ The correct sandhi would be *vijñeyās ca*.

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

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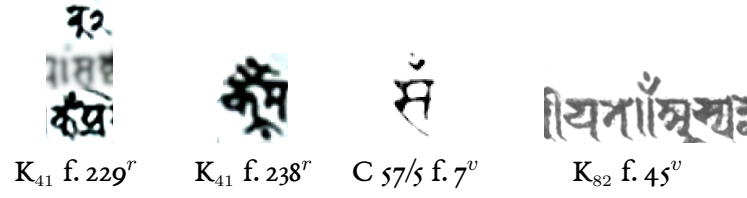


Figure 5: *Kākapadas*

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁹ Einicke 2009, 164 and 328.

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

Introduction

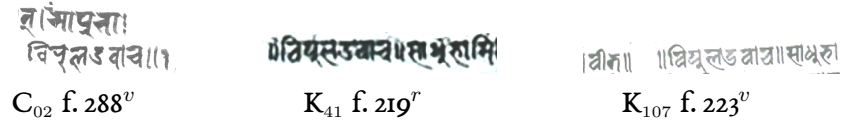


Figure 6: Insertion of *vipula uvāca* in C_{02}


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

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

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

¹¹¹ More on this in volume two.

¹¹² See p. 5.

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

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

Vṛṣasārasaṅgraha

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

Munich manuscript

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

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

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

Paris manuscript

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

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

Introduction

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

Oxford manuscript

(N)O₁₅ This palm-leaf manuscript is deposited in the Bodleian Library, in Oxford, under shelf mark Sansk. a. 15. It is dated to Nepāla Samvat 307 (1186–87 CE), and it contains 335 folios, transmitting the following texts: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasamgraha*, 4) *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)Ko₇₇ MS G4077 in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Kolkata.¹¹⁷ This is a palm leaf MS, transmitting the VSS in 52 folios. The MS is dated to July 6, 1036 CE (Nepāla Samvat 156; see De Simini 2017, 542), which makes it

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

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

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

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

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

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

Tübingen manuscript

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

London manuscript

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

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

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

Introduction

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

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

K₈₂ (f. 40r) reads:



[spha]ṭikāṃś-ram [= °kāṃbaram] eva ca | daśayogāsanāsino

L₁₆ (f. 38iv) gives:



sphaṭikāṃsatam eva ca || devayogāsanāsīto

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

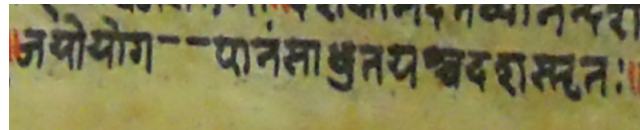
Here K₈₂ (f. 39v) reads:



[japo yogas tapo] dhyānaṃ svādhyāyaś ca daśa smṛtaḥ

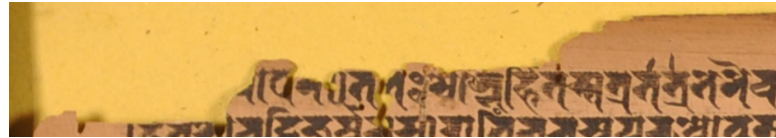
with *dhyā* and *svā* damaged;

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



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

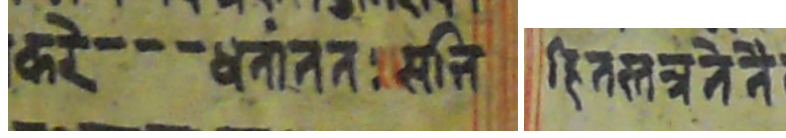
K₈₂ (f. 39r) gives:



Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

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

L₁₆ (f. 38or) gives:



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

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

Naraharinath's edition

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

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

Introduction

Editorial policies

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

SDh MSS from Nepal
stemma...

वृषसारसंग्रहः

[अष्टमोऽध्यायः]

[नियमेषु स्वाध्यायः (५)]

पञ्चस्वाध्यायनं कार्यमिहामुत्र सुखार्थिना ।

शैवं सांख्यं पुराणं च स्मार्तं भारतसंहिताम् ॥ ८:१ ॥

शैवे तत्त्वं विचिन्तेत शैवपाशुपतद्वये ।

अत्र विस्तरतः प्रोक्तं तत्त्वसारसमुच्चयम् ॥ ८:२ ॥

संख्यातत्त्वं तु सांख्येषु बोद्धव्यं तत्त्वचिन्तकैः ।

पञ्चतत्त्वविभागेन कीर्तितानि महर्षिभिः ॥ ८:३ ॥

पुराणेषु महीकोषो विस्तरेण प्रकीर्तितः ।

अधोर्ध्वमध्यतिर्यं च यत्नतः सम्प्रवेशयेत् ॥ ८:४ ॥

Witnesses used for this chapter : C₉₄ ff. 204r-205v, C₄₅ ff. 210v-211v, C₀₂ ff. 280v-282r, K₈₂ ff. 11v-13r, K₁₀ exp. 53 (lower) - 54 (lower), K₇ ff. 219v-221r, P₅₇ exp. 426-428, K₄₁ ff. 213r-214v, E pp. 603-606 ; C_Σ = C₉₄ + C₄₅ + C₀₂

❖

(1a) ०स्वाध्यायनं] Σ, ०स्वाध्ययनं K₇ (1b) ०मुत्र] Σ, ०मूत्र K₄₁E • ०र्थिना] Σ, ०र्थिनां K₁₀ (1c) शैवं] Σ, शैलं C₀₂ • सांख्यं] C₉₄C₄₅K₇P₅₇K₄₁E, शांख्य C₀₂, सांख्यं K₈₂K₁₀ (1d) स्मार्तं] Σ, स्मार्त C₀₂K₁₀ • भारतसंहिताम्] Σ, भारतसंहिताः K₈₂, भारतसंहितां K₇ (2a) शैवे] C₉₄C₀₂K₈₂K₁₀K₇, शैवै C₄₅P₅₇, शैवं K₄₁E • तत्त्वं] Σ, ०तत्त्व P₅₇ (2b) शैव०] P₅₇, शैवः C₉₄C₄₅K₁₀K₇, शैवाः C₀₂K₄₁E, शैवा K₈₂ • ०द्वये] Σ, ०ये C₄₅ (2d) ०सारसमुच्चयम्] Σ, ०सारं समुच्चयम् K₈₂, ०सारं समुच्चयं K₁₀ (3a) संख्यातत्त्वं तु] K₈₂K₇P₅₇K₄₁, संख्यातत्त्वं C₉₄, संख्यातत्त्वं C₄₅, शाङ्खातत्त्वं तु C₀₂, संख्यतत्त्वन्तु K₁₀, संख्यातत्त्व तु E • सांख्येषु] Σ, संख्येषु K₁₀ (3c) ०तत्त्व०] Σ, ०तत्त्वा० C₄₅, om. K₁₀ (4c) अधोर्ध्व०] Σ, अधोर्ध्व K₁₀ • ०मध्य०] Σ, ०मध० C₀₂ (4d) यत्नतः] Σ, यत्नत K₁₀ • सम्प्रवेशयेत्] Σ, सम्प्रबोधयेत् E

वृषसारसंग्रहे

स्मार्त वर्णाश्रमाचारं धर्मन्यायप्रवर्तनम् ।
शिष्टाचारो ऽविकल्पेन ग्राह्यस्तत्र अशङ्कितः ॥ ८:५ ॥

इतिहासमधीयानः सर्वज्ञः स नरो भवेत् ।
धर्मार्थकाममोक्षेषु संशयस्तेन छिद्यते ॥ ८:६ ॥

[नियमेष्वपस्थनिग्रहः (६)]

शृणुष्यावहितो विप्र पञ्चोपस्थविनिग्रहम् ।
स्त्रियो वा गर्हितोत्सर्गः स्वयंमुक्तिश्च कीर्त्यते ।
स्वप्नोपघातं विप्रेन्द्र दिवास्वप्नं च पञ्चमः ॥ ८:७ ॥

[स्त्रियः]

अगम्या स्त्री दिवा पर्वे धर्मपत्यपि वा भवेत् ।
विरुद्धस्त्रीं न सेवेत वर्णभ्रष्टाधिकासु च ॥ ८:८ ॥

[गर्हितोत्सर्गः]

अजमेषगवादीनां वडवामहिषीषु च ।
गर्हितोत्सर्गमित्येतद्यत्नेन परिवर्जयेत् ॥ ८:९ ॥

[स्वयंमुक्तिः]

अयोनिः कषणा वापि अपानकषणापि वा ।

✧

(5a) स्मार्त वर्णा०] C₉₄, तस्मार्तम्बवर्णा० C₄₅, स्मार्तवर्णा० C₀₂K₈₂K₁₀K₇K₄₁E,
स्मार्त वर्णा० P₅₇ (5b) धर्म०] Σ, धर्म C₀₂ • ०वर्तनम्] Σ, ०वर्तनं P₅₇, ०वर्तन
E (5c) शिष्टा०] Σ, शिष्टा K₄₁ • ०चारो] C₉₄C₄₅K₁₀K₇K₄₁, ०चार० C₀₂E,
०चारा K₈₂, ०चारो P₅₇ (5d)] Σ, ग्राह्यस्तः ॥ ८:५ ॥ (6b) ०ज्ञः]
Σ, ०ज्ञ C₀₂ (7b) ०ग्रहम्] Σ, ०ग्रहः K₈₂ (7c) गर्हितोत्सर्गः] C₉₄C₄₅K₁₀K₇
P₅₇, गर्हितस्सर्गः C₀₂, गर्हितो विप्र K₈₂, गर्हितो स्वर्गः K₄₁E (7d) स्वयं०] Σ,
स्वयं C₄₅ • कीर्त्यते] Σ, कीर्त्यते C₀₂ (7e) ०घातं] Σ, ०घात C₀₂E (8a)
स्त्री दिवा पर्वे] C₄₅C₀₂K₈₂K₁₀K₇K₄₁, ॥ ८:५ ॥ पर्वे P₅₇, स्त्री दिवापूर्वे E
(8b) ०पत्यपि] Σ, ०पत्नी पि C₀₂ (8c) विरुद्धस्त्रीं न] K₄₁, विरुद्धस्त्री न C_ΣK₁₀
K₇, विरुद्धस्त्री नि० K₈₂P₅₇, द्विरुद्धास्त्रीन् E (8d) ०धिकासु च] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂P₅₇K₄₁,
०धिकासु त C₀₂, ०दिकाषु च K₁₀, ०विकाषु च K₇, ०पिकासु च E (9a) ०मेष०] Σ,
०मेय० C₄₅ (10a) अयोनि०] conj., अन्योन्य० C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇P₅₇K₄₁E • ०कषणा]
C₉₄K₈₂, ०कषणा C₄₅C₀₂K₁₀K₇P₅₇K₄₁E (10b) ०कषणापि] C_ΣK₈₂, ०कषणापि
K₁₀K₇P₅₇K₄₁E

अष्टमोऽध्यायः

स्वयंमुक्तिरियं ज्ञेया तस्मात्तां परिवर्जयेत् ॥ ८:१० ॥

[स्वप्नघातम्]

स्वप्नघातं द्विजश्रेष्ठ अनिष्टं पण्डितैः सदा ।

स्वप्ने स्त्रीषु रमन्ते च रेतः प्रक्षरते ततः ॥ ८:११ ॥

[दिवास्वप्नम्]

दिवाशयं न कर्तव्यं नित्यं धर्मपरेण तु ।

स्वर्गमार्गार्गला ह्येताः स्त्रियो नाम प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ ८:१२ ॥

[नियमेषु व्रतपञ्चकम् (७)]

मार्जारकवकश्चानगोमहीव्रतपञ्चकम् ।

[मार्जारकव्रतम्]

स्वविष्टमूत्रं भूमीषु छादयेद्विजसत्तम ।

सूर्यसोमानुमोदन्ति मार्जारव्रतिकेषु च ॥ ८:१३ ॥

[वकव्रतम्]

वकवच्चेन्द्रियग्रामं सुनियम्य तपोधन ।

साधयेच्च मनस्तुष्टिं मोक्षसाधनतत्परः ॥ ८:१४ ॥

[श्वानव्रतम्]

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12cd cf. PadmaP L13.395cd : परित्यजध्वं दाराणि स्वर्गमार्गार्गलानि च

✧

(10c) स्वयंमुक्ति०] Σ , स्वयमुक्ति० C_{45} • ज्ञेया] Σ , ज्ञेयां K_{10} (10d) तस्मात्तां] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_7P_{57}K_{41}$, तस्मात्तां C_{02} , तस्मात्तां K_{10} , तस्मात्स्त्री E (11a) स्वप्नघा०] Σ , स्वप्नघा० P_{57}^{ac} (11b) पण्डितैः] Σ , पण्डितैः C_{02} , पण्डितैः K_7 (11c) रमन्ते] Σ , रमन्ते K_{41} (11d) प्रक्षरते] Σ , प्रस्खलतस् E • ततः] Σ , तत C_{02} (12a) दिवाशयं न] $C_{\Sigma}P_{57}K_{41}E$, दिवाशयेन K_{82} , दिवासयानं K_{10} , दिवाशायं K_7 (12b) नित्यं] Σ , नित्य K_{10} • उपरेण तु] Σ , उपरेण तु C_{94} , उपरेण च C_{02} (12c) ह्येताः] K_7 , ह्येता $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}P_{57}K_{41}E$ (12d) स्त्रियो] Σ , स्त्रियो E • कीर्तिताः] Σ , कीर्तिता K_7 (13ab) मार्जारकवकश्चानगोमहीव्रत०] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_7P_{57}$, मार्जारकवकश्चानगोमहीव्रत० K_{10} , मार्जारकवकश्चानगोमहीव्रत० K_{41} , मार्जारकश्च श्वानाश्च गोमहीवक E (13c) विष्ट०] Σ , विष्टा० E • मूत्रं] Σ , मूत्र० $C_{45}K_{10}$ (13e) मोदन्ति] Σ , षादन्ति E (14a) तपोधन] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}P_{57}$, तपोधनः K_7 , तपोधनम् $K_{41}E$ (14c) साधयेच्च] Σ , साधये च C_{45} • मनस्तुष्टिं] Σ , मनस्तुष्टि० $C_{45}C_{02}$ (14d) साधन०] Σ , सान० K_7

वृषसारसंग्रहे

मूत्रविष्टे न भूमीषु कुरुते धुनदं सदा ।
तुष्यते भगवान्शर्वः श्वानव्रतचरो यदि ॥ ८:१५ ॥

[गोव्रतम्]

मूत्रवर्चो न रुध्येत सदा गोव्रतिको नरः ।
भीमस्तुष्टिकरश्चैव पुराणेषु निगद्यते ॥ ८:१६ ॥

[महीव्रतम्]

कुदालैर्दारयन्तो ऽपि कीलकोटिशतैश्चितः ।
क्षमते पृथिवी देवी एवमेव महीव्रतः ॥ ८:१७ ॥

व्रतपञ्चकमित्येतद्यश्चरेत जितेन्द्रियः ।
स चोत्तममिदं लोकं प्राप्नोति न च संशयः ॥ ८:१८ ॥

[नियमेष्वुपवासः (८)]

शेषान्नमन्तरान्नं च नक्तायाचितमेव च ।
उपवासं च पञ्चैतत्कथयिष्यामि तच्छृणु ॥ ८:१९ ॥

[शेषान्नम्]

वैश्वदेवातिथिशेषं पितृशेषं च यद्भवेत् ।
भृत्यपुत्रकलत्रेभ्यः शेषाशी विघसाशनः ॥ ८:२० ॥

[अन्तरान्नम्]

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- (15a) मूत्रविष्टे न] Σ , मूत्रविष्टे च E (15b) धुनदं] Σ , श्वानदः K_{82} , छादनं E
(15c) शर्वः] $C_{94}K_{82}K_7P_{57}K_{41}E$, सर्वः $C_{45}K_{10}$, सव्वः C_{02} (16a) ऽवर्चो] C_{94}
 $C_{02}K_{10}K_7P_{57}K_{41}$, ऽवर्चो $C_{45}K_{82}$, ऽवर्चा E (16b) गोव्रतिको] Σ , ऽव्रतिको C_{94}
(16c) भीमस्तु०] $C_{02}K_{10}E$, भीमस्तु० $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_7P_{57}$, भीमस्तु० K_{41} (17a) कु-
दालैर्दारयन्तो] $K_{82}P_{57}E$, कुदालैर्दारयन्तो C_{94} , कुदालैर्दारयन्तो C_{45} , कुदालैर्दारयन्तो
 C_{02} , कुदालैर्दारयामास K_{10} , कुदालैर्दारयन्तो K_7 , कुदालैर्दारयन्तो K_{41} (17b)
] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7P_{57}$, कीलकोटिशतैरपि $C_{02}K_{41}E$ (17d) ऽव्रतः] Σ , ऽव्रत K_7
(18b) जितेन्द्रियः] Σ , द्विजेन्द्रियः K_{10} (19a)] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{10}K_7P_{57}^{pc}$, शेषाणाम-
न्तराणाञ्च $C_{02}E$, शेषान्नमन्तरान्नं च K_{82} , शेषान्नमन्तरान्नं च P_{57}^{ac} , शेषाणामन्तराणाञ्च K_{41}
(19b) नक्तायाचित०] Σ , नक्तायाचित० K_7 • च] Σ , वा E (19cd) पञ्चैतत्क०]
 Σ , पञ्चैतत्क० C_{02} (20a) ऽशेषं] Σ , ऽशेषां C_{45} (20d) विघसाशनः] $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}$,
विघसासनम् C_{45} , विघसाषिनः C_{02} , विघसाशनः K_7 , विघसाशनः P_{57}^{pc} , घसाशन
 P_{57}^{ac} , विघसासनः K_{41} , विघसासनः E

अष्टमोऽध्यायः

अन्तरा प्रातराशी च सायमाशी तथैव च ।
सदोपवासी भवति यो न भुङ्क्ते कदाचन ॥ ८:२१ ॥

[नक्तान्नम्]

न दिवा भोजनं कार्यं रात्रौ नैव च भोजयेत् ।
नक्तवेले च भोक्तव्यं नक्तधर्मं समीहता ॥ ८:२२ ॥

[अयाचितान्नम्]

अनारभ्य य आहारं कुर्यान्नित्यमयाचितम् ।
परैर्दत्तं तु यो भुङ्क्ते तमयाचितमुच्यते ॥ ८:२३ ॥

[उपवासः]

भक्ष्यं भोज्यं च लेह्यं च चोष्यं पेयं च पञ्चमम् ।
न काङ्क्षेन्नोपयुञ्जीत उपवासः स उच्यते ॥ ८:२४ ॥

[नियमेषु मौनव्रतम् (९)]

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21cd \approx MBh 12.214.9: अन्तरा प्रातराशं च सायमाशं तथैव च । सदोपवासी च भवेद् यो न भुङ्क्ते कथंचन ॥ \approx MBh 13.93.10: अन्तरा सायमाशं च प्रातराशं तथैव च । सदोपवासी भवति यो न भुङ्क्तेऽन्तरा पुनः ॥

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(21a) अन्तरा प्रातराशी] em., अन्तरा प्रान्तराशी $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_7$, अन्तरा क्रान्तराशी K_{10} , अन्तरा प्राक्तराशी P_{57} , अन्तमा प्रान्तराशी च K_{41} , अन्तसम्प्रान्तराशी E
(21b) सायमाशी] $C_{45}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7P_{57}$, सायमाशीन् C_{94} , नायमाशी K_{41} , नियमाशी E (21c) वासी भवति] Σ , वासी च भवति C_{02} (21d) कदाचन] Σ , कदाचन: C_{02} (22a) भोजनं] Σ , नोजनं K_7 (22b) च] Σ , तु C_{45} , om. K_{82} • भोजयेत्] Σ , कारयेत् K_{10} (22c) वेले च] $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}P_{57}K_{41}$, वेला च C_{45} , वेलो च K_7 , वेले व E (22d) धर्मं समीहता] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_7P_{57}$, धर्मसमीहता $C_{02}K_{10}$, धर्मसमीहिता K_{41} , धर्मः समीहितः E (23a) अनारभ्य य] conj., अनारम्भस्य $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7P_{57}K_{41}E$ (23b) कुर्यान्नि०] Σ , कुर्या नि० K_7 (23c) परैर्दत्तं तु] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}P_{57}K_{41}$, परै दत्तञ्च C_{02} , परै दत्तन्तु K_{10} , परैर्दन्तन्तु K_7 E (23d) तमयाचि०] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$, नमयाचि० $P_{57}^{ac}K_{41}$, तमयाचि० P_{57}^{pc} (24a) भक्ष्यं] Σ , भक्ष्य K_{82} (24c) काङ्क्षेन्नो०] Σ , काङ्क्षे नो० C_{02} • व्युञ्जीत] $C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_{41}$, व्युञ्जीत C_{94} , व्युञ्जीत C_{45} , व्युञ्जीत K_7 , व्युञ्जीत $P_{57}E$ (24d) वासः स] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}P_{57}E$, वास स K_{10} , वासस्य K_7 , वासः स K_{41}

वृषसारसंग्रहे

मिथ्यापिशुनपारुष्यतीक्ष्णवागप्रलापनम् ।
मौनपञ्चकमित्येतद्वारयेन्नियतव्रतः ॥ ८:२५ ॥

[मिथ्यावचनम्]

असम्भूतमदृष्टं च धर्माच्चापि बहिष्कृतम् ।
अनर्थाप्रियवाक्यं यत् तन्मिथ्यावचनं स्मृतम् ॥ ८:२६ ॥

[पिशुनः]

परश्रीं नाभिनन्दन्ति परस्यैश्वर्यमेव च ।
अनिष्टदर्शनाकाङ्क्षी पिशुनः समुदाहृतः ॥ ८:२७ ॥

[पारुष्यम्]

मृतमाता पिता चैव हानिस्थानं कथं भवेत् ।
भुङ्क्ष्व कामममृष्टानां पारुष्यं समुदाहृतम् ॥ ८:२८ ॥

[तीक्ष्णवाक्]

हृदि न स्फुटसे मूढ शिरो वा न विदार्यसे ।
एवमादीन्यनेकानि तीक्ष्णवादी स उच्यते ॥ ८:२९ ॥

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- (25a) °पारुष्य°] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇P₅₇, °संभिन्ना C₀₂, संभिन्नां K₄₁, °याभिन्ना E (25b) °तीक्ष्णवाग°] conj., °स्पृष्टवाग° C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇P₅₇, पृष्टवाक° C₀₂K₄₁, पृष्टेवाक° E (25c) मौनपञ्चक°] C₉₄C₄₅K₁₀, मौनं पञ्चक° C₀₂K₈₂K₇K₄₁E, मौनम्पञ्च° P₅₇ • °त्येत°] Σ, °त्ये° P₅₇^{ac} (25d) °रयेन्नि°] Σ, °रयन्नि° E (26a) °दृष्टं च] Σ, दृष्टञ्च C₀₂ (26b) धर्माच्चापि] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇P₅₇, धर्मश्चापि C₀₂K₄₁, धर्म चापि E • बहिष्कृतम्] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₇P₅₇, बहिष्कृतः C₀₂E, नहिष्कृतं K₁₀, बहिष्कृतः K₄₁ (26c) अनर्था°] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇P₅₇, अनर्थ° C₀₂K₄₁E (26cd) °वाक्यं यत्तन्मि°] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂P₅₇K₄₁, वक्तार तं मि° C₀₂, वाक्य यत्तन्मि° K₁₀, वाक्यं यन्तन्मि° K₇E (26d) स्मृतम्] Σ, स्मृतः C₄₅ (27a) परश्रीं ना°] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₇P₅₇, परस्त्री ना° C₀₂K₄₁^{pc}E, परस्त्रीन्ना° K₁₀, परस्त्री श्री ना° K₄₁^{ac} • °भिनन्दन्ति] Σ, °भिनन्ति C₄₅, °भिन्नन्दन्ति C₀₂ (27b) परस्यैश्वर्य°] Σ, परस्यैश्वर्य° C₄₅ (27c) °दर्शना°] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₇P₅₇E, °दर्शना° C₀₂, °दर्शनां K₁₀, °दर्शना° K₄₁ (27d) पिशुनः] Σ, पिशुन C₀₂ (28a) मृत°] Σ, मृता P₅₇^{pc} (28b) °स्थानं] Σ, °स्थान C₄₅C₀₂ (28c) भुङ्क्ष्व] K₇P₅₇, भुक्त्वा C₉₄, भुक्त्वा C₄₅C₀₂, भुङ्क्ष्व K₈₂, भुक्ष K₁₀, भुक्त्वा K₄₁, भुक्त्वा E • कामममृष्टानां] C₉₄K₈₂K₇P₅₇E, कामममृष्टानां C₄₅, कामसुसमृष्टानां C₀₂, काममुमृष्टाना K₁₀, पारुष्यमृष्टाना K₄₁ (29a) स्फुटसे] Σ, स्फुटय K₁₀

अष्टमोऽध्यायः

[असत्प्रलापः]

द्यूतभोजनयुद्धं च मद्यस्त्रीकथमेव च ।

असत्प्रलापः पञ्चैतत्कीर्तितं मे द्विजोत्तम ॥ ८:३० ॥

मौनमेव सदा कार्यं वाक्यसौभाग्यमिच्छता ।

अपारुष्यमसम्भिन्नं वाक्यं सत्यमुदीरयेत् ॥ ८:३१ ॥

यस्तु मौनस्य नो कर्ता दूषितः स कुलाधमः ।

जन्मे जन्मे च दुर्गन्धो मूकश्चैवोपजायते ॥ ८:३२ ॥

तस्मान्मौनव्रतं सदैव सुदृढं कुर्वीत यो निश्चितं

वाचा तस्य अलङ्घ्यता च भवति सर्वा सभां नन्दति ।

वक्त्राच्चोत्पलगन्धमस्य सततं वायन्ति गन्धोत्कटाः

शास्त्रानेकसहस्रशो गिरि नरः प्रोच्चार्यते निर्मलम् ॥ ८:३३ ॥

[नियमेषु स्नानम् (१०)]

स्नानं पञ्चविधं चैव प्रवक्ष्यामि यथातथम् ।

✧

(30a) ०युद्धं] Σ , ०युद्धश E (30b) ०कथं] $K_{10}K_7$, ०कषं $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}P_{57}$, ०कर्षं $K_{41}E$ (30cd) पञ्चैतत्कीं] Σ , पञ्चैते कीं K_{10} , पञ्चैतत्कीं K_7 (30d) मे] Σ , ते E (31a) कार्यं] Σ , कार्या K_{10} (31b) वाक्यं] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_7P_{57}E$, वाक्यं $C_{02}K_{10}K_{41}$ • ०सौभाग्यं] Σ , ०सौभार्यं C_{45} (31c) ०भिन्नं] Σ , ०भिन्न C_{02} , ०दिग्धं E (32b) दूषितः] Σ , दूषित C_{02} , भूषितः E (32c) जन्मे जन्मे] $C_{45}C_{02}K_{82}K_{41}E$, जन्म जन्म $C_{94}K_{10}K_7P_{57}$ • दुर्गन्धो] $C_{94}K_{10}K_7P_{57}K_{41}$, दुर्गन्धो C_{45} , दुर्गन्धा C_{02} , दुर्गन्धो K_{82} , दृगन्धो E (33a) तस्मान्मौं] $C_{02}K_{10}K_7P_{57}K_{41}E$, ० त्मौं C_{94} , तस्मात्मौं $C_{45}K_{82}$ • सदैव] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}P_{57}E$, सदैव $C_{02}K_7K_{41}$, सुदैत्य K_{10} • कुर्वीत यो निश्चितम्] $C_{94}C_{45}K_7P_{57}K_{41}E$, कुर्वन्ति येन्निश्चितम् $C_{02}K_{82}$, कुर्वन्ति योन्निश्चित K_{10} (33b) अलङ्घ्यता च] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}P_{57}$, अलङ्घ्यताञ्च $C_{02}K_7K_{41}E$ • सर्वा सभां] $C_{94}K_{82}P_{57}K_{41}E$, सर्वा सभा $C_{45}K_7$, सर्वः सभान् C_{02} , सर्वा सुभा K_{10} (33c) वक्त्राच्चोत्पलगन्धमस्य] $C_{94}C_{45}K_7P_{57}K_{41}$, वक्त्रं चोत्पलमस्य C_{02} , वक्त्रं चोत्पलगन्धमस्य K_{82} , वक्त्रं चोत्पलगन्धमस्य K_{10} , वक्त्राच्चोत्पलगन्धमस्य P_{57}^{pc} , वक्त्राच्चोत्पलगन्धमस्य E (33d) ०सहस्रशो] Σ , ०सहस्राशो C_{45} • ०मलम्] $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}K_7P_{57}$, ०मलः $C_{45}C_{02}K_{41}E$ (34a) पञ्चविधं] Σ , पञ्चवि C_{45} (34b) यथातथम्] Σ , ० तथम् C_{94}

[वारुणं स्नानम्]

(34c) आग्नेयं] Σ, आग्नेये K₁₀ • वारुणं] Σ, ब्राह्मणं K₄₁E • ब्राह्म्यं] Σ, ब्रह्म्यं
K₇ (35a) स्नानं] Σ, स्नाना K₈₂^{ac} (35b) ंगुणं] Σ, ंगुण० K₇ (36a)] Σ,
• • • • • त K₁₀ (36b) मला०] Σ, पला० K₄₁ (36c) सर्व०] Σ, एना० K₄₁
(37a) त्र्यायुषं कृत्वा] Σ, त्र्यायुः • • C₉₄, त्र्यायुष्यं कृत्वा P₅₇ (37b) ंव्रते] Σ,
०व्रत० K₄₁E (37c) ऋषयः सर्वे] Σ, ऋषिभिर्सर्वैः E (38a) मुक्ता] Σ, मुक्ताः E
(38b) र्दिताः] Σ, र्त्तिताः C₄₅ (38c)] corr. TÖRZSÖK, भस्मानुसंसं दृष्ट्वैव
C₉₄, भस्मानुशंसं दृष्ट्वैव C₄₅, भस्मानुसंसदृष्ट्वैव C₀₂K₁₀, भस्मानुसंसन्दृष्ट्वैव K₈₂, भस्मा-
नुशंसंदृष्ट्वैवं K₇, भस्मानुशंसं दृष्ट्वैव P₅₇, भस्मानुशंसं दृष्ट्वैव K₄₁, भस्मना शं प्रदृश्यैवं
E (38d) ब्रह्मणानुमतिः] em., ब्रह्मणानुमता C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇P₅₇, ब्रह्मणानुमतो K₄₁
E • कृता] em., कृतः C₉₄C₄₅K₁₀K₇P₅₇K₄₁E, कृतिः C₀₂, कृताः K₈₂ (39a) चतु-
राश्रमतो] C₄₅C₀₂K₁₀P₅₇E, चातुराश्रमतो C₉₄K₇K₄₁, चतुराश्रतो K₈₂^{ac}, चातुराश्रमतो
K₈₂^{pc} (39ab) ऽधिक्यं व्रतं पाशुपतं कृतम्] Σ, ऽधिक्यव्रतपाशुपतं • • • K₁₀ (tops of
akṣaras lost) (39c)] Σ, om.K₁₀ (39d) ०हेतुतः] em. TÖRZSÖK, ०हेतवः
C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₇P₅₇K₄₁E, ०हेतुना C₀₂, ०हेतुनुतः K₁₀

अष्टमो ऽध्यायः

वारुणं सलिलं स्नानं कर्तव्यं विविधं नरैः ।
नदीतोयतडागेषु प्रस्नवेषु हृदेषु च ॥ ८:४० ॥

[ब्राह्म्यं स्नानम्]

ब्रह्मस्नानं च विप्रेन्द्र आपोहिष्ठं विदुर्बुधाः ।
त्रिसंध्यमेव कर्तव्यं ब्रह्मस्नानं तदुच्यते ॥ ८:४१ ॥

[वायव्यं स्नानम्]

गोषु संचारमार्गेषु यत्र गोधूलिसम्भवः ।
तत्र गत्वावसीदेत स्नानमुक्तं मनीषिभिः ॥ ८:४२ ॥

[दिव्यं स्नानम्]

वर्षतोयाम्बुधाराभिः प्लावयित्वा स्वकां तनुम् ।
स्नानं दिव्यं वदत्येव जगदादिमहेश्वरः ॥ ८:४३ ॥

इति नियमविभागः पञ्चभेदेन विप्र
निगदित तव पृष्ठः सर्वलोकानुकम्प्य ।
सकलमलपहारी धर्मपञ्चाशदेतन्
न भवति पुनर्जन्म कल्पकोट्यायुते ऽपि ॥ ८:४४ ॥

॥ इति वृषसारसंग्रहे नियमप्रशंसा नामाध्यायो ऽष्टमः ॥

❖

(40a) वारुणं] $C_{45}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}P_{57}E$, वा॒॒॒ C_{94} , वारुणा K_7^{ac} , वारुण K_7^{pc} , वरुणं K_{41} • सलिलं] $C_{28}K_{82}K_{10}P_{57}$, सलिल० $K_7K_{41}E$ (40b) विविधं नरैः] $C_{28}K_{82}K_{41}$, विविन्नरैः K_{10} , विधिवन्नरैः $K_7P_{57}E$ (40c) तडागेषु] Σ , तडागेवा K_{10} (40d) प्रस्नवेषु] Σ , प्रयेवेषु K_{10} , प्रभवेषु K_7 (41a) विप्रेन्द्र] Σ , विपेन्द्र K_7P_{57} (41b) विदुर्बु०] Σ , विदुर्बु० K_7 (42d) उक्तं] Σ , उक्त K_{10} (43b) तनुम्] Σ , तनं K_7 (43c) दिव्यं] Σ , दिव्य $K_{10}K_{41}$ (43d) जगदादि०] Σ , गजदादि० C_{45} (44a) उभागः] Σ , उभागं K_7 (44b) निगदित तव] E , निगदितस्तव $C_{28}K_{82}K_{10}K_7P_{57}K_{41}$ (unmetr.) • उकम्प्य] C_{94} , उकम्प $C_{45}C_{02}K_{82}K_7P_{57}$, उकम्पः K_{10} , उकम्प्यः $K_{41}E$ (44c) उपहारी] $C_{45}C_{02}K_{10}$, उपहारि $C_{94}K_7$ (unmetr.), उपहारि $K_{82}P_{57}K_{41}$, उपहारे E • उपञ्चाशदेतन्] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7P_{57}$, उपञ्चाशमेतन् $C_{02}K_{41}E$, उपञ्चादेतन् K_{10}^{ac} (44d) पुनर्जन्म] $C_{02}K_{10}$, पुनर्जन्म $C_{94}K_{82}K_7P_{57}K_{41}E$, पुनर्जर्म C_{45}

वृषसारसंग्रहे



Colophon: इति वृषसारसंग्रहे नियमप्रशंसा नामाध्यायोऽष्टमः] P₅₇, इति वृषसारसंग्रहे नियमप्रशंसा नामाध्याय अष्टमः C₉₄K₈₂K₄₁, om.C₄₅, इति वृषसारसंग्रहे नियमप्रशंसा नामाध्यायाष्टमः C₀₂K₁₀, इति वृषसारसंग्रहे नियमप्रशंसा नामाध्यायाऽष्टमः K₇, इति वृषसारसंग्रहे नियमप्रशंसा नाम अष्टमोऽध्यायः E

Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṅgraha

An Annotated Translation

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[aṣṭamo 'dhyāyaḥ]
[Chapter Eight]

[*niyameṣu svādhyāyaḥ* (ṣ) —
Fifth Niyama-rule: study]

pañcasvādhyāyanam kāryam ihāmutra sukhārthinā |
śaivam sāṃkhyam purāṇam ca smārtaṃ bhāratasaṃhitā || 8:1 ||

Five kinds of study are to be pursued by those who wish to be happy in this life and in the other. [One should study] Śaiva [teachings], Sāṃkhya [philosophy], the Purāṇa[s], the Smārta [tradition] and the *Bhāratasaṃhitā* [i.e. the *Mahābhārata*].

śaive tattvam vicinteta śaivapāśupatadvaye |
atra vistarataḥ proktaṃ tattvasārasamuccayam || 8:2 ||

As far as the Śaiva tradition is concerned, he should reflect on the truth in both Śaiva and Pāśupata [teachings]. In those teachings the whole essence of truth is taught extensively.

sāṃkhyātattvam tu sāṃkhyeṣu boddhavyam tattvacintakaiḥ |
pañcatattvavibhāgena kīrtitāni maharṣibhiḥ || 8:3 ||

Those who reflect on the truth (*tattva*) can grasp the truth of enumeration [of ontological principles/reality levels] (*sāṃkhyātattva*) from Sāṃkhya [texts]. The great sages taught [those twenty-five] *tattvas* [of Sāṃkhya] as being in groups of five.

purāṇeṣu mahikoṣo vistareṇa prakīrtitaḥ |
adhordhvamadhyatiryam ca yatnataḥ sampraveśayet || 8:4 ||

In the Purāṇas it is the layers of the world that are described extensively. One can definitely enter [the realms] below, above, in the middle, and horizontally.

8.1 The form *svādhyāyana*, for the more standard *svādhyayana*, does occur in several, typically Buddhist, texts. See, e.g., the *Mahāpratisarā-mahāvidyārājñī* (Hidas 2011, 153): *mahāyānodgrahaṇalikhanavācanapaṭhanasvādhyāyanaśravaṇadhāraṇābhīyuktānām paripālikeyam mahādharmaṇi*. Supply an active verb such as *adhīyāt* for *pādas* cd.

8.2 The reading *śaivam* in *pāda* a (K₄₁E) could be smoother than the better attested one (*śaive*). *śaivapāśupatadvaye* in *pāda* b is weakly attested but I think that only this reading yields the appropriate meaning. One could also emend to *śaivatattvam* in *pāda* a; compare 8.3a.

8.3 In *pāda* d, *kīrtitāni* picks up an implied *tattvāni*.

8.4 Note that *tirya* seems to be an acceptable nominal stem in this text for *tiryañc*. I

Translation of chapter 8

smārtaṃ varṇāśramācāraṃ dharmanyāyappravartanam |
śiṣṭācāro ’vikalpena grāhyas tatra aśaṅkitaḥ || 8:5 ||

The Smārta [tradition] deals with the conduct of the social classes (*varṇa*) and disciplines (*āśrama*), and with the procedures of Dharma and lawsuits (*nyāya*). Good conduct is to be gathered from it without hesitation, with certainty.

itihāsam adhīyānaḥ sarvajñaḥ sa naro bhavet |
dharmārthakāmamokṣeṣu saṁśayas tena chidyate || 8:6 ||

A man who studies the Itihāsa [i.e. the *Mahābhārata*] will become omniscient. [All his] doubts about religious duty (*dharma*), financial gain (*artha*), carnal desires (*kāma*) and liberation (*mokṣa*) will be eliminated.

[*niyameṣu upasthanigrahaḥ* (6) —
 Sixth Niyama-rule: sexual restraint]

śṛṇuṣvāvahito vipra pañcopasthavinigraham |
striyo vā garhitotsargaḥ svayaṁmukṭiś ca kīrtiyate |
svapnopaghātaṃ viprendra divāsvapnaṃ ca pañcamah || 8:7 ||

Listen with great attention, O Brahmin, to the five [spheres of] sexual restraint. Women, forbidden ejaculation, and masturbation are mentioned [in this context, as well as] offence while sleeping, O Brahmin, and fantasising, as fifth.

[*striyaḥ* —
 Women]

agamyā strī divā parve dharmapatny api vā bhavet |
viruddhastrīm na seveta varṇabhraṣṭādhikāsu ca || 8:8 ||

A woman is not to be approached sexually in the daytime and on the four nights of the changes of the Moon (*parvan*), even if she is one’s lawful wife.

understand the causative form *sampraveśayet* as non-causative. E’s silent emendation to *samprabodhayet* is understandable since to ‘enter’ these realms the study of the Purāṇas makes little sense, at least when taken literally. Kengo Harimoto has suggested emending to *sampradeśayet*.

8.5 Compare *pādas* ab with 3.15cd: *smārto varṇāśramācāro yamaś ca niyamair yutaḥ*. The term *smārta* seems to be used here in the sense of Dharmaśāstra. The *avagraha* in *’vikalpena* is not to be found in the witnesses and has been supplied. The form *aśaṅkitaḥ* is less than perfect here, and may have been intended as an ablative (*aśaṅkā-taḥ*), as suggested by Judit Törzsök, or adverbially (*aśaṅkitam*), or even more probably as a loosely added subject (for *aśaṅkitena*).

8.6 As it is clear from 8.1d, what is primarily meant by *itihāsa* is the *Mahābhārata*. Compare VSS 6.5.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

One should not have sex with a woman who is taboo or with one that has lost her class (*varṇa*) or is [of a] superior [*varṇa* than oneself].

[*garhitotsargaḥ* —
Forbidden ejaculation]

ajameṣagavādīnāṃ vaḍavāmahiṣiṣu ca |
garhitotsargam ity etad yatnena parivarjayet || 8:9 ||

Intercourse with goats, sheep, cows, mares, and buffalo-cows is called forbidden ejaculation, which is to be avoided at all cost.

[*svayammukṭih* —
Masturbation]

ayonikaṣaṇā vāpi apānakaṣaṇāpi vā |
svayammuktir iyaṃ jñeyā tasmāt tāṃ parivarjayet || 8:10 ||

Rubbing himself against something else than a female sexual organ or rubbing his anus are called masturbation (*svayammukṭi*), therefore these are to be avoided.

8.8 Understand *parve* as *parvani* (thematization of the stem in *-an*).

Compare Manu 11.175 (Olivelle’s edition and translation, 2005):

maithunaṃ tu samāsevya pūṃsi yoṣiti vā dvijaḥ |
goyāne ’psu divā caiva savāsāḥ snānam ācaret ||

‘If a twice-born has sexual intercourse with a man or a woman in an ox-cart, on water, or during the day, he should bathe with his clothes on.’

Compare also Manu 3.45 (Olivelle’s edition and translation):

ṛtukālābhigāmī syāt svadāranirataḥ sadā |
parvavarjaṃ vrajec caināṃ tadvrato ratikāmyayā ||

‘Finding his gratification always in his wife, he should have sex with her during her season. Devoted solely to her, he may go to her also when he wants sexual pleasure, except on the days of the moon’s change.’

The nominative °*strī* in *pāda* c in most witnesses may be the result of an eyeskip to *strī* in *pāda* a. Note how the paper MS is the only one transmitting a fully correct form.

8.9 Understand °*ādīnām* in *pāda* a as standing for a locative, and °*sargam* as neuter nominative (instead of °*sargaḥ*) or, alternatively, understand *pāda* c with a hiatus bridge: *garhitotsarga-m-ity etad*.

8.10 The conjecture in *pāda* a (*ayoni*° from *anyonya*°) involves minimal intervention and makes the sentence much more meaningful than the transmitted version. (Consider also *ayonya*°.) Compare Manu 11.174 (Olivelle’s edition and translation):

amānuṣiṣu puruṣa udakyāyām ayoniṣu |
retaḥ siktva jale caiva kṛcchraṃ sāntapanam caret ||

‘If someone ejaculates his semen in non-human females, in a man, in a menstruating woman, in any place other than the vagina, or on water, he should perform the Sāntapana penance...’

The variant *strī* for *tām* in *pāda* d in E may be an example of silent interventions made by Naraharināth in his edition.

Translation of chapter 8

[*svapnaghātam* —

Offence while sleeping]

svapnaghātam dvijaśreṣṭha aniṣṭam paṇḍitaiḥ sadā |
svapne strīṣu ramante ca retāḥ prakṣarate tataḥ || 8:11 ||

Offence while sleeping, O best of Brahmins, has always been [considered] undesirable by the learned. [If] one enjoys women while dreaming, his semen will issue.

[*divāsvapnam* —

Daydreaming]

divāśayaṃ na kartavyaṃ nityaṃ dharmapareṇa tu |
svargamārgārgalā hy etāḥ striyo nāma prakīrtitāḥ || 8:12 ||

Sleeping by day should always be avoided by those who are intent on Dharma. These women are called ‘the bolts [that block the gate to] the path to heaven.’

[*niyameṣu vratapañcakam* (7) —

Seventh Niyama-rule: religious observances]

mārjārabakāśvānagomahīvratapañcakam |

[*mārjāravratam* —

Cat observance]

svaviṣṭhamūtram bhūmiṣu chādayed dvijasattama |
sūryasomānumodanti mārjāravratikeṣu ca || 8:13 ||

[Hear about] the five religious observances [called] the cat, the heron, the dog, the cow, and the earth. He buries his own urine and faeces in the ground, O truest Brahmin. [Practitioners] rejoice [seeing] the sun and the moon when performing the cat observance.

[*bakavratam* —

Heron observance]

bakavac cendriyagrāmaṃ suniyamya tapodhana |
sādhayec ca manastuṣṭiṃ mokṣasāadhanatatparaḥ || 8:14 ||

8.12 It is not crystal clear why ‘sleeping by day’ or ‘daydreaming/fantasising’ should count as one of the offences against sexual restraint. A line may have dropped out here. *Pādas* cd are clumsy and out of context. They would fit verse 8.8 better.

8.13 Note °*viṣṭha*° for *viṣṭhā* metri causa in *pāda* c (*ma-vipulā*). Alternatively, read *svaviṣṭhāmūtra bhūmiṣu* (*pathyā* with stem form noun). Note the stem form *sūryasoma* for *sūryasomau* (*sūryasomāv anu*°) in *pāda* e. It is not entirely clear why cats would rejoice seeing the Sun and the Moon. Perhaps this remark refers to the fact that cats can be active both in the daytime and at night.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

O great ascetic, one should suppress all one’s senses like a heron, and should cultivate the peace of the mind, focusing on achieving liberation.

[*śvānavratam* —
Dog observance]

mūtraviṣṭhe na bhūmiṣu kurute dhunadaṃ sadā |
tuṣyate bhagavān śarvaḥ śvānavratacaro yaśi || 8:15 ||

[In this case the practitioner] does not [bury] his urine and faeces in the ground, and he barks constantly. Lord Śarva [i.e. Śiva] is satisfied when one practises the dog observance.

[*govratam* —
Cow observance]

mūtravarco na rudhyeta sadā govatiko naraḥ |
bhīmas tuṣṭikarāś caiva purāṇeṣu nigadyate || 8:16 ||

8.14 Cranes are compared to ascetics here probably because of the similarity of their posture when relaxing standing on one leg to ascetics performing penance standing on one leg (such as the ascetic, and a cat, depicted on the famous relief in Mahabalipuram). More specifically, herons apply ‘meditation,’ so to say, when fishing, as Olivelle (2005, 298) points out commenting on Manu 7.106a (*bakavac cintayed arthān*), quoting Bhāruci’s explanation ad loc.: ‘Just as naturally in order to catch a mass of fish who are safe in their water-for the ‘heron’ finds an effective means to take them by employing meditation, after dedicating himself to the task, so the king should not be despondent realizing that if one employs abundant thought on one’s affairs even aims very difficult to achieve are attained.’ (*yathā abdurgāśrayaṃ matsyabalaṃ svabhāvatā tadgrahaṇārthaṃ bakavā paryupāsanaṃ tadgrahaṇopāyaṃ dhyānayogād āśādayati, evaṃ arthacintābhīyogātīśayena suduṣprāpā apy arthā āśādayanta iti matvā na nirvedaṃ gacchet*)

8.15 *dhunadaṃ* (‘barking?’) in *pāda* b may not be the intended form; perhaps understand *dhunanaṃ* (related to *dhvanana*), or emend to *dhvananaṃ*. A possible expansion for Śiva being satisfied with an ascetic practising this observance is that Śiva’s Bhairava form often has a dog as his mount. See, e.g., Bakker 2014, 232–233 on a 5–6th-century image of Bhairava and a dog carved in rock at Muṇḍeśvarī Hill not far from Vārāṇasī.

The so-called dog observance has ancient roots. Its practitioner, the *kukkuravatika* appears in *Majjhimanikāya* 2.1.7, in the *Kukkuravattiyasutta*, alongside with a practitioner of the *govrata* (*govatika*), an observance that comes up in the next verse in the VSS: *evaṃ me suttaṃ. ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā kolīyesu viharati haliddavasanaṃ nāma kolīyānaṃ nigamo. atha kho punṇo ca kolīyaputto govatiko, acelo ca seniyo kukkuravatiko yena bhagavā tenupasaṅkamimsu...* See Acharya 2013, 127–128. Acharya summarises the *Kukkuravattiyasutta* thus: ‘The *Kukkuravattiyasutta* from the *Majjhimanikāya* (II.1.7) presents a *govatika* together with a *kukkuravatika*. They are observing their vows, and have adopted the behaviour of a bull and a dog respectively. The Buddha tells them that as they are cultivating bullness and dogness, the state of mind of these animals, they will go to hell or become reborn as animal. They are alarmed at this and take refuge in the Buddha.’

Translation of chapter 8

A man practising the Cow Observance should never hold back his urine and faeces. This is a terrifying [observance] that gives satisfaction, [as] stated in the Purāṇas.

[*mahīvrataṃ* —
Earth observance]

kuddālair dārayanto 'pi kīlakoṭīśataiś citaḥ |
kṣamate pṛthivī devī evam eva mahīvrataḥ || 8:17 ||

Splitting [the earth] with spades and laid out on hundreds of pointed wedges: Goddess Earth bears [this] patiently. This is exactly how one can practise the earth vow.

8.16 I prefer reading *bhīma* and *tuṣṭi*^o as two separate words, the first one either in stem form (C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₇P₅₇) or as *bhīmas* (C₀₂K₁₀E) or *bhīmaṃ* (*em.*), to reading these two words as a compound because of the following *caiva*. I suspect that both *bhīma* and *tuṣṭikara* refer to the *vrata*, rather than its practitioner, but I have not emended *bhīmas tuṣṭikaraś* to *bhīmaṃ tuṣṭikaraṃ* because *vrata* appears as a masculine noun, e.g., in 8.17d below.

Acharya (2013, 116–118) gives a number of significant clues about the origins of this observance. After exploring its links to Pāśupatas, he quotes *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* 2.113, which contains the phrase *yatra yatrainam viṣṭhā vindet tat tad vitiṣṭheta*, in Acharya’s translation: ‘Wherever he feels the urge to evacuate faeces, right there he should evacuate.’ This is an instruction in a Vedic text that is close to what the VSS teaches above. Incidentally, the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* adds: *tena haitenottaravayasy e[va] yajeta* (translated by Acharya as: ‘One should perform this [sacrifice] in the final years of one’s life’).

8.17 While *dārayanto* as an active participle in the masculine nominative is acceptable as an irregular form, the precise interpretation of *pādas* a and b is still problematic, therefore my translation of this verse is tentative and the description seems too condensed to be intelligible. Kengo Harimoto suggested that C₀₂ and E might be transmitting the correct reading, and then the reference would be to soil piled up by millions of insects (*kīṭakoṭi*^o), instead of points of wedges (*kīlakoṭi*^o). Nevertheless, now I think that the reference point could be Bhīṣma’s dying scene in the MBh, where the great warrior is lying on a bed of hundreds of arrows: *sa śete śaratalpastho medinīm asprśaṃs tadā*: ‘Then he lay there on his bed of arrows, without touching the ground’ (MBh 6.115.8ab). The word *cita* is used in the same context in MBh 12.47.4ab: *vikīrṇāṃśur ivādityo bhīṣmaḥ śaraśataiś citaḥ*: ‘Bhīṣma, laid on a hundred arrows, was like the Sun with its scattered rays of light.’ If this interpretation of VSS 8.17 is correct, the observance described here may require one to dig the ground, install wedges, and lie on them, in the manner of fakirs. The reference to the Earth in *pāda* c may have been inspired by lines such as MBh 6.115.11cd: *rarāsa pṛthivī caiva bhīṣme śāmtanave hate*: ‘The Earth cried out when Bhīṣma, the son of Śāmtanu, was killed.’

In BhavP 4.121, called ‘The Description of eighty-five observances’ (*vratapañcāśīti-varṇana*), we find this on *mahīvrata*:

dadyāt trimśatpalād ūrdhvaṃ mahīm kṛtvā tu kāmcanīm |
kulācalādrisahitām tilavastrasamanvitām || 152 ||
tiladroṇopari gatām brāhmaṇāya kuṭumbine |

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

vratapañcakam ity etad yaś careta jitendriyaḥ |
sa cottamam idaṃ lokam prāpnoti na ca saṃśayaḥ || 8:18 ||

He who practises these five religious observances with his senses subdued will, without doubt, reach this superior world [i.e. heaven?].

[*niyameṣv upavāsaḥ* (8) —

Eighth Niyama-rule: eating restrictions]

śeṣānnam antarānnaṃ ca naktāyācitam eva ca |
upavāsaṃ ca pañcāitat kathayiṣyāmi tac chṛṇu || 8:19 ||

Eating leftovers, [not] eating in-between [breakfast and dinner], eating [only] at night, eating food obtained without solicitation, and fasting: listen, I shall teach you these five.

[*śeṣānnam* —

Eating leftovers]

vaiśvadevātithiśeṣaṃ pitṛśeṣaṃ ca yad bhavet |
bhṛtyaputrakalatrebhyaḥ śeṣāśi vighasāśanaḥ || 8:20 ||

[He who eats] the leftovers belonging to all the gods, to guests, and to the ancestors, he who eats the leftovers (*śeṣāśin*) of servants, sons and wives, is [called in general] the one who consumes the remains of food (*vighasāśana*).

dinaṃ payovratas tiṣṭhed rudraloke mahīyate || 153 ||
etan mahīvratam proktaṃ saptakalpānuvartakam |

A tentative translation of this passage would go as follows: ‘One should donate a golden [model of] Earth that weighs more than thirty *palas* (appr. one kilogram), showing the chief mountain-ranges, together with [donations of] sesamum seeds and clothes, the sesamum seeds [weighing] more than a *drona* (appr. ten kilograms), to a householder Brāhmin. One should keep the milk-observance [i.e. subsisting on nothing but milk] for one day, and one will have fun in Rudraloka. This is called the Earth Observance whose range is seven æons.’ (I take the values for weights from Olivelle 2005, 997.) MatsP 101.52 gives similar instructions, as do the descriptions of the *dharāvratas* and the *śubhadvādaśi* observances in Kane 1941–1962, v. 5, 321 and 429. The VSS’s *mahīvratas* seems different, and more in line with the somewhat transgressive and wild, perhaps Pāsupata-oriented, nature of the four preceding observances.

8.18 Note the neuter *idaṃ* picking up the normally masculine *lokam* in *pāda* c, and that the same *idaṃ* would make more sense if the interlocutor were a deity, e.g., Śiva, referring to his abode, and not Anarthayajña, the ascetic. Perhaps emend to *paraṃ*, as suggested by Florinda De Simini.

8.19 Note how this category of *niyama*-rules was called *upavāsa* (‘fasting’) in 5.3c above but how in fact *upavāsa* is just the fifth subcategory withing this group of eating restrictions.

8.20 *Pāda* a is a *sa-vipulā*.

Translation of chapter 8

[*antarānnaṃ* —

[Not] eating in-between breakfast and dinner]

antarā prātarāśi ca sāyamāśi tathaiva ca |
sadopavāśi bhavati yo na bhuñkte kadācana || 8:21 ||

If he fasts between having breakfast and dinner, he will be regarded as one who is always fasting.

[*nakṭānnaṃ* —

Eating [only] at night]

na divā bhojanaṃ kāryaṃ rātrau naiva ca bhojayet |
nakṭavele ca bhoktavyaṃ nakṭadharmaṃ samīhatā || 8:22 ||

One should eat neither in the daytime nor in the evening, one should eat [only] at midnight (*nakṭavelā*) if he wishes to follow the practice of [eating only at] night (*nakṭadharma*).

[*ayācitānnaṃ* —

Eating food obtained without solicitation]

anārabhya ya āhāraṃ kuryān nityaṃ ayācitam |
parair dattaṃ tu yo bhuñkte tam ayācitam ucyate || 8:23 ||

He who consumes food without ever initiating [the donation], without asking for it, and eats [only] that which has been given by others is called [one who eats] unsolicited [food].

[*upavāsaḥ* —

Fasting]

bhakṣyaṃ bhojyaṃ ca lehyaṃ ca coṣyaṃ peyaṃ ca pañcamam |
na kāñkṣen nopayunjīta upavāsaḥ sa ucyate || 8:24 ||

Chewable and unchewable food, food to be sipped or sucked or drunk, as the fifth [category]: if one does not long for and does not consume [any of the above], that is called fasting (*upavāsa*).

8.21 My translation here follows the parallel verse in the MBh and is based on the one in Ganguli 1883–1896. The syntax of the version here in the VSS is less smooth than that in the MBh, and the VSS’s reading *prāntarāśi* definitely required an emendation.

8.22 Note °*vele* for °*velāyāṃ* in *pāda* c. On *nakṭabhojana*, see ŚDhŚ 10.

8.23 *anārambhasya* (‘of someone who has not yet started/initiated’) in *pāda* a seems suspect, hence my conjecture (*anārabhya ya*) that involves minimal intervention and yields better sense. I take *ayācitam* in *pāda* b adverbially. Note the accusative with the passive in *pāda* d (*tam... ucyate*).

8.24 For a detailed discussion of the categories *bhakṣya*, *bhojya*, *lehya* and *coṣya*, see Kāfle 2020, 245, n. 534. See also ŚDhU 8.13:

bhakṣyaṃ bhojyaṃ ca peyaṃ ca lehyaṃ coṣyaṃ ca picchilam |
iti bhedaḥ śaḍannasya madhurādyāś ca śaḍguṇaḥ ||

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

[*niyameṣu maunavratam* (9) —

Ninth Niyama-rule: observing silence]

mithyāpiśunapāruṣyatīkṣṇavāg apralāpanam |

maunapañcakam ity etad dhārayen niyatavrataḥ || 8:25 ||

One who is steady in his religious observances should observe silence with regards these five: deceitful speech, malignant speech, insult, abusive speech, and babble.

[*mithyāvacanam* —

Deceitful speech]

asambhūtam adṛṣṭam ca dharmāc cāpi bahiṣkṛtam |

anarthāpriyavākyaṃ yat tan mithyāvacanaṃ smṛtam || 8:26 ||

Fictitious [speech], [speech about] unknown [things], [speech about things] outside the range of Dharma, meaningless and unfriendly speech: these are called deceitful speech.

[*piśunah* —

Malignancy]

paraśrīm nābhinandanti parasyaiśvaryam eva ca |

aniṣṭadarśanākāṅkṣī piśunah samudāhṛtaḥ || 8:27 ||

One who does not rejoice in others’ fortune or in others’ power, one who would like to see something disadvantageous [for others] is called somebody utters malignant speech.

[*pāruṣyam* —

Insult]

mṛtamātā pitā caiva hānisthānaṃ katham bhavet |

bhūṅkṣva kāmam amṛṣṭānām pāruṣyaṃ samudāhṛtam || 8:28 ||

‘[May your] mother and father be dead! How come you fail? Enjoy the love of unclean women!’ [These are] called insult.

8.25 *pāruṣya* seems to be the correct reading in *pāda* a, as opposed to C₀₂’s *sambhinnā*, because in the following a short section on the category of *pāruṣya* is coming up (in 8.28). As far as the readings *sprṣṭavāg* and *prṣṭavāg* are concerned, I suppose *prṣṭavāg* is not inconceivable (as suggested by Judit Törzsök), for in 8.29 it is, in a way, questions that are given as relevant examples. Another possibility, as suggested by Kengo Harimoto, could be *mṛṣāvāg* (‘lying’), although this does not fully fit the corresponding examples. All in all, I conjectured *tīkṣṇavāg* here, relying on 8.29. As it will become clear below, *apralāpa* stands for *asatpralāpa*. Compare the five types of *maunavrata* taught here with the four types of *mauna*, as part of the seventh Yama-rule, in VSS 4.68–69 above.

8.28 My translation of *pāda* b, or rather of the whole verse, is tentative. I am not at all certain that I understand correctly what these abusive phrases imply. Should we read *hā niṣṭhā na katham bhavet* (‘Oh how could [you] avoid death?’) in *pāda* b?

Translation of chapter 8

[*tikṣṇavāk* —
Verbal abuse]

hṛdi na sphuṭase mūḍha śiro vā na vidāryase |
evamādīny anekāni tikṣṇavādī sa ucyate || 8:29 ||

‘[Why] don’t you burst in your heart, stupid? [Why] don’t you break your head?’ [If one utters] these or similar [curses], he is said to be using verbal abuse.

[*asatpralāpaḥ* —
Babble]

dyūtabhojanayuddhaṃ ca madyastrikatham eva ca |
asatpralāpaḥ pañcāitat kīrtitaṃ me dvijottama || 8:30 ||

Stories about gambling, food, fights, drinking, and women are five [examples of] babble. [Thus] have I taught [reasons for observing silence], O excellent Brahmin.

maunam eva sadā kāryaṃ vākyaśaubhāgyam icchatā |
apāruṣyam asambhinnaṃ vākyaṃ satyam udīrayet || 8:31 ||

Those who long for eloquent speech should always observe silence. One should speak true words without insult and idle talk.

yaś tu maunasya no kartā dūṣitaḥ sa kulādhamah |
janme janme ca durgandho mūkaś caivopajāyate || 8:32 ||

He who does not observe silence is defiled and is the black sheep of the family. For a number of rebirths, [his mouth] will stink and he will become mute.

8.30 I take °*katham* in *pāda* b as an alternative nominative form of °*kathā* metri causa and as belonging to all the categories here thus: *dyūtakathā*, *bhojanakathā*, *yuddhakathā*, *madyakathā*, *strikathā*. There are various definitions of *asatpralāpa*, of which the most useful for understanding this verse is perhaps Siṃhabhūpāla’s (*Rasārṇavasudhā-kara* 3.382–383): *asambaddhakathālāpo ’satpralāpa itīritaḥ* (‘Relating something incoherent is called *asatpralāpa*.’) This is illustrated with an incoherent and illogical verse from the play *Virabhadravijṛmbhaṇa*. It is possible that what the author of this section in the VSS had in mind was boasting about these categories or boastful speech while engaging in activities in connection with them.

Note the use of the singular next to a number in *pāda* c and understand *me* in *pāda* d as *mayā*. The latter usage appears in the epics, see Oberlies 2003, 102–103 (4.1.3).

8.32 The form *janme* for *janmani* often occurs in Śaiva tantras as a typically Aiśa phenomenon. See, e.g., NiśvNaya 1.86a and BraYā 45.8b, 452a, 559a. Thematisation of stems in *-an* occurs also in the epics, see Oberlies 2003, 88 (3.10).

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

*tasmān maunavrataṃ sadaiva sudṛḍhaṃ kurvīta yo niścitaṃ
vācā tasya alaṅghyatā ca bhavati sarvāṃ sabhāṃ nandati |
vaktrāc cotpalagandhaṃ asya satataṃ vāyanti gandhotkaṭāḥ
śāstrānekaśahasraśo giri naraḥ proccāryate nirmalam || 8:33 ||*

Therefore the speech of a person who always observes silence firmly, with resolution, will be impossible to ignore and it will make everybody in the assembly rejoice. The fragrance of lotuses CA [and other kinds of] SATATAM ! rich fragrances will blow from his mouth. Thousands of faultless *śāstras* will be declared in the words of this person.

[*niyameṣu snānam* (10) —
Tenth Niyama-rule: bathing]

*snānaṃ pañcavidhaṃ caiva pravakṣyāmi yathātatham |
āgneyaṃ vāruṇaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ vāyavyaṃ divyaṃ eva ca || 8:34 ||*

I shall teach you the five kinds of bathing as they really are: fire bath, water bath, Vedic bath, wind bath and divine bath.

[*āgneyaṃ snānam* —
Fire bath]

*āgneyaṃ bhasmanā snānaṃ toyāc chataguṇaṃ phalam |
bhasmapūtaṃ pavitraṃ ca bhasma pāpaprāṇāśanam || 8:35 ||*

Fire bath is [performed] with ashes. Its fruits are a hundred times bigger than [those of a] water [bath]. For [anything] cleaned with ashes is pure. Ashes destroy sin.

*tasmād bhasma prayuñjīta dehināṃ tu malāpaham |
sarvaśāntikaraṃ bhasma bhasma rakṣakam uttamam || 8:36 ||*

Therefore one should use ash for it purifies humans of their defilement. Ashes yield appeasement for everyone. Ash is the ultimate protector.

8.33 Note the ‘muta cum liquida’ licence in °*vrataṃ*: the last syllable of *mauna*° counts as light. In *pāda* b, understand *nandati* as causative. To make sense of *pāda* d, we are forced to take *śāstra* as a stem form noun and *naraḥ* as a (regular) genitive from *nṛ*. (I thank Judit Törzsök for this interpretation.)

8.34 For a similar set of five types of baths, see, e.g., *Parāśarasamṛti* 12.9–11: *snānāni pañca puṇyāni kīrtitāni maṇisibhiḥ | āgneyaṃ vāruṇaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ vāyavyaṃ divyaṃ eva ca || āgneyaṃ bhasmanā snānam avagāhya tu vāruṇam | āpo hi śṭheti ca brāhmaṇaṃ vāyavyaṃ gorajaḥ smṛtam || yat tu sātāpavarṣeṇa tat snānaṃ divyaṃ ucyate | tatra snātvā tu gaṅgāyām snāto bhavati mānavaḥ ||*. Similar passages are to be found, e.g., at *PadmaP* 1.47.4ff, *Revakhanda* 177.6ff, and in a citation attributed to *Bhṛgu* in *Maskari’s* commentary ad *Gautamadharmasūtra* 2.14.

Translation of chapter 8

bhasmanā tryāyusaṃ kṛtvā brahmacaryavrate sthitam |
bhasmanā ṛṣayaḥ sarve pavitrikṛtam ātmanaḥ || 8:37 ||

Drawing [the sectarian marks on their foreheads while reciting] the Tryāyusa [mantra], observing chastity, all the sages purified themselves with ashes.

bhasmanā vibudhā muktā vīrabhadrabhayārditāḥ |
bhasmānuśaṃsaṃ dṛṣṭvaiva brahmanānumatiḥ kṛtā || 8:38 ||

The gods, afflicted by their fear of Vīrabhadra, were set free with the help of ashes. Seeing the glory of ashes, Brahmā consented [to the use of this otherwise impure substance].

caturāśramato 'dhikyam vratam pāsupatam kṛtam |
tasmāt pāsupatam śreṣṭham bhasmadhāraṇahetutaḥ || 8:39 ||

8.37 Note *tryāyusa* in the sense of the three *puṇḍra*-lines on the forehead and compare with 11.28c. Understand *sthitam* as *sthitāḥ* or rather *sthitāḥ* if we are to connect this line to the next (8.37cd). Understand *pavitrikṛtam* as *pavitrikṛvantāḥ*. The reference here may be to a story in which Kaśyapa and other Ṛṣis are burnt to ashes, to be later reanimated by Vīrabhadra, in the Śokara forest. See PadmaP 5.107.1–14ff:

śucismitovāca | kaśyapaṃ jamadagniṃ ca devānāṃ ca purā katham | rarakṣa
 bhasma tad brahman samācakṣva mune mama || 1 || dadhica uvāca | kaśyapādiyutā de-
 vāḥ pūrvam abhyāgaman girim | śokaram nāma vikhyātam girimadhye suśobhanam || 2 ||
 nānāvihagaṃgasamkīrṇam nānāmuniḡaṇāśrayam | vāsudevāśrayam ramyam apsarogaṇa-
 sevitam || 3 || vicitravṛkṣasamvītam sarvartukusumojjvalam | tathāvidham praviśyaite
 girim vayam athāpare || 4 || stuvantaḥ keśavam tatra gatāḥ sma giriśeṣvaram | dṛṣtvā
 tatra mahājvalāṃ praviṣṭāḥ ca vayam ca tām || 5 || mamekaṃ tu tiraskṛtya hy ada-
 had devatā munin | māṃ dadāha tataḥ paścād bhasmībhūtā vayam śubhe || 6 || as-
 mām etādrśān dṛṣtvā vīrabhadraḥ pratāpavān | kenāpi kāraṇenāsau gatavān parvataṃ
 ca tam || 7 || bhasmoddhūlitasarvāṅgo mastakasthaśivaḥ śuciḥ | ekāki niḥsṛjhaḥ śānto
 hāhāśabdāṃ athāśṛjot || 8 || atha cintāparaś cāsin mriyamāṇa śavadhvaṇiḥ | śavānām
 iva gandhaś ca dṛśyate tannirikṣaṇe || 9 || iti niścitya manasā jagāmāgnim atiprabham | sa
 vahnir vīrabhadraṃ ca dagdhum ārabdhavān atha || 10 || tṛṇāgnir iva śānto 'bhūd āsādyā
 salilaṃ yathā | tato 'parāṃ mahājvalāṃ vīrabhadras tu dṛṣṭavān || 11 || kham gacchantiṃ
 mahākālo jvalāṃ nipatitām api | manasā cintayac cāpi vīrabhadraḥ pratāpavān || 12 ||
 sarveṣāṃ nāśini jvalā prāṇināṃ śatakoṭīṣaḥ | tat sarvaṃ rakṣaṇārthaṃ hi pipāsus cāpy
 ahaṃ tv imām || 13 || prāśnāmi mahatiṃ jvalāṃ salilaṃ tṛṣito yathā | etasminn antare
 vīraṃ vāg āha cāsarīriṇī || 14 ||.

8.38 The verse may refer to the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice, after which the gods were relieved. See old SkandaP 180.1–4ab (in which our *pāda* b is echoed): *sanatkumāra uvāca | brahmādyā devatā vyāsa dakṣayajñavadhe purā | śaṅkaram śaraṇam jagmur vīrabhadrabhayārditāḥ || 1 || gaṇendrenābhīyuktāḥ tu bhasmakūṭāni bhejire | yadā bhasma praviṣṭāḥ te tejaḥ śaṅkaram uttamam || 2 || abhavan te tadā raudraḥ paśavo dikṣitā iva | bhasmābhasitagātrāṇāṃ śaṅkaravratācāriṇām || 3 || svaṃ yogam pradadau teṣāṃ tadā deva umāpatiḥ |*

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

[Thus] the Pāśupata observance was created, which ranks above [the system of] the four *āśramas*. Therefore the Pāśupata [observance] is the best because it involves carrying ashes [on one’s body].

[*vāruṇaṃ snānam* —

Water bath]

vāruṇaṃ salīlaṃ snānaṃ kartavyaṃ vividhaṃ naraiḥ |

nadītoyataḍāgeṣu prasraveṣu hradeṣu ca || 8:40 ||

A water bath (*vāruṇa*) is to be performed with water in different ways by [different] people: in the water of rivers, water tanks, streams and ponds.

[*brāhmaṃ snānam* —

Vedic bath]

brahmasnānaṃ ca vipreṇ draṇ āpohiṣṭhaṃ vidur budhāḥ |

trisaṃdhyam eva kartavyaṃ brahmasnānaṃ tad ucyate || 8:41 ||

The wise know the Vedic bath as [the one performed with the Vedic mantra beginning with] *āpo hi ṣṭhā*, O excellent Brahmin. It is to be performed at the three junctures of the day [dawn, noon, and evening]. It is called the Vedic bath.

[*vāyavyaṃ snānam* —

Wind bath]

goṣu saṃcāramārgaṣu yatra godhūlisambhavaḥ |

tatra gatvāvasīdeta snānam uktaṃ maṇiṣibhiḥ || 8:42 ||

He should go where dust rises among the cows on the paths as they pass by, and he should sit down there. This is [also] called a bath, [namely the *vāyavya* or wind-bath].

[*divyaṃ snānam* —

Heavenly bath]

8.39 One could simply accept the reading of C₀₂ (*hetunā*) in *pāda* d, but all other rejected readings hint at an original *hetutaḥ* (as remarked by Judit Törzsök).

8.40 The reading *vividhaṃ* in *pāda* b seems to be the *lectio difficilior* as opposed to the rejected *vidhivat*.

8.41 The Rgvedic mantra starting with *āpo hi ṣṭhā* (RV 10.9.1–3) is traditionally associated with *mārjana* (‘cleaning, wiping’). According to Kane 1941–1962, v. 4, 120, a Brahmin ‘should bathe thrice in the day, should perform *mārjana* (splashing or sprinkling water on the head and other limbs by means of *kuśas* dipped in water after repeating sacred mantras) with the three verses ‘apo hi ṣṭhā’ [sic] (Rg. X.9.1–3) [...]’ This suggests a method of bathing that is more of a ritual than an actual bath.

8.42 This version of bathing seems to be a way of taking a shower in the holy dust raising from under the hooves of cows.

Translation of chapter 8

varṣatoyāmbudhārābhiḥ plāvayitvā svakāṃ tanum |
snānaṃ divyaṃ vadaty eva jagadādimahēśvaraḥ || 8:43 ||

One should immerse one’s own body in the water-showers of the rain. The first and foremost Lord (*mahēśvara*) of the universe declares it as the heavenly bath.

iti niyamavibhāgaḥ pañcabhedena vipra
nigadita tava prṣṭaḥ sarvalokānukampya |
sakalamalapahārī dharmapañcāśad etan
na bhavati punajanma kalpakotyaṃyute ’pi || 8:44 ||

Thus have I taught you the section on the Niyama-rules in divisions of five [sub-categories to each], O Brahmin because you asked me to, to favour the whole world. These fifty Dharmic [teachings] wipe off all the defilement. There will not be rebirth [for one who follows these rules], not even in millions of æons.

|| iti vṛṣasārasaṃgrāhe niyamaprasaṃsā nāmādhyāyo ’ṣṭamaḥ ||

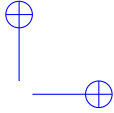
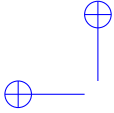
Here ends the eighth chapter in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgrāha* called the Praise of the Niyama-rules.

8.44 This verse marks not only the end of a long section on the Niyama rules, but also the end of a major part of the text that discusses the ten Yama and ten Niyama rules, spanning 3.16–8.44. There are two stem form nouns in *pāda* b: I suspect that E is right assuming that in order to restore the metre, we must have *nigadita*, as opposed to *nigaditas*, the reading transmitted in all the witnesses; also understand *sarvalokānukampya* in *pāda* b as *sarvalokān anukampya*. Also, understand *nigadita tava prṣṭaḥ* as *nigadito mayā tvayā prṣṭena*.

Understand *sakalamalapahārī* in *pāda* c as *sakala-mala-apahārī*, which would be unmetrical, and compare it with *duritamalapahārī* in 4.89c. Take *etan/etad* as either picking up °*pahārī* or rather a plural corresponding to °*pañcāśad*. The latter phenomenon, namely the use of the singular after numbers, is one of the hallmarks of the text.

By ‘fifty Dharmas,’ the text refers to the ten main Niyama-rules, each having five subcategories (10 × 5 = 50).

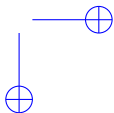
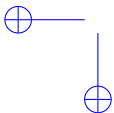
The licence of an word-ultimate short syllable treated as long (°*janma* in *pāda* d) is also frequently seen in this text. Note also *puna* for *punar* metri causa.



Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṅgraha

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Appendices

passegges from part two



Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṅgraha

Symbols and Abbreviations

Symbols

≈

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>

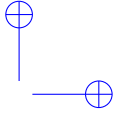
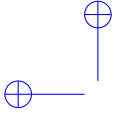
ŚDhŚ = *Śivadharmaśāstra*

ŚDhU = *Śivadharmottara*

VSS = asdfadfasdfadsa

TO BE SUPPLIED

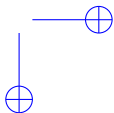
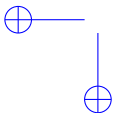
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Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṅgraha

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Uttarottara: see **CHECK**
Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda: see **CHECK**
Rgveda-khila: see Scheftelowitz 1906
Kūrmapurāṇa: see Mukhopādhyāya 1890
Padmapurāṇa: see **CHECK**
Buddhacarita: see **CHECK**
Bodhisattvabhūmi: see **CHECK**
Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa: see **CHECK**
Bhagavadgītā: see Sukthankar & al. 1927–1966 **CHECK**
Manu: see Dave 1972
Mahābhārata: see Sukthankar & al. 1927–1966
Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha: see Sternbach 1974–2007
Mātaṅgalilā: see Śāstri 1910
YS: see **CHECK**
Raghuvamśa: see
Rasārṇavasudhākara: see Venkatacharya 1979
Vāgmatīmāhātmyaprasaṃsā:
Vājasaneyisaṃhitā: see Weber 1972
Viṣṇudharmottara:
Viṣṇudharma: see Grünendahl 1983
Viṣṇupurāṇa: see Pathak 1997–1999
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CHANGE repeated authornames with —————

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Translation of chapter 8

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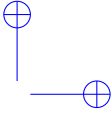
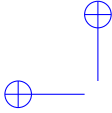
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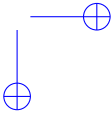
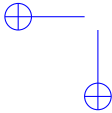
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