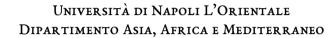


The Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, a text of the Śivadharma corpus
A Critical Edition
Volume 1



The Śivadharma Project

Studies on the History of Śaivism X??

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

The Śivadharma Project

Studies on the History of Śaivism XX??

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

Csaba Kiss





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viii







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CHECK REVISE!!!

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Preface

Aims and problems

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

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

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



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.

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

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



Śivadharma corpus

The Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha (VSS), a 24-chapter long Sanskrit Śaiva text, has always³ been transmitted as part of the so-called Sivadharma 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 Sivadharma-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 Sivadharma 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 (samgraha) the 'essence' (sāra), of its topic. The words 'compendium' and 'collection' reflect the composite nature of the Vṛṣasārasamgraha 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 Siva'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 manusctipt descriptions on pp. 3ff.
 - Mainly in section 'CHECK' on p. xx
 - Read Vṛṣasārasamgraha for Vṛttasārasangraha 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





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

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

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

Or putting it more bluntly:

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

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

while the bull as a synonym of Dharma is mentioned in the text repeatedly, [...] there is no clear reference to Śiva's mount in the [VSS, it is] not inconceivable that the redactors of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* had the same association in mind, namely that the bull in question is both Dharma and Śiva's mount.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 Šivadharmottara 12.87 also mentions the 'Dharma bull': īśvarāy-atanasyādhaḥ śrīmān dharmavṛṣaḥ sthitaḥ | yatra vīravṛṣas tatra kṣityāṃ gomātaraḥ sthitā ||

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

In the last sentence here, Sanderson implies that the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* is organically part of the teachings that we may collectively call the Śivadharma, and he thus supplies 'Śiva' when translating the title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*. A closer examination of the VSS reveals no direct references to either Śiva's bull or to the bull as embodying the Śivadharma. Instead, the bull in the VSS is repeatedly associated with the Dharma that is the four āśramas (see p. ??). My conclusion is that while the word *vṛṣa* in the title may well carry a reference to Śiva's bull, it is always only implied and never explicitely taught, while the bull as the personification of Dharma as the four āśramas explicitely appears. Thus the title actually lacks any explicit hint to Śaivism, ¹⁰ which fits in well with the rather blurred and multilayered affiliation of the text to Dharmaśāstra, 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 C $_{94}$ fol. 1841 ll. 3–4 (see Kiss 2021, 185–186): īśvara uvāca | na jānanti ca loke 'smin mānavā mūḍhacetasaḥ | catuṣpādo bhaved dharmaḥ śuklo 'yaṃ mama vāhanaḥ ||

¹¹ See p. xvii.

¹² See CHECK

¹³ See Vajrācārya 1973, 148, l. 9: sugataśāsanapakṣapātī.



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

Genre

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

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

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

¹⁴ Gnoli 1956, 1, and https://siddham.network/inscription/ino2001/

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



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

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

pādam ādyam¹⁷ idam śāstram yo 'dhīyīta jitendriyaḥ | tenādhītam sarvvadharmmam iti nāsty atra saṃśayaḥ || arthaśāstram idam puṇyaṃ dharmmaśāstram idaṃ paraṃ | mokṣaśāstram idaṃ proktaṃ śivenāmitatejasā |

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

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

Structure

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

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

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

xvii



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

¹⁷ Understand pādamātram?



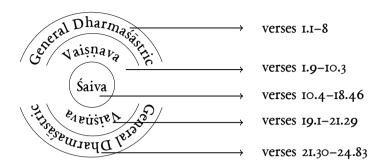


Figure 1: The structure of the VSS (reproduced from Kiss 2021, 188)

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. Saiva chapters do contain Vaisnava material and vice versa. The labels next to the petals are keywords that indicate the main topic of the individual chapters. Big check marks indicate the presence of Anarthayajña the ascetic in the given chapter, while smaller check marks indicate references in the given chapters to Anarthayajña's ascetic practice repeatedly called anartha-yajña, i.e. 'non-material/internalised sacrifice/worship.' Anarthayajña in both senses seems to be one of the main foci of the VSS. A brief overview of the Vaisnava chapters would be the following. Anarthayajña, a Vaisnava ascetic, who propagates a system of internalised aśramas/a system beyond the traditional āśramas, and who was born into an obscure or fluid varņa (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 Vișņu to Vișņuloka.

Another general observation could be that around one fourth of the text is an elaboration on rules of religious conduct (yama-niyama). Also, chapter two seems slightly out of place, being a clearly 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

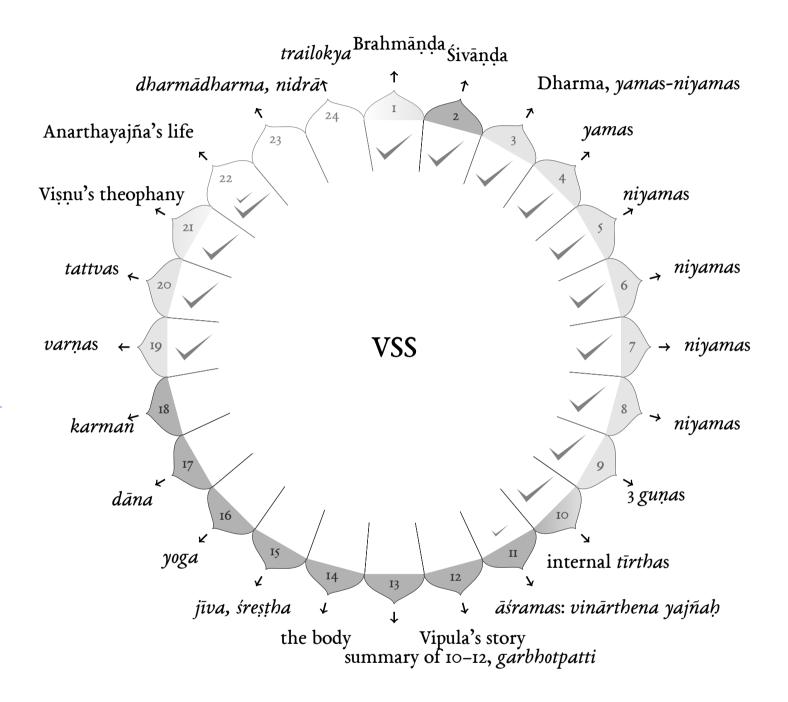


Figure 2: The structure and topics of the VSS





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 snakesacrifice Vaiśampāyana recited the whole *Mahābhārata* for the first time. This important moment is where the frame story of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgra-ha* takes off: Janamejaya has listened to the whole of the *Mahābhārata*, but having had the desire to hear the ultimate teaching on Dharma, he is bound to remain unsatisfied. Asked by Janamejaya for a higher teaching on Dharma which can lead to liberation, Vaiśampāyana relates a dialogue between Vigatarāga (in fact Viṣṇu in disguise) and Anarthayajña, an ascetic.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 Saiva tantric works is minimal, but not to be excluded. EXAMPLES. Niśvāsakārikā

Śivadharma texts:

Embryology

yoga Dharmaputrikā see below Dhyāna in the VSS and the DharmP

Compare, borrowings

Buddhacarita

Brhatkālottara,

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



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

To make assumptions about the place of composition of the VSS, we can consider the following: the location of the manuscript evidence, place 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, Vārānasī, Yamunā, Gangā, Agnitīrtha, Somatīrtha, Sūryatīrtha, Puskara, Mānasa, Naimisa, Bindusāra (= Bindusaras), Setubandha, Suradraha or Surahrada, Ghantikeśvara, and Vāgīśa. These may hint at the area where the VSS was composed by giving more significance to locations nearby and by being more specific when mentioning local sacred places. Some names on the list above are easy to indentify and at the same time probably too often included in lists such as this one to be indicative enough: Himavat, Kuruksetra,²² Prayāga, Vārānasī, Yamunā, Gangā, Puskara (modern Pushkar), and Naimisa.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., Padmapurāņa 3.45.27ab: agnitīrtham iti khyātam yamunādakṣiņe taṭe; and Padmapurāṇa 6.139.1ab: sābhramatyuttare kūle agnitīrtham iti śrutam; therefore Agnitīrtha may be placed at the souther banks of the Yamunā or at the northern banks of the Sābhramatī river (modern Sabarati) in the area of Ahmedabad. Somatīrtha is also

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



sometimes placed on the banks of the Sabarmati, see, e.g., *Padmapurāṇa* 6.161.1ab: *somatīrthaṃ tato gacched guptaṃ sābhramatītaṭe*. Sūryatīrtha is sometimes placed in Kurukṣetra.²⁴ Going further in the list, Mānasa is generally thought to be '[a] lake on the peak of the Himālayas',²⁵ modern Manasarovar.²⁶ Bindusāra, which most probably stands for Bindusaras, can 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 Hanumadiśvaraliṅga, which is in the southern outskirts of Bhaktapur in Nepal, at the confluence of two rivers (according to Acharya 1992, 37–38 and 298):

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

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

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<sup>24</sup> See Mani 1975, s.v. 'sūryatīrtha'.
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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 navanāḍīmayaṃ. Emend to navanadīmayaṃ ('having nine rivers')?



That is why the wise call it the Vagiśvara-linga.

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 tīrthaśreṣṭhaḥ suradrahaḥ || 18.15

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

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

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

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

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³² Always spelt surahrada in Naraharinath's edition.

³³ The references given are the Jaina Jambūdvīpaprajñapti 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 Mṛgendraśikhara, where Anarthayajña's āśrama is situated, 'on the southern slopes of the Himalayas.'³⁶ This name comes up several times in the Nepālamā-hātmya and thus features on the map in Acharya 1992 (Figure 4). Mṛgendraśikhara is a mountain situated north of Kathmandu. Today the area is called Śivapurī. See details on the identification and on legends connected to Mṛgendraśikhara in Gögge 2007, 114ff. The VSS specifies that Anarthayajña's āśrama was on the banks of the Mahendrapathaga,³⁷ but I 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.:

Devasarman asks his disciple, Vipula, to protect his wife, Ruci, primarily

The city we are looking for is clearly in the South, therefore Karavīrapura as 'the Pīṭha of the North' in Kashmir is not a good candidate (see, e.g., Sanderson 2007, 261). Rather, as Dey (1899, 35) puts it: 'A town situated on the north of the Western Ghâts near Jooner [Junnar?], on the bank of the Vená [Venna], a branch of the Krishná, where Krishna met Parasuráma and killed its king named Srigála (Harivansa).' See Harivaṃśa App. I. 18.352–355: pūrvajais tava govinda pūrvaṃ puram idaṃ kṛtam | karavīrapuraṃ nāma rāṣṭraṃ caiva niveśitam || pure 'smin nṛpatiḥ kṛṣṇa vāsudevo mahāyaśāḥ | sṛgāla iti vikhyāto nityaṃ paramakopanaḥ ||; and also Padmapurāṇa 6.106.3: āsīt sahyādriviṣaye karavīrapure purā | brāhmaṇo dharmavit kaścid dharmadatto 'tiviśrutaḥ ||.

^{35 &#}x27;The northern part of the Western Gháts north of the river Káveri' (Dey 1899, 78).

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

³⁷ See fn. 36.

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







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

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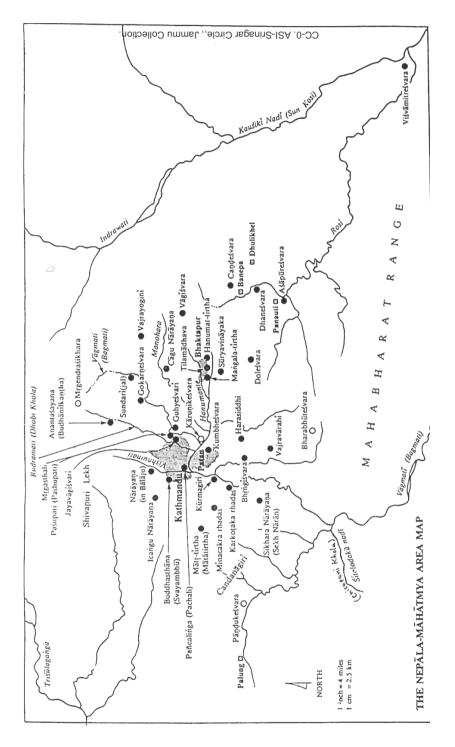


Figure 4: Map in Acharya 1992

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

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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 (\approx Manu 5.52) attested in Devanāgarī MSS Pu⁵, Pu⁷, Pu⁹; nānyatra manur abravīt in VSS 3.35d (\approx Manu 5.41) attested in Śāradā MSS sOx¹, sPu⁶ and Devanāgarī MS Tr²; kūṭa in VSS 4.79 (\approx Manu 11.57) in a MS from Kathmandu ($_8$ Kt⁵), in Devanāgarī/Old Nāgarī MSS (Lo⁴, $_8$ Pu¹, Pu², Pu⁴, Pu¹⁰), as well as in two South-Indian MSS ($_6$ Md¹, $_7$ Md³).



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] 'samvat 192,' i.e., 1071-1072 CE.

The above mentioned two MSS make it impossible to date the VSS later than to the first half of the 11th century CE, and and parts of the text could be considerably older that that period. Archaic features that may indicate that the VSS or parts of it were composed much earlier than the early 11th century include the following. Chapter ten,⁴⁴ while it teaches the yogic tubes $(n\bar{a}d\bar{i})$ Susumnā and Idā, is silent on Pingalā, which is a situation similar to that in the 6-7-century Niśvāsa naya⁴⁵ (see details at the analysis of chapter 10 on pp. xlii and in the notes to the translation). Similarly, II.23a (nivṛttyādi caturvedas) mentions four Śaiva kalās, instead of the expected and somewhat later, and in character tantric, five, namely nivṛtti, pratisthā, vidyā, śānti, and śāntyatīta. In the same chapter, the order in which the āśramas are taught (grhastha, brahmacārin, vānaprastha, parivrājaka) is reminiscent of Apastambadharmasūtra 2.9.21.1, and is relatively rare, as opposed to the traditional order (brahmacārin, grhastha, vānaprastha, parivrājaka) found, e.g., in Manu. (See Kiss 2021, 195-196.) Another feature that might point towards a date considerably earlier than the 11th century is the system of tattvas in chapter 20: the mahābhūtas of classical Sānkhya are called dhātus here, the tanmātras of classical Sānkhya are called guṇas, 46 the buddhi of classical Sankhya is called mati, and the highest tattva is

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See Shastri 1928, 721 and De Simini & Mirnig 2017, 591. The date is clearly visible as 'samvat 156' in the last line of the penultimate folio side of $Ko_{77}/8$.

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

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

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.



singular unlike the multiple *puruṣa*s 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 trasmits the VSS is close in time to the actual composition or redaction of the text. This could also mean a date considerably earlier than the 10th century, and therefore a tentative dating for the VSS would be the 7th to 10th centuries CE.

Authors, redactors and target audience

Why was the VSS included in the Sivadharma corpus?

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

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

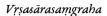
 $^{47}\,$ There are also numerous borrowings in VSS 20 from the Śāntiparvan of the MBh. See more details at the analysis of VSS chapter 20 in volume two.

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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 Aiśa 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 valley 49—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 Aiśa, 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.
- The earliest dated Newar document is the Ukū Bāhāḥ landgrand 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'; onāgakanyā ... vṛṣṭipūrṇaṃ kṛtam 470, 8 'the Nāga girl made (it) full of rain'], and case

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

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rātryāgame pralīyante jagat sarvam carācaram

When [Brahma's] night falls, the whole moving and unmoving universe dissolve[s].

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

pramāņam nāma samkhyā ca kīrtitāni samāsataḥ

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

This confusion, or often metrically forced disregard of standard Sanskrit grammar, when dealing with number and gender, becomes almost predictable when the noun phrase involves numerals.⁵² See, e.g., verse 1.2cd:

parva cāsya śatam pūrņam śrutvā bhāratasamhitām

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

Here one would expect either a plural genitive (parvāṇāṃ śataṃ), a compound (śataparvāṇi), or a plural accusative (parvāṇi śataṃ). Similarly, gatiś ca pañca vijñeyāḥ in 3.5a stands for gatayaś ca pañca vijñeyāḥ ('and the paths are to be known as five'), partly metri causa; and an interrogative quantifier (kati, 'how many?') can trigger the same: gatis tasya kati smṛtāḥ (3.1d; 'how many are its path[s]?'). It is not without interest that classical Newar rarely applies any plural marker in noun phrases with numerals. 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 $(sumadhyam\bar{a}h)$ has the required plural ending. This again is

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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.



what we often see in Newar.⁵⁵ A good example of total number-blindness is 5.17cd:

kīrtitāni viśeșeņa śaucācāram aśeșataḥ

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

Note that there would have been little problem in composing the same line in standard Sanskrit, e.g., beginning with $k\bar{\imath}rtitam$ ca... Instead, this line gives away something about the author's indifference towards grammatical concord. Also, the participle $k\bar{\imath}rtit\bar{\imath}ani$ might function here as a finite verb in the plural: 'they teach [the practice of purity].' In this case there is some sense of number but coupled with a totally blurred boundary between finite verbs and participles.

In general, gender confusion is not unusual in epic Sanskrit and in Aiśa.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 awarness of Sanskrit syntax is VSS 17.20:

bhūmipradātā dvija hīnadīnaḥ samrddhasasyo jalasamnikṛṣṭaḥ | sa yāti lokam amarādhipasya vimānayānena manohareṇa ||

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

The translation of this verse, surprising as it may seem, is, based on the context, rather secure. *Pādas* ab probably stand for a sentence that would be the following in slightly more standard Sanskrit: *yo dvijāya hīnadīnāya sasyasamṛddha-jalasaṃnikṛṣṭa-bhūmi-pradātā*. This is expressed by a phrase in which a word that should be in the dative or genitive (*dvija*) is in the

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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, II–12.) E.g.: in the Newar phrase thwo khuṃ-na khaṅ-ā rājā-pani ('these kings seen by the thief'), the only indication that multiple kings are involved is the plural marker *-pani* at the end (ibid.).

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.



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:

indreņāsmi phalam dattam sa phalam datta me bhavān

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

Again, this is the translation that seems to fit the context. Here the skeleton of pāda c is a well-constructed passive: indreņa phalaṃ dattaṃ, but then, instead of adding a dative or genitive (e.g., indreņa me phalaṃ dattaṃ), the author chooses a finite verb (asmi). In pāda d, after seemingly treating phalaṃ as a masculine noun, and leaving datta in stem form metri causa, and using me for mayā, 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, 10 or dattaṃ tava tad eva ca? Constructions with datta/kathita plus an expected dative are especially prone to confusion. See, e.g., VSS 1.62cd-63ab and 10.2d:

brahmaṇā kathitaṃ pūrṇaṃ mātariśvā yathātatham vāyunā pāda saṃkṣipya prāptaṃ cośanasaṃ purā

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

bravīmi vah purāvṛttam nandinā kathito 'smy aham

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

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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.

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.



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

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

eșa garbhasamutpattih kathito 'smi varānane

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

āgneyadhātum somam ca kathito 'smi varānane

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

kathito 'smi samāsena kim anyac chrotum icchasi

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

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

Sometimes the agent an active construction with a transitive verb simply imitates an ergative structure: *viṣṇunā... papraccha* (1.8), *dhanyās te yair idaṃ vetti* (4.75ab), *sa*[!] *hovāca pathīkena* (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 vakşyāmi śṛṇuṣvāvahito bhava

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

One could say that $p\bar{a}da$ a is simply elliptical and that a verb like lakṣaṇaṃ or $svabh\bar{a}vaṃ$ ('the caracteristics/essence [of X]') is missing. 1.37ab and 4.17ab also belong to this category:

brahmāṇḍānām prasamkhyātum mayā śakyam katham dvija

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

evam satyavidhānasya kīrtitam tava suvrata

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

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

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



This phenomenon is difficult to explain by any Newar influence since classical Newar would usually also require an extra word (such as *khaṃ* '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 *tṛtīya*, with higher numbers there seems to be a non-distinction between cardinal and ordinal numbers, and cardinals are used as ordinals. See, e.g., 20.8ab and 11ab:

caturviṃśati yat tattvaṃ prakṛtiṃ viddhi niścayam dvāviṃśati ahaṃkāras tattvam uktaṃ manīṣibhiḥ

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

This phenomenon is known to a certain degree from epic Sanskrit,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 Aiśa 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 (pādaṃ)
1.63c: tenāpi pāda saṃkṣipya (pādaṃ)
2.25c: bhogam akṣaya tatraiva (akṣayaṃ)
2.26d: īśānānāṃ smṛtālayaḥ (smṛta ālayaḥ)
4.19f: prasahyasteya pañcamam (°steyaṃ)
4.72a: caturdhyānādhunā (°dhyānam adhunā)
4.77a: pramādasthāna pañcaiva (°sthānaṃ or °sthānāni)
6.5c: vedādhyayana kartavyaṃ (vedādhyayanaṃ)
6.14a: dvitīyaṃ tattva puruṣaṃ (tattvaṃ)

Vocabulary

Special vocabulary/language: karhacit, hṛdi as nominative 10.27cd, tirya, 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, $\acute{s}r$, pr, and also $\acute{s}y$, $\acute{s}v$, sv, dv, dv,

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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: sparśatanmātra sparśan tu gṛḥṇate tvacam āśṛṭaḥ.

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: śukaśyenakān for $\cup \cup - \cup$



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 varņasya saṃyogah kramasaṃjñikah | puraḥsthitena tena syāl laghutā 'pi kvacid guroḥ || 1.10 ||

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

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

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

taruṇaṃ sarṣapaśākaṃ navaudanaṃ picchalāni ca dadhīni | alpavyayena sundari grāmyajano miṣṭam aśnāti || 1.11 ||

Tender mustard seed, fresh porridge, and slimy curds: men in the village eat these kinds of savoury dishes, O pretty girl, because they do not have much money.⁷⁵

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

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⁷³ Ollett 2013, 333.

⁷⁴ Patel 2020.

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



Introduction

This is unmerical and it yields 28 moræ, instead of the expected 27. By treating the final syllable of *sundari* short, in spite of the following $gr\bar{a}$, the pattern conforms to the expected pattern:

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

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

```
padādāv iti kim | anyatra mā bhūt |
Why 'at the beginning of a word'? [Because] elsewhere it should not be.
```

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

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1.1c: harīndra br)ahmādibhir āsamagram (upajāti)
4.67c: prajñābodha śrutim smṛtim ca labhate mānam ca nityam labhed
(śārdūlavikrīḍita)
4.89a: iti yama pr avibhāgaḥ kīrtito 'yam dvijendra (mālinī)
5.5cd: parastrīpara dr)avyeṣu śaucam kāyikam ucyate (pathyā)
5.9cd: vānaprasthasya (tr)iguṇam yatīnām tu caturguṇam (na-vipulā)
5.15ab: haṃsasārasacakrāhvakukkuṭān śuka śyenakān (pathyā)
6.13ab: brahmalokam tu pra thamam tattvaprakṛticintayā (na-vipulā)
8.33a: tasmān mauna vr atam sadaiva sudṛḍham kurvīta yo niścitam (śārdūla-vikrīḍita)
10.31b: īśānenābhijuṣṭaṃ hṛdi (hr)ada vimalaṃ nādaśītāmbupūrṇam (sragdharā)
11.9ab: manaḥśuddhis tu (pr)athamaṃ 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. The Note especially that since conjuncts such as fr 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 odditity, or rather metrical licence, that is applied regularly in the VSS, exclusively in non-anustubh verses, is that a word-final short syllable can count as long. Here are some examples, with the short syllable now turned into long encircled:

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 $^{^{76}\,}$ There are some problematic verses that I ignore here. They are unlikely to change the overall picture.



Vrsasārasamgraha

3:42d: etatpuṇyaphalam ahiṃsakajanaḥ prāpnoti niḥsaṃśayaḥ (śārdūla-vikrīḍita)

4.5a: na narmayuktam 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 yadi) kālakṣaye niścayaḥ (śārdūlavikrī-dita)

6.18b: jijñāsyantām dvijendra bhavadahanakaraḥ prārthanākalpavṛkṣaḥ (sragdharā)

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

8.44d: na bhavati punajanma kalpakoṭyāyute 'pi (mālinī)

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

II.42c: prajñāvṛddhika(ra)m amoghakaraṇaṃ kleśārṇavottāraṇaṃ (śārdū-lavikrīḍita)

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

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

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

 $^{^{77}}$ 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 mangala-verse that addresses a deity whose identity is obscure (is it Siva or the impersonal Brahman?; verse 1.1), we enter the first layer of the text, which comprises a dialogue between Janamejaya and 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, diguised as a Brahmin, tests an ascetic called Anarthayajña, reknown for performing nonmaterial sacrifice (anarthayajña, the topic of adhyāya eleven), and a devotee of Visnu (which becomes clear in adhyāya twenty-one). This is the beginning of the layer one could label Vaisnava. The first topic they discuss is brahmavidyā (1.9-10), and ambiguous definition of the impersonal Brahman and/or the syllable om. The next topic is kāla ('death, time'), the origin of the body, karma (1.11-17), and the divisions of time (from truți, nimeşa up to kalpas, 1.18-30), which leads to a teaching on numbers, from one up to two hundred quadrillion (para, 1.31-35). Verses 1.36-39 introduce a list of the rulers of the eight regions of the Brahmanda (1.40-48). In addition, Visnu features as the ruler of the centre of the Brahmanda (1.49), reconfirming the general Vaisnava character of this layer. 1.50-57 give the number of subordinates to each ruler mentioned above. 1.58-61 teaches the measurements of the Brahmanda. Finally, verses 1.62-75 list the redactors and transmitters of the Puranas, from Brahma to Vyasa Dvaipayana, Romaharṣa, and Romaharṣa's son Amitabuddhi.

Keywords: Brahmā, Brahman

Adhyāya 2

Perhaps a later, tantric, insertion?

2. śivāndasamkhyā

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



```
Adhyāya 3
yamas-niyamas: see table in Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, 17
Adhyāya 4
Adhyāya s
Adhyāya 6
Adhyāya 7
Well-written? Simple
Adhyāya 8
Similarly quasi well-written? Simple
Adhyāya 9
Adhyāya 10
Adhyāya 11
Adhyāya 12
3. ahimsāpraśamsā 4. yamavibhāga 5. śaucācāravidhi 6. yajñavidhi (also lokāḥ)
7. dānapraśaṃsā 8. niyamapraśaṃsā (p. 603: types of svādhyāyana: śaiva, sāṃkhya,
purāņa, smārta, bhārata) 9. traiguņyaviśeṣaņīya 10. kāyatīrthavivarņana 11.
caturāśramadharmavidhāna 12. vipulopākhyāna (narrative) 13. garbhotpatti
(on conception) 14. praśnavyākaraņa (why people are tall/short etc.) 15. jī-
vanirnaya 16. adhyātmanirnaya (yoga) 17. dānadharma 18. pūrvakarmavipāka
19. dānayajñaviśeṣa 20. pańcaviṃśatitattvanirṇaya 21. kalpanirṇaya 22. varṇagotrāśrama
23. nidrotpatti 24. śāstravarņana
   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

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A Critical Edition of Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha 1–12

Introduction to the Critical Edition

While it is probably unnecessary to argue in favour of producing a high-quality edition of any of the texts in the Śivadharma corpus—given its importance for our understanding of the history of Śaivism—it is worth clarifying why the versions of the VSS and the other texts of the corpus as printed in Naraharinath 1998 are not satisfactory.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 law-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 methology I have applied. I find Hanneder's words on textual criticism comforting:

[T]extual criticism is often viewed as something to be learned by practice rather from reading about it. ... In fact, both translating and editing are something most Indologists have learned in a pragmatic way through examples from within the field, and some have managed to become quite good at it. ... [I]n most cases this approach is sufficient ... ⁸²

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

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

⁸⁰ Just to quote a few from the first few verses: sahasrādhyāyar uttamam for sahasrādhyāyam uttamam (1.2b), nāradasaṃhitāṃ for bhāratasaṃhitām (1.2d), śaṃkha for śaṅkuḥ (1.34b), omissions in 1.34cd-35, etc.

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

⁸² Hanneder 2009, 5.



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 trasmit a highly contaminated version of the text. This makes the construction of a stemma codicum more or less useless in this case.

Witnesses

In the pre-modern era, the VSS has been transmitted exclusively in multiple-text manuscripts that were produced in Nepal. Even when a manuscript of the VSS seems to be a single-text MS, chances are high that it originally belonged to a multiple-text manuscript.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 *Vṛṣasārasam-graha*, but as De Simini has already remarked (2016b, 240 n. 19), it is probably from a multiple text manuscript. In fact, from what can be gathered from its description in Shastri 1928, 716ff, it seems likely that this manuscript was originally part of manuscript Asiatic Society (Calcutta) G 3852, cat. no. 4085. See for example the folio numbering in these two manuscripts: ASC G 3852 contains 210 folios, and ASC G 4076 starts on folio

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



Introduction

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.I. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a detailed description of this manuscript in the CUDL online catalogue.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) Śivadharmasaṃgraha, 4) Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda, 5) Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda, 6) Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, 7) Dharmaputrikā, 8) Śivopaniṣad.

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

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





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 $L_{\rm 16}$ (paper, Devanāgarī script, see below).

⁸⁹ https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01694-00001/382



well-preserved. Some folio sides are faded and most folios are somewhat damaged on the right side, sometimes at other parts, and it seems from the images that some opaque-looking tape has been applied to protect these damaged sections. In my critical edition the broken off, completely lost, *akṣaras* are represented by ---, the illegible *akṣaras* under the tape by $\stackrel{\smile}{}$ ('illegible'). The quality of the readings of this manuscript is one of the best among the available witnesses, comparable only to K_{82} and P_{57} , making it one of the most important sources for the VSS.

(N)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. According to this catalogue, its dimensions are 4.4 × 61.7 cm. The manuscript is dated to (Nepāla) 'samvat 259 śrāvaṇa śukla dvādaśiyā di < trayodaśyām,' which converts to July 10/11 Monday/Tuesday, 1139 CE. 11 The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 247 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) Śivadharmaśāstra, 2) Śivadharmottara, 3) Śivadharmasaṃgraha, 4) Śivopaniṣad, 5) Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda, 6) Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda, 7) Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, 8) Dharmaputrikā.

The VSS occupies 37 folios plus one folio side: it starts on f. 201V line 4 (online image no. 404), and it ends on f. 238V line 3 (online image no. 478). The readings of this manuscript seem to follow those of K_{82} remarkably closely while transmitting the Sivadharmottara (as observed by De Simini and Harimoto). This is more difficult to see in the case of the VSS, but

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

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. 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) Sivadharmottara, 2) Sivadharmasaṃgraha, 3) Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda, 4) Sivopaniṣad, 5) Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, 6) Dharmaputrikā (only f. 322v). Note that the Sivadharmottara starts on f. 51r, thus the part that most probably contained the Sivadharmaśāstra is lost.

The VSS starts on f. 267r line I (online image no. 181). The online description labels this image as f. 237r. This first folio in fact has no visible foliation. The previous text, the *Śivopaniṣad*, ended on f. 236v, with pāda b of verse 7.122, 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 C_{94} , and twenty folios in C_{45} . Thus this MS did most probably transmit all eight texts of the Śivadharma 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 gṛhasthāś ca [prāsā]dasthāś ca ye nṛpāḥ.

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

⁹⁶ Cf. the metadata on the CUDL site: 'I folio of the same dimensions is a modern supply for the beginning of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*.' A hardly readable note in pencil to the same effect is visible at the top of the first folio side (f. 267r, 'mode.....supply beg of Vṛṣasāra-saṃgr.'). I am not sure how 'modern' this supplement is, but it seems indeed likely that a lost first folio was supplemented with a later copy. To match the end of this new copy with the beginning of the next, older, folio, a scribe more or less erased the beginning of the first line in the old folio, rather than the last line of the younger folio. This slightly illogical decision may mean that the younger copy was not tailor-made for the old portion, but rather that it was taken from a younger manuscript which was perhaps considered more legible. Otherwise it would have been more practical to stop copying the first folio at the point where the next begins. See some more detail on this folio on p. II



In this multiple-text manuscript, the VSS is trasmitted in an incomplete form, that is to say, a number of folios are missing (most notably chapters 15–17). The first partially visible folio number is in image 184: the numeral characters 200+60 are visible (268v, according to the CUDL online catalogue). In image 186, the folio number 269 is clearly visible (f. 269v). In folio 270v, the continuous text is broken at verse 2.21c (kāmarū°), ff. 271 and 272 are missing, and the text resumes on f. 273r with verse 3.30b ([ahiṃsā pa]ramaṃ sukham). Folio 291 is missing (verses 12.87cd–12.113). In folio 296v (image no. 234) the text breaks off again at vātaśūlair upadrutā | śukro (verse 14.22b), 97 the next folio being 306r (starting with carmatāś ca dvijasundarīṣu, verse 18.27b; nine folios and chapters 15–17 are completely missing).

Again, there are two missing folios after bandhus sarvva° in verse 18.47c in f. 306v. The text resumes in f. 309r (image 237) with °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 Dharmaputrikā, 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.
 - https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00098499
- ⁹⁹ See f. 12r line 2 of the *Dharmaputrikā* in this MS: *navottarāsītiyute sate bde āsādhaśuklasya tithau tṛtīye*, translated by De Simini 2016b, 252 n. 49 as: 'in [the year] 189, in the 3rd lunar day of the bright [fortnight] of [the month] Āṣāḍha.' She adds that the date is verified in Petech 1984, 46 as May 24, 1069 CE.



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

As for each text in this collection, the foliation for the VSS restarts from f. iv (f. ir is a cover) and the text spans ff. iv-46r. This is a beautifully written and well-preserved manuscript which gives very useful readings and has proved to be essential for the reconstruction of the VSS. 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. 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) Sivadharmottara, 2) Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda, 3) Sivopaniṣad, 4) Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha.

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

¹⁰⁰ See a similar evaluation in Bisschop 2018, 56.

 $^{^{101}\} https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00085264$



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. According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 58 × 6 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara. Dated to Nepāla Samvat 290 (1169–70 CE). It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 289 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) Śivadharmaśāstra, 2) Śivadharmottara, 3) Śivadharmasaṃgraha, 4) Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda, 5) Śivopaniṣad, 6) Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, 7) Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda, 8) Dharmaputrikā. Ff. 209v-264v contain the VSS.

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

(N)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 x 5.5 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara and the MS is dated to Nepāla Samvat 321 (1200–01 CE). It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 215 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) Śivadharmaśāstra, 2) Śivadharmottara, 3) 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 II/3, NAK $5-738^{104}$ —the microfilm images of the folios containing the VSS are often blurred to an extent that makes them difficult to use.

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

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

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

³ Śivadharma

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



Introduction

Kathmandu paper manuscripts

(N) K_{41} NGMCP A 1341/6, NAK 4–93. Paper, 82 folios, probably from the 17th century (see the description of K_{107} below). This MS contains two texts: Sivadharmasamgraha (ff. 91r–135v) and Vrsasarasamgraha (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 Sivadharma corpus. The script of this MS seems extremely similar to that of K_{107} , a MS dated to 1688 CE (see below). Thus it seems probable that this MS is also from the 17th century.

 K_{41} is a good example to see how relatively late witnesses, a paper MS, can be important. Its readings are relatively independent of most palmleaf MSS, and seem to shed some light on what source(s) Naraharinath may have used because there are a great number of instances where E and K₄₁ (and K₁₀₇, see below) read together against most other witnesses. E.g., C_{94} , C_{45} , C_{02} , K_{82} , K_{10} , K_7 , K_3 , and M read bhāratasaṃhitām, or a slightly corrupt form of the same, in 1.2cd, while the two paper MSS K_{41} , and K_{107} , and Naraharinath's E read (a clearly wrong) nāradasaṃhitām. Similarly, in 1.17cd most witnesses read *vettum arhasi*, while K_{41} , K_{107} , and E (and M!) read vaktum arhasi. In 1.44b, K_{41} and E read mrddhe¹⁰⁵ instead of śrņu and *śrnge* in all other witnesses. In some instances, the paper MSS K_{41} and K_{107} give readings that might be old or 'original.' E.g., 20.40d is missing in a great number of MSS (C_{94} , C_{45} , K_{82} , K_{10}), K_7 gives (improvises?) a less than perfect $t\bar{a}n$ nibodha dvijottamah, ¹⁰⁶ while K_{41} , K_{107} , 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 (vipulah punar abravīt), K_{41} , K_{107} , and again E, insert a somewhat unnecessary vipula uvāca. These and many other examples could prove that Naraharinath used manuscripts that were close to 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*.

One would expect the vocative dvijottama.

The correct sandhi would be vijñeyāś ca.

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



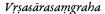




Figure 5: Kākapadas

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

Consulting Einicke 2009, a rich catalogue of editorial marks, one gets the impression that this type of *kākapada*, which has a dot in it, is not frequently seen. Two instances of such a *kākapada* occur in two NGMPP *Viṣṇudharmaśāstra* MSS from 1661 and 1713 CE, 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 $k\bar{a}kapada$ with a dot. If indeed MS C 57/5 (1826 CE) also bears his hallmark, then he must have been a pundit from the 19th or 20th century. He seems to have performed some rather detailed and focused editorial activities, and must have had access to some of the old palm-leaf MSS. One telling example for this is his marking the omission in K_{82} of two *anuṣṭubh* verses on heavens after VSS 24.72 (see image on the right in Figure 5). As hinted at above, these verses, potentially later insertions, occur in the paper MSS K_{41} and K_{107} , and in Naraharinath.

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

¹¹⁰ Einicke 2009, 164 and 328.

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





विच्ताः विच्त

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

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

These observations also shed some light on the origin of the first folio of C₀₂, 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 K41 and K107, and Naraharinath read anarthayajña uvāca | karmahetuḥ śarīrasya. The only palm-leaf MS that reads with the paper MSS is C_{02} , on its only folio that is written in a later hand. This at least tells us that the supplied first folio in C_{02} comes from a source that is closer to the paper MSS than to the old palm-leaf MSS, and it could also be another piece of evidence for editorial activity by someone who carefully examined these sources, and in addition, introduced fresh contamination. For this kind of easy-to-spot contamination, a good example is the insertion of the somewhat unnecessary vipula uvāca in palm-leaf NS C_{02} after 12.30, inspired by paper MS K_{41} , and/or K_{107} (see Figure 6). Note the tiny kākapada with the dot on the palm-leaf on the left and the insertion in a different hand in the margin below. It seems probable that our anonymous editor went through some paper MSS and noted differences in the palm-leaf MS C_{02} (and in K_{82} , see Figure 5).

(N)K₁₀₇ 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 Śivadharmaśāstra and the Śivadharmottara. The MS thus contains only six texts: 1) Śivadharmasaṃgraha ff. 891–133V, 2) Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda ff. 1341–163V, 3) Śivopaniṣad ff. 1641–1811, 4) Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda ff. 1821–206V, 5) Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha ff. 2071–251V, 6) Dharmaputrikā ff. 2521–262V.

¹¹² More on this in volume two.

¹¹³ See p. 5

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

Cf. De Simini 2016b, 252 n. 48. See also an unfinished table of contents on f. 262r, which confirms that at least the $\dot{S}ivadharma\dot{s}\bar{a}stra$ was part of this bundle: $\parallel asy\bar{a}nukrama\dot{h} \parallel prathama\dot{s}ivadharmo n\bar{a}ma$.



The script of this 17th-century MS seems extremely similar to that of K_{41} , therefore the latter can also be dated to the 17th century. USE IT? CHECK

Munich manuscript

M This MS is preserved at the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich, Germany. 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) Śivadharmaśāstra, 2) Śivadharmottara, 3) Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda, 4) Śivopanișad, 5) Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, 6) Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda, 7) Dharmaputrikā. The section that must have contained the Śivadharmasamgraha, ff. 82–121, is lost. The portion that contains the VSS and the Dharmaputrikā is dated (f. 50r line 5): || iti vṛṣasārasangrahe caturviṃśatimo dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ | samvat 192 māghakṛṣṇadivāpañcamyām || postakalikhitam iti ||. The year 192 in Nepāla Samvat converts to 1071–1072 CE. The part of the MS the precedes the VSS looks considerably earlier and is potentially an important witness for other texts of the Sivadharma corpus. An interesting feature of this MS is that it gives the number of verses contained in each chapter in the colophons. Ten folios that transmitted the VSS are missing: f. 5 (VSS 3.4-3.33), ff. 11-13 (VSS 6.20-8.45), ff. 24 (VSS 13.9-13.36), and ff. 39-43 (VSS 20.38-22.35).

The foliation for the VSS restarts and the hand in which the VSS and the $Dharmaputrik\bar{a}$ are written are different from, and most probably later than that of the texts that come before them in this bundle.

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

Paris manuscript

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

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) Śivadharmaśāstra, 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) Śivadharmaśāstra, 2) Śivadharmottara, 3) Śivadharmasaṃgraha, 4) Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda, 5) Śivopaniṣad, 6) Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda, 7) Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, 8) Dharmaputrikā.

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

Kolkata manuscripts

(N)Ko₇₇ MS G₄O₇₇ in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Kolkata. This is a palm leaf MS, transmitting the VSS in 52 folios. The MS is dated to July 6, 1036 CE (Nepāla Samvat 156; see De Simini 2017, 542), which makes it

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

¹¹⁸ I am grateful to Daniella Cappello and Marco Francheschini for managing to obtain digital copies of most of the folios of this MS.



'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. Shastri 1928 (716–718) gives a detailed description of this manuscript along with the text of VSS 1.1–16. According to Shastri, the dimensions of the MS are $22\frac{1}{2} \times 2$ inches (57.15 × 5.08 cm), the text is complete and the script is of the twelfth century CE.

This manuscript may appear as a rare instance of the VSS being transmitted independently, and not in a multiple-text manuscript, but it seems very likely that it was originally part of 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) Śivadharmasamgraha, 4) Umāmaheśvarasamvāda, 5) Śi-

119 See, e.g., 8.1–8, as transmitted in this MS: pañcasvādhyāyanam ihāmutra sukhārthinā | saivasankhyā purāṇañ ca smārtabhāratasaṃhitā ||8.1|| saivatatvaṃ vicintata saivāpāsupatadvaye | atra vistarata prokta tatvasārasamucaye ||8.2|| saṃkhyātatvaṃ tu saṃkhyeṣu bodhavya tatvacintakaiḥ | pañcatattvavibhāgena kīrtitāni maharṣibhiḥ ||8.3|| purāṇeṣu mahīkoṣa vistareṇa prakīrtita | āyoyaś ca tiryañ ca yatnataḥ samaveśayet ||8.4|| smārta varṇṇasamācāra dharmāṇyāyapravarttakaṃ | śiṣṭācāro vikalpena grāhya tatva asahitaḥ ||8.5|| itihāsam adhīyānaḥ sarvajñaḥ sa naro bhavet | dharmārthakāmamokṣeṣu saṃśayas tena chidyate || 8.6|| paṃcoprasthavinigraha sṛṇuyāvaṃhito dvija | striyo vā garhitaḥ svargaḥ svayaṃmuktiś ca kīrtyate | svapnopaghātaṃ viprendra divāsvapnaṃ ca pañcamaḥ ||8:7|| agamyastrī divārsyase dharmapatnī ca vā bhavet | viruddhastrī na bhaveta varṇṇavarṇṇabhraṣṭādhikāma ca ||8.8||

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.



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

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

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



[spha]ṭikāṃŭram [= °kāṃbaram] eva ca | daśayogāsanāsīno

L₁₆ (f. 381v) gives:



sphațikāmsatam eva ca || devayogāsanāsīto

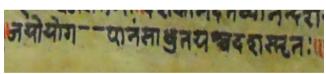
supplying sa for the lost syllable and misreading the damaged da as de and the śa as va.

Here K₈₂ (f. 39v) reads:



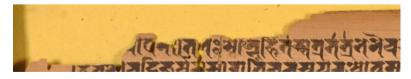
[japo yogas tapo] dhyānam svādhyāyaś ca daśa smṛtaḥ with dhyā and svā damaged;

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



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

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





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

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



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

trying to make sense of the fragments. The examples above suggest that L_{16} was copied directly from K_{82} when the damage had already been done to K_{82} . For this reason, I have not collated its readings for VSS chapters I-I2.

Naraharinath's edition

(N)E Much has been said of Yogi Naraharinath's pioneering but problematic edition (the editio princeps) of the Śivadharma corpus (Naraharinath 1998).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.

"vss_book_xelatex" — 2024/8/15 — 22:15 — page 17 — #59





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...





[एकादशमो ऽध्यायः]

[चतुराश्रमधर्मविधानः]

देव्युवाच ।
सर्वयज्ञः परश्रेष्ठ अस्ति अन्यः सुरोत्तम ।
अल्पक्केशमनायास अर्थप्रायं विनेश्वर ॥ ११:१ ॥
सर्वयज्ञफलावाप्ति देवतैश्चापि पूजितम् ।
कथयस्व सुरश्रेष्ठ मानुषाणां हिताय वै ॥ ११:२ ॥
महेश्वर उवाच ।
न तुल्यं तव पश्यामि द्या भूतेषु भामिनि ।
किमन्यत्कथिप्यामि द्या यत्र न विद्यते ॥ ११:३ ॥
सदाशिवमुखात्पूर्वं श्रुतं मे वरसुन्दरि ।
शृणु देवि प्रवक्ष्यामि धर्मसारमनुत्तमम् ॥ ११:४ ॥
[गृहस्थः(?)]

Witnesses used for this chapter : C_{94} ff. 208v–21or, C_{45} ff. 214r–215v, C_{02} ff. 285v–287v, K_{82} ff. 15v–17v, K_{10} ff. 221v–223v (exp. 56 lower – 58 lower), K_7 ff. 223v–225v; E pp. 613–617; $C_{\Sigma} = C_{94} + C_{45} + C_{02}$

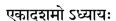
1b अन्यः] $C_{45}K_{82}K_{7}$, अन्य $C_{94}C_{02}K_{10}$, चान्या $E \bullet \circ \pi H$] Σ , $\circ \pi H$: K_{7} 1c $\circ \pi H$] Σ , $\circ \pi H$: K_{7} $K_$

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विनार्थेन तु यो यज्ञः स यज्ञः सार्वकामिकः । अक्षयश्चाव्ययश्चेव सर्वपातकनाञ्चनः ॥ ११:५॥ बहुविघ्नकरो ह्यर्थो बह्वायासकरस्तथा । ब्रह्महत्या इवेन्द्रस्य प्रविभागफला स्मृता ॥ ११:६॥ पश्चशोध्येन शोध्येत अर्थयज्ञो वरानने । शोधिते तु फलं शुद्धमशुद्धे निष्मलं भवेत् ॥ ११:७॥ देव्युवाच । पश्चशोध्ये सुरश्रेष्ठ संशयो ऽत्र भवेन्मम । कथयस्व विभागेन श्रोतुमिच्छामि तत्त्वतः ॥ ११:८॥ सद्भ उवाच । मनःशुद्धिस्तु प्रथमं द्रव्यशुद्धिरतः परम् । मन्त्रशुद्धिस्तृतीया तु कर्मशुद्धिरतः परम् । पश्चमी सत्त्वशुद्धिस्तु कतुशुद्धिश्च पश्चधा ॥ ११:९॥ मनःशुद्धिनीम अविपरीतभावनया ।

5ab See a sequence or list of the four āsramas in 4.75 above : गृहस्थो ब्रह्मचारी च वान-प्रस्थो ऽथ भैक्षुकः ; see also 5.9 : एतच्छौचं गृहस्थानां द्विगुणं ब्रह्मचारिणाम् । वानप्रस्थस्य त्रिगुणं यतीनां तु चतुर्गुणम् ॥

5b यज्ञः] Σ , यज्ञ E • सार्वकामिकः] $C_{45}E$, सर्वकालिकः $C_{94}K_7$, सर्वकामिक C_{02} , सार्वकालिकः K_{82} , सार्वकामिकाः K_{10} 5c अक्षयश्राव्ययश्] $C_{45}K_{10}K_7$ E, अक्षयं चाव्ययं $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}$ 5d ०नाश्चनः] $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, ०नाश्चनम् $C_{45}E$, ०नाश्चन C_{02} 6a ०करो] Σ , ०करा $C_{02}E$ • द्यर्थो] Σ , द्येथों E 6b करस्तथा] Σ , करतस्था E 6d प्रविभाग०] C_{45} , प्रविभोग० $C_{94}C_{02}$ (?) $K_{82}K_7E$, प्रतिभोग० K_{10} • ०फला स्मृता] C_{02} , ०फलः स्मृतः $C_{94}^{pc}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, ०फल स्मृतः C_{94}^{qc} , ०पदः स्मृतः E 7b ०यज्ञो] Σ , ०यज्ञ C_{02} 7cd शुद्धमशुद्धे] Σ , शुद्धमशुद्धे K_{82} , शुद्धमशुद्धं E 8 देव्युवाच] Σ , ०ता. K_{10}^{ac} 8a ०शोध्ये] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}$, ०शोध्यः E • ०श्रेष्ठ] Σ , ०त्रोद्धरतः K_{10} 9c मन्त्रशुद्धिस्तृतीया] Σ , मन्त्रद्धि तृतीया K_7 9d कर्मशुद्धि Σ , कर्मासिंद्ध Σ , ०शुद्धिय पञ्चधा] Σ , ०शुद्धिस्तु पञ्चधा Σ , ०शावनवा Σ , ०भावनतया Σ , ०भावनवा Σ , ०भावनतया Σ



द्रव्यशुद्धिर्नाम अनन्यायोपार्जितद्रव्येन ॥ ११:१०॥ मन्त्रशुद्धिर्नाम स्वरव्यञ्जनयुक्ततया । कियाशुद्धिर्नाम यथाक्रमाविपरीततया । सक्त्वशुद्धिर्नाम रजस्तम-अप्रधानतया ॥ ११:११॥ विधिमेवं यदा शुध्येद्यदि यज्ञं करोति हि । तस्य यज्ञफलावाप्तिर्जन्ममृत्युश्च नो भवेत् ॥ ११:१२॥ विनार्थेन तु यो यज्ञं करोति वरसुन्दरि । न तस्य तत्फलावाप्तिः सर्वयज्ञेष्वशेषतः ॥ ११:१३॥ यज्ञ्वाट कुरुक्षेत्रं सत्त्वावासकृतालयः । प्रत्याहार महावेदि कुशप्रस्तर संयमः ॥ ११:१४॥ विधि नियमविस्तारो ध्यानविह्नः प्रदीपितः ।

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10cd ०शुद्धिर्ना० $]_{\Sigma}$, ०शुद्धि ना० $C_{02}K_7$ • अनन्यायो० $]_{C_{45}}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, अन---यो॰ C_{94} , अन्यायो॰ C_{02} , स्वल्पोन्यायो॰ E_{\bullet} ॰ द्रव्येन] Σ , ०व्येन K_{10} 11ab मन्त्रशुद्धिनो \circ] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{10}E$, मन्त्रशुद्धि ना \circ $C_{02}K_7$, मन्त्रस्तुद्दिना \circ K_{82} \bullet \circ युक्ततया] Σ , ०युक्तया C_{45} (11cd) ०शुद्धिर्ना०] Σ , ०शुद्धि ना० $C_{02}K_{10}$ • ०क्रमा०] Σ , ॰कम॰ C_{02} • ॰रीततया] Σ , ॰रीतया C_{45} , --- तया K_7 (11ef) ॰शुद्धिर्ना॰] Σ , ॰ शुद्धि ना॰ $C_{94}C_{02}$ • ॰ धानतया] Σ , ॰ धानत K_7 (12a) ॰ धिमेवं यदा] $C_{45}E$, ॰िंघमेव यदा $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}$, ॰िंघमेव य K_{10} , ॰िंघमेवं यथा K_7 (12ab) शुध्येद्यदि] conj., सूयेद्यदि $C_{94}K_{82}$, पूर्य यदि C_{45} , सूर्येद्यदि C_{02} , सूर्येद्यति K_{10} , पूर्येद्यदि K_{7} , शूच्य यदि E 12b यज्ञं] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}E$, यज्ञ $C_{02}K_7$, संज्ञ K_{10} • हि] Σ , om. ०सुन्दरि] Σ , ०सुन्दरी E 13d ०यज्ञेष्वशेषतः] Σ , ०यज्ञेषु शेषतः E 14a ॰वाट कुरु॰] Σ , ॰वाटङ्करु॰ C_{45} , ॰वाटकृत॰ E • ॰क्षेत्रं] Σ , ॰क्षेत्र K_7 14b E 15a विधि नि॰] Σ , विधिर्नि॰ E • ०विस्तारों] Σ , ०विस्तारों C_{45} 15b] $_{
m K_7}$, ध्यानविह्नप्रदीपितः $_{
m C_{94}K_{82}}$, ध्यानं विह्नप्रदीपितः $_{
m C_{45}}$, ध्यानमग्निप्रदीपितः $_{
m C_{02}}$, ध्यान अग्निप्रदीपनः K10, ध्यानवृद्धिर्प्रदीपिनः E

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योगेन्धनसिमज्ज्ञालतपोधूमसमाकुलः ॥ ११:१५॥ पात्रन्यास शिवज्ञानं स्थालीपाक शिवात्मकः । आज्याहुतिमविच्छिन्नं लम्बकस्रुवपातितः ॥ ११:१६॥ धारणाध्वर्युवत्कृत्वा प्राणायामश्च ऋत्विजः । तर्कयुक्तः सिवस्तारः समाधिर्वयतापनः ॥ ११:१७॥ ब्रह्मविद्यामयो यूपः पशुबन्धो मनोन्मनः । श्रद्धा पत्नी विशालाक्षि संकत्य पद शाश्वतम् ॥ ११:१८॥ पञ्चेन्द्रियजयोत्पन्नः पुरोडाशो ऽमृताशनः । ब्रह्मनादो महामन्त्रः प्रायश्चित्तानिलो जयः ॥ ११:१९॥ सोमपान परिज्ञानमुपाकर्म चतुर्यमः । इतिहास जलस्नानं पुराणकृतमम्बरः ॥ ११:२०॥ इडासुषुम्नासंवेद्ये स्नानमाचमनं सकृत् । संतोषातिथिमादृत्य द्याभूतिद्वजार्चितः ॥ ११:२१॥

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एकादशमो ऽध्यायः

ब्रह्मकूर्च गुणातीत हविर्गन्य निरञ्जनः । ब्रह्मसूत्रं त्रयस्तत्त्वं बोधना मुण्डितं शिरः ॥ ११:२२ ॥ निवृत्त्यादि चतुर्वेदश्चतुःप्रकरणासनः । दक्षिणामभयं भूते दत्त्वा यज्ञं यजेत्सदा ॥ ११:२३ ॥ विनार्थं यज्ञसम्प्राप्तिः कथिता ते वरानने । आसहस्रस्य यज्ञानां फलं प्राप्तोति नित्यशः ॥ ११:२४ ॥ आश्रमः प्रथमस्तुभ्यं कथितो ऽस्ति वरानने । सदाशिवेन सद्धर्मं दैवतैरिप पूजितम् ॥ ११:२५ ॥ [ब्रह्मचारी]

ब्रह्मचर्यं निबोधेदं शृणुष्वाविहता शुभे । द्वितीयमाश्रमं देवि सर्वपापविनाशनम् ॥ ११:२६॥ व्रतं ब्रह्मपरं ध्यानं सावित्री प्रकृतिर्रुयम् । ब्रह्मसूत्राक्षरं सूक्ष्मं त्रिगुणालय मेखलम् ॥ ११:२७॥

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23c cf. VSS 22.14ab: दक्षिणाभय भूतेभ्यः पशुबन्धः स्वयंकृतः 26cd cf. MBh 12.184.10A: गार्हस्थ्यं खलु द्वितीयमाश्रमं वदन्ति 27ab cf. VSS 16.8cd

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22b ०हविर्ग०] Σ , ०हविर्गिर० C_{45} , ०हविग K_{82} 22c ०सूत्रं त्रयस्] C_{45} $K_{10}K_7E$, ०सूत्रन्त्रयस्तयस् C_{94} , ०सूत्रं त्रय C_{02} , ०सूत्रत्रयं K_{82} 22d मुण्डितं] Σ , मुण्डित० $C_{45}K_7$ (unmetr.) 23a निवृत्त्या०] em., निवृत्या० $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, निवृत्या० E 23b ०प्रकरणासनः] Σ , प्रकरनाशनः C_{02} , प्रकरशासनः E 23c ०भयं भूते] Σ , ०भक्षयम्भूते C_{45} 23d यज्ञं यजेत्] Σ , यज्ञ ददत् E 24a विनार्थं] Σ , विनार्थ C_{02} 24b कथिता ते] Σ , कथिरतोर स्मि C_{02} , कथितस्ते E • वरानने] Σ , वर्रारनने C_{02} 24d प्राप्तोति] Σ , प्रा---ति C_{94} • नित्यशः] Σ , मानवः K_{10} 25a आश्रमः] Σ , आश्रम $C_{45}C_{02}$ • ०स्तुभ्यं] Σ , ०स्येष C_{02} , ०स्येषं E 25b Σ स्ति] $E_{94}C_{45}E_{82}E_{7}$, स्मि $E_{02}E_{10}E$ 25c ०धमं] $E_{10}E_{10}E_{10}E_{10}$ ०चर्य $E_{10}E_{1$

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दम दण्ड दया पात्रं भिक्षा संसारमोचनम् । त्र्यायुषं द्यक्षरातीतं ज्ञानभस्म-अलङ्कृतम् ॥ ११:२८ ॥ स्नानव्रतं सदासत्यं शीलशौचसमन्वितम् । अग्निहोत्र त्रयस्तत्त्वं जप ब्रह्मबिलस्वरः ॥ ११:२९ ॥ द्वितीय आश्रमो देवि यथाह भगवान्शिवः ।

ममापि कथितं तुभ्यं जन्ममृत्युविनाशनम् ॥ ११:३० ॥ [वानप्रस्थः]

वानप्रस्थिविधं वक्ष्ये शृणुष्वायतलोचने । यथाश्रुतं यथातथ्यमृषिदैवतपूजितम् ॥ ११:३१ ॥ वैराग्यवनमाश्रित्य नियमाश्रममाहरेत् । शीलशैलदृढद्वारे प्राकारे विजितेन्द्रियः ॥ ११:३२ ॥ अधिभूतः स्मृतो माता अध्यात्मश्च पिता तथा । अधिदैविकमाचार्यो व्यवसायाश्च भ्रातरः ॥ ११:३३ ॥

श्रुतिः स्मृतिः स्मृता भार्या प्रज्ञा पुत्रः क्षमानुजः ।

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33ab cf. VSS 22.10ab: अध्यात्मनगरस्फीतः अधिभूतजनाकुलः

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मैत्री बन्धुर्जटा चापं करुणा सुपवित्रकम् ।
मुदिता मौन चत्वारः सर्वकार्यमुपेक्षका ॥ ११:३४ ॥
यमवल्कलसंवीतस्तपःकृष्णाजिनाधरः ।
उत्तरासङ्गमासीनो योगपट्टदृद्वतः ॥ ११:३५ ॥
वेद्घोषेण घोषेण प्राणायामो ऽग्निहावनम् ।
जितप्राण मृगाकूलो घृति यज्ञः क्रिया जपः ॥ ११:३६ ॥
अर्थसंग्रह शास्त्रेषु सखा दमद्यादयः ।
शिवयज्ञं प्रयुज्जीत साधनाष्टकपूजनम् ॥ ११:३० ॥
पञ्चब्रह्मजलैः पूतः सत्यतीर्थशिवहृदे ।
स्नानमाचमनं कृत्वा संध्यात्रयमुपासयेत् ॥ ११:३८ ॥
अक्षमाला पुराणार्थं जप शान्तं दिवानिशम् ।
ज्ञानसलिलसम्पूर्णमितिहासकमण्डलुः ॥ ११:३९ ॥
पञ्चकमिक्रयोत्कान्ति जप पञ्चविधः सुखम् ।

37d cf. DharmP 2.1: अष्टभिः साधनैरेभिश्चित्तं कायञ्च यत्नतः । शोधियत्वा ततो योगी योगाभ्यासं समाचरेत् ॥ 38d cf. VSS 11.59cd: शिवस्य हृदयं संध्या तस्मात्संध्यामुपासयेत्

34c बन्धुर्ज०] Σ , बन्धु ज० $C_{02}K_{10}$ 34e मौन चत्वारः] Σ , मौनश्चत्वारः C_{45} , मौन चत्वार C_{02} 34f ०कार्यमु०] Σ , ०कार्यामु० K_{82} • ०पेक्षका] Σ , ०पेक्षया E 35a ०संवीत०] Σ , ०सान्वीत० E 35b ०कृष्णा०] Σ , ०कृष्णां C_{02} • ०जिनाधरः] K_7 , ०जिनधरः $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}$ (unmetr.), ०जिनं पुरः E 35d ०हढ०] Σ , ०हए० K_{10} • ०वतः] Σ , --- C_{94} 36a वेद०] Σ , --- द० C_{94} • ०ण घोषण] Σ , ०ण घोषीण C_{02} 36b ०हावनम्] Σ , ०१हावनम् C_{45} , ०हावन C_{02} 36d ०जपः] Σ , ०जिणः C_{02} 37b सखा] Σ , सखो K_{10} • दमद०] Σ , दम॰ C_{94}^{ac} , दयद० C_{02} 37c ०यइं] Σ , ०यइं $C_{02}K_7$ 37d ०पूजनम्] Σ , ०पूजिकं C_{02} 38a ०ब्रह्मजलैः पूतः] Σ , ब--- K_{10} 38b ०तीर्थ०] Σ , ०तीर्थं E 38c ०चमनं] Σ , ०चनं C_{45} 38d ०सयेत्] em., ०श्रयेत् $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_{7}E$ 39a अक्षमाला] Σ , २श्विश---- ला C_{94} • पुराणार्थं] Σ , पुराणाञ्च K_{10} , पुराणार्था K_{7} 39b ०शान्तं] Σ , ०शितत्व E 39d ०कमण्डलुः] Σ , ०कमण्डलु E 40ab ०त्क्रान्ति ज० E 39d ०कमण्डलुः] Σ , ०कमण्डलु E 40ab ०त्क्रान्ति ज० E

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साधनं शिवसंकल्पो योगसिद्धिफलप्रदः ॥ ११:४० ॥

संतोषफलमाहारः कामक्रोधपराजितः । आञ्चापाञ्जयाभ्यासो ध्यानयोगरितप्रियः ।

अतिथिभ्यो ऽभयं दत्त्वा वानप्रस्थश्चरेद्वतम् ॥ ११:४१ ॥

वानप्रस्थमयं धर्मं गदित यत्पूर्वमवधारितं संसारोद्धरणमनित्यहरणमज्ञाननिर्मूलनम् । प्रज्ञावृद्धिकरममोघकरणं क्षेशार्णवोत्तारणं जन्मव्याधिहरमकर्मदहनं सेवेत्स धर्मोत्तमम् ॥ ११:४२ ॥

[परिव्राजकः]

परिव्राजकधर्मो ऽयं कीर्तयिष्यामि तच्छृणु । सुखदुःखं समं कृत्वा लोभमोहविवर्जितः ॥ ११:४३ ॥ वर्जयेन्मधु मांसानि परदारांश्च वर्जयेत् ।

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43d cf. VSS 4.71: कामः क्रोधश्च लोभश्च मोहश्चैव चतुर्विधः । चतुःशत्रुर्निहन्तव्यः सर्वथा वीतक-ल्मषः ॥ 44ab cf. Manu 2.177: वर्जयेन्मधु मांसं च गन्धं माल्यं रसान्श्चियः । शुक्तानि यानि सर्वाणि प्राणिनां चैव हिंसनम् ॥

42d E (and K_{41}) add here a Śārdūlavikrīḍita line: श्रद्धापूर्वकमेव यः सिनयमं साक्षाच जीविन्शवः (शुद्धापूर्व्वकमेव यः सिनयतं साक्षाच जीविनशवः K_{41})

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40d ०दः] Σ , ०दम् E 41c ०भ्यासो] Σ , ०भ्यास E 41d ०रति०] $C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, --- C_{94} , ०रिति० C_{45} , ०रितः E 41e अतिथिभ्यो Σ मयं] Σ , आर्तिभ्यश्चाभयं E • दत्त्वा] Σ , दारा C_{02} 41f ०प्रस्थश्च०] Σ , ०प्रस्थ च० $C_{02}K_{10}$ 42a गदित यत्पूर्वमवधारितम्] conj., गदितं पूर्वधारितं $C_{92}E$, गदितं यत्पूर्वधारितं K_{82}^{ac} , गदितं यत्पूर्वभवधारितं K_{82}^{ac} , गदितं यत्पूर्वभवधारितं K_{82}^{ac} , गदितं यत्पूर्वभवधारितं K_{82}^{ac} , गदितं यत्पूर्वभवधारितं K_{10} , गदितं यत्पूर्वभेधारितं K_7 42b ०हरणमनित्यहरणमज्ञा०] $C_{94}C_{45}$ $K_{82}^{ac}K_{10}K_7$, ०हरणंमनित्यहरणमज्ञा० $C_{02}E$, ०हरणंम् अनित्यहरणन्तज्ञा० K_{82}^{ec} 42c (प्रज्ञा०... ०त्तारणम्)] Σ , om. K_{10} • ०करममोघ०] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}$ (unmetr.), om. K_{10} , ०कममोघ० K_7 , ०करं प्रबोध० E • क्रेशाणंबो०] $C_{\Sigma}K_7$, क्रेशाणवो० K_{82} , om. K_{10} , शोकाणंबो० E 42d सेवेत्स] Σ , सेवे स C_{02} , सेवेत्त K_{10} 43b कीर्तियियामि] Σ , कीर्तिय----मि C_{94} 43c ०दुःखं] C_{45} , ०दुःखं $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$ 43d लोभमोह०] C_{45} , लाभालोभ० $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, लाभलोभ० C_{02} , लाभालाभ० $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, लाभलोभ० C_{02} , लाभालाभ० $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, लाभलोभ० C_{02} , लाभालाभ० $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}$

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वर्जयेचिरवासं च परवासं च वर्जयेत् ॥ ११:४४ ॥ वर्जयेत्सृष्टभोज्यानि भिक्षामेकां च वर्जयेत् । वर्जयेत्संग्रहं नित्यमभिमानं च वर्जयेत् ॥ ११:४५ ॥ सुसूक्ष्मं मनसा ध्यात्वा हशौ पादं विनिक्षिपेत् । न कुप्येत अनालाभे लाभे वापि न हर्षयेत् ॥ ११:४६ ॥ अर्थतृष्णास्वनुद्विग्नो रोषे वापि सुदारुणे । स्तुतिनिन्दा समं कृत्वा प्रियं वाप्रियमेव वा ॥ ११:४७ ॥ नियमास्तु परीधानं संयमावृतमेखलः । निरालम्बं मनः कृत्वा बुद्धं कृत्वा निरञ्जनाम् ॥ ११:४८ ॥ आत्मानं पृथिवीं कृत्वा खं च कृत्वा मनोन्मनम् । त्रिदण्डं त्रिगुणं कृत्वा पात्रं कृत्वाक्षरो ऽव्ययः ॥ ११:४९ ॥

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45b cf. Manu 2.188ab : मैक्षेण वर्तयेन्नित्यं नैकान्नादी भवेद्वती 46cd \approx Manu 6.57 : अलाभे न विषदी स्याल्लाभे चैव न हर्षयेत् = VāsisthaDhS 10.22

45ab Omitted in C45

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न्यसेद्धर्ममधर्मं च ईर्ष्याद्वेषं परित्यजेत् । निर्द्धन्द्वो नित्यसत्यस्थो निर्ममो निरहंकृतः ॥ ११:५० ॥ दिवसस्याष्टमे भागे भिक्षां सप्तगृहं चरेत् । न चासीत न तिष्ठेत न च देहीति वा वदेत् ॥ ११:५१ ॥ यथालाभेन वर्तेत अष्टौ पिण्डान्दिने दिने । वस्त्रभोजनशय्यासु न प्रसज्येत विस्तरम् ॥ ११:५२ ॥ नाभिनन्देत मरणं नाभिनन्देत जीवितम् । इन्द्रियाणि वशंकृत्वा कामं हत्वा यतव्रतः ॥ ११:५३ ॥ अतीतं च भविष्यं च न भिक्षुश्चिन्तयेत्सदा । कोधमानमददर्पान्परिवाङ्वर्जयेत्सदा ॥ ११:५४ ॥ विरागं तु धनुः कृत्वा प्राणायामगुणैर्युतम् । धारणाशरतीक्ष्णेन मृगं हत्वा मनेन्द्रियम् ॥ ११:५५ ॥ मैत्रीखङ्गसुतीक्ष्णेन संसारारिं निकृन्तयेत् ।

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50cd cf. BhG 2.45cd: निर्द्धन्द्वो नित्यसत्त्वस्थो निर्योगक्षेम आत्मवान् 51b cf. GautDhS 23.18: तस्याजिनमूर्ध्ववालं परिधाय लोहितपत्रः सप्त गृहान्भक्षं चरेत् 53ab = MBh 12.237.15ab = Manu 6.45ab = NāradParivrUp 3.61cd

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50a ॰ धर्म च] Σ , ॰ धर्म वा K_{82} 50b ईर्ष्या॰] $K_{82}K_7E$, ईर्षा॰ $C_{\Sigma}K_{10}$ • ॰ ९ देषं] Σ , ॰ देष C_{02} 50c निर्द्धन्द्वो] Σ , निवंद्वो C_{02} • ० सत्य॰] Σ , ॰ संत्य॰ C_{02} 50d निर्ममो] K_7E , निर्मांसो $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}$, निर्मसो K_{10} • ॰ २ इतः] Σ , ० ३ तं K_{82} , ॰ इतिः E 51a दिवसस्या॰] Σ , दिवसत्या॰ C_{45} 51b मिक्षां] Σ , मिक्षा K_{10} 52a यथालाभेन] Σ , यथाला --- C_{94} 52b अष्टौ] Σ , अष्ट E 52c ॰ शय्यासु] Σ , ॰ शय्यास्र K_{10} , ० शय्यासु E 52d ॰ सज्येत] $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}$, ॰ युज्ये C_{45} , ॰ सहेत K_7 , ॰ सहेत E • विस्तरम्] Σ , विस्तरः E 53c वशंकृ ॰] Σ , वसंत्कृ ॰ C_{02} 53d हत्वा यतवतः] Σ , कृत्वा यतः वतः K_{10} 54b मिक्षुश्चि॰] Σ , मिक्षुश्चि॰ K_{82} , मिक्षु चि॰ E • सदा] Σ , ० ला. C_{45} 54cd ॰ दर्पान्प॰] Σ , ० द्र्पात्प॰ C_{45} 55a धनुः] Σ , धनुष् E 55b प्राणायामगु॰] Σ , प्राणायामङ्गु॰ C_{94} • युतम्] Σ , युतः K_{82} , वृतं E 55c ॰ तीक्ष्णेन] $K_{10}E$, ० तीक्ष्णेण K_{82} 56a सुतीक्ष्णेन] $K_{10}E$, ० तीक्ष्णेण K_{82} 56a सुतीक्ष्णेन] $K_{10}E$, ॰ तीक्ष्णेण K_{82} 56b ॰ सारारिं] Σ , ० सारारिं $K_{10}E$

एकादशमो ऽध्यायः

करुणावर्तचकेण क्रोधमत्तगजं जयेत् । मुदितावर्मबद्धाङ्गस्तूणं पूर्णमुपेक्षया ॥ ११:५६ ॥ अनक्षरं परं ब्रह्म चिन्तयेत्सततं द्विज । ब्रह्मणो हृदयं विष्णुर्विष्णोश्च हृदयं शिवः । शिवस्य हृदयं संध्या तस्मात्संध्यामुपासयेत् ॥ ११:५७ ॥

संसारार्णवतारणं शुभगतिः स ब्रह्म संध्याक्षरं ध्यायेन्नित्यमतिन्द्रतो ह्यनुपमं व्यक्तात्मवेद्यं शिवम् । रूपैर्वर्णगुणादिभिश्च विहितं दुर्लक्ष्यलक्ष्योत्तमं यत्नोद्धृत्य समाश्रयेत्सुरगुरुं सर्वार्तिहर्ता हरम् ॥ ११:५८॥

॥ इति वृषसारसंग्रहे चतुराश्रमधर्मविधानो नामाध्याय एकाद्शमः ॥

•‡•

57 ≈ Saubhāgyabhāskara of Bhāskararāya ad Lalitāsahasranāmastotra 302: ब्रह्मणो हृद्यं विष्णुर्विष्णोरिप शिवः स्मृतः । शिवस्य हृदयं सन्ध्या तेनोपास्या द्विजातिभिः ॥ इति कश्य-पादिवचनैः कौर्मपाद्मस्कान्दादिनिखिलपुराणेषु च तत्र तत्र देवीकालिकाब्रह्माण्डमार्कण्डेयादिपुराणेषु बहुशः शक्तिरहस्य-देवीभागवत-तृतीयस्कन्धादिषु च इदंपर्येण सर्वत्र ज्ञानार्णवकुलार्णवादितन्त्रेषु त्व-परिमितत्या वर्णितम्

+‡+

56f तूणं पूर्णमु॰] em. Goodall, तूण्णापूर्णमु॰ C_{94} , तूणापूर्णमु॰ C_{45} , तू-1न्न्।पूर्ण्णमु॰ C_{02} , तूण्णापूण्णामु॰ C_{45} , तूण्णापूर्ण्णमु॰ C_{45} , तूण्णापूर्ण्णमु॰ C_{45} , तूण्णापूर्ण्णमु॰ C_{45} , अनाक्षरं C_{94} , अनाक्षरं C_{94} , इत्ये C_{45} , अनाक्षरं C_{94} , इत्ये C_{45} , हिंचे C_{57} विष्णुर्वि॰] C_{94} , हत्ये C_{45} , विष्णुर्वि॰ C_{45} , विष्णु वि॰ C_{02} , C_{45} , C_{45} विष्णुर्वि॰] C_{45} , C_{45} , विष्णु वि॰ C_{02} , C_{45} , $C_$



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Introduction





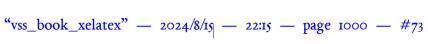
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Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha









An Annotated Translation







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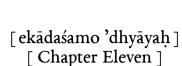


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[caturāśramadharmavidhānaḥ — Regulations on the Dharma of the four social disciplines]

devy uvāca |
sarvayajñaḥ paraśreṣṭha asti anyaḥ surottama |
alpakleśa-m-anāyāsa arthaprāyaṃ vineśvara || 11:1 ||

The Goddess spoke: O Paraśreṣṭha, O Surottama! Is there another [form of] sacrifice that is for all (*sarvayajña*), which is free of pain, easy, and which does not require an abundance of materials, O Īśvara?

sarvayajñaphalāvāpti daivatais cāpi pūjitam | kathayasva surasrestha mānusāņām hitāya vai || 11:2 ||

For the benefit of mankind, teach me, O Suraśreṣṭha, how one obtains the fruits of [this] universal sacrifice (sarvayajña), which is praised even by the gods.

maheśvara uvāca |
na tulyam tava paśyāmi dayā bhūteṣu bhāmini |
kim anyat kathayiṣyāmi dayā yatra na vidyate || 11:3 ||

Maheśvara spoke: I cannot see anything comparable to your compassion towards living beings, O Bhāminī. What else could I teach [you] with respect

II.I I understand pāda c as containing a sandhi bridge thus: alpakleśa-m-anāyāsa. The sandhi between pādas c and d is irregular, understand °anāyāsaḥ artha°, or rather °anāyāso 'rtha°.

II.2 ŚDhŚ I.7–IIab express a similar sentiment, using the word āyāsa, similarly to VSS II.IC above, but giving a somewhat clearer reason for asking for a new form of devotion, namely that twice-born members of society with limited financial resources struggle to perform expensive Vedic rituals (na śakyante yataḥ kartum alpavittair dvijātibhiḥ):

sanatkumāra uvāca|

bhagavan sarvadharmajña śivadharmaparāyaṇaḥ|
śrotukāmāḥ paraṃ dharmam imaṃ sarve samāgatāḥ||
agniṣṭomādayo yajñā bahuvittakriyānvitāḥ|
nātyantaphalabhūyiṣṭhā bahvāyāsasamanvitāḥ||
na śakyante yataḥ kartum alpavittair dvijātibhiḥ|
sukhopāyam ato brūhi sarvakāmārthasādhakam|
hitāya sarvasatvānāṃ śivadharmaṃ sanātanam||
nandikeśvara uvāca|
śrūyatām abhidhāsyāmi sukhopāyamahatphalam|
paramasarvadharmāṇāṃ śivadharmaṃ śivātmakam||
śivena kathitaṃ pūrvaṃ pārvatyāḥ ṣaṇmukhasya ca|



to which [your] compassion is not evident?

sadāśivamukhāt pūrvam śrutam me varasundari | śrņu devi pravakṣyāmi dharmasāram anuttamam || 11:4 ||

I heard [the following] previously from Sadāśiva's mouth, O Varasundarī. Listen, O Goddess, I shall teach you the ultimate essence of Dharma.

[gṛhasthaḥ(?)—
The householder]

vinārthena tu yo yajñaḥ sa yajñaḥ sārvakāmikaḥ | akṣayaś cāvyayaś caiva sarvapātakanāśanaḥ || 11:5 ||

Sacrifice which [is performed] without materials satisfies all desires. It is undecaying and imperishable, and it removes all sins.

bahuvighnakaro hy artho bahvāyāsakaras tathā | brahmahatyā ivendrasya pravibhāgaphalā smṛtā || 11:6 ||

Material things (artha) present many kinds of obstacle and [their acquisition causes] much trouble, similarly to Indra's murder of the Brahmin [Viśvarūpa], which yielded results [i.e. sins] that were distributed [among trees, lands etc.].

II.3 I understand dayā in pāda b as if it were instrumental: tava dayayā bhūteṣu na tulyaṃ paśyāmi. Alternatively, as suggested by Csaba Dezső, pādas ab could be interpreted as two sentences: 'I cannot see anything comparable to you. [You have great] compassion towards living beings, O Bhāminī.'

II.4 Note *me* for *mayā* in *pāda* b, and the evident distinction here between Maheśvara, the interlocutor, and Sadāśiva, who, in this context seems to be superior, being the ultimate source here of the following teaching. This might hint at a familiarity with the Tantric sequence of *tattvas*, on which see, e.g., Goodall, Sanderson, & Isaacson 2015, 45.

II.5 I put a question mark after the subchapter heading here because in this chapter the category of the *grhastha* never gets mentioned. This category is simply labelled āśramaḥ prathamaḥ in II.25a. Nevertheless, it is most probably the *grhastha* that is implied, and it is mentioned elsewhere (see 4.74c, 5.9a, and 15.17a, which reads āśramāṇāṃ gṛhī śreṣṭho). The teaching on sacrifice without materials (vinārthena yajṇāh or anarthaya-jṇāh), which is fundamentally internalised sacrifice, is a central teaching of the VSS: in addition to the present chapter, the expression appears as the main interlocutor's name (Anarthayajṇā) in chapters 1–9 and 19–21, and his life is discussed in chapter 22. Thus the name Anarthayajṇā or the concept of anarthayajṇā appears in each major layer of the text. On this see pp. xvii ff, and Kiss 2021. That anarthayajṇā is basically internalised worship is also hinted at in 10.12cd above in 13.2:

svaśarīre sthito yajñaḥ svaśarīre sthitaṃ tapaḥ | svaśarīre sthitaṃ tīrthaṃ śruto vistarato mayā || 11.6 The context of pādas cd is this: Viśvarūpa was a son of Tvaṣṭṛ. Viśvarūpa's heads





pañcasodhyena sodhyeta arthayajño varānane | sodhite tu phalam suddham asuddhe nisphalam bhavet | 11:7 ||

Material sacrifice can be purified with the five purifications, O Varānanā. When it is purified, the fruits are also pure. If it is not purified, it is fruitless.

devy uvāca |

pańcaśodhye suraśrestha saṃśayo 'tra bhaven mama | kathayasva vibhāgena śrotum icchāmi tattvataḥ || 11:8 ||

The Goddess spoke: I am not sure about the five purifications, O Suraśreṣṭha. Please teach [them to] me one by one, I want to hear [them] as [they] really [are].

rudra uvāca |

manaḥśuddhis tu prathamam dravyaśuddhir ataḥ param | mantraśuddhis tṛtīyā tu karmaśuddhir ataḥ param | pañcamī sattvaśuddhis tu kratuśuddhiś ca pañcadhā || 11:9 ||

Rudra spoke: First [there is] the purification of the mind, then [comes] the purification of the substances. The third is the purification of mantras, then the purification of the ritual. The fifth is the purification of Sattva. The purification of the sacrifice is [thus] fivefold.

manaḥśuddhir nāma aviparītabhāvanayā | dravyaśuddhir nāma ananyāyopārjitadravyena || 11:10 ||

The purification of the mind is [achieved] by mentally creating what is not against [the rules]. The purification of the substances is [achieved] by [using] substances that were not obtained by unlawful means.

were struck off by Indra and Indra's sins were distributed among the earth, water, trees, and women. See, e.g., BhāgP 6.9.6:

brahmahatyām añjalinā jagrāha yad apīśvaraḥ| saṃvatsarānte tad aghaṃ bhūtānāṃ sa viśuddhaye| bhūmyambudrumayoṣidbhyaś caturdhā vyabhajad dhariḥ||

'Even though [Indra was] the Lord, he took on himself, with folded hands, the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa. At the end of the year, Hari [= Indra] distributed that sin in four parts to the earth, water, trees and women for the self-purification of living beings.'

II.9 Pāda a is unmetrical unless the krama licence is applied for the first syllable of prathamaṃ, turning the line into a na-vipulā.

Sets of five types of purification are a commonplace in Tantric Śaivism, but they are usually somewhat different form what we see here. They usually include ātmaśuddhi, sthānaśuddhi, dravyaśuddhi, mantraśuddhi and lingaśuddhi. See Goodall's article on this in TAK III s.v. dravyaśuddhi.

ило The passage ило-и is in fact prose.







mantrasuddhir nāma svaravyañjanayuktatayā | kriyāsuddhir nāma yathākramāviparītatayā | sattvasuddhir nāma rajastama-apradhānatayā | 11:11 ||

Purification of the mantras is [achieved] by properly connecting vowels to consonants. Purification of the ritual is [achieved] by not altering the proper sequence [of the elements of ritual]. The purification of Sattva is [achieved] by the non-prevalence of Rajas and Tamas.

vidhim evam yadā śudhyed yadi yajñam karoti hi | tasya yajñaphalāvāptir janmamṛtyuś ca no bhavet || 11:12 ||

When he has purified the ritual (*vidhi*) thus and performs the sacrifice, he will obtain the fruits of the sacrifice, and will not undergo births and deaths [any more].

vinārthena tu yo yajñam karoti varasundari | na tasya tatphalāvāptih sarvayajñesv asesatah || 11:13 ||

But he who performs sacrifice without materials, O Varasundari, will not [only] obtain its fruits, [but] of all sacrifices, without exception.

yajñavāṭa kurukṣetraṃ sattvāvāsakṛtālayaḥ |
pratyāhāra mahāvedi kuśaprastara samyamaḥ || 11:14 ||

The sacrificial ground is [the internal] Kurukṣetra. The abode made is [now:] dwelling in Truth (*sattva*). The great altar is the withdrawal of the senses (*pratyāhāra*). The seat made of *kuśa* grass is constraint (*saṃyama*) [in internalised sacrifice].

II.12 An alternative to my conjecture in $p\bar{a}da$ a (yadā śudhyed for yadā sūyed, sūryed, pūrya, and pūyed) has been suggested by Dominic Goodall, namely that one could apply the reading of C_{45} thus: yadāpūrya ('when having completed').

II.13 I tentatively interpret sarvayajñeṣu in pāda d as a locative for genitive, and in a sense that does not reflect the meaning in which I took sarvayajñaḥ in II.1a above. Compare the conclusion of this section, II.24cd: āsahasrasya yajñānāṃ phalaṃ prāpnoti nityaśah.

II.14 It would be easy to correct yajñavāṭa in pāda a to yajñavāṭaḥ, and to normalise all the similarly positioned stem form nouns in the following verses because there are no metrical constrains that would prevent us from doing so, but it seems to me that there is a pattern here and that these stem forms are being emphasised, highlighted, or being items in a list (see II.14c and d, 15a, 16a and b, 17a, 18d, etc.). Nevertheless, some of the expression in the upcoming verses should be interpreted as bahuvrīhis qualifying the sacrificer or yogin. In fact, we could read yajñavāṭakurukṣetraḥ and pratyāhāramahāvediḥ as bahuvrīhis here.

Kurukṣetra was defined as an internalised pilgrimage place in 10.12, which fits well



Vṛṣasārasamgraha

vidhi niyamavistāro dhyānavahniḥ pradīpitaḥ | yogendhanasamijjvālatapodhūmasamākulaḥ || 11:15 ||

Vedic injunction (*vidhi*) is the large group of Niyama-rules. [Instead of the Vedic ritual fire, it is now] the fire of meditation (*dhyāna*) [that] is lighted, which is flaring up by the fuel of the firewood of yoga and is abounding in the smoke of penance.

pātranyāsa śivajñānaṃ sthālīpāka śivātmakaḥ | ājyāhutim avicchinnaṃ lambakasruvapātitaḥ || 11:16 ||

The placing down of the chalice is knowledge of Śiva. [The oblation of] boiled rice is [now the process of] be[com]ing Śiva. The continuous oblation of clarified butter (ājyāhuti) is poured with the ritual ladle (sruva) of the uvula (lambaka).

dhāraṇādhvaryuvat kṛtvā prāṇāyāmas ca ṛtvijaḥ | tarkayuktaḥ savistāraḥ samādhir vayatāpanaḥ || 11:17 ||

Transforming concentration (*dhāraṇā*) into an Adhvaryu [priest, the phases of] breath control will be the [other Vedic] priests[, the Hotṛ, the Brahman, and the Udgātṛ]. Samādhi which involves reflection (*tarka*) and which is extensive is the [Vedic ritual of] burning the oblation (*vaya*[s]-tāpana).

the presently introduced teaching of internalised sacrifice. Both are summarised, together with bodily penance, in 13.2 (see note to 11.5). The term *sattvāvāsa* has elsewhere, but probably not here, a distinctively Buddhist flavour, denoting the seven or nine 'abodes of beings,' see, e.g., Edgerton 1953, vol. 2, s.v. *sattvāvāsa*, and Sferra 2022, 1155. Note that if *pāda* c followed the pattern of *pāda* a, namely that 'X in Vedic ritual is now Y in this internalised sacrifice,' we would need to read *mahāvedi pratyāhāra*, but that would be unmetrical.

saṃyama is mentioned only a few times in the VSS (e.g., in a similar context, in 22.12), and is never explained, in contrast with the niyama-rules mentioned in the next verse, which are expounded in detail in 5.1-8.44. saṃyama may perhaps be used here in the sense in which it appears in the YS: the yogic application, or appearance, of dhāraṇā, dhyāna, and samādhi at the same time (see Yogasūtra 3.1-4).

II.15 I have chosen the reading in pāda b that is the easiest to interpret. Alternatively, the intended expression may have been dhyānena vahniḥ pradīpitaḥ. Instead of taking "samijjvāla" as a tatpuruṣa compound in pāda c ("samidh-jvāla"), consider emending it to "samujjvāla", which would stand metri causa for "samujjvala".

II.16 The interpretation of *pāda* b is tentative. Ignoring the problems concerning grammatical gender and case, we may presume that the intended meaning in *pādas* cd could be expressed thus: *ājyāhutir avicchinnā lambikāsruvena pātitā*. I suspect that *lambaka* simply stands for *lambikā* ('uvula'), which fits the internalised nature of this ritual. See also *ghaṇṭikā* possibly as 'uvula' in 10.32d.

II.17 Understand pādas a as dhāraṇām adhvaryuvat kṛtvā (dhāraṇā in the MSS being







brahmavidyāmayo yūpaḥ paśubandho manonmanaḥ | śraddhā patnī viśālākṣi saṃkalpa pada śāśvatam || 11:18 ||

The sacrificial post is made up of the knowledge about the Brahman. The tying of the sacrificial animal is [the mental state called] Manonmanas. [The householder's] wife is Faith, O Viśālākṣī. [His] ritual intention (saṃkalpa) is [reaching] the eternal abode.

pańcendriyajayotpannah purodaśo 'mṛtāśanaḥ | brahmanādo mahāmantraḥ prāyaścittānilo jayaḥ || 11:19 ||

Rice oblation is the consumption of the nectar of immortality that arises from the victory over the five senses. The great [Vedic] mantra is [now] Brahmā's sound. Expiation is victory over the breath.

somapāna parijūānam upākarma caturyamaḥ | itihāsa jalasnānaṃ purāṇakṛta-m-ambaraḥ || 11:20 ||

The consumption of Soma is [substituted now with] complete knowledge. The commencement [of the Vedic ritual] is the four Yama-rules. The ritual water-bath is [the study of] the Itihāsa. His garment is made of [his study of] the Purāṇas.

in stem form). Note how taking 11.14c and 15b together with the present verse, all six auxiliaries of the *şaḍaṅgayoga* of VSS chapter 16 have now been mentioned in this chapter. See 16 18:

pratyāhāras tathā dhyānam prāṇāyāmas ca dhāraṇā |

tarkaś caiva samādhiś ca ṣaḍaṅgo yoga ucyate ||

My interpretation of *vayatāpana* in *pāda* d as 'burning of oblation' (*vaya* possibly standing for *vayas* metri causa) is tentative.

II.18 The final section of VSS chapter 20, a chapter on the *tattvas* of Sāṃkhya, discusses the mental state of *unmanas*:

unmanastvam gate vipra nibodha dasalaksanam |

na śabdam śrnute śrotram śankhabherīsvanād api || etc.

Verse II.49 below mentions *manonmanas* in a similar context. In *pāda* d, understand *saṃkalpaḥ padaṃ śāśvatam* (both *saṃkalpa* and *pada* are stem form nouns in the verse, the latter metri causa).

II.19 The term brahmanāda in pāda c may refer to the same concept as brahmabilasvara does in II.29d. It may be the same as the (haṭha)yogic concept of mahānāda ('great sound' or 'unstruck sound'), on which see Mallinson 2007, 225, nn. 359 and 361. My translation tentatively presupposes that mantra in mahāmatra refers to Vedic mantras, now contrasted with a yogic experience. (See mahāmantra referring to Vedic/Śrauta mantras in SkandaP 13.132cd: śrutigītair mahāmantrair mūrtimadbhir upasthitaiḥ.)

Understand pāda d as prāyaścitto 'nilajayaḥ. It would be possible to correct °cittānilo to °citto 'nilo, but since 'nilajayaḥ would be unmetrical and since stem form nouns abound in this chapter, I believe that prāyaścittānilo could be original.

II.20 caturyamaḥ in pāda b is baffling. The VSS teaches ten Yama-rules in 3.16-4.89.





idāsusumnāsamvedye snānam ācamanam sakṛt | saṃtoṣātithim ādṛtya dayābhūtadvijārcitaḥ || 11:21 ||

Ritual bathing and sipping water once are [to be performed] at the confluence of the Ida and the Suṣumnā. Having honoured Contentment as a guest, he salutes the Brahmin that is [now] Compassion.

brahmakūrca guṇātīta havirgandha nirañjanaḥ | brahmasūtram trayas tattvam bodhanā munditam śiraḥ || 11:22 ||

The Brahmakūrca [observance] is the [state of mind called] 'beyond the Qualities' (guṇātīta), the scent of the sacrifice is the 'spotless' (nirañjana) [state of mind]. [His] sacred thread is the three truths (tattva). The shaven head [of the snātaka] is [now] enlightenment.

Dominic Goodall has suggested that caturyamaḥ could stand for ca tu yamāḥ metri causa. Another possibility would be to interpret catur as caturtha ('fourth') and then the phrase may refer to the fourth Yama-rule, absence of hostility (ānṛśaṃsya, 4.31–49). Note the stem form itihāsa in pāda c, and see the notes to verses 6.5 and 8.6 to clarify what itihāsa most probably means in the VSS (the Mahābhārata). There is a hiatus-filler (-m-) in pāda c in °kṛṭa-m-ambaraḥ, which is a metrical solution for °kṛṭo 'mbaraḥ.

II.21 For the teaching on the internalised pilgrimage places Gangā, i.e. Suṣumnā, and Yamunā, i.e. Idā, and their internalised confluence, Prayāga, see 10.17. Note that Idā and Suṣumnā are then reinterpreted as Somatīrtha and Sūryatīrtha, respectively, in 10.20–21. saṃtoṣa° is either meant to be compounded with °atithim in pāda c or is in stem form for saṃtoṣam atithim; for the latter possibility cf., e.g., II.17a above. Similarly, °dvija° may be in stem form in pāda d, for °dvijo 'rcitaḥ, or simply correct it to the same.

II.22 Note the stem form nouns in pādas ab.

On the brahmakūrca observance, see, e.g., Kane 1941–1962, vol. 4, 146, where the references given include Mitākṣarā ad YājñS 3.314: yadā punaḥ pūrvedyur upoṣyāparedyuḥ samantrakam saṃyujya samantrakam eva pañcagavyaṃ pīyate tadā brahmakūrca ity ākhyāyate; 'And when one fasts one day, and on the next day mixes the five products of the cow together while reciting mantras, and drinks [the mixture] while reciting mantras again, that is called brahmakūrca.'

On the *guṇātīta* state of mind, see 9.39–43. See the term *nirañjana* mentioned as a quality of the soul ($j\bar{\imath}va$) in 1.11 and 15.4, of the *puruṣa* in 20.3, as a state of mind in 11.48, and as one of ten meditative states in 22.30.

It is difficult to know what the three tattvas mentioned in pāda c are. (Understand trayas tattvam as tattvatrayam, trīṇi tattvāni, tritattvāni, or tritattvam.) VSS chapter 4 teaches four tattvas as objects of meditation: ātman, vidyā, bhava, and sūkṣma (see, e.g., 4.72). VSS chapter 6 discusses five tattvas: sūrya, soma, agni, sphaṭika, and sūkṣma (see, e.g., 6.7). VSS chapter 20 enumerates the 25 tattvas of Sāmkhya. One possibility would be to interpret the set of three tattvas as the three padārthas of the Śaivasiddhānta, pati, paśu, and pāśa; see, e.g., TAK III, s.v. patipaśupāśa. Dominic Goodall has tentatively suggested reading here in VSS II.22c, with K₈₂, brahmasūtratrayam tattvam ('the three strands of the sacred thread is truth'). The problem is firstly that we have trayas tattvam repeated in II.29c below, and secondly that what we need here is three entities compared to the







nivṛttyādi caturvedaś catuḥprakaraṇāsanaḥ | dakṣiṇām abhayaṃ bhūte dattvā yajñaṃ yajet sadā || 11:23 ||

The four Vedas are [now] *nivṛtti* etc. His seat is the four *prakaraṇa*s. He should always perform a[n internalised] sacrifice after donating the priestly fee of providing being[s] with freedom from danger.

vinārtham yajñasamprāptiḥ kathitā te varānane | āsahasrasya yajñānām phalam prāpnoti nityaśaḥ || 11:24 ||

The attainment of sacrifice without materials has been taught to you, O Varānanā. [The sacrificer] will in any case obtain the fruits of up to a thousand [ordinary Vedic] sacrifices.

āśramaḥ prathamas tubhyam kathito 'sti varānane | sadāśivena saddharmam daivatair api pūjitam || 11:25 ||

The first discipline (āśrama) has been taught to you, O Varānanā, through Sadāśiva; [this is] the true Dharma, revered also by the gods.

[brahmacārī — The chaste one]

brahmacaryam nibodhedam śrnusvāvahitā śubhe | dvitīyam āśramam devi sarvapāpavināśanam || 11:26 ||

three strands of the sacred thread. What is clear here is that even the investiture of the sacred thread (*upanayana*) is supposed to be internalised in this teaching of non-material sacrifice.

II.23 My assumption is that pāda a here hints at those four, later five, categories, called kalās, that are well-known from Tantric Śaivism: nivṛtti, pratiṣṭhā, vidyā, śānti, and śāntyatīta. For this, I had to emend the reading found in all witnesses consulted, nivṛtyā°. I consider nivṛti for nivṛtti a common and plausible error. As Dominic Goodall has suggested, here the four kalās, originally possibly the four Śaktis of the Lord, may be reinterpreted as yogic states. The fact that the VSS is aware of only four kalās here may hint at a relatively early date of composition of this section (see Introduction pp. xxvii ff). On the history and interpretation of these kalās, see TAK II s.v. kalā 6.

catuḥprakaraṇāsanaḥ may be taken as catuḥprakaraṇāny āsanam, or, as I take it in my translation, a bahuvrīhi compound qualifying the practitioner. As to what the four prakaraṇas ('chapters'?) refer to here, I am without a clue. Perhaps the phrase was meaningful in a context whereof this section was taken out. It may stand for yogic karaṇas, postures, which are mentioned, but then not clearly described, in 16.1:

adhunā śrotum icchāmi yogasadbhāvanirṇayam | karaṇaṃ ca yathānyāyaṃ kathayasva sureśvara ||

II.25 sadāśivena in pāda c could also be interpreted as the agent of pūjitam in pāda d ('it is revered by Sadāśiva'), but Sadāśiva was mentioned as the original teacher of this ritual in II.4 above, which makes it probable that he is being referred to in a similar manner here. Cf. also II.30 below.



Vrsasārasamgraha

[Now] learn about this, about the practice of chastity (*brahmacarya*). Listen with attentively, O Śubhā. [It is] the second discipline (*āśrama*), O Devī, the destroyer of all sins.

vratam brahmaparam dhyānam sāvitrī prakṛti-r-layam | brahmasūtrākṣaram sūkṣmam triguṇālaya mekhalam || 11:27 ||

Religious observance is [now] meditation focussed on the Brahman. The Sāvitrī [hymn] is absorption in Prakṛti. The Brahmanical cord (*brahmasū-tra*) is the subtle syllable. His girdle is now the abode of the three Qualities (*guṇa*).

dama daṇḍa dayā pātraṃ bhikṣā saṃsāramocanam | tryāyuṣaṃ dvyakṣarātītaṃ jñānabhasma-alaṅkṛtam || 11:28 ||

His staff is self-restraint, his bowl compassion. Alms are liberation from transmigration (*saṃsāra*). The Tryāyuṣa is the one beyond the two syllables. [The three lines are] prepared with the ashes of knowledge.

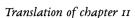
II.26 idam in nibodhedam in pāda a sounds clumsy with brahmacaryam (lit. 'listen to this practice of chastity') but in fact the MBh and the Purāṇas contain countless similar, albeit smoother, expressions, e.g., MBh 5.145.15ab (duryodhana nibodhedam kulārthe yad bravīmi te), BrahmaP 133.10ab (bharadvāja nibodhedam vākyam mama samāsataḥ), etc. See some remarks on the disciplines, or life-stages (āśrama), and especially on their order, in the VSS in Kiss 2021.

II.27 One could emend *prakṛtir layam* in *pāda* b to the expected *prakṛtau layaḥ* (see, e.g., AgniP 379.Id: *vairāgyāt prakṛtau layam*). Nevertheless, I retained the reading of $C_{94}K_{82}K_7E$ because it may have been the way in which the compound *prakṛtilaya* was originally made metrical. In other words, I suspect the *-r-* to be only a link between the two elements of this compound. I also retained the neuter ending. Compare 16.8d, where the same expression is transmitted in all the witnesses consulted so far as *prakṛtālayam*.

Note the stem form nouns in *pādas* cd (*°sūtra* and *°ālaya*). The 'subtle syllable' may be *oṃ* (cf. 1.9–10), traditionally analysed as made up of three sounds, here corresponding to the three strands of the sacred thread. In *pāda* d, *triguṇālaya* might rather mean 'absorption in the three Qualities' (*triguṇeṣu layaḥ*) although in my translation I translate it as *triguṇa-ālayaḥ*.

II.28 The Tryāyuṣa is a Vedic mantra, see, e.g., Rgveda-khila 5.3.6: tryāyuṣam jamadagneḥ kaśyapasya tryāyuṣam | agastyasya tryāyuṣam yad devānām tryāyuṣam tan no astu tryāyuṣam |; 'The threefold vitality of [the sage] Jamadagni, that of [the sage] Kaśyapa, that which is that of the gods—may it be ours!' (translation based on Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, 28). 'In the Vedic domestic ritual codes, this is the mantra to be recited over the razor or over the student who is about to be shaven before bathing at the end of his studies' (ibid.). In ŚivaUp 5.20ab, this mantra is prescribed to accompany the application of the three lines on the forehead. Thus here in VSS II:28cd, tryāyuṣa and the mention of ashes make it clear that the next element of the ritual life of the brahmacārin to be internalised is the application of the tripuṇḍra. As for the dvyakṣarātīta, which should be a mantra, it perhaps means a three-syllable mantra, possibly a-u-m or śivāya.





snānavratam sadāsatyam śīlaśaucasamanvitam | agnihotra trayas tattvam japa brahmabilasvaraḥ || 11:29 ||

The bath-vow is life-long truthfulness, accompanied by the purity and moral conduct. The Agnihotra sacrifice is the three *tattvas*. Recitation is the sound at the aperture of Brahmā.

dvitīya āśramo devi yathāha bhagavān śivaḥ | mamāpi kathitaṃ tubhyaṃ janmamṛtyuvināśanam || 11:30 ||

The second discipline (āśrama) has [now] been taught also to you as Lord Śiva taught it, O Devī, to me. It is the destruction of birth and death.

[vānaprasthaḥ —
The forest-dweller]
vānaprasthavidhiṃ vakṣye śṛṇuṣvāyatalocane |
yathāśrutaṃ yathātathyam ṛṣidaivatapūjitam || II:3I ||

Listen, O Long-eyed goddess, I shall teach you the forest-dweller's way of life, which is revered by the sages and the gods, as I heard it, as it [really] is.

vairāgyavanam āśritya niyamāśramam āharet | śīlaśailadṛḍhadvāre prākāre vijitendriyaḥ || 11:32 ||

Having taken to the forest of indifference, he should take residence in the ashram of Niyama-rules, within walls that have the stone-strong gate of moral conduct, with his sense faculties conquered.

adhibhūtaḥ smṛto mātā adhyātmaś ca pitā tathā | adhidaivikam ācāryo vyavasāyāś ca bhrātaraḥ || 11:33 ||

One's mother is the material realm, one's father the Self, one's guru the divine. Resolutions are one's brothers.

II.29 On the problem of understanding what the three *tattvas* are in this text, and on the phrase *trayas tattvam*, see notes on verse II.22 above. Perhaps *brahmabilasvara* in *pāda* d refers to the same concept as *brahmanāda* does in II.19c.

II.30 One may consider correcting $mam\bar{a}^\circ$ to $may\bar{a}^\circ$ ('it has been taught by me'), but mama, linked to the first hemistich, may be original, and api, then slightly unusually placed in the sense of 'too/also' (as, e.g., in $Raghuvam\dot{s}a$ 5.44 and 9.8c), starting a new clause.

II.32 āharet ('should take away, get, use') in pāda b is suspect; āvaset ('should settle') or āśrayet ('should take refuge') would make more sense in this context.

II.33 Note the *krama* licence applied in $p\bar{a}da$ d: the syllable $br\bar{a}$ does not make the previous syllable long.

I have accepted Dominic Goodall's suggestion to emend adhibhautika in pāda c to

IOII



Vṛṣasārasamgraha

śrutih smṛtih smṛtā bhāryā prajñā putrah kṣamānujaḥ | maitrī bandhur jaṭā cāpaṃ karuṇā supavitrakam | muditā mauna catvārah sarvakāryam upekṣakā || 11:34 ||

Śruti and Smṛti are his wives, Wisdom his son, Patience his little brother. Benevolence is his kinsman, his twisted hair [and] his bow. Compassion his sacred thread. Sympathy is the four ways of observing silence. All his religious duties are equanimity.

yamavalkalasamvītas tapaḥkṛṣṇājinādharaḥ | uttarāsangam āsīno yogapaṭṭadṛḍhavrataḥ || 11:35 ||

He is clothed in the Yama-rules instead of a garment made of bark, and he wears penance instead of the skin of a black antelope. He is seated on the highest level of non-attachment, and a firm observance is his yoga-belt.

adhidaivika. In this way, we arrive at the well-know triad of adhibhūta, adhyātma, and adhidaivika (or more often: ādhibhautika, ādhyātmika, and ādhidaivika; see, e.g. YBh ad YS 1.31 and 3.22, and SāmkhyK 1.1 in most commentators' interpretation). adhibhautika in pāda c may be the result of an eyeskip to pāda a, and the final -m of adhidaivika could be interpreted as a hiatus-filler. The triad in question usually qualify three types of suffering or bad omen: pertaining to the material world, one's own self or body, and to the world of gods, respectively. Here in the VSS, they seem to refer to realms of knowledge, or as Bhagavadgītā 8.1–4, a possible source for the present verse, define them, adhibhūta is mundane existence (kṣaro bhāvaḥ), adhyātma is one's true nature (svabhāvaḥ), and adhidaivata the puruṣa.

II.34 $bh\bar{a}ry\bar{a}$ in $p\bar{a}da$ a is probably meant to be in the dual $(bh\bar{a}rye)$ but the use of the singular could be original. Note how notions expressed by feminine nouns in $p\bar{a}da$ b are associated with male relatives $(praj\bar{n}\bar{a}$ is a son, $k\bar{s}am\bar{a}$ a brother).

In pāda c, jaṭā cāpaṃ is problematic. One would expect here an abstract notion corresponding to a real-life element of the forest-dweller life, as in the above verses. Also, a bow is not naturally associated with the life of a forest hermit. jaṭā and cāpa are either still identified with maitrī (that is how I translate the pāda) or there is a need to emend, e.g., to jaṭācāraḥ ('good conduct is his twisted hair'). I prefer the former solution because in this way the four Buddhist brahmavihāras, maitrī-karuṇā-muditā-upekṣā, appear in one uninterrupted sequence. One could even emend to jaṭā cāyaṃ or jaṭā cāpī. The brahmavihāras may seem to be out of context in a Brahmanical text but the source for them may have been YS 1.33: maitrīkaruṇāmuditopekṣāṇāṃ sukhaduḥkhapuṇyāpuṇyaviṣayāṇāṃ bhāvanātaś cittaprasādanam. See them mentioned also in verse 4.72 above, and in 11.56 below.

Note mauna in $p\bar{a}da$ e in stem form, and $upekṣak\bar{a}$ for $upekṣ\bar{a}$, both metri causa. For the four maunss, see 4.69.

II.35 I think that K₇'s *jinādharaḥ* in *pāda* b may be the original reading, and it lengthens the final *a* of *jina*° metri causa, and the remaining sources try to restore the standard form of *ajina* and thus ruin the metre. Cf., e.g., MBh 1.123.18:

sa kṛṣṇaṃ maladigdhāngaṃ kṛṣṇājinadharaṃ vane | naiṣādiṃ śvā samālakṣya bhaṣaṃs tasthau tadantike ||



vedaghoseņa ghoseņa prāṇāyāmo 'gnihāvanam | jitaprāṇa mṛgākūlo dhṛti yajñaḥ kriyā japaḥ || 11:36 ||

Fire sacrifice accompanied by the sound of murmuring the Vedas is breath-control accompanied by [its] hissing. The herd of deer [in the forest where the forest-dweller normally lives] is [now his] conquered breaths. [Now] sacrifice is resolution, ritual is mantra-recitation.

arthasamgraha śāstreṣu sakhā damadayādayaḥ | śivayajñam prayuñjīta sādhanāṣṭakapūjanam || 11:37 ||

His treasures are in the *śāstra*s, his companions are self-control, compassion, etc. He should perform sacrifice to Śiva as worship of the eight [yogic] practices (*sādhana*).

pañcabrahmajalaiḥ pūtaḥ satyatīrthaśivahrade | snānam ācamanaṃ kṛtvā saṃdhyātrayam upāsayet || 11:38 ||

Purified by the water of the five Brahma[-mantras], bathing and sipping water in the auspicious (śiva) lake at the pilgrimage place of truthfulness, he should honour the three junctures of the day.

akṣamālā purāṇārthaṃ japa śāntaṃ divāniśam | jñānasalilasampūrṇa-m-itihāsakamaṇḍaluḥ || 11:39 ||

The rosary is [now] the meaning of the Purāṇas. Recitation is [now his] peace of mind day and night. His jar of epics is filled with the water of knowledge.

The accusative *uttarāsangam* in *pāda* c is acceptable, but one may understand the final -m as a hiatus-filler after a locative (°sanga āsīno), or in the middle of a compound (°sangāsīno).

II.36 hāvana in pāda b stands for havana metri causa. I suspect that "mṛgākūlo in pāda c stands for an unmetrical mṛgakulo. Incidentally, even by inverting the order of the two elements in this pāda, there would remain the metrical error of two laghus: mṛgakulo jitaprāṇo. Also, note "prāṇa and dhṛti in pādas cd as nouns in stem form.

II.37 See the word *saṃgraha* (here in stem form) used probably in a similar sense in II.45 below. See a reference to eight *sādhanas* in DharmP 2.I (quoted in the apparatus to the present verse in the critical edition). These may or may not point to the same set of practices.

II.38 The reading of the witnesses in *pāda* d, *upāśrayet*, might be acceptable, but I consider my emendation, *upāṣayet*, better, especially because that is the verb used in II.58d below. in a similar context.

II.39 $P\bar{a}da$ b may allow for various interpretations. The one I have chosen seems to be the simplest. It involves a stem form noun, japa, and $s\bar{a}ntam$ in the sense of $s\bar{a}nti\bar{p}$. Understand the middle of $p\bar{a}das$ cd as containing a hiatus-filler to bridge the vowels in a standard $p\bar{a}$ $p\bar{a}$ $p\bar{a}$ $p\bar{a}$.





Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

pañcakarmakriyotkrānti japa pañcavidhaḥ sukham | sādhanaṃ śivasaṃkalpo yogasiddhiphalapradaḥ || 11:40 ||

The actions of the five [medical] procedures are yogic suicide. Recitation is the five kinds of pleasure. The *Śivasaṃkalpa* [hymn] is [yogic] practice (sādhana), which yields fruits of yoga accomplishments.

saṃtoṣaphalam āhāraḥ kāmakrodhaparājitaḥ | āśāpāśajayābhyāso dhyānayogaratipriyaḥ | atithibhyo 'bhayaṃ dattvā vānaprasthaś cared vratam || 11:41 ||

His food is the fruit of contentment. He conquers lust and anger. His practice is the victory over the trap of hope. He loves the joy of yoga meditation. The forest-dweller should observe his vow by providing guests with fearlessness.

vānaprastham ayam dharmam gadita yat pūrvam avadhāritam saṃsāroddharaṇam anityaharaṇam ajñānanirmūlanam | prajñāvṛddhikaram amoghakaraṇam kleśārṇavottāraṇam janmavyādhiharam akarmadahanam sevet sa dharmottamam || 11:42 ||

II.40 My translation of this verse is tentative. Note that *utkrānti* (usually in similar contexts: 'yogic suicide') is a *yogānga* in chapter 16. See also 17.31, which mentions suicide by entering fire. I take *japa* tentatively as a stem form noun, and *pañcavidhaḥ* as if it read *pañcavidhaṃ*. BodhisattvaBh 1.3.4 teaches five kinds of *sukha*: *hetusukhaṃ veditasukhaṃ duḥkhaprātipakṣikaṃ sukhaṃ veditopacchedasukham avyabādhyañ ca pañcamaṃ sukham*. This would not be the first occasion in this chapter to see Buddhist categories introduced, see II.34 above.

I think that E's silent correction of "pradah to "pradam, making pāda d qualifying sādhanam in pāda c, is reasonable, but since this form is not attasted in any of the witnesses consulted, I hesitate to follow it. Nevertheless, I understand the sentence thus: that which is normally the śivasamkalpa is now, in this internalised version of the forest-dweller's life, (yogic) practice that yields siddhis. I suppose that the reference is to Vājasaneyisamhitā 34.1–6, usually called Śivasamkalpa:

yaj jāgrato dūram udaiti daivam tad u suptasya tathaivaiti | dūraṃgamaṃ jyotiṣāṃ jyotir ekaṃ tan me manaḥ śivasaṃkalpam astu || etc. See this hymn referred to in Manu II.25I in a context of expiation: sakrj japtvāsyavāmīyaṃ śivasaṃkalpam eva ca | apaḥṛtya suvaṛṇaṃ tu kṣaṇād bhavati nirmalaḥ ||

In Olivelle's translation: 'A man who has stolen gold, on the other hand, becomes instantly stainless by reciting softly[? rather: once] the Asyavāmīya hymn and the Śivasamkalpa formulas.' Other texts that reference the Śivasamkalpa include NiśvGuhya 2.77, AgniP 259.74, and LinP 1.64.76. See more on the Śivasamkalpa in Scheftelowitz 1906 and 1921.

II.41 Cf. II.23 above on giving abhaya to guests.





One should follow the Dharma of the forest-dweller, the supreme Dharma, which has been taught and which, if first understood, will deliver one from transmigration, will remove transient existence, uproot ignorance, increase wisdom, will be fruitful, will deliver one from the flood of affliction, will remove rebirth and disease, and will burn one's bad karma.

[parivrājakaḥ—
The wandering mendicant]

parivrājakadharmo 'yam kīrtayiṣyāmi tac chṛṇu | sukhaduḥkham samam kṛtvā lobhamohavivarjitaḥ || 11:43 ||

Here follows the wandering religious mendicant's Dharma. Listen, I shall teach it to you. Making joy and pain equal, he gets rid of greed and folly.

varjayen madhu māṃsāni paradārāṃś ca varjayet | varjayec ciravāsaṃ ca paravāsaṃ ca varjayet | 11:44 |

He should avoid honey and meat, as well as others' wives. He should avoid staying [at one place] for long and also staying at others' places.

varjayet sṛṣṭabhojyāni bhikṣām ekāṃ ca varjayet | varjayet saṃgrahaṃ nityam abhimānaṃ ca varjayet || 11:45 ||

He should avoid food that has been thrown away and he should avoid getting alms [always] from the same household. He should always refrain from accumulating wealth and from self-conceit.

susūkṣmaṃ manasā dhyātvā dṛśau pādaṃ vinikṣipet | na kupyeta anālābhe lābhe vāpi na harṣayet || 11:46 ||

II.42 In some MSS, pāda a gives a first impression of being an anuṣṭubh line with metrical problems. But, as Dominic Goodall remarked, the variants suggest that it may belong to the upcoming Śārdūlavikrīḍita verse. This is all the more so because that verse would otherwise contain only three pādas. My reconstruction of the now pāda a is still highly problematic; gadita is in stem form, and the final syllable of pūrvam scans as heavy. While these are acceptable in the language of the VSS (see pp. xxxi ff), some elements remain questionable, namely the first syllable of dharmam as a short syllable, and the second syllable of avadhāritam as long. The pāda may have gone through some heavy corruption, possibly involving an eyeskip to II.43a. It is also unclear if the first half of the pāda is to be interpreted as vānaprastham ayam, vānaprastho 'yam [sevet], vānaprastham idam, or vānaprasthamayam. I translate the first of these options, taking both ayam and dharmam as neuter nominative. Word-final short syllables treated as heavy also appear in pādas bcd: "haraṇam (twice), "karam, and "haram.

II.45 See the term arthas amgraha in II.37c, probably in the same meaning as sam-graha here in $p\bar{a}da$ c.





Vṛṣasārasamgraha

Meditating on the extremely subtle one, he should cast his eyes on his feet [when begging]. He should not get angry when he does not receive anything, and when he does, he should not rejoice.

arthatṛṣṇāsv anudvigno roṣe vāpi sudāruṇe | stutinindā samaṃ kṛtvā priyaṃ vāpriyam eva vā || 11:47 ||

He should not be agitated with regards to thirst for material things, or to violent anger. He should take praise and reproach equal, as well as pleasant and unpleasant things.

niyamās tu parīdhānam samyamāvṛtamekhalaḥ | nirālambam manaḥ kṛtvā buddhim kṛtvā nirañjanām || 11:48 ||

His garment is the Niyama-rules, and he is girded by the girdle of constraint (*saṃyama*). He should make his mind supportless, his intellect spotless,

ātmānam pṛthivīm kṛtvā kham ca kṛtvā manonmanam | tridaṇḍam triguṇam kṛtvā pātram kṛtvākṣaro 'vyayaḥ || 11:49 ||

the ground his self, the sky the mind-nonmind [state of mind] (manon-mana), the three staffs [of the parivrājaka] the three qualities (guṇa), and the bowl the imperishable syllable.

II.46 On meditation on the subtle one (susūkṣma), see IntroCHECK.

Pāda b is suspect as it is transmitted in the MSS (in most sources it is śucau pādaṃ vinikṣipet: 'he should place his foot in the pure'?). My conjecture (dṛśau) results in something close to the early Buddhist rule given in the Pāli Pātimokkha on begging that says that the monk should not make eye-contact with the donor. See Pātimokkha Sekhiyā 7–8 and 28:

okkhittacakkhu antaraghare gamissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā| okkhittacakkhu antaraghare nisīdissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā|[...] pattasaññī piṇḍapātaṃ paṭiggahessāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā|

In Bhikkhu Nāṇatusita's translation (Nāṇatusita 2014, 294 and 303): "I shall go with the eyes cast down inside an inhabited area," thus the training is to be done. "I shall sit with the eyes cast down inside an inhabited area," thus the training is to be done. [...] "I shall accept alms-food paying attention to the bowl," thus the training is to be done.' The last of these sentences opens up another possibility for emending the text of the VSS: pādaṃ might perhaps be considered as a corruption from pātraṃ ('on his bowl'). I am not aware of similar Dharmaśāstric teachings on avoiding eye-contact. The closest could be BaudhDhS 1.5.11 on observing silence while begging (vāgyatas tiṣṭhet). Not even Manu 5.50–60, a longer section on begging, prohibits eye-contact. If there are indeed no Brahmanical rules on this topic, the verse above in the VSS could be another piece of evidence for Buddhist influence.

11.47 In pāda c, understand stutinindā as a dual (or singular) accusative.

11.48 On saṃyama, see notes on 11.14 above.

II.49 ° k saram avyayam in $p\bar{a}da$ d would be hypermetrical, that is probably why the nominative appears here.





nyased dharmam adharmam ca īrṣyādveṣam parityajet | nirdvandvo nityasatyastho nirmamo nirahamkṛtaḥ || 11:50 ||

He should throw away Dharma and Adharma, and should give up envy and hatred. He should be indifferent to opposites, always dwell in truthfulness, being unselfish, humble.

divasasyāṣṭame bhāge bhikṣāṃ saptagrhaṃ caret | na cāsīta na tiṣṭheta na ca dehīti vā vadet | 11:51 ||

He should go on his alms round visiting seven houses at the eighth part of the day. He should not sit down, he should not stay, and he should not say 'Give me!'

yathālābhena varteta aṣṭau piṇḍān dine dine | vastrabhojanaśayyāsu na prasajyeta vistaram || 11:52 ||

He should live on what is available, on eight bites a day. He should not stick to items of clothes, food, or a bed, for long.

nābhinandeta maraṇaṃ nābhinandeta jīvitam | indriyāṇi vasaṃkṛtvā kāmaṃ hatvā yatavrataḥ || II:53 ||

He should nor rejoice in death, he should not rejoice in life. Having conquered his senses, and having killed his desire, firm in his observances,

atītaṃ ca bhaviṣyaṃ ca na bhikṣuś cintayet sadā | krodhamānamadadarpān parivrāḍ varjayet sadā || 11:54 ||

the mendicant (bhik su) should never think about the past or the future. The wandering mendicant $(parivr\bar{a}j)$ should always avoid anger, self-conceit, intoxication, and pride.

virāgam tu dhanuḥ kṛtvā prāṇāyāmaguṇair yutam | dhāraṇāśaratīkṣṇena mṛgam hatvā manendriyam || 11:55 ||

Making indifference a bow which is strung with the strings of breath-control, he should kill the beast that is the mind and the sense-faculties with the sharp-pointed arrow of concentration.

II.5I According to *Manu* 6.56, the wandering ascetic should go around begging after people have finished their meal. MBh Suppl. I.52.36 (= LakṣmīNārS 1.238.18ab = VāsiṣṭhaDhS II.36ab) suggests that the 'eighth part of the day' is around sunset: divasasyāṣṭame bhāge mandībhūte divākare.

11.54 Pāda c is a sa-vipulā.

11.55 Understand pāda c as dhāraṇātīkṣṇaśareṇa.



Vṛṣasārasamgraha

maitrīkhadgasutīkṣṇena saṃsārāriṃ nikṛntayet |
karuṇāvartacakreṇa krodhamattagajaṃ jayet |
muditāvarmabaddhāngas tūṇaṃ pūrṇam upekṣayā || 11:56 ||

He should stab the enemy that is transmigration with the extremely sharp knife of friendliness. He should defeat the rutting elephant of anger with the whirling discus of compassion. His body should be clad in the armour of sympathy, his quiver full of equanimity.

anakṣaraṃ paraṃ brahma cintayet satataṃ dvija |
brahmaṇo hṛdayaṃ viṣṇur viṣṇoś ca hṛdayaṃ śivaḥ |
śivasya hṛdayaṃ saṃdhyā tasmāt saṃdhyām upāsayet || 11:57 ||

He should constantly recall the unutterable syllable which is the supreme Brahman, O Brahmin. Brahmā's heart is Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu's heart is Śiva. Śiva's heart is the junctures of the day. Therefore he should worship the junctures.

saṃsārārṇavatāraṇaṃ śubhagatiḥ sa brahma saṃdhyākṣaraṃ dhyāyen nityam atandrito hy anupamaṃ vyaktātmavedyaṃ śivam | rūpair varṇaguṇādibhiś ca vihitaṃ durlakṣyalakṣyottamaṃ yatnoddhṛtya samāśrayet suraguruṃ sarvārtihartā haram || 11:58 ||

[Śiva] is deliverance from the ocean of mundane existence, the path to happiness, the Brahman, the junctures, the [sacred] syllable. One should always, unweariedly, meditate on matchless Śiva, who is to be recognized as the manifest soul. He should take refuge in Hara, who is devoid of form, colour, qualities etc., who is the supreme aim which is difficult to discern, honouring the divine guru with effort, who removes all pain.

|| iti vṛṣasārasaṃgrahe caturāśramadharmavidhāno nāmādhyāya ekādaśamaḥ ||

Here ends the eleventh chapter in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* called Regulations concerning the four life-stages.

II.56 Understand pāda a as maitrīsutīkṣṇakhadgena, which is even metrical. Note the four Buddhist brahmavihāras, maitrī, karuṇā, muditā, and upekṣā, mentioned in this verse. They appear also in verses 4.71 and II.56 above.

II.58 Note *vihita* in $p\bar{a}da$ c probably in the sense of 'devoid of.' I take *yatnoddhṛtya* in $p\bar{a}da$ d as *yatnenoddhṛtya*, *yatna* being in stem form, and °*hartā* as nominative for accusative.



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Appendices

passeges from part two



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Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha







Symbols and Abbreviations

Symbols

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cf.

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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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- Ranjan Sen 2006. 'Vowel-weakening before muta cum liquidā sequences in Latin. A problem of syllabification?' In: Oxford University Working Papers in Linguistics, Philology & Phonetics II: 143-61.



"vss_book_xelatex" — 2024/8/15 — 22:15 — page 1022 — #95



Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha







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Arthaśāstra: see Kangle 1969 *Uttarottara*: see CHECK

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

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

Bhagavadgītā: see Sukthankar & al. 1927–1966 CHECK

Manu: see Dave 1972

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

Mātangalīlā: see Śāstri 1910

YS: see CHECK

Raghuvaṃśa: see

Rasārņavasudhākara: see Venkatacharya 1979

Vāgmatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsā:

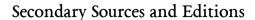
Vājasaneyisaṃhitā: see Weber 1972

Vișņudharmottara:

Viṣṇudharma: see Grünendahl 1983 Viṣṇupurāṇa: see Pathak 1997–1999

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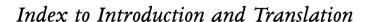
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REVISE CHECK In the Index, the surnames of modern authors, as well as mantra-syllables, are typeset in SMALL CAPITALS, Sanskrit words in general in *italics*, Sanskrit names of deities, humans, including authors, in non-italic normal typeface with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

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