

वृषसानसंश्रुतः

The Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, a text of the Śivadharmā corpus

A Critical Edition

Volume I

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

THE ŚIVADHARMA PROJECT

Studies on the History of Śaivism
X??

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A Critical Edition

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Csaba Kiss



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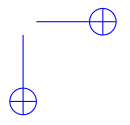
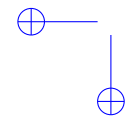
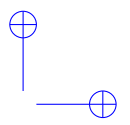
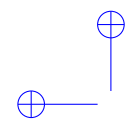
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CHECK REVISE!!!

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Preface

Aims and problems

What is the *raison d’être* of this edition? It is essentially a new copy, and carefully prepared new version of a text called *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, based on multiple witnesses, augmented with an analysis of the contents, with contextualisation, and with an English translation. As for the critical edition, while I went to great lengths to understand the textual history behind the manuscripts used, it is obviously a deeply contaminated version of a text transmitted through contaminated witnesses. Nevertheless, I hope that this version is as close as possible to the authors’ and redactors’ original intentions at the time of assembling these chapters together, approximately in the seventh to tenth centuries. Of course we do not know if there was a single moment when the intention to compose a new text on Dharma under the title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* was conceived or if there was one single ‘original copy,’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. xxff. 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 (*catuspāt sakalo dharmaḥ* and 8.16a: *vṛṣo hi bhagavān dharmaḥ*).⁷

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

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

Or putting it more bluntly:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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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 puṇyam vṛṣaḥ śreyah sukṛtam ca samam smṛtam*); *Manu* 8[.]16a (*vṛṣo hi bhagavān dharmas...*); and the Gwalior Museum Stone Inscription of Pataṅgaśambhu (Mirashi 1962), l. 15, *vṛṣaikaniṣṭho ‘pi jitasmaro ‘pi yah śaṅkaro ‘bhūd bhuvi ko ‘py 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 ‘yam mama vāhanaḥ ||*

¹¹ See p. xvii.

¹² See **CHECK**

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

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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 Vigatārāga, who is Viṣṇu in disguise, and Anarthayajña, the ascetic; the Śaiva layer is a dialogue between Śiva and Devī, as related by Nandikeśvara.

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

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

¹⁷ Understand *pādamātram*?

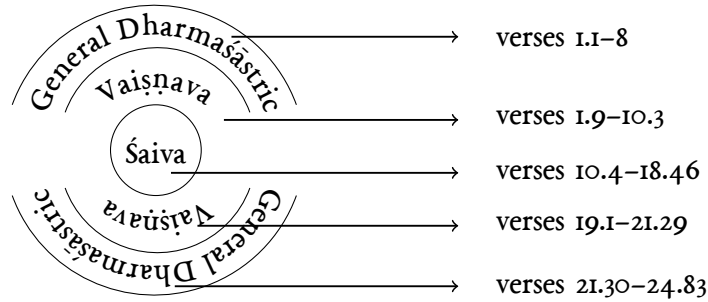


Figure 1: The structure of the VSS (reproduced from Kiss 2021, 188)

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

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

The Śaiva part should have come first because the concept is there and the other layers construct the figure of Anarthayajña.....

Introduction

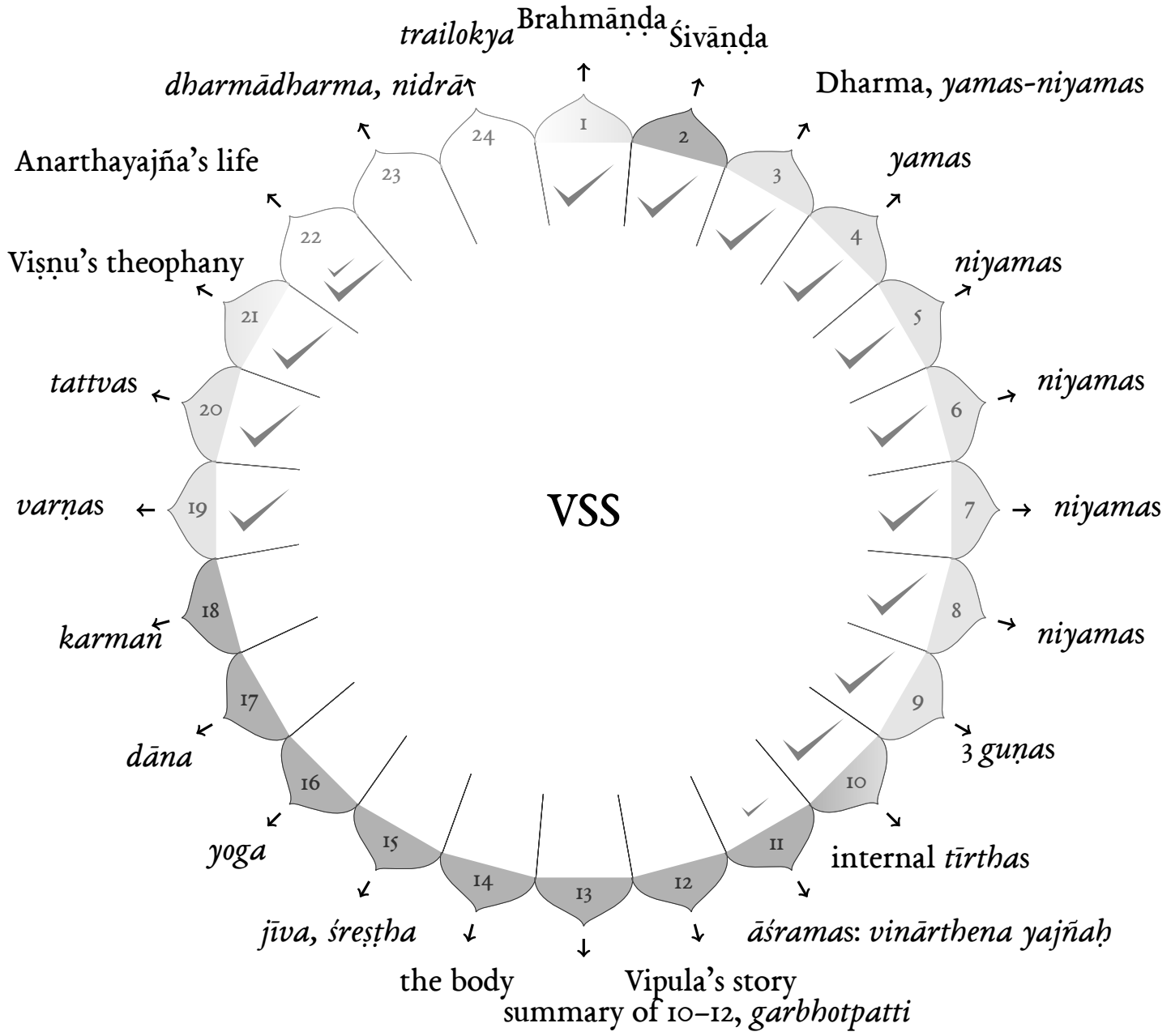


Figure 2: The structure and topics of the VSS

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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-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 Vigatarāga (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

VSS 9.40–42

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

Śivadharmā texts:

Embryology

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

Compare, borrowings

Buddhacarita

Bṛhatkāṇṭikā,

Skanda

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

¹⁸ Kiss 2021, 187

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final redaction. As for the time it may have happened, the first half of the period in the history of Nepal that is the most poorly documented and is thus variably labelled ‘the transitional period,’¹⁹ or a ‘relatively obscure period [...] [b]etween the Licchavis, who last appear in epigraphical record in 737 [CE], and the Malla kings, who ruled from 1200–1768’,²⁰ is the most probable one.

To make assumptions about the place of composition of the VSS, we 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 identify 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 southern banks of the Yamunā or at the northern banks of the Sābhramatī river (modern Sabarati) in the area of Ahmedabad. Somatīrtha is also

¹⁹ Petech 1984, 31

²⁰ Sanderson 2009, 77

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 Gomati river in Uttar Pradesh (SP vol. I, p. 67, n. 23). This identification is doubted by Mirashi (1968).’

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sometimes placed on the banks of the Sabarmati, see, e.g., *Padmapurāṇa* 6.161.1ab: *somatīrthaṃ tato gacched guptaṃ sābhramatitaṭe*. Sūryatīrtha is sometimes placed in Kurukṣetra.²⁴ Going further in the list, Mānasa is generally thought to be ‘[a] lake on the peak of the Himālayas’,²⁵ modern Manasarovar.²⁶ Bindusāra, which most probably stands for Bindusaras, can 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 Hanumadīśvara-*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):

kimciddūre saṅgamasya yajñabhūmiṃ manoharām |
vidhāya munibhir sārddhaṃ vājapeyam athākarot ||
yajñaṃ samāpya vālmīkir navanāḍimayaṃ girim |
āruroha dvijaśreṣṭho munibhir munisattamaḥ ||
kaṭake tasya śailasya nānānirjharasobhite |
liṅgaṃ saṃsthāpayām āsa vālmikīśvarasaṃjñitam ||
sthāpayitvā mahāliṅgaṃ vālmīkir munisattamaḥ |
svāśrame tamasātīre yayau munigaṇair vṛtaḥ ||
vālmikīśvaram ālokyā vāgvibhūtiḥ prajāyate |
ato vāgīśvaram liṅga pravadanti manīṣiṇaḥ ||

Not far from the confluence [Vālmīki] prepared a nice sacrificial ground together with the sages, and performed the Vājapeya sacrifice. After having completed the sacrifice, Vālmīki, the best of the twice-born, the truest of sages, climbed the mountain on which fresh grass was growing(?)³¹ together with the sages. In a valley of the mountain which was embellished with various waterfalls, he installed a *liṅga* called Vālmikīśvara. 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 Vālmikīśvara [*liṅga*], one will have the power of speech (*vāg-vibhūti*).

²⁴ See Mani 1975, s.v. ‘sūryatīrtha’.

²⁵ Mani 1975, s.v. ‘mānasa IV’.

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

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

devatānām hariḥ śreṣṭhaḥ śreṣṭhā gaṅgā nadīṣu ca |
anāśanas tapaḥśreṣṭhas tirthaśreṣṭhaḥ 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 Maharash-

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

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

tra.³⁴ Since this placename, and the Sahya mountains (12.93),³⁵ come up in the framework of a dreamlike, fanciful part of the narrative, playing the role of ‘the far-away, magical land,’ a Nepalese origin of the VSS is still tenable.

Perhaps the most telling of all toponyms found in the VSS is 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

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

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

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

³⁷ See fn. 36.

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

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

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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 yā gatis*, MBh 13.42.27cd) as something horrible. He wonders what sins he may have committed that could yield such unfortunate consequences. He realizes that by not telling Devaśarman that he actually entered Ruci’s body, he lied and thus may have committed a horrible sin. When Devaśarman learns about this, he praises Vipula for his services instead, and all three, Devaśarman, his wife, and Vipula, go to heaven.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 Vicaṇḍa, two royal envoys—seem to be of little use for us to ascertain the time and place of composition or redaction of the VSS.

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

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

⁴⁰ See, e.g., *pāpakṛt* in VSS 3.34d (≈ *Manu* 5.52) attested in Devanāgarī MSS Pu⁵, Pu⁷, Pu⁹; *nānyatra manur abravīt* in VSS 3.35d (≈ *Manu* 5.41) attested in Śāradā MSS sOx¹, sPu⁶ and Devanāgarī MS Tr²; *kūṭa* in VSS 4.79 (≈ *Manu* 11.57) in a MS from Kathmandu (sKt⁵), in Devanāgarī/Old Nāgarī MSS (Lo⁴, sPu¹, Pu², Pu⁴, Pu¹⁰), as well as in two South-Indian MSS (sMd¹, sMd³).

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earliest dated MS that contains the VSS is Ko₇₇. It is dated to Nepal Saṃvat 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] ‘*saṃvat 192*,’ i.e., 1071–1072 CE.

The above mentioned two MSS make it impossible to date the VSS later than to the first half of the 11th century CE, and 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,⁴⁴ 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*⁴⁵ (see details at the analysis of chapter 10 on pp. xlii and in the notes to the translation). Similarly, 11.23a (*nivṛtṭyādi caturvedaś*) 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*,⁴⁶ the *buddhi* of classical Sāṅkhya is called *mati*, and the highest *tattva* is

⁴¹ See Shastri 1928, 721 and De Simini & Mirnig 2017, 591. The date is clearly visible as ‘*saṃvat 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 Śivadharmas ms consists of two major parts, easily distinguishable by different hands: one that appears to be produced in 9th-c. Nepal [...], and another seemingly from a century or so later [...] The next set of folios making up this Śivadharmas ms consists of three titles: the *Uttaromāmaheśvarasaṃvāda** (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 Also verse 11.21.

⁴⁵ Goodall, Sanderson, & Isaacson 2015, 33–35.

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

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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.⁴⁷

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 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...

⁴⁷ 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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Pāśupatas in the VSS

8.2

vratas in ch 8

ash bath 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 Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā could also be a “sighing tantra.” To be more precise, a tantra that originated from the sighing of Śiva. This is to say, the speech of Śiva.”

4.73 36-tattva system?

5.7–11 dhyāna

9.5 sakala vikala

10.23 visualization

Niśv visualization in ch 10

Sadāśiva who is higher than Īśvara 11.4

Buddhism in the VSS

4 brahmavihāras

11.46 rule

Misc

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

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Language

Newar influence?

The language of the VSS goes beyond the idiosyncrasies of epic Sanskrit. It exhibits strong similarities to Śaiva Aśa Sanskrit,⁴⁸ 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 valley⁴⁹—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.⁵⁰ Therefore I have to project a much later Newar grammar onto an earlier and less well-known state of the language, which is not without risks.

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

Number and gender

One of the most evident deviation from Pāṇinian grammar in the text of the VSS is a general disregard of grammatical concord as to number and gender.⁵¹ See, e.g., a plural verb (*metri causa?*) with a singular subject in VSS 1.25ab:

⁴⁸ On Aśa, see, e.g., Goodall 1998, lxv ff., Törzsök 1999, xxvi ff., Kiss 2015, 77–87, Gerstmayr 2017, Hatley 2018, 28ff.

⁴⁹ See pp. xx ff.

⁵⁰ The earliest dated Newar document is the Ukū Bāhāḥ landgrant palmleaf manuscript from 1114 CE. See, e.g., Malla 1990.

⁵¹ Compare Kölver’s introductory remarks in his investigation of ‘Newarized Sanskrit’ (Kölver 1999, 202) in the *Svayambhūpurāṇa* thus (ibid. 192):

‘Number is often ignored

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

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

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

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

rātryāgame pralīyante 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.⁵² 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, *gatis ca pañca vijñeyāḥ* in 3.5a stands for *gatayaś ca pañca vijñeyāḥ* (‘and the paths are to be known as five’), partly metri causa; and an interrogative quantifier (*kati*, ‘how many?’) can trigger the same: *gatis tasya kati smṛtāḥ* (3.1d; ‘how many are its path[s]?’). It is not without interest that classical Newar rarely applies any plural marker in noun phrases with numerals.⁵³ Moreover in Newar, ‘nouns denoting inanimate objects are indifferent as to number.’⁵⁴ 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

⁵² 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.

⁵³ 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.

⁵⁴ Jørgensen 1941, 5 and 17.

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what we often see in Newar.⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ It is its extent in the VSS that suggests a very strong external influence, supposedly of classical Newar.

Case and syntax

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

*bhūmipradātā dvija hīnadīnaḥ
saṃṛddhasaṃśaṃśaṃśaṃśaḥ |
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 sasyasaṃṛddha-jalasamnikṛṣṭa-bhūmi-pradātā*. This is expressed by a phrase in which a word that should be in the dative or genitive (*dvija*) is in the

⁵⁵ ‘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.).

⁵⁶ 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).

⁵⁷ See, e.g., Oberlies 2003, XXXVIII–XL, and Kiss 2015, 85 and the Index therein.

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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.⁵⁸

There are dozens, or hundreds, of syntactical oddities in the VSS, even if not all this baffling.⁵⁹ Somewhat similarly to what Kölver describes in his analysis of the language of the *Svayambhūpurāṇa*, a Nepalese composition (Kölver 1999), there often (but not always!) seems to be a lack of understanding of the passive, together with the application of the ergative, one of the basic syntactical tools of classical Newar. To demonstrate this, a good example is 12.113cd:

indrenāsmi phalaṃ dattaṃ sa phalaṃ datta me bhavān

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

Again, this is the translation that seems to fit the context. Here the skeleton of *pāda* c is a well-constructed passive: *indreṇa phalaṃ dattaṃ*, but then, instead of adding a dative or genitive (e.g., *indreṇa me phalaṃ dattaṃ*), the author chooses a finite verb (*asmī*). In *pāda* d, after seemingly treating *phalaṃ* as a masculine noun, and leaving *datta* in stem form metri causa, and using *me* for *mayā*,⁶⁰ 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*,⁶¹ 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 ’smy aham

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

⁵⁸ 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.’

⁵⁹ Most of them are addressed in the footnotes to the translation.

⁶⁰ This often happens in epic Sanskrit, see Oberlies 2003, 4.1.3, pp. 102–103.

⁶¹ Although this solution carries the metric fault of being iambic.

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

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

eṣa garbhasamutpattiḥ kathito 'smi varānane

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

āgneyadhātum somaṃ ca kathito 'smi varānane

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

kathito 'smi samāśena kim anyac chrotum icchasi

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

These are also similar to what Jørgensen analyses in a Sanskrit passage in the Newar *Vicitrakarṇikāvadānoddhṛta*, namely that the phrase *na jñāto 'ham* must in that context mean ‘I did not know.’⁶²

Sometimes the agent 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).⁶³

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 śakyaṃ katham dvija

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

evam satyavidhānasya kīrtitaṃ tava suvrata

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

⁶² Jørgensen 1931, 77 and 328. Compare *tat phalam sa niveditaḥ* (‘he gave that fruit’) in VSS 12:67d.

⁶³ This happens also in Aśa. See, e.g., *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 18.23: *pūjayet ... mantriṇā* (Törzsök 1999, 42).

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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.’⁶⁴

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

yajec cakre ca vidhivad yoginīsiddhim icchatā 21.12cd

Cardinal and ordinal numbers

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

caturviṃśati yat tattvaṃ prakṛtiṃ viddhi niścayam
dvāviṃśati ahaṃkāras tattvaṃ uktaṃ maṇiṣibhiḥ

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

This phenomenon is known to a certain degree from epic Sanskrit,⁶⁵ and is even more characteristic of classical Newar.⁶⁶

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,⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸ 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:

⁶⁴ Edgerton 1953, vol. 1, §7.65, p. 47.

⁶⁵ See Oberlies 2003, §5.2.2, pp. 127–128.

⁶⁶ See Jørgensen 1941, 42 and Otter 2020, 57.

⁶⁷ See, e.g., Kiss 2015, 75–77 and Goodall, Sanderson, & Isaacson 2015, 126 and 441.

⁶⁸ Jørgensen 1941, 18 and 21, and Otter 2020, 16.

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- 1.63a: *vāyunā pāda saṃkṣipya (pādam)*
- 1.63c: *tenāpi pāda saṃkṣipya (pādam)*
- 2.25c: *bhogam akṣaya tatraiva (akṣayam)*
- 2.26d: *īśānānām 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: *dviṭīyam tattva puruṣam (tattvam)*

Vocabulary

Special vocabulary/language: karhacit, hṛdi as nominative 10.27cd, tiryā,
me as mayā, āhūtaplavana
generate list from index
Modern Nepali: singular after numerals.
Kölver
No short-long

Metre

As regards metrical licences, perhaps the most striking feature is the generous use of the poetic licence sometimes labelled ‘muta cum liquida,’⁶⁹ namely that some consonant clusters that would normally turn the previous short (*laghu*) syllable long (*guru*) may in some cases do not do so.⁷⁰ Syllables beginning with *pr*, *br*, *hr*, *kr*, especially (or exclusively?) at the beginning of words, are well-known candidates for this licence.⁷¹ In the VSS, *tr*, *vr*, *śr*, *pr*, and also *śy*, *śv*, *sv*, *dv*,⁷² can also trigger this licence. All these syllables involve conjunct consonants with a semivowel in second position. Since the sound in first position is not always a plosive, the term ‘muta cum

⁶⁹ I.e. ‘stop with liquid.’ The term ‘muta’ stands for a ‘plosive’ sound or ‘stop’. For a recent contribution on this phenomenon, see, Sen 2006 (discussing it as it appears in Latin).

⁷⁰ On its appearance in Śaiva Tantras, see, e.g., Goodall 2004, lxxxi and Goodall, Sanderson, & Isaacson 2015, 441. The latter concerns the syllable *spa* in *Niśvāsa naya* 2.55cd: *sparsātanmātra sparsan tu grhṇate tvacam āśṛtaḥ*.

⁷¹ See, e.g., Apte 1890, Appendix A p. 1. Note that even here, the phenomenon extends beyond plosive sounds: *h* is rather a fricative.

⁷² See, e.g., the cadence of 5.15b: *śukaśyenaḥkān* for $\cup \cup - \cup -$

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liquida’ is actually less than perfect in our case. I propose the term *krama* licence; to give reasons for this, and for context, it is perhaps not useless to briefly show what a well-known author on prosody, Kedārabhaṭṭa (11th or 12th century),⁷³ who is frequently quoted by Mallinātha, has to say on this phenomenon in his *Vṛttaratnākara* (here given together with Sulhaṇa’s *Sukavihṛdayanandinī* commentary):⁷⁴

padādāv iha varṇasya saṃyogaḥ kramasaṃjñikah |
purahsthitena tena syāl laghutā ’pi kvacid guroḥ || 1.10 ||

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

[Comm.:] *vibhaktyantaṃ padaṃ tasya padasyāḍau vartamāno yo varṇas tasya saṃyogaḥ | sa iha śāstre kramasaṃjñō jñeyah | tena krameṇa purovartinā prāk-padānte vartamānasya prāptagurubhāvasyāpi laghutā syāt | kvacil lakṣānurod-hena | nanu ka eṣah kramo nāma saṃyoga ucyate | pūrvācāryāṇāṃ piṅgalanā-gaprabhṛtināṃ kālīdāsādināṃ ca kavīnāṃ samayaḥ parigrhitah | saṃyogaḥ kra-masaṃyogaḥ || 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’ (*krama*)? The old teachers such as Piṅgalanāga and poets such as Kālīdāsa accepted [this] rule. The combination of consonants (*saṃyoga*) is [here] the sequence[-type] (*krama*) [i.e. word-initial] combination of consonants (*saṃyoga*). Among [the possibilities], for example by conjunct consonant *gr*. Here is an example of that:

taruṇaṃ 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.⁷⁵

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 | - - | - |

⁷³ Ollett 2013, 333.

⁷⁴ Patel 2020.

⁷⁵ I.e.: ‘you are pretty, don’t waste your time with poor village men.’

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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: *harindra*(*br*)*ahmādibhir āsamagram (upajāti)*
 4.67c: *prajñābodha*(*śr*)*utiṃ smṛtiṃ ca labhate mānaṃ ca nityaṃ labhed*
 (*śārdūlavikrīḍita*)
 4.89a: *iti yama*(*pr*)*avibhāgaḥ kīrtito ’yaṃ dvijendra (mālini)*
 5.5cd: *parastrīpara*(*dr*)*avyeṣu śaucaṃ kāyikaṃ ucyate (pathyā)*
 5.9cd: *vānaprasthasya* (*tr*)*iguṇaṃ yatīnāṃ tu caturguṇaṃ (na-vipulā)*
 5.15ab: *haṃsasārasacakrāhvakukkuṭān śuka*(*śy*)*enakān (pathyā)*
 6.13ab: *brahmalokaṃ tu* (*pr*)*āthamaṃ tattvapraṛticintayā (na-vipulā)*
 8.33a: *tasmān mauna*(*vr*)*ataṃ sadaiva sudṛḍhaṃ kurvīta yo niścitaṃ (śārdūla-*
vikrīḍita)
 10.31b: *īśānenābhijūṣaṃ hr̥di* (*hr*)*ada vimalaṃ nādaśītāmbupūrṇaṃ (srag-*
dharā)
 11.9ab: *manaḥśuddhis tu* (*pr*)*āthamaṃ dravyaśuddhir ataḥ param (na-vipulā)*

These indeed follow the rule of having the special conjunct with the semi-vowel at the beginning of a word in the sense that the word can be a member of a compound.⁷⁶ Note especially that since conjuncts such as *śr* and *hr* show up in this phenomenon, the phrase ‘muta cum liquida’ is slightly misleading. Hereafter I will use the phrase ‘*krama* licence’ instead. To understand how unique the VSS’s indulgence in this *krama* licence is, the epics and the Purāṇas should perhaps 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:

⁷⁶ There are some problematic verses that I ignore here. They are unlikely to change the overall picture.

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- 3.42d: *etatpunyapha(la)m ahimsakajanaḥ prāpnoti niḥsaṃśayaḥ (śārdūlavikrīḍita)*
 4.5a: *na narmayu(ka)m anṛtaṃ hinasti (upajāti)*⁷⁷
 4.39c: *aśeṣaya(jña)tapadānapuṇyaṃ (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) bhavadahanakaraḥ prārthanākalpavṛkṣaḥ (sragdharā)*
 7.13b: *saubhā(gya)m atulaṃ labheta sa nara rūpaṃ tathā śobhanam (śārdūlavikrīḍita)*
 8.44d: *na bhavati punaja(nma) kalpakotyāyute 'pi (mālinī)*
 11.42b: *saṃsāroddhara(na)m anityahara(na)m ajñānanirmūlanam (śārdūlavikrīḍita)*
 11.42c: *prajñāvṛddhika(ra)m amoghakaraṇaṃ kleśārṇavottāraṇaṃ (śārdūlavikrīḍita)*
 11.42d: *janmavyādhiha(ra)m akarmadahanaṃ sevet sa dharmottamam (śārdūlavikrīḍita)*
 12.150c: *nityaṃ rogādhivā(sa)m aniyatavapuṣaṃ trāhi mām kālāpāśāt (sragdharā)*

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

⁷⁷ Versions of this line in the MBh and the MatsP read °yuktaṃ vacanaṃ (see the apparatus at veres 4.5 in the edition).

Introduction

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.⁷⁸

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

⁷⁸ See a Sanskrit summary of the contents of the VSS, based on Naraharinath’s edition, in Acharya 2014, 61–72 **CHECK**.

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Adhyāya 3

yamas-niyamas: see table in Bisschop, Kaffle, & 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. niyamapraśaṃsā (p. 603: types of svādhyāyana: śaiva, sāmkhya,
purāṇa, smārta, bhārata) 9. traiguṇyaviśeṣaṇīya 10. kāyatīrthavivaraṇa 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.⁷⁹ 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,⁸⁰ and a lack of any critical apparatus or any documentation of the witness(es) used.⁸¹ 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 ...⁸²

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

⁷⁹ As West (1973, 61) puts it, following a long tradition of philologists: ‘Is your edition really necessary? That is the first question.’

⁸⁰ 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.

⁸¹ He must have worked from paper manuscripts, see p. 9.

⁸² 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 Newar⁸³ 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.⁸⁴ 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.⁸⁵

⁸³ See p. xxxi.

⁸⁴ 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.’

⁸⁵ 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

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In recently published and forthcoming critical editions of and articles on the Śivadharma corpus,⁸⁶ 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.⁸⁷ Since in the case of the VSS all the manuscripts I utilised are written in some variant of the Nepālākṣara script,⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁹ 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-masaṃgraha*, 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.

⁸⁶ Bisschop 2018, Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, and Bisschop, Kafle, & Kiss forthcoming.

⁸⁷ For details of this system and for the underlying reasons, see Bisschop 2018, 50–51.

⁸⁸ I have not used NGMCP B 219/3 NAK 4/2537 (paper, Maithilī script), and L₁₆ (paper, Devanāgarī script, see below).

⁸⁹ <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.⁹⁰ 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.⁹¹ 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).⁹² This is more difficult to see in the case of the VSS, but

⁹⁰ <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01645/404>

⁹¹ F. 247r line 6. The CUDL website transcribes this colophon as: *saṃvat 259 śrāvaṇaśukladvādaśīpyaḍi 8 trayodaśyām* (retrieved 8 Dec 2021). The element *dvādaśīpyaḍi* could be read as *dvādaśīyā di*, perhaps a mistake for *dvādaśyām di* (*di* for a misplaced *diva/divā?*), and the symbol that does look like a figure ‘8’ of a slightly later period than the manuscript itself (resembling the mathematical symbol <) might also be a *kākapada*. Alternatively, one could understand *yā* as a Newar genitive marker, *dvādaśī-yā di* meaning ‘the day of the twelfth.’ Another faint *kākapada* is perhaps to be seen under *daśī*, therefore it is possible that the scribe’s intention was to delete *dvādaśī* and correct it to *trayodaśyām*, and then the date becomes 11th of July. Kengo Harimoto has suggested that the unclear element (*yādi/pyaḍi*) is in fact *ghaṭi*, and after comparing these two syllables to other instances of *gha* and *ṭa*, one cannot but agree. In this case this should be an indication of the exact time (Skt. *ghaṭi/ghaṭikā*, Newar *ghaṭi*) the scribe finished copying the text. It is still not clear if we should take *dvādaśī* or *trayodaśyām* as the date. For help on the conversion of the date and for a detailed discussion on the colophon I am indebted to Kengo Harimoto.

⁹² 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.⁹³ 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 7.122,⁹⁴ 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.⁹⁵

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.⁹⁶

⁹³ <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02102/181>

⁹⁴ Image no. 180, *Śivopaniṣad* 7.122: *yauvanasthā grhasthāś ca [prāsā]dasthāś ca ye nṛpāh.*

⁹⁵ Compare with the claim of the online catalogue: “The present manuscript probably contained seven texts.”

⁹⁶ 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),⁹⁷ 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.⁹⁸ 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).⁹⁹ The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 274 folios. Eight texts are

below.

⁹⁷ Of course, my verse numbering in chapters 13–24 may change slightly during the editing process.

⁹⁸ https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00098499

⁹⁹ 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.¹⁰⁰

(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.¹⁰¹ 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°*). 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

¹⁰⁰ See a similar evaluation in Bisschop 2018, 56.

¹⁰¹ 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.¹⁰² 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.¹⁰³ 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 5-738¹⁰⁴—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.

¹⁰² https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00062373

¹⁰³ http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A_3-3_Śivadharmasāstra

¹⁰⁴ 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*¹⁰⁵ instead of *śṛṇu* and *śṛṅge* in all other witnesses. In some instances, the paper MSS K₄₁ and K₁₀₇ give readings that might be old or ‘original.’ E.g., 20.40d is missing in a great number of MSS (C₉₄, C₄₅, K₈₂, K₁₀), K₇ gives (improvises?) a less than perfect *tān nibodha dvijottamaḥ*,¹⁰⁶ while K₄₁, K₁₀₇, and E give a similarly imperfect *vijñeyā ca manīṣibhiḥ*.¹⁰⁷ 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.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ K₁₀₇ reads a similar *grdbhe*.

¹⁰⁶ One would expect the vocative *dvijottama*.

¹⁰⁷ The correct sandhi would be *vijñeyās ca*.

¹⁰⁸ Compare this with Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, 58–59, especially the following piece of information: ‘According to the information kindly provided by Diwakar Acharya (personal communication), it may have been based on a Devanāgarī manuscript from the time of Raṇa Bahādur Shah (1775–1806).’

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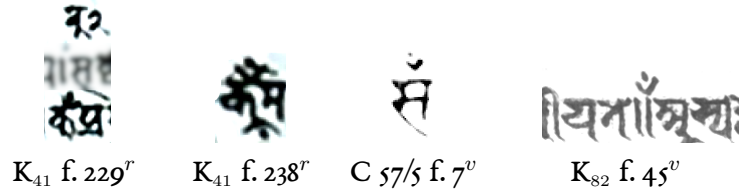


Figure 5: *Kākapadas*

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,¹⁰⁹ one in the above mentioned Śivadharma MS NGMPP C 57/5 from 1826 CE,¹¹⁰ and in a *Kālacakratantra* MS written in old Bengali script from 1446 CE, which has (most probably much later) corrections in Nepālākṣara script.¹¹¹

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.

¹⁰⁹ MSS G 18/2 and B 218/2, Einicke 2009, 161–162 and 236.

¹¹⁰ Einicke 2009, 164 and 328.

¹¹¹ Einicke 2009, 65–66 and 328. On p. 66, Einicke remarks: ‘Besonderheiten: Korrekturen einzelner Zeichen in späterer Newārī-Schrift am Rand’.

Introduction

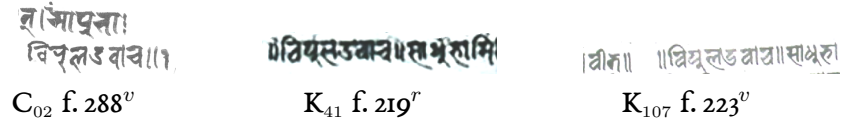


Figure 6: Insertion of *vipula uvāca* in C_{02}

To spot this, our anonymous editor had to carefully compare the old palm-leaf MS with the 17th-century paper MS.¹¹²

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.¹¹³ 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),¹¹⁴ Folios 1–88 are missing. These must have contained the *Śivadharmasāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*.¹¹⁵ 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.

¹¹² More on this in volume two.

¹¹³ See p. 5.

¹¹⁴ *सिंह* (f. 262v). De Simini reads NS 803 (2016b, 253 n. 51). I prefer reading NS 809.

¹¹⁵ 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.¹¹⁶ 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

¹¹⁶ Harimoto 2022, 596. See more detail in that paper.

Introduction

d'études 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) *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsamvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*. The VSS appears on ff. 212–252. This source gives reliable readings and contains relatively few scribal mistakes.¹¹⁷

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) *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsamvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*.

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

Kolkata manuscripts

(N)Ko₇₇ MS G4077 in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Kolkata.¹¹⁸ 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

¹¹⁷ This description had as its starting point a shorter description written and kindly shared with me by Nirajan Kafle.

¹¹⁸ 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.¹¹⁹

(N)Ko₇₆ MS G 4076 in the collection of The Asiatic Society, Kolkata.¹²⁰ 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 84 on page 2.

Tübingen manuscript

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

London manuscript

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

¹¹⁹ See, e.g., 8.1–8, as transmitted in this MS: *pañcasvādhyāyanam ihāmutra sukhārthinā | saivasāṅkhyā purāṇāṇ ca smārtabhāratasaṃhitā* ||8.1|| *saivatatvaṃ vicin-tata saivāpāsūpatadvaye | atra vistarata prokta tatvasārasamucaye* ||8.2|| *saṃkhyātatvaṃ tu saṃkhyeṣu bodhavya tatvacintakāḥ | pañcatattvavibhāgena kīrtitāni maharṣibhiḥ* ||8.3|| *purāṇeṣu mahikoṣa vistareṇa prakīrtita | āyoyas ca tiryāṇ ca yatnataḥ samaveśayet* ||8.4|| *smārta varṇṇasamācāra dharmānyāyapravarttakam | śiṣṭācāro vikalpena grāhya tatva asahitaḥ* ||8.5|| *itihāsam adhīyānaḥ sarvajñaḥ sa naro bhavet | dharmārthakā-mamokṣeṣu saṃśayas tena chidyate* ||8.6|| *pañcoprasthavinigraha sṃnyāvamhito dvija | striyo vā garhitaḥ svargaḥ svayāmmukṭiś ca kīrtiyate | svapnopaghātaṃ viprendra di-vāsvapnaṃ ca pañcamah* ||8.7|| *agamyastri divārsyase dharmapatni ca vā bhavet | virud-dhastri na bhaveta varṇṇavarṇṇabhraṣṭādhikāma ca* ||8.8||

¹²⁰ 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:



[sphaṭikāṃs-ram [= °kāṃbaram] eva ca | daśayogāsanāsīno

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*.

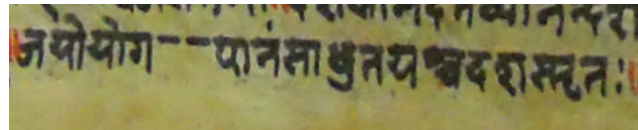
Here K₈₂ (f. 39v) reads:



[japo yogas tapo] dhyānaṃ svādhyāyaś ca daśa smṛtaḥ

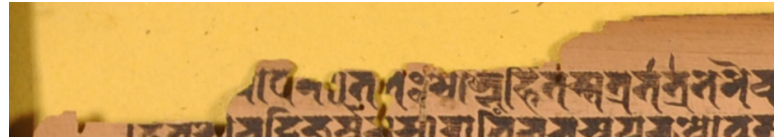
with *dhyā* and *svā* damaged;

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*.

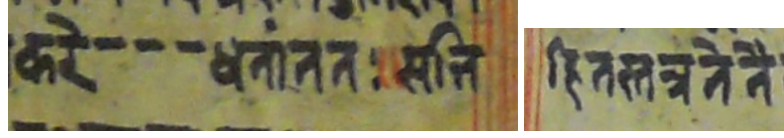
K₈₂ (f. 39r) gives:



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).¹²¹ 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.

¹²¹ 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

[द्वादशमो ऽध्यायः]

[आतिथ्यधर्मः]

देव्युवाच ।

अहिंसा परमो धर्मः सततं परिकीर्त्यते ।

आतिथ्यकानां धर्मं च कथयस्व यदुत्तमम् ॥ १२:१ ॥

महेश्वर उवाच ।

अहिंसातिथ्यकानां च शृणु धर्मं यदुत्तमम् ।

त्रैलोक्यमखिलं देवि रत्नपूर्णं सुलोचने ॥ १२:२ ॥

चतुर्वेदविदे दानं न तत्तुल्यमहिंसकः ।

शृणु धर्ममतिथ्यानां कीर्तयिष्यामि सुन्दरि ॥ १२:३ ॥

[विपुलोपाख्यानम्]

आसीद्वृत्तं पुराख्यानं नगरे कुसुमाह्वये ।

कपिलस्य सुतो विद्वान्विपुलो नाम विश्रुतः ॥ १२:४ ॥

धर्मनित्यो जितक्रोधः सत्यवादी जितेन्द्रियः ।

❖

5b = MBh 12.218.13b

Witnesses used for this chapter : C₉₄ ff. 210r–215r, C₄₅ ff. 215v–219v, C₀₂ ff. 287v–283v (f. 291 is missing), K₈₂ ff. 17v–22r, K₁₀ exp. 58 (lower) – 62 (lower), K₇ ff. 225v–230r, E pp. 617–628 ; C_Σ = C₉₄ + C₄₅ + C₀₂

❖

(1ab) धर्मः स०] Σ, धर्मोस्स० C₀₂ (1c) आतिथ्य०] Σ, अतिथ्य० C₄₅K₁₀ •
 धर्मं च] Σ, धर्मश्च C₀₂, धर्मानां K₁₀ (2) महेश्वर] Σ, भगवान् K₈₂ (2b) शृणु]
 Σ, ---णु C₉₄ • धर्म] Σ, धर्म C₀₂E • उत्तमम्] Σ, उत्तमां E (2d) ०पूर्ण] Σ,
 पूर्ण C₀₂, ०पूर्णा E • ०लोचने] Σ, ०लोचनं C₄₅ (3a) दानं] Σ, नानं C₄₅ (4a)
 आसीद्वृत्तं] C₉₄K₈₂E, आशीदत्तं C₄₅, आसीद्वृत्तम् C₀₂, आसी वृत्तं K₁₀, आसीद्वृत्त
 K₇ • ०ख्यानं] Σ, ०ख्यातं E (4b)] Σ, नगरं कुसुमाह्वयम् C₀₂K₁₀

वृषसारसंग्रहे

ब्रह्मण्यश्च कृतज्ञश्च मद्भक्तः कृतनिश्चयः ॥ १२:५ ॥

धनाढ्यो ऽतिथिपूज्यश्च दाता दान्तो दयालुकः ।

न्यायार्जितधनो नित्यमन्यायपरिवर्जितः ॥ १२:६ ॥

भार्या च रूपिणी तस्य चन्द्रबिम्बशुभानना ।

पीनोत्तुङ्गस्तनी कान्ता सकलानन्दकारिणी ।

पतिव्रता पतिरता पतिशुश्रूषणे रता ॥ १२:७ ॥

अथ केनापि कालेन सूर्यरागमभूततः ।

ग्रस्तभागत्रयस्त्वासीत्कृष्णमाधवमासिके ॥ १२:८ ॥

स्नातुकामावतीर्यन्ते सर्वे पौरनृपादयः ।

देवाश्च पितरश्चैव तर्प्यन्ते विधिवत्तथा ॥ १२:९ ॥

केचिज्जुहति तत्राग्निं केचिद्विप्रांश्च तर्पयेत् ।

केचिद्दानोपतिष्ठन्ति केचित्स्तुवन्ति देवताम् ॥ १२:१० ॥

ध्यानयोगरताः केचित्केचित्पञ्चतपे रताः ।

एवं प्रवर्तमानेषु राजनादिषु सर्वशः ॥ १२:११ ॥



7ef cf. *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* 4.27.174cd: पतिव्रते पतिरते पतिं देहि नमो ऽस्तु ते



(5c) ब्रह्मण्य०] $C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}E$, ब्रह्मण्य० $C_{94}C_{02}K_7$ • ०ज्ञश्च] Σ , ०ज्ञ C_{45} , ०ज्ञश्च K_{10} (5d) ०भक्तः] Σ , ०भक्त० E (6a) ०पूज्यश्च] $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_7E$, ०पूज्य $C_{45}K_{82}$, ०पूज्यश्च K_{10} (6b) दान्तो] $C_{45}K_7E$, दान्त $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}$, दान्तोम(?) C_{45} , दान्त K_{10} (6c) न्याया०] $C_{02}K_{82}K_7E$, न्यायो० $C_{94}C_{45}K_{10}$ (6cd) नित्यम०] Σ , नित्यम० K_{10} (6d) ०वर्जितः] Σ , ०वर्जयेत् K_{10} (7b) ०बिम्ब०] Σ , ०बिम्बा K_{82} • ०शुभानना] Σ , ०निभानना K_{10} (7d) सकला०] Σ , --- C_{94} (7e) पतिव्रता] Σ , प्रतिव्रता C_{45} • पतिरता] Σ , पतिरता $C_{45}K_{10}$ (7f) पतिशुश्रूषणे] Σ , प्रतिशुश्रूषणे K_{10} (8b) ०भूततः] Σ , ०भूततः C_{02} (9a) ०वतीर्यन्ते] Σ , च तीर्थन्ते E (9c) देवाश्च] Σ , देवश्च C_{02} (9d) तर्प्यन्ते] Σ , तर्प्यन्ते $C_{45}K_{10}$ (10a) ०चिज्जुहति] Σ , ०चिज्जुति C_{45} , ०चिज्जुहति C_{02} (10b) विप्रांश्च] Σ , विप्राश्च C_{45} (10c) दानो०] Σ , ध्याना० E (10d) केचित्स्तुवन्ति] $C_{94}C_{45}K_7$, केचिद्वन्ति C_{02} , केचि स्तुवन्ति $K_{82}K_{10}$, केचित्स्तुवन्ति E • देवताम्] Σ , देवता $C_{45}K_7$ (11a) ०रताः] Σ , ०रता K_{10} (11d) राजना०] Σ , राजाना० E

द्वादशमो ऽध्यायः

विपुलो ऽपि हि तत्रैव गङ्गागण्डकिसंगमे ।
 भार्यया सह तत्रैव स्नात्वा क्षोमविभूषणः ॥ १२:१२ ॥
 देवतागुरुविप्राणामन्येषां तर्पणे रतः ।
 तत्रावसरसम्प्राप्तो ब्राह्मणो ऽतिथिरागतः ॥ १२:१३ ॥
 भार्या तस्यातिरूपेण मोहिता ब्रह्मणस्तदा ।
 ब्राह्मणो ऽपि तथैवेह रूपेणाप्रतिमो भवेत् ॥ १२:१४ ॥
 अन्योन्यदृष्टिसंस्कौ जातौ तौ तु परस्परम् ।
 विपुलेनाञ्जलिं कृत्वा ब्राह्मण संशितव्रत ॥ १२:१५ ॥
 आज्ञापय द्विजश्रेष्ठ अद्य मे ऽनुग्रहं कुरु ।
 भार्याभृत्यपशुग्राम रत्नानि विविधानि च ॥ १२:१६ ॥
 विपुलेनैवमुक्तस्तु गृहीतो ब्राह्मणो ऽब्रवीत् ।
 यदि सत्यं प्रदातासि सुप्रसन्नं मनस्तव ॥ १२:१७ ॥
 विपुल उवाच ।

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15d = MBh 12.213.18d and 12.347.1d

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(12a) ऽपि हि] $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}^{pc}K_{10}K_7$, पि C_{45} , हि न K_{82}^{ac} , पि च E (12c) भार्यया] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, भार्यया $C_{94}C_{02}E$ (12d) भूषणः] Σ , भूषणैः C_{02} , भूषितः K_{82} (13ab)] $C_{45}K_{82}^{pc}K_{10}K_7$, देवतागुरुविप्राणामन्येषां तर्पणे रतः C_{94} , देवतागुरुविप्राणामन्येषां तर्पणे रतः C_{02} , om. K_{82}^{ac} , देवतागुरुविप्राणामन्येषां तर्पणा रतः E (14b) मोहिता] Σ , मोहितो C_{45} • ब्रह्मणस्तदा] $C_{94}C_{45}K_7$, ब्राह्मणास्तथा C_{02} , ब्राह्मणस्तदा $K_{82}K_{10}$, ब्राह्मणस्य च E (14c) ब्राह्मणो] Σ , ब्रह्मणो C_{45} • तथैवेह] $C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}E$, तथैवेह C_{94} , तथैवेह $C_{02}K_7$ (14d) रूपेणा०] $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, रूपेणा० C_{45} , रूपेण C_{02} , रूपिणा० E (15a) संस्कौ] E, संशक्तौ $C_{94}K_{82}K_7$, संस्कौ C_{45} , संसक्तो $C_{02}K_{10}$ (15b) जातौ तौ] Σ , जातो तौ तौ C_{02} , जातौ ता K_7 (15d) ब्राह्मण] $C_{45}C_{02}$, ब्राह्मणः $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$ • शित०] em., श्रित० $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$ • व्रत] conj., व्रतः C_{94} , व्रतः $C_{45}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$ (16b) ग्रहं] Σ , ग्रह C_{45} (16c) भृत्य०] Σ , भृत्या० C_{02} (17b) ब्राह्मणो ऽब्रवीत्] Σ , ब्राह्मणस्तथा C_{02} (17c)] Σ , om. C_{02} (17d)] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_7$, om. C_{02} , सुप्रसन्नमनस्तव $K_{10}E$

वृषसारसंग्रहे

सुप्रसन्नं मनो मे ऽद्य सुप्रसन्नं तपःफलम् ।
 शीघ्रमाज्ञापय विप्र यच्चाभिलषितं तव ।
 अदेयं नास्ति विप्रस्य स्वशिरःप्रभृति द्विज ॥ १२:१८ ॥
 ब्राह्मण उवाच ।
 यद्येवं वदसे भद्र भार्या मे देहि रूपिणीम् ।
 स्वस्ति भवतु भद्रं वः कल्याणं भव शाश्वतम् ॥ १२:१९ ॥
 विपुल उवाच ।
 प्रतीच्छ भार्या सुश्रोणीं रूपयौवनशालिनीम् ।
 अकुत्सितां विशालाक्षीं पूर्णचन्द्रनिभाननाम् ॥ १२:२० ॥
 भार्योवाच ।
 परित्याज्या कथं नाथ अपापां त्यजसे कथम् ।
 अतीव हि प्रियां भार्या निर्दोषां च कथं त्यजेः ॥ १२:२१ ॥
 सखा भार्या मनुष्याणामिह लोके परत्र च ।
 दानं वा सुमहदत्त्वा यज्ञो वा सुबहुः कृतः ॥ १२:२२ ॥
 अपुत्रो नाप्नुयात्स्वर्गं तपोभिर्वा सुदुष्करैः ।

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(18a) ०प्रसन्नं मनो] Σ , ०प्रसन्नमनो $C_{02}K_{10}$ (18b) सुप्रसन्नं तपः०] Σ , सुप्रसन्न-
 तपः० K_{10} (18c) शीघ्र०] Σ , श्रीघ्र० K_{10} (18e) अदेयं] Σ , अदेय K_{10} (18f)
 स्वशिरः०] Σ , शरीर० K_{82} • ०भृति] Σ , ०भृतिर् E (19) ब्राह्मण] Σ , ब्राह्मणा
 C_{94}^{ac} , ब्रह्म K_{10} (19b) भार्या] Σ , भार्या $K_{10}K_7$ (19c) स्वस्ति] Σ , स्वस्ति K_{10} ,
 स्वस्तिर् E (19d) कल्याणं] Σ , कल्याण C_{02} • भव] Σ , तव E (20) विपुल]
 Σ , विप्र E (20a) भार्या] Σ , भार्या K_{10} • ०श्रोणीं] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}^{pc}K_7E$, ०श्रोणि C_{02}
 $K_{82}^{ac}K_{10}$ (20b) ०शालिनीम्] Σ , ०शालिनी K_{10} , ०शीलिनी K_7 (20c)] Σ ,
 अकुत्सितां विशालाक्षी C_{02} , अकुत्सिता विशालाक्षी K_{10} (20d) ०निभाननाम्]
 Σ , ०निभानना K_{10} (21a) ०त्याज्या] $C_{94}K_{82}K_7E$, ०त्याज्य $C_{45}K_{10}$, ०त्याज्य K_7
 C_{02} (21c) प्रियां] Σ , प्रियं $C_{02}K_{10}$ (21d) निर्दोषां] Σ , निर्दोष C_{02} • त्यजेः]
 $C_{94}K_{82}K_7$, त्यज्येत् $C_{45}C_{02}$, त्यजेत् $K_{10}E$ • च] conj., स $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$ (22ab)
 मनुष्याणामिह] Σ , मनुष्याणामिह C_{02} (22d) ०बहुः] em., ०बहु $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_7$ (u-
 nmetr.), ०बहुं K_{10} , ०बहून् E • कृतः] Σ , कृतम् C_{02} (23ab) स्वर्गं तपोभिर्वा]
 Σ , स्वर्गं --- र्वा C_{94}

द्वादशमो ऽध्यायः

श्रुतो मे पितृभिः प्रोक्तो ब्राह्मणैश्च ममान्तिके ॥ १२:२३ ॥
 अपुत्रो नाम्नुयात्स्वर्गं श्रुतं मे बहुशः पुरा ।
 मन्दपालो द्विजश्रेष्ठो गतः स्वर्गं तपोबलात् ॥ १२:२४ ॥
 दानानि च बहून्दत्त्वा यज्ञांश्च विविधांस्तथा ।
 वेदांश्च जपयज्ञांश्च कृत्वा स द्विजसत्तमः ॥ १२:२५ ॥
 प्राप्तद्वारो ऽपि यस्यापि देवदूतैर्निवारितः ।
 अपुत्रो नाम्नुयात्स्वर्गं यदि यज्ञशतैरपि ॥ १२:२६ ॥
 इत्युक्तस्तु च्युतः स्वर्गान्मन्दपालो महानृषिः ।
 पुत्रानुत्पादयामास शारङ्गांश्चतुरो द्विजः ॥ १२:२७ ॥
 तेन पुण्यप्रभावेण स्वर्गं प्राप्तो ह्यवारितः ।
 कुलत्राणात्कुलत्रास्मि भरणान्द्वार्य एव च ॥ १२:२८ ॥
 दारसंग्रहं पुत्रार्थं क्रियते शास्त्रदर्शनात् ।
 यानि सन्ति गृहे द्रव्यं ग्रामघोषगृहाणि च ॥ १२:२९ ॥

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(23d) ०न्तिके] Σ , ०न्तिकैः C_{45} (24a) स्वर्ग] $C_{94}K_{82}K_7E$, स्वर्ग $C_{45}C_{02}K_{10}$
 (24c) ०पालो] K_7E , ०पाल $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}$ (25a) बहून्द०] Σ , बहू द० K_7 (25b)
] $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}$, यत्वा यज्ञांश्च विविधां तथा C_{45} , यज्ञांश्च विविधाम्तथा K_7 , स्यज्ञांश्च
 विविधास्तथा E (25c)] $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_7$, वेदांश्च जपयज्ञांश्च C_{45} , वेदांश्च जपयज्ञांश्च
 K_{10} , वेदांश्च जपयज्ञांश्च E (25d) स द्वि०] conj., तद्वि० $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}E$, तद्वि० K_{10} , सद्वि०
 K_7 • ०सत्तमः] Σ , ०सत्तम K_{82} (26a) ०द्वारो] Σ , ०द्वारे K_{10} (26ab) यस्यापि
 दे०] Σ , यस्यापि दे० K_{10} , यस्याहि दे० E (26b) ०दूतैर्नि०] Σ , ०दूतैर्नि० K_{10} , ०दूतै
 नि० K_7 (26c) ०यात्स्वर्ग] Σ , ०यात्स्वर्ग C_{02} (26d) ०शतैरपि] Σ , करोति यः
 C_{02} (27a) ०क्तस्तु च्युतः] Σ , ०क्तस्तु, म्च्युतः C_{02} (27c) पुत्रानु०] Σ , पुत्रमु०
 C_{02} (27d) शारङ्गांश्च] $K_{82}K_7$, शारङ्गांश्च C_{94} , शारङ्गांश्च C_{45} , शारङ्गांश्च $C_{02}K_{10}$,
 शारङ्गांश्च E • द्विजः] Σ , द्विज C_{02} (28b) स्वर्ग] Σ , स्वर्ग C_{02} • ०वारितः] Σ ,
 ०वारितः K_{10} (28c) कुल०] C_{45} , कुल० $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$ • ०त्राणात्कु०] K_{10} ,
 ०त्राणां क० $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}E$, ०त्राणा क० K_7 • ०स्मि] Σ , ०स्मि K_{10} (28d) ०आद्धार्य
 एव] $C_{94}K_{82}K_7E$, ०आद्धार्यमेव C_{45} , ०आ भार्य एव $C_{02}K_{10}$ (29a) ०ग्रह] $C_{02}K_{10}$
 K_7E , ०ग्रहः $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$ • पुत्रा०] Σ , पात्रा० E (29b) क्रियते] Σ , क्रियाते C_{45}

वृषसारसंग्रहे

दातुमर्हसि विप्राय न मां दातुमिहार्हसि ।
 भार्याया वचनं श्रुत्वा विपुलः पुनरब्रवीत् ॥ १२:३० ॥
 साधु भामिनि जानामि साधु साधु पतिव्रते ।
 जितो ऽस्म्यनेन वाक्येन अनेनास्मि हि तोषितः ॥ १२:३१ ॥
 अद्य ग्रहणकाले च द्विज आगत्य याचते ।
 ददामीति प्रतिज्ञाय अदत्त्वा नरकं व्रजे ॥ १२:३२ ॥
 नरकं यदि गच्छामि कुलेन सह सुन्दरि ।
 कल्पकोटिसहस्रे ऽपि नरकस्थो यशस्विनि ।
 मुक्तिमेव न पश्यामि जन्मकोटिशतैरपि ॥ १२:३३ ॥
 अदानाच्चाशुभं देवि पश्यामि वरवर्णिनि ।
 दानेन तु शुभं पश्ये स्वर्गलोके यदक्षयम् ॥ १२:३४ ॥
 नोक्तं मयानृतं पूर्वं नित्यं सत्यव्रते स्थितः ।
 सत्यधर्ममतिक्रम्य नान्यधर्मं समाचरे ॥ १२:३५ ॥
 भार्या धर्मसखेत्येवं त्वया पूर्वमुदाहृतम् ।
 यदि धर्मसखायासि सो ऽद्य काल इहागतः ॥ १२:३६ ॥
 द्विजरूपधरो धर्मः स्वयमेव इहागतः ।
 जिज्ञासार्थमहं भद्रे न विघ्नं कर्तुमर्हसि ॥ १२:३७ ॥

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(30c) वचनं] Σ , वचन K_7 (30d) ०ब्रवीत्] Σ , ०ब्रवीत् । विपुल उवाच । C_{02}^{pc}
 E (31a) जानामि] $C_{45}C_{02}K_{82}E$, जानासि $C_{94}K_{10}K_7$ (31b) पति०] Σ , प्रति०
 K_{10} (31d) तोषितः] Σ , तोषिनः K_7 (32d) व्रजे] $C_{94}K_{82}^{pc}K_7$, व्रजेत् $C_{45}C_{02}K_{10}$
 E, व्रजे K_{82}^{ac} (33a) यदि] Σ , ययदि K_7 (33c) ०सहस्रे ऽपि] Σ , ०सहस्राणि
 $C_{02}E$ (33d) ०स्थो य०] K_7E , ०स्थाद्य० $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}$, स्था य० C_{45} (33e)
 मुक्तिमेव] Σ , मुक्तिमेवन् E (34a) अदानाच्चा०] Σ , अदाना चा० C_{02} (34d)
 ०लोके] Σ , om. K_{82}^{ac} , ०लोकं E (35a) नोक्तं] Σ , नोक्ता K_7^{ac} (35b) ०व्रते] Σ ,
 ०व्रत० E (35d) ०चरे] Σ , ०चरेत् $K_{10}E$ (36a) धर्म०] Σ , धर्म K_{82} (36b)
 त्वया] em., त्वयि $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$ (36c) ०सखाया०] Σ , ०सखा० C_{45} (37a)
 ०धरो] Σ , ०परो C_{45} (37c) ०र्थमहं] Σ , ०र्थम्महं K_{10} , ०र्थमह K_7

द्वादशमो ऽध्यायः

माताव्यक्तः पिता ब्रह्मा बुद्धिर्भार्या दमः सखा ।
 पुत्रो धर्मः क्रियाचार्य इत्येते मम बान्धवाः ॥ १२:३८ ॥
 कालश्रेष्ठो ग्रहः सूर्यो गङ्गा श्रेष्ठा नदीषु च ।
 चन्द्रक्षये दिनं श्रेष्ठं नरश्रेष्ठो द्विजोत्तमः ॥ १२:३९ ॥
 शुश्रूषणार्थं विप्रस्य मया दत्तासि सुन्दरि ।
 सर्वस्वं ब्राह्मणे दत्त्वा वनमेवाश्रयाम्यहम् ॥ १२:४० ॥
 शङ्कर उवाच ।
 तूष्णीम्भूता ततो भार्या अश्रुपूर्णाकुलेक्षणा ।
 करे गृह्य विशालाक्षी ब्राह्मणाय निवेदिता ॥ १२:४१ ॥
 यानि सन्ति गृहे द्रव्यं हिरण्यं पशवस्तथा ।
 ददामि ते द्विजश्रेष्ठ ग्रामघोषगृहादिकम् ॥ १२:४२ ॥
 मुक्तावैडूर्यवासांसि दिव्याण्याभरणानि च ।
 सर्वान्गृहाण विप्रेन्द्र श्रद्धया दत्तसत्कृतान् ॥ १२:४३ ॥
 प्रीयतां भगवान्धर्मः प्रीयतां च महेश्वरः ।

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39b ≈ 15.18b: श्रेष्ठा गङ्गा नदीषु च

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(38a) व्यक्तः] Σ , व्यक्त C_{02} , व्यक्त $S_1 K_7$ (38b) बुद्धिर्भा०] $C_{94} C_{45} K_{10}$,
 बुद्धि भा० $C_{02} K_{82} K_7 E$ • दमः] Σ , दम K_{10} (unmetr.) • सखा] Σ , समा C_{94} (39a)
 श्रेष्ठो] $C_{45} K_{82} K_7^{pc}$, श्रेष्ठ० $C_{94} C_{02} K_{10}$, श्रेष्ठा K_7^{ac} , श्रेष्ठः E (39b) श्रेष्ठा] Σ ,
 श्रेष्ठो K_{82} , श्रेष्ठ K_{10} (39c) दिनं] $C_{94} C_{45} K_{82} K_7$, दिन० $C_{02} K_{10} E$ (39d) उत्तमः]
 Σ , उत्तम C_{02} (40a) र्थ] Σ , र्थ C_{45} (41) शङ्कर] Σ , महेश्वर E (41a)
 तूष्णीम्भूता] C_{94} , तूष्णीभूत्वा C_{45} , तूष्णीभूत C_{02} , तूष्णीभूता $K_{82} K_{10}$, तूष्णीम्भूती
 K_7 , तूष्णीभूतां E • भार्या] Σ , भार्या E (41b) क्षणा] $C_{94} C_{45} K_{82} K_7$, क्षणः
 C_{02} , क्षणाः K_{10} , क्षणाम् E (41c) क्षी] Σ , क्षीं E (41d)] Σ , ब्राह्म्य
 दिवेदिता C_{45} (42b) हिरण्यं] Σ , हिरण्य० $K_{82} E$ (42c) ददामि] Σ , ददानि
 C_{45} • ते द्विज०] Σ , ---ज० C_{94} , त द्विज० K_7 (43a) वैडूर्य०] $C_{94} C_{45} K_{10} K_7$,
 वैभार्य० C_{02} , वैर्य० K_{82}^{ac} , वैदूर्य० $K_{82}^{pc} E$ • वासांसि] Σ , वासासि K_7 (43c)
 सर्वान्गृहाण] $C_{94} C_{45} K_{82} E$, सर्वान्तान्गृह्ण C_{02} , सर्वान्गृहान् K_{10} , सर्वा गृहाण K_7
 (43d) सत्कृतान्] em., सत्कृताम् $C_{\Sigma} K_{82} K_7 E$, सत्कृतम् K_{10} (44b) प्रीय०]
 Σ , प्रीन० K_7^{ac}

वृषसारसंग्रहे

प्रीयन्तां पितरः सर्वे यद्यस्ति सुकृतं फलम् ॥ १२:४४ ॥

रुद्र उवाच ।

विपुलस्य वचः श्रुत्वा ब्राह्मणेन तपस्विना ।

आशीः सुविपुलं दत्त्वा विपुलाय महात्मने ॥ १२:४५ ॥

वसेत्तत्र गृहे रम्ये भार्यामादाय तस्य च ।

विपुलस्तु नमस्कृत्वा कृत्वा चापि प्रदक्षिणम् ॥ १२:४६ ॥

ब्राह्मणमभिवाद्यैवं गतः शीघ्रं वनान्तरम् ।

वने मूलफलाहारो विचरेत महीतले ॥ १२:४७ ॥

एकाकी विजने शून्ये चिन्तया च परिप्लुतः ।

क्व गच्छामि क्व भोक्ष्यामि कुत्र वा किं करोम्यहम् ॥ १२:४८ ॥

न पथं विषयं वेद्मि ग्रामं वा नगराणि वा ।

खेटखर्वटदेशं वा जानामीह न कंचन ॥ १२:४९ ॥

अमुं सुशैलं पश्यामि विपुलोदरकन्दरम् ।

तमारुह्य निरीक्ष्यामि ग्रामं नगरपत्तनम् ॥ १२:५० ॥

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- (44c) प्रीयन्तां] C_{94} , प्रीयतां $C_{45}C_{02}K_{82}K_7E$, प्रीयता K_{10} • पितरः] Σ , पितर K_{82}
 (44d) अस्ति] Σ , असि C_{94} (45) रुद्र] Σ , महेश्वर E (45a) वचः श्रुत्वा]
 Σ , वचःश्रु --- C_{94} (45b) तपस्विना] Σ , तपस्विनाम् K_{10} (46a) वसेत्तत्र
 गृहे] $C_{45}K_{82}$, वस तत्र गृहे $C_{94}C_{02}K_{10}$, वसएन्तत्र गृहे K_7 , वसते च गृहं E (46c)
 विपुलस्तु] Σ , विपुलस्य K_{10} (46d) कृत्वा चापि] Σ , ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ K_7 , कृत्वा च वि० E
 (47a) ब्राह्मण०] Σ , ब्राह्मणा० K_{10} • ०द्यैवं] $em.$, ०द्येवं $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}E$, ०द्येनं
 C_{45} , ०द्यवं K_7 (47b) शीघ्रं] Σ , श्रीघ्रं K_{10} (47c) ०फलाहारो] Σ , ०फाहारो
 K_7^{ac} (48a) एकाकी] Σ , एका --- C_{94} (48b) परि०] Σ , पलि० K_7 (48c)
 क्व गच्छामि] Σ , क्व गच्छामि K_7 • क्व भोक्ष्यामि] C_{94} , क्व भोज्यामि $C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}$, क्व
 भोक्ष्यानि C_{02} , क्व भोक्षामि K_7 , किं भोक्ष्यामि E (unmetr.) (49a) विषयं वेद्मि] C_{94}
 $K_{82}K_{10}E$, विषमं वेद्मि $C_{45}C_{02}$, विषयं वेद्मि K_7 (49b) वा] Σ , च $C_{45}K_{82}$ (49c)
 खेट०] Σ , क्षेत्र० C_{02} • ०खर्वट०] E , ०कर्पट० $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$ (49d) कंचन] $em.$,
 कश्चन $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$ (50a) सुशैलं] Σ , सुशैलं K_7 (50b) विपुलो०] Σ , विलो०
 K_{10} (50c) निरीक्ष्यामि] Σ , निरीक्षामि K_7

द्वादशमो ऽध्यायः

एवमुक्त्वा तु विपुलः शनैः पर्वतमारुहत् ।
 वृक्षच्छायां समालोक्य निषसाद् श्रमान्वितः ॥ १२:५१ ॥
 एतस्मिन्नेव काले तु वृक्षशाखावतार्य च ।
 अपूर्व च सुरूपं च सुगन्धत्वं च शोभनम् ॥ १२:५२ ॥
 फलं गृह्य विचित्रं च हृदयानन्दनं शुभम् ।
 विपुलस्याग्रतः कृत्वा पुनर्वृक्षं समारुहत् ॥ १२:५३ ॥
 विपुलश्चित्रवदृष्ट्वा विस्मयं परमं गतः ।
 अहो वा स्वप्नभूतो ऽस्मि अहो वा तपसः फलम् ॥ १२:५४ ॥

न पश्यामि न जिघ्रामि न च स्वादं च वेद्म्यहम् ।
 वार्त्तापि न च मे श्रोता प्रतिजानामि कंचन ॥ १२:५५ ॥
 एवमुक्त्वा ह्यनेकानि फलं गृह्य मनोरमम् ।
 सुनिरीक्ष्य पुनर्जिघ्रन् पुनर्जिघ्रन्निरीक्ष्य च ॥ १२:५६ ॥
 फलं चात्र निरूप्यन्तो देशं वाप्यवलोकयन् ।
 पाथेयरहितश्चास्मि देवदत्तं फलं मम ॥ १२:५७ ॥

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(51a) एवमु०] Σ , एकं उ० C_{45} (51b) ०रुहत्] E , ०रुहेत् $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$ (51c)
 ०च्छायां] Σ , ०च्छाया K_7 (52a) एतस्मिन्नेव] Σ , एतस्मिन्नैव C_{02} , एतस्मिन्नैव K_7
 • काले तु] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}$, कालेन $C_{02}E$, कालेन K_7 (52b) वृक्ष०] Σ , वृक्षा०
 $K_{82}K_7^{ac}$ (52c) सुरूपं] Σ , स्वरूपं $C_{45}K_{82}$ (53d)] Σ , पुन वृक्ष समारुहम् C_{02} ,
 पुनर्वृक्ष समारुहं K_{10} (54a) ०त्रवदृष्ट्वा] Σ , ०त्रव दृष्ट्वा C_{02} (54cd) ०भूतो ऽस्मि
 अहो] Σ , ०संभूतो ऽस्म्यहो K_{82} (55a) जिघ्रामि] Σ , च ग्रामि C_{45} (55c) श्रोता]
 Σ , श्रोत्रा C_{94} (55d) कंचन] $em.$, कश्चन $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$ (56a) ०मुक्त्वा] Σ ,
 ०मुक्ता C_{02} (56b) गृह्य] Σ , गृह K_7 (56c) ०निरीक्ष्य] Σ , ०निरीक्ष K_7 (56cd)
 पुनर्जिघ्रन्पुनर्जिघ्रन्] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}E$, मुन जिघ्रं पुन जिघ्रं C_{02} , पुनर्जिघ्र पुनर्जिघ्रं K_{10} ,
 पुनर्जिघ्र पुनर्जिघ्र K_7 (56d) निरीक्ष्य] Σ , निरीक्ष K_7 (57a) चात्र] Σ , चा C_{94}^{ac} ,
 चात्र C_{94}^{pc} • निरूप्यन्तो] E , निरूप्यान्ति C_{94} , निरूप्यां चा C_{45} , निरूप्यन्ति C_{02}
 $K_{82}K_{10}K_7$ (57b) ०लोकयन्] Σ , ०लोकयत् C_{45} (57c) पाथेय०] Σ , पथेय०
 K_{10} • ०रहितश्चा०] Σ , ०रहिते चा० C_{02} (57d) ०दत्तं] $C_{94}K_{82}K_7$, ०दत्त० C_{45}
 $C_{02}K_{10}E$ • फलं] Σ , om. K_7

वृषसारसंग्रहे

तत्फलं प्रतिगृह्यैव नगरं प्रविशाम्यहम् ।
 प्रार्थयित्वा तु यत्किञ्चिज्जीवनार्थं चराम्यहम् ॥ १२:५८ ॥
 ततः शैलमतिक्रम्य नगरं प्रविवेश ह ।
 पथि कश्चिज्जनः पृष्ठः किंनाम नगरं त्विदम् ॥ १२:५९ ॥
 स होवाच पथीकेन किमपूर्वमिहागतः ।
 दक्षिणापथदेशो ऽयं नरवीरपुरं त्वदः ॥ १२:६० ॥

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(58a) °गृह्यैव] $C_{45}K_{10}E$, °गृह्येव $C_{94}K_7$, गृहे च C_{02} , °गृह्यैवं K_{82} (58c) तु] Σ ,
 च E (58cd) यत्किञ्चिज्जी°] Σ , यत्किञ्जि जी° C_{02} (59d) नगरं त्विदम्] C_{94}
 $K_{82}K_7E$, नगर त्विदम् $C_{45}C_{02}$, नगरं त्विह K_{10} (60a) स हो°] Σ , अहो° $C_{45}K_{10}$
 • पथीकेन] Σ , पथीको न K_7 (60b) °गतः] Σ , °तवः K_{10} (60c) °पथ°]
 Σ , °पथे C_{45} (60d) °पुरं त्वदः] C_{45} , °पुरं त्वयः C_{94} , °पुरं त्वयं $C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}$,
 पुरन्दरः K_7 , °पुरं स्वयम् E

Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṅgraha

An Annotated Translation

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[dvādaśamo 'dhyāyaḥ]
[Chapter Twelve]

[ātithyadharmah —
Rules of hospitality]

devy uvāca |
ahiṃsā paramo dharmah satataṃ parikīrtyate |
ātithyakānāṃ dharmam ca kathayasva yad uttamam || 12:1 ||

The Goddess spoke: Non-violence is always praised as the highest Dharma.
Teach me also the ultimate Dharma of hospitality.

maheśvara uvāca |
ahiṃsātithyakānāṃ ca śṛṇu dharmam yad uttamam |
trailokyam akhilam devi ratnapūrṇam sulocane || 12:2 ||

Maheśvara spoke: Hear the ultimate Dharma of non-violence and that of
hospitality. O beautiful-eyed goddess, [if] all the three worlds, full of wealth,

caturvedavide dānam na tattulyam ahiṃsakah |
śṛṇu dharmam atithyānāṃ kīrtayiṣyāmi sundari || 12:3 ||

[were handed over as] a gift to [a Brahmin who] knows the four Vedas, [that
gift] cannot be compared to somebody who avoids causing harm. Hear the
Dharma of the hospitable ones. I shall teach it [to you], O beautiful one.

[vipulopākhyānam —
Story of Vipula]

āsīd vṛttam purākhyānam nagare kusumāhvaye |
kapilasya suto vidvān vipulo nāma viśrutaḥ || 12:4 ||

12.1 One could read *ahiṃsāparamo dharmah* in *pāda* a. This would translate as ‘A
Dharma beyond non-violence is always being praised.’ It is not crystal clear why *ahiṃsā*
is mentioned at all at the beginning of this chapter. I suspect that by *ātithyakānāṃ dhar-*
maṃ, one should simply understand *ātithyadharmam*.

12.2 Understand *ahiṃsātithyakānāṃ* as *ahiṃsakānāṃ ātithyakānāṃ ca* or
ahiṃsāyā ātithyakānāṃ ca.

12.3 Note that this verse seems to be all that Maheśvara teaches in this chapter on
ahiṃsā, and that *tattulyam ahiṃsakah* may either contain a sandhi bridge (*tattulya-m-*
ahiṃsakah) or be interpreted as *dānam na tat tulyam ahiṃsakena* (‘that gift is not com-
parable to a non-violent person’). *atithyānāṃ* in *pāda* c stands for *ātithyānāṃ*, *ātithyasya*,
or *ātithyakānāṃ* metri causa.

Translation of chapter 12

This is an old story of what happened once in a city called Kusuma. There was a famous and wise man called Vipula, Kapila’s son.

dharmanityo jitakrodhaḥ satyavādī jitendriyaḥ |
brahmaṇyaś ca kṛtajñaś ca madbhaktaḥ kṛtaniścayaḥ || 12:5 ||

He always followed Dharma, he conquered anger, he spoke only the truth, and he conquered his senses. He was pious and knowledgeable, and he was my determined devotee.

dhanādhyo ’tithipūjyaś ca dātā dānto dayāluḥ |
nyāyārjitadhano nityam anyāyaparivarjitaḥ || 12:6 ||

He was rich and he worshipped his guests. He was generous, restrained, and kind. His wealth always came through just means. He always stayed away from illegal transactions.

bhāryā ca rūpiṇī tasya candrabimbaśubhānanā |
pīnottuṅgastanī kāntā sakalānandakārīṇī |
pativratā patiratā patiśuśrūṣaṇe ratā || 12:7 ||

He had a pretty wife whose face was as beautiful as the disk of the moon. Her breasts were round and elevated, she was lovely, a source of all pleasures. She was faithful, devoted to her husband and his needs.

atha kenāpi kālena sūryarāga-m-abhūt tataḥ |
grastabhāgatrayas tv āsīt kṛṣṇamādhavamāsike || 12:8 ||

Now, once there was an eclipse of the sun. Three quarters [of the sun] were eclipsed, and it was in the dark half of the month of Mādhava [April-May].

12.4 Kusumapura is Pāṭaliputra, or modern Patna in Bihar. This is confirmed in verse 12.12, where the confluence of the Gaṇḍakī and the Gaṅgā is mentioned as a local spot. The *dramatis personæ* in the following story are the following: Vipula—a merchant, Kapila’s son; Vipula’s wife; a Brahmin guest (Dharma in disguise?); a monkey; Bhimabala—a traveller; Puṇḍaka—the foreman of the guild; King Siṃhajaṭa; Queen Kekayi; Caṇḍa and Vicaṇḍa—two envoys of the king; Citraratha—the king of the Gandharvas; Sūrya, Soma, Indra, Viṣṇu, and Brahmā.

12.5 *Pāda* d implies that Vipula is a Śaiva devotee, but there is little indication in this story of Vipula’s affiliation, except for 12.44, where Maheśvara is mentioned. The story as we have it here ends with a praise of Brahmā.

12.6 While one would normally translate *atithipūjya* (in *pāda* a) as ‘to be worshipped by guests,’ in the light of the story I suspect that the intended meaning is that he worshipped his guests.

12.8 In *pāda* b, understand *sūryarāgam* as *sūryoparāgaḥ* (‘eclipse of the sun’). I take *°rāga-m-abhūt* an example of irregular sandhi for *°rāgo ’bhūt*.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

snātukāmāvatīryante sarve pauranṛpādayaḥ |
devāś ca pitaraś caiva tarpyante vidhivat tathā || 12:9 ||

Eager to take a ritual bath, the king and all the citizens went down [to the riverbank]. Then they worshipped the gods and the deceased ancestors according to the rules.

keciḥ juhvati tatrāgniṃ kecid viprāṃś ca tarpayet |
kecid dānopatiṣṭhanti kecit stuvanti devatām || 12:10 ||

Some sacrificed in the fire, some fed the Brahmins, some were of service with donations, others praised the deity.

dhyānayogarataḥ kecit kecit pañcatape rataḥ |
evam pravartamāṇeṣu rājanādiṣu sarvaśaḥ || 12:11 ||

Some people practised yoga meditation, others were engrossed in five-fire penance. While the ritual waving of lamps etc. were being performed all around the place,

vipulo 'pi hi tatraiva gaṅgāgaṇḍakisaṃgame |
bhāryayā saha tatraiva snātvā kṣomavibhūṣaṇaḥ || 12:12 ||

Vipula also, performing a bath there at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Gaṇḍakī, attired in linen clothes, together with his wife,

devatāguruviprāṇām anyeṣāṃ tarpane rataḥ |
tatrāvasarasamprāpto brāhmaṇo 'tithir āgataḥ || 12:13 ||

was engrossed in satiating the deities, the gurus, the Brahmins and others. Then, jumping on the possibility, a Brahmin came up [to them] as a guest.

bhāryā tasyātirūpeṇa mohitā brahmaṇas tadā |
brāhmaṇo 'pi tathaiveha rūpeṇāpratimo bhavet || 12:14 ||

12.9 Understand *pāda* a as *snātukāmā avatīryante*. It is an instance of double sandhi or of a stem form noun in sandhi with the following verb.

12.10 Understand *agniṃ* in *pāda* a as locative, and *tarpayet* in *pāda* b as plural. Note *dāna* in *pāda* c in stem form (for the instrumental).

12.11 *rājanādiṣu* in *pāda* d is suspect. The intended meaning may be ‘the royals and other people,’ but I prefer now the option to take it as a shortened form of *nirājanādiṣu*, and that is how I translate it. Cf., e.g., SivP 7.30.81cd: *nirājanādikaṃ kṛtvā pūjāśeṣaṃ samāpayet*.

12.12 Note *gaṇḍakī* metri causa for *gaṇḍakī* in *pāda* b.

Translation of chapter 12

The wife got infatuated with that Brahmin’s extreme beauty. The Brahmin [felt] the same. His beauty was unparalleled in the world.

anyonyadr̥ṣṭisaṃsaktau jātau tau tu parasparam |
vipulēnāñjaliṃ kṛtvā brāhmaṇa saṃśītavrata || 12:15 ||

Their gaze got fixed on each other mutually. Vipula joined his hands [and said:] ‘O virtuous Brahmin,

ājñāpaya dvijaśreṣṭha adya me ’nugrahaṃ kuru |
bhāryābhṛtyapaśugrāma ratnāni vividhāni ca || 12:16 ||

I am at your service, be gracious to me now, O great Brahmin. [My] wife, servants, cattle, village, and all kinds of jewels [are all at your service].’

vipulenaivam uktas tu gr̥hīto brāhmaṇo ’bravīt |
yadi satyaṃ pradātāsi suprasannaṃ manas tava || 12:17 ||

Having been addressed and greeted hospitably by Vipula, the Brahmin spoke: ‘If you really mean to give, your heart is very generous.’

vipula uvāca |
suprasannaṃ mano me ’dya suprasannaṃ tapaḥphalam |
śīghram ājñāpaya vipra yac cābhilaṣitaṃ tava |
adeyaṃ nāsti viprasya svaśiraḥprabhṛti dvija || 12:18 ||

Vipula spoke: ‘My heart is generous today, generosity is the fruit of austerity. Just command me quickly, O Brahmin. What is your desire? There is nothing that should not be donated to a Brahmin, including one’s own head, O Brahmin.’

12.14 *Pāda* d is suspect and the translation of *pādas* cd is tentative. The expression *rūpeṇāpratimo^opratimā bhuvī* (‘his/her beauty is unparalleled in the world’) is common in the MBh and in the Purāṇas. Is that what was meant here? May a dual have been intended? An alternative reading, albeit requiring substantial emendations, could be: *brāhmaṇo ’pi tathaivāha rūpeṇāpratimā bhuvī*; ‘The Brahmin [felt the same] and said [to himself,] her figure is unparalleled in the world.’ Nevertheless, I retained the reading found in the MSS, and I interpret *pāda* d as an indication that this Brahmin was extraordinary, in fact a manifestation of Dharma.

12.15 While the apparatus here appears to indicate that in *pāda* a I am following E, in fact the majority of the remaining witnesses suggest the same reading.

12.16 *°grāma* in *pāda* c is in stem form, although it would be unproblematic to correct it to the neuter singular (to form a *samāhārasamāsa*).

12.17 Note that C₀₂’s omission of *pādas* cd here could be due to an eyeskip from *suprasannaṃ* in 12.17d to *suprasannaṃ* in 12.18a, although this would have also led to an omission of the next *vipula uvāca*.

12.18 *Pāda* c is either a *sa-vipulā* or by applying the *krama* licence, by which *°pra* does not make *vi^o* a long syllable, a *na-vipulā*.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

brāhmaṇa uvāca |
yady evaṃ vadase bhadra bhāryāṃ me dehi rūpiṇīm |
svasti bhavatu bhadraṃ vaḥ kalyāṇaṃ bhava śāśvatam || 12:19 ||

The Brahmin spoke: ‘If you talk like this, dear Sir, give me your beautiful wife. May there be happiness, may you be fortunate, and may you prosper eternally!’

vipula uvāca |
pratiṅccha bhāryāṃ suśroṇīm rūpayauvanaśālinīm |
akutsitāṃ viśālākṣīm pūrṇacandranibhānanām || 12:20 ||

Vipula spoke: ‘Accept my nice-buttocked, young and beautiful wife, who is blameless, large-eyed, and whose face resembles the full-moon.’

bhāryovāca |
parityājyā katham nātha apāpāṃ tyajase katham |
atīva hi priyāṃ bhāryāṃ nirdoṣāṃ ca katham tyajeḥ || 12:21 ||

The wife spoke: ‘How can you abandon me, my lord? How can you dismiss a woman who is sinless? How can you abandon a wife who is extremely kind and faultless?’

sakhā bhāryā manuṣyāṇām iha loke paratra ca |
dānaṃ vā sumahad dattvā yajño vā subahuḥ kṛtaḥ || 12:22 ||

A wife is a man’s friend in this world and in the other world. [Even if] a man gives enormous donations or performs numerous sacrifices,

aputro nāpnuyāt svargaṃ tapobhir vā suduṣkaraiḥ |
śruto me pitṛbhiḥ prokto brāhmaṇaiś ca mamāntike || 12:23 ||

or performs hard penance, he cannot reach heaven without having a son. I have heard this as taught by my father and my uncles, and by Brahmins in my presence.

12.19 *Pāda c* has the metrical fault of two *laghus* in the second and third position.

In *pāda d*, *bhava* is less than satisfactory. One would normally expect *bhavate/bhavatām/bhavatu* in this context. Alternatively, it is possible that *kalyāṇo bhava* (‘be happy’) was meant, or E’s reading (*tava*) could be accepted as a conjecture.

12.21 All witnesses consulted read *sa* instead of my conjectured *ca* in *pāda d*. *sa* might work if we read *tyajet* (C₄₅C₀₂) instead of *tyajeḥ* (C₉₄K₈₂K₇), but even this version sounds a bit out of context (‘how can he abandon...’).

12.23 Note *me* as instrumental in *pāda c* (Oberlies 2003, 102–103 [4.1.3]). I translate *pitṛbhiḥ* in the same *pāda* as ‘father and uncles,’ and not as ‘ancestors’ because the former fits the context better.

Translation of chapter 12

aputro nāpnuyāt svargaṃ śrutaṃ me bahuśaḥ purā |
mandapālo dvijaśreṣṭho gataḥ svargaṃ tapobalāt || 12:24 ||

A sonless man cannot reach heaven. I have heard this so many times! Mandapāla, the great Brahmin, went to heaven as a reward of his austerities,

dānāni ca bahūn dattvā yajñāṃś ca vividhāṃś tathā |
vedāṃś ca japayajñāṃś ca kṛtvā sa dvijasattamaḥ || 12:25 ||

having made numerous donations, having performed various sacrifices, Vedic sacrifices and sacrifices of recitation, that great Brahmin.

prāptadvāro 'pi yasyāpi devadūtair nivāritaḥ |
aputro nāpnuyāt svargaṃ yadi yajñāśatair api || 12:26 ||

But even he, even when he reached the gate [of heaven], was stopped by the celestial messengers. [They said:] “The sonless cannot enter heaven, not even by hundreds of sacrifices.”

ity uktas tu cyutaḥ svargān mandapālo mahān ṛṣiḥ |
putrān utpādayām āsa śāraṅgāṃś caturo dvijaḥ || 12:27 ||

Mandapāla, the great sage, having been thus informed fell from heaven. The Brahmin begot four sons with a Śāraṅga-bird.

tena puṇyaprabhāveṇa svargaṃ prāpto hy avāritaḥ |
kulatrāṇāt kalatrāsmi bharaṇād bhārya eva ca || 12:28 ||

By the virtue of this, he reached heaven unobstructed. I am a wife (*kalatra*) because I protect the family (*kulatrāṇāt*), and I am a wife to be supported (*bhāryā*) because I bear [sons] (*bharaṇa*).

12.24 Note *me* as instrumental again in *pāda* b. See details of Mandapāla’s story, here summarised, in MBh 1.220.5ff.

12.25 Note *dānāni bahūn* for *dānāni bahūni* in *pāda* a. Understand *pāda* c as *vedaya-jñāñ japayajñāṃś ca kṛtvā*. (See *vedayajña* mentioned in VSS 3.37a above.) On *japayajña*, see VSS 6.1–2 and 5 above, as well as, e.g., BhG 10.25c (*yajñānām japayajño 'smi*) and Manu 2.86 (*vidhiyajñāḥ japayajño viśiṣṭo daśabhir guṇaiḥ*).

12.26 *Pādas* ab are not perfectly smooth syntactically, *yasyāpi* is difficult to fit in. Perhaps understand *prāptadvāre 'pi yasmin sa devadūtair nivāritaḥ*. Alternatively, *yasya* might reference *svargaḥ*.

12.28 Note that *pāda* c is the result of emendations (the majority of the MSS read *kalatrāṇām kalatrāsmi*), and that *bhārya* in *pāda* d is to be understood as *bhāryā* metri causa. I added ‘to be supported’ in the translation to convey the general meaning of the word *bhārya*, which seemed to fit the context well.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

dārasaṃgraha putrārthe kriyate śāstradarśanāt |
yāni santi gr̥he dravyaṃ grāmaghoṣagr̥hāṇi ca || 12:29 ||

Taking a wife is for the sake of having sons according to the Śāstras. Please give that Brahmin all the wealth you find at home, the village, the stations of herdsmen, and the houses,

dātum arhasi viprāya na mām dātum ihārhasi |
bhāryāyā vacanaṃ śrutvā vipulaḥ punar abravīt || 12:30 ||

but please don't give me away this time!' Having heard his wife's speech, Vipula spoke again.

sādhū bhāmini jānāmi sādhu sādhu pativrate |
jito 'smy anena vākyena anenāsmi hi toṣitaḥ || 12:31 ||

'Alright, my beautiful wife, I know! Good, good, my faithful wife! I am beaten by this speech and I am satisfied with it.

adya grahaṇakāle ca dvija āgatya yācate |
dadāmīti pratijñāya adattvā narakam vraje || 12:32 ||

Today the Brahmin came up to me at the time of eclipse, and he asked me. I promised him that I would give [you away]. If I don't give [you to him], I will go to hell.

narakam yadi gacchāmi kulena saha sundari |
kalpakotīśahasre 'pi narakastho yaśasvini |
muktim eva na paśyāmi janmakotīśatair api || 12:33 ||

If I go to hell along with my family, I will be in hell, O brilliant woman, for millions of æons, and will not see release for millions of births.

adānāc cāsubhaṃ devi paśyāmi varavarṇini |
dānena tu śubhaṃ paśye svargaloke yad akṣayam || 12:34 ||

I can see something bad [coming], my Princess, from not giving, O woman with a nice complexion, but from giving I can see something good in heaven that is eternal.

12.29 Note the stem form °saṃgraha metri causa in *pāda* a. Note the number discrepancy between *yāni santi* and *dravyaṃ* in *pāda* c, which is repeated in 12:42a.

12.30 I have not included C₀₂'s *vipula uvāca* (echoed in E) because after *punar abravīt* is seems secondary and unnecessary. Note that the correction in C₀₂ is in a second hand and it is also to be found in K₄₁ and K₁₀₇ (see p. 11).

12.33 The reading *narakastho* in *pāda* b (K₇E) might not be the original one but it is definitely the simplest solution. *narakasthād* may be original, possibly meaning *narakasthānād*.

Translation of chapter 12

noktaṃ mayānṛtaṃ pūrvam nityaṃ satyavrate sthitaḥ |
satyadharmam atikramya nānyadharmam samācare || 12:35 ||

I have never ever lied, I always observe the vow of truthfulness. If I transgressed the Dharma of truthfulness, [by this] I would stop following all other Dharmas [too].

bhāryā dharmasakhety evaṃ tvayā pūrvam udāhṛtaṃ |
yadi dharmasakhāyāsi so 'dya kāla ihāgataḥ || 12:36 ||

You mentioned earlier that the wife is one's Dharmic friend. If you are indeed Dharma's friend, it was actually the perfect time for him to come up to us today.

dvijarūpadharo dharmah svayam eva ihāgataḥ |
jijñāsārtham ahaṃ bhadre na vighnam kartum arhasi || 12:37 ||

[For] Dharma himself visited us, disguised as a Brahmin. I am being tested. My dear, please don't cause me trouble.

mātāvyaktaḥ pitā brahmā buddhir bhāryā damaḥ sakhā |
putro dharmah kriyācārya ity ete mama bāndhavāḥ || 12:38 ||

The unmanifest (*avyakta*) is my mother, Brahman is my father, intelligence my wife, self-control my friend. Dharma is my son, ritual is my teacher. These are my relatives.

kālaśreṣṭho grahaḥ sūryo gaṅgā śreṣṭhā nadīṣu ca |
candrakṣaye dinaṃ śreṣṭham naraśreṣṭho dvijottamaḥ || 12:39 ||

The best time is the time of the eclipse of the Sun. The best one among the rivers is the Gaṅgā. The best day is at new moon, the best man is the Brahmin.

12.36 I have emended *tvayī* in *pāda* d to *tvayā* because it seems an early random scribal mistake, rather than some linguistic peculiarity. Note the form *sakhāyā* for a feminine *sakhī* or *sahāyā*. I sense a touch of humour or sarcasm in Vipula's spin on his wife's claim in 12.22a that 'a wife is a man's friend': now he suggests that his wife, his 'Dharmic friend,' is actually friends with Dharma.

12.37 *jijñāsārtham ahaṃ* in *pāda* c is slightly clumsy. Understand *maj-jijñāsārtham* ('in order to test me').

12.39 I understand *grahaḥ sūryo* in *pāda* a as *sūryagrahaḥ* (or *sūryagrahaṇam*): the eclipse of the Sun, which appears to be an auspicious day. See, e.g., *Āgamakalpalatā* 3.128: *sūryagrahaṇakālasya samānā nāsti bhūtaḥ |*

atra yad yat kṛtaṃ karma anantaphaladam bhavet ||

This short list of 'best of' items anticipates VSS 15.16–29, a longer list of what is best in every possible category, not entirely differently in manner from BhG 10.21–38.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

śuśrūṣaṇārthaṃ viprasya mayā dattāsi sundari |
sarvasvaṃ brāhmaṇe dattvā vanam evāśrayāmy aham || 12:40 ||

I have given you to the Brahmin to serve him, O beautiful woman. After I have given all my riches to the Brahmin, I shall resort to the forest.’

śaṅkara uvāca |
tūṣṇīmbhūtā tato bhāryā aśrupūrṇākulekṣaṇā |
kare grhya viśālākṣī brāhmaṇāya niveditā || 12:41 ||

Śaṅkara spoke: The wife remained silent, her bewildered eyes filled with tears. [Vipula] took her by the hand and the long-eyed woman was presented to the Brahmin.

yāni santi grhe dravyaṃ hiraṇyaṃ paśavas tathā |
dadāmi te dvijaśreṣṭha grāmaghoṣagrāhādikam || 12:42 ||

‘I am ready to give you all the wealth I have at home, all the gold and cattle, O great Brahmin, the village, the stations of herdsmen, and the houses, and everything else,

muktāvaidūryavāsāṃsi divyāṇy ābharaṇāni ca |
sarvān grhāṇa viprendra śraddhayā dattasatkṛtān || 12:43 ||

pearls, gems, clothes, and exquisite jewellery. Accept all these, O best of Brahmins. It’s given in good faith and with respect.

prīyatāṃ bhagavān dharmāḥ prīyatāṃ ca maheśvaraḥ |
prīyantāṃ pitarāḥ sarve yady asti sukṛtaṃ phalam || 12:44 ||

May Lord Dharma be pleased and may Maheśvara be pleased. May all the ancestors rejoice if there is reward for meritorious acts.’

rudra uvāca |
vipulasya vacaḥ śrutvā brāhmaṇena tapasvinā |
āśīḥ suvipulaṃ dattvā vipulāya mahātmane || 12:45 ||

12.40 *Pāda* d may give a hint at the connection between this chapter and the end of the previous one: this story is partly a propagation of the life of the *vānaprastha*.

12.41 Note that the variant *maheśvara uvāca* in E may seem as an odd alteration by Nāraharinath, but in fact K₄₁ and K₁₀₇ (neither collated for this chapter) also read the same. See pp. 9 ff.

12.44 Note ŚDhŚ 10.11cd, in a similar context of donations: *bhojayitvā tato brūyāt prīyatāṃ bhagavān śivaḥ*. Understand *sukṛtaṃ phalam* as *sukṛtaphalam* (metri causa).

Translation of chapter 12

Rudra spoke: Having heard Vipula’s speech, the ascetic Brahmin blessed the good-souled Vipula a good number of times,

vaset tatra grhe ramye bhāryām ādāya tasya ca |
vipulas tu namaskṛtvā kṛtvā cāpi pradakṣiṇam || 12:46 ||

and then went off to live in a nice house, taking Vipula’s wife with him. As for Vipula, he saluted and circulambulated him.

brāhmaṇam abhivādyaivaṃ gataḥ śīghraṃ vanāntaram |
vane mūlaphalāhāro vicareta mahītale || 12:47 ||

Thus saying good-bye to the Brahmin, he departed quickly into the forest. In the forest, he lived off roots and fruits, and roamed the world.

ekākī vijane śūnye cintayā ca pariplutaḥ |
kva gacchāmi kva bhokṣyāmi kutra vā kiṃ karomy aham || 12:48 ||

But being alone in an abandoned and deserted place, he got overwhelmed with worry. ‘Where should I go? Where could I find food? From whom? What shall I do?

na pathaṃ viśayaṃ vedmi grāmaṃ vā nagarāṇi vā |
kheṭakharvaṭadeśaṃ vā jñānāmīha na kaṃcana || 12:49 ||

I don’t know these roads, this country, these villages, and these cities, towns, and mountain settlements. I don’t know anybody here.

amum suśailaṃ paśyāmi vipulodarakandaram |
tam āruhya nirīkṣyāmi grāmaṃ nagarapattanam || 12:50 ||

I can see a nice mountain yonder with large cavities and caves. I’ll climb it and try to figure out if there is a village, town, or city [nearby].’

12.45 Note that the variant *maheśvara uvāca* in E again is to be found in K₄₁, but this time not in K₁₀₇ (compare note to 12.41). One may wonder why the Brahmin is labelled as ascetic (*tapasvin*) in *pāda* b.

There are several ways to explain the form *āśīḥ* in *pāda* c. The easiest is to treat it as a singular accusative neuter. Alternatively, it could be a plural accusative feminine of *āśī* and then *suvipulaṃ* is either to be understood adverbially or as *suvipulā[h]*. Another way to treat *āśīḥ* would be to take it as a nominative standing for the accusative.

12.47 Note the metrical problem in *pāda* a (two *laghus*).

12.49 In *pāda* c, I accepted E’s reading (*°kharvaṭa°*, ‘a mountain village’) against all witnesses consulted. The MSS transmit a reading that is difficult to make sense of (*°kharpaṭa*, ‘ragged garment’). In *pāda* d, the reading of all the witnesses, *kaścana*, seems to be an early scribal mistake for *kañcana*. But note that the same happens in 12.55d.

12.50 *Pāda* a is a *ma-vipulā*.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

evam uktvā tu vipulaḥ śanaiḥ parvatam āruhat |
vṛkṣacchāyāṃ samālokyā niśasāda śramānvitah || 12:51 ||

Having said this, Vipula climbed the mountain slowly. He caught sight of the shades of a tree, and, being exhausted, sat down [there].

etasminn eva kālē tu vṛkṣasākhāvatārya ca |
apūrvam ca surūpaṃ ca sugandhatvaṃ ca śobhanam || 12:52 ||

In the same moment, descending from among the branches of the tree, [a monkey appeared and] carrying an extraordinary, beautiful, fragrant, exquisite,

phalaṃ grhya vicitraṃ ca hṛdayānandanam śubham |
vipulasyaḡrataḥ kṛtvā punar vṛkṣaṃ samāruhat || 12:53 ||

lovely, delightful and pleasant-looking fruit, it put it in front of Vipula, and then climbed back onto the tree.

vipulaś citravad drṣṭvā vismayaṃ paramaṃ gataḥ |
aho vā svapnabhūto 'smi aho vā tapasaḥ phalam || 12:54 ||

Vipula, looking [at it] as if seeing a miracle, was perplexed. Wow, am I sleeping? Or is this the fruit of my penance?

na paśyāmi na jighrāmi na ca svādaṃ ca vedmy aham |
vārttāpi na ca me śrotā pratijānāmi kaṃcana || 12:55 ||

I have never seen, smelt, or tasted anything like this. I have not even heard of anything like this. I shall let somebody know about it.

12.51 I have accepted the reading of E in *pāda* d (*āruhat*) because I think that *āruhet* is an early scribal mistake that is easy to make, and because °*āruhat* comes up again in 12.53d. Additionally, K₄₁ (not collated here) seems to read *āruhat* too (f. 220r).

12.52 Note the stem form noun °*śākhā* in *pāda* b. Understand °*śākhāyā* *avatārya* or *śākhayāvatārya*. Understand *sugandhatvaṃ* in *pāda* d as *sugandhi*.

From this point on, the story might be interpreted as a dream. See especially 12.149ab: *svapnabhūtam ivāścāryaṃ paśyāmi....*

12.53 Note how the agent of this sentence is omitted here. That it was a monkey that gave Vipula the fruit becomes clear in 12.94 below.

12.54 See notes on 12.52 above on how most of the story could be interpreted as a dream.

12.55 Note the use of the (non-historical) present tense in *pādas* ab clearly pointing to past events. I suspect that *śrotā* in *pāda* c is meant to be feminine participle *śrutā*, but the metre required the first vowel to be lengthened. Understand *me* as *mayā* (Oberlies 2003, 102–103 [4.1.3]). In *pāda* d, the reading of all the witnesses, *kaṃcana*, seems to be an early scribal mistake for *kañcana*. Note that the same happens in 12.49d.

Translation of chapter 12

evam uktvā hy anekāni phalaṃ grhya manoramam |
sunirīkṣya punar jighran punar jighran nirīkṣya ca || 12:56 ||

Having repeated this several times, taking that nice fruit, he kept observing it smelling it again and again.

phalaṃ cātra nirūpyanto deśaṃ vāpy avalokayan |
pātheyarahitaś cāsmi devadattaṃ phalaṃ mama || 12:57 ||

‘While gazing at this fruit, and observing the countryside, I have run out of provisions. This fruit is godsent.

tat phalaṃ pratigrhyaiva nagaraṃ praviśāmy aham |
prārthayitvā tu yat kiṃcij jīvanārthaṃ carāmy aham || 12:58 ||

Therefore I shall take this fruit and enter that city, and I shall go and seek something to live on.’

tataḥ śailam atikramya nagaraṃ praviveśa ha |
pathi kaścij janaḥ prṣṭhaḥ kiṃnāma nagaraṃ tv idam || 12:59 ||

Then crossing that mountain, he entered the city. He asked a man on the road: ‘What is the name of this city?’

sa hovāca pathikena kim apūrvam ihāgataḥ |
dakṣiṇāpathadeśo ’yaṃ naravīrapuraṃ tv adah || 12:60 ||

The traveller replied: ‘Have you never been here before? This is the Deccan region, and this is the city of Naravīra.

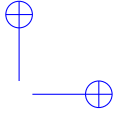
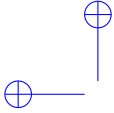
12.56 Since one of the main points, and a source of conflict, in the story is that there was only one single fruit, we have to interpret *anekāni* in *pāda* a as a shortened form of *anekavāram* (‘repeatedly’). Most sources consulted read *jighra* or *jighraṃ* in both *pāda* c and d, i.e. most of them do not suggest the participle *jighran*, which seems to be the correct reading. I have altered this part of the text silently.

12.57 Understand *nirūpyanto* in *pāda* a as a thematised present participle in the nominative (*nirūpyan*). This is also suggested by the standard *avalokayan* in *pāda* b.

12.60 I understand *pathikena* as standing for *pathikena* metri causa (see 12.64b) and not as two words, *pathi kena*. This means that we are forced to accept an instrumental as the agent of the finite verb *uvāca* (ergative structure, see p. xxxiv). I suspect that *K₇*’s reading (*pathiko na*) is an attempt to correct the syntax, but in this way *na ... apūrvam* becomes problematic.

ayam as the end of this verse may have been the original reading and *C₄₅* may have corrected it to *adah*. Another possibility is that an original *adah* is preserved in *C₄₅*, and it got corrupted to *ayah* (*C₉₄*), and then to *ayam* (*C₀₂K₈₂*). In any case, in this case I have chosen the not-so-well attested reading *adah* simply because it works better. Another possibility would be to echo 12.59d and correct to *idam*.

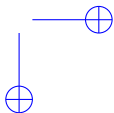
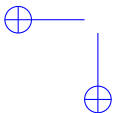
Since I am not aware of any attestation of Naravīrapura as a city, I suspect that this name is either a mistake for or a pun on Karavīrapura, possibly modern Kolhapur in Maharashtra. See p. xxiii.



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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Padmapurāṇa: see **CHECK**
Buddhacarita: see **CHECK**
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Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa: see **CHECK**
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Manu: see Dave 1972
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Vājasaneyisaṃhitā: see Weber 1972
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REVISE **CHECK** In the Index, the surnames of modern authors, as well as mantra-syllables, are typeset in SMALL CAPITALS, Sanskrit words in general in *italics*, Sanskrit names of deities, humans, including authors, in non-italic normal typeface with capital initial letters, English words in non-italic normal typeface, and titles of works in *slanted font*.

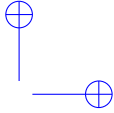
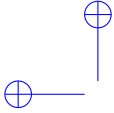
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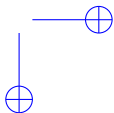
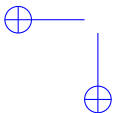
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