

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

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

THE ŚIVADHARMA PROJECT

*Studies on the History of Śaivism*  
X??

*Editor-in-Chief*  
Florinda De Simini

*Editorial & Scientific Board*

Peter C. Bisschop (Universiteit Leiden), Dominic Goodall (École Française d'Extrême-Orient), Kengo Harimoto (Università di Napoli L'Orientale), Csaba Kiss (Università di Napoli L'Orientale), Krishnaswamy Nachimuthu (École Française d'Extrême-Orient), Annette Schmiedchen (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), Judit Törzsök (École Pratique des Hautes Études), Margherita Trento (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), Yuko Yokochi (Kyoto University)



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 Śivadharmā corpus*

A Critical Edition

Volume I

Csaba Kiss



UniorPress

Napoli 20??

UniorPress  
Nuova Marina, 59 - 80133, Napoli  
uniorpress@unior.it



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons  
Attribution 4.0 International License

ISBN 978-88-6719-???-?

Typeset in EB Garamond by Csaba Kiss,  
using  $\text{\LaTeX}$ , Bib $\text{\TeX}$ , *MakeIndex*, ledmac, and Python

Stampato in Italia

Il presente volume è stato sottoposto al vaglio di due revisori anonimi

## Table of Contents

### Preface

Aims and problems . . . . .	ix
-----------------------------	----

### Introduction

The Śivadharma corpus . . . . .	xi
Reading the Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha . . . . .	xi
The title . . . . .	xi
The genre . . . . .	xiv
The structure of the VSS . . . . .	xv
Contents of chapters 1–12 . . . . .	xvi
Dating and provenance . . . . .	xvii
Interpretation of chapters . . . . .	xix
The role of the VSS in the Śivadharma corpus . . . . .	xix
Dhyāna in the VSS and the DharmP . . . . .	xxi
Misc . . . . .	xxi
Texts related to the VSS . . . . .	xxii
Pāśupatas in the VSS . . . . .	xxiii
Buddhism in the VSS . . . . .	xxiii
Notes on the language . . . . .	xxiv
Metre . . . . .	xxiv
Vocabulary . . . . .	xxvi
Number and gender . . . . .	xxvi
Syntax . . . . .	xxvi
Stem form nouns . . . . .	xxvi

### A Critical Edition of Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha 1–12

Witnesses . . . . .	3
The Cambridge manuscripts . . . . .	4
The Kathmandu manuscripts . . . . .	7
The Munich manuscript . . . . .	10
The Paris manuscript . . . . .	10
The Oxford manuscript . . . . .	11

The Kolkata manuscripts . . . . .	11
The Tübingen manuscript . . . . .	12
The London manuscript . . . . .	12
Naraharinath’s edition . . . . .	13
Editorial policies . . . . .	15
The Sanskrit text . . . . .	16

## **An Annotated Translation**

Chapter 18 . . . . .	1002
----------------------	------

## **Appendices**

passegas from part two . . . . .	1013
----------------------------------	------

## **Symbols and Abbreviations**

Symbols . . . . .	1015
Abbreviations . . . . .	1015

## **References**

Primary Sources . . . . .	1017
Secondary Sources and Editions . . . . .	1017

## *Acknowledgements*

I am grateful to Alexis Sanderson, Dominic Goodall and Harunaga Isaacson for initiating me into the philological study of Śaivism, and to Florinda De Simini for encouraging me to apply for a position in her ŚIVADHARMA PROJECT (ERC no. 803624), for sharing with me all the relevant manuscript material and in general leading the project in the most friendly and generous way through difficult Covid-affected years. While working on the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, I have also been affiliated with another ERC project, the DHARMA PROJECT (ERC no. 809994), and I’m grateful to all my colleagues involved in that enterprise, including Arlo Griffith, Emmanuel Francis, Annette Schmiedchen, Astrid Zotter, and Dániel Balogh.

During my visit to the National Archives in Kathmandu, the staff were helpful and professional. I wish to express my thanks to Jyoti Neupane, Manita Neupane, Saubhagya Pradhananga, Rubin Shrestha, Sahan Ranjekar, and all other members. Sushmita Das made great efforts to acquire the manuscripts in Calcutta.

My colleagues and friends working in Naples or visiting Naples for shorter periods have helped me on a daily basis, during our regular reading sessions and in every other possible way, and I am thankful to them: to Florinda De Simini, Nirajan Kafle, Kengo Harimoto, Giulia Buriola, Alessandro Battistini, Lucas den Boer, Torsten Gerloff, Kenji Takahashi, Francesco Sferra, Dorotea Operato, Daniela Cappello, Michael Bluett, Marco Franceschini, Martina Dello Buono, Chiara Livio, Margherita Trento, Nina Mirnig, Timothy Lubin, S.A.S. Sarma, R. Sathyanarayanan, and others.

Colleagues I have known for countless years, such as Judit Törzsök, Dominic Goodall, Harunaga Isaacson, Csaba Dezső and Gergely Hidas, are always the first to help my work and support me in every possible way.

I am infinitely grateful to my family for always supporting me unwaveringly.

The present publication is a result of the project DHARMA “The Domestication of “Hindu”

Asceticism and the Religious Making of South and Southeast Asia’. This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no. 809994). This book reflects the views of the author only. The funding body is not responsible for any use that may be made of the information contained therein.



## Preface

### Aims and problems

What is this edition? It is not much more than a new copy, and carefully prepared new version of a text called *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, based on a number of 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, it is hopefully a version that is as close to the authors’ and redactors’ original intention around the time they assembled these chapters together, approximately in the seventh to tenth centuries, as possible. 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 born or if there was one single ‘original copy’,<sup>1</sup> but it is hopefully the most meaningful and most readable among all available copies. Still, the present book is just a version of a text that surely has never existed exactly in this very form, inevitably showing signs of being an eclectic edition. Furthermore, it may show unintentional characteristics of the 21st century (ones that go beyond the modern Devanāgarī typeface or occasional choices based on our modern understandings and misunderstandings) mixed with characteristics of the first millenium. We know that ‘[a]ll editing is an act of interpretation.’<sup>2</sup> And 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, but hopefully rarely, have caused contradictions.

And as to complicate things, we are publishing this long text in two volumes, and the second volume is still in the making when the first comes

Find a hard copy of McGann’s Textual Condition.

<sup>1</sup> This reminds one of James McLaverty’s question (as quoted in McGann 1991, ??): “If the Mona Lisa is in the Louvre in Paris, where is Hamlet?”

<sup>2</sup> McGann 1991, ??.

out. This may produce various problems: of interpretation, of internal references, of repetition, and most importantly of presenting a text of embedded and recurring layers cut in half. To counteract some of these problems, I had finished editing and studying some of the most significant passages in the second part of the text by the time I let the first one out of my hands; some of these the reader can find in the Appendices. A further minor problem arises when I discuss topics that I have already touched upon in Kiss 2021: some overlaps are inevitable.

And what is the purpose of this edition? The main objective of the ŚIVADHARMA PROJECT has been to understand better the function of individual texts within the so-called Śivadharmā corpus, and thus the *raison d’être* of the corpus itself. My attempt is rather simplistic: it is to understand what the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* tried to convey when it was composed and to try to see why this text got inserted in those multi-text manuscripts that usually transmit the so-called Śivadharmā corpus. But even without this ideal to fully understand the purpose and function of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, to make a pre-eleventh-century Sanskrit text easily available in the twenty-first century is, I believe, a noble aspiration.

## Introduction

### The Śivadharmā corpus

In general...

### Reading the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

#### *The title*

The title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* can be translated as: ‘A Compendium on the Essence of the Bull [of Dharma].’ The last two elements (*sāra-saṃgraha*) need little explanation: this work is a ‘compendium’ on, a ‘collection’ or ‘summary’ of (*saṃgraha*) the ‘essence’ (*sāra*) of its topic. The words ‘compendium’ and ‘collection’ reflect the composite nature of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* well; see sections on the structure of the text and on the its possible sources on pp. ??ff and pp. ??ff. The remaining question is whether the bull in the title is only a reference to a representation of Dharma or also a hint at Śiva’s bull, his vehicle or mount, sometimes called Nandi or Nandin in other works.<sup>3</sup>

Dharma is frequently referred to as a (four-legged) bull in Sanskrit literature from at least the time of the *Mahābhārata*. See, e.g., this passage (MBh 3.188.10–13):

*kr̥te catuṣpāt sakalo nirvyājopādhivarjitaḥ |*  
*vṛṣaḥ pratiṣṭhito dharmo manuṣyeṣu abhavat purā || 10 ||*  
*adharmapādavidhas tu tribhir aṃśaiḥ pratiṣṭhitaḥ |*  
*tretāyāṃ dvāpare ’rdhena vyāmiśro dharmo ucyate || 11 ||*  
*tribhir aṃśair adharmaḥ tu lokān ākramya tiṣṭhati |*  
*caturthāṃśena dharmas tu manuṣyān upatiṣṭhati || 12 ||*

<sup>3</sup> There is no trace of Nandi/Nandin as identified with the bull in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*. On the possible time after which Nandi or Nandin, originally a *gaṇa* was considered a bull, see Bhattacharya 1977 and Goodall, Rout, Sathyanarayanan *et al* 2005, 100–108 and 171–172.

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

*āyur vīryam atho buddhir balaṃ tejaś ca pāṇḍava |*  
*manuṣyāṇām anuyugaṃ hrasatīti nibodha me || 13 ||*

Śiva got his bull, MBh: 13076027a vṛṣabhaṃ ca dadau tasmai saha tāb-  
 hiḥ prajāpatiḥ 13076027c prasādayām āsa manas tena rudrasya bhārata 13076028a  
 prītaś cāpi mahādevaś cakāra vṛṣabhaṃ tadā 13076028c dhvajaṃ ca vāhanaṃ  
 caiva tasmāt sa vṛṣabhadhvajaḥ 13076029a tato devair mahādevas tadā paśu-  
 patiḥ kṛtaḥ 13076029c īśvaraḥ sa gavāṃ madhye vṛṣāṅka iti cocyate

Manusmṛti also confirms this (8.16a): vṛṣo hi bhagavān dharma.

MMW ‘vṛṣa’:

“Justice or Virtue personified as a bull or as”Siva’s bull Mn. viii, 16 Pur.  
 Kāvyād.; just or virtuous act, virtue, moral merit “Śiś. Vās.,”

Mahākṣapaṇaka’s koṣa (CHECK date), the Anekārthadhvanimañjarī,  
 places the meaning ‘dharma’ as first when defining the word ‘vṛṣa’:

*dharmo vṛṣo vṛṣaḥ śreṣṭho vṛṣo gaur mūṣiko vṛṣaḥ |*  
*vṛṣo balaṃ vṛṣaḥ kāmo vṛṣalo vṛṣa ucyate || 1.48*

The ŚDhU also mentions the ‘Dharma bull’:

*īśvarāyatanaśyādhāḥ śrīmān dharmavṛṣaḥ sthitaḥ |*  
*yatra vīravṛṣas tatra kṣityāṃ gomātarāḥ sthitā || 12.87*

visnusmṛdn:ViS 86.15a/ vṛṣo hi bhagavān dharmas catuṣ-pādaḥ prakīr-  
 titah /

Śivapurāṇa 2.3.40.54–55:

*śuddhasphaṭikasamkāśo vṛṣabhaḥ sarvasundaraḥ |*  
*yo dharma ucyate vedaiḥ śāstraiḥ siddhamaharṣibhiḥ ||*  
*tam ārūḍho mahādevo vṛṣabhaṃ dharmavatsalaḥ |*  
*śuśubhe ’tīva devarṣisevitaḥ sakalair vrajan ||*

smṛti/dharma/kṛtyaratnaakara.dn: !!! dharmo ’yaṃ vṛṣarūpeṇa nāmnā  
 nandīśavaro vibhuḥ | dharmān māheśvarān vakṣyaty ataḥ prabhṛti nārada||

tak2015/AtmapujaT55Muktabodha.dn: dharmas tatra vṛṣākāro jñānaḥ  
 siṃhasvarūpakah | vairāgyaṃ

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

To laud the bull (*vṛṣa*) would be surprising if the intended meaning were the bull  
 that is Śiva’s mount, but not if the word is intended in its figurative meaning,  
 namely *dharmah*, or *sukṛtam* ‘the virtuous actions [prescribed by the Veda].’ For

## Introduction

this meaning of *vṛṣaḥ* see, for example, Amarasimha, *Nāmalingānuśāsana* 1.4.25b (*sukṛtam vṛṣaḥ*), 3.3.220 (*sukṛte vṛṣabhe vṛṣaḥ*); Halāyudha, *Abhidhānaratnamālā* 1.125cd (*dharmāḥ puṇyam vṛṣaḥ śreyāḥ sukṛtaṁ ca samam smṛtam*); *Manu* 8[.]16a (*vṛṣo hi bhagavān dharmas...*); and the Gwalior Museum Stone Inscription of Patañgaśambhu (Mirashi 1962), l. 15, *vṛṣaikaniṣṭho 'pi jitasmaro 'pi yaḥ śaṅkaro 'bhūd bhuvi ko 'py apūrvvaḥ*, concerning the Śaiva ascetic Vyomaśambhu: ‘He was in the world an extraordinary new Śiva, since he too was *vṛṣaikaniṣṭhaḥ* (‘devoted solely to pious observance’; in Śiva’s case ‘riding only on the Bull’) and he too was *jitasmarah* (‘one who had defeated sensual urges’; in Śiva’s case ‘the defeater of the Love god Kāmadeva’). This is also the meaning of *vṛṣaḥ* in the title *Vṛṣasārasaṁgraha*, one of the works of the Śivadharmā corpus (see, e.g., Sanderson 2014, p. 2), i.e., ‘Summary of the Essentials of the [Śiva]dharma’.

In his last sentence here, Sanderson implies that the *Vṛṣasārasaṁgraha* is organically part of the teachings that we call the Śivadharmā corpus, and thus he adds Śiva in square brackets when translating the title *Vṛṣasārasaṁgraha*. A closer examination of the VSS reveals no direct references to either Śiva’s bull or to the bull as embodying the Śivadharmā. Instead, the bull in the VSS is repeatedly associated with the Dharma that is the four *āśramas* (see p. ??). My conclusion is that while the word *vṛṣa* in the title may well carry a reference to Śiva’s bull, it is always only implied and never explicitly taught, while the bull as the personification of Dharma as the four *āśramas* explicitly appears. Thus the title actually lacks any explicit hint to Śaivism, which fits in well with the rather blurred and multi-layered affiliation of the text to Dharmasāstra, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism.<sup>4</sup>

Uttarottara: īśvara uvāca | na jānanti ca loke 'smin mānavā mūḍhacetasah | catuṣpādo bhaved dharmāḥ śuklo 'yam mama vāhanaḥ ||

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.

Is he ignoring the fact that Dharma as a bull appears already in the *Mahābhārata*? NOOOOO He comes to the conclusion (Bhattacharya 1977, 1555)

<sup>4</sup> See also Bakker 2014, 69, who while discussing a seal of Śarvavarman that features a beautifully carved bull representing Dharma, remarks (italics mine): ‘The reader *may* also see in the image the thriving Śaiva religion, represented by the Bull, the vāhana of Śiva [...]’

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

that one of the earliest sources to fuse the figures of Nandin and the bull is the relatively early<sup>5</sup> *Matsyapurāṇa*.

**Vṛṣadeva’s commission?** As a fanciful experiment, and if one supposes that the VSS originated in Nepal, one could wonder if the title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* has anything to do with the Licchavi king Vṛṣadeva. Sanderson (2009, 74) mentions that Vṛṣadeva is ‘described in an inscription of his eighth-century descendant Jayadeva as having inclined towards Buddhism;’ (Vajracārya 1973, 148, l. 9: *sugataśāsanapakṣapāṭi*) ‘a view confirmed by a local chronicle, which attributes to him the establishing of Buddhist images,’ and that this king established ‘the Caitya of the Śinagu-vihāra (the Svayambhūnāth Caitya).’ More importantly, Sanderson summarises the information to be found in the Changu Narayana Pillar Inscription (east shaft),<sup>6</sup> namely that Vṛṣadeva was the great-grandfather of Mānadeva, whose ‘dated inscriptions range in date from 459 to 505/6’ [CE] (Sanderson 2009, 75).<sup>7</sup> 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 any connection, and if there were one, it would give some explanation for the slightly unusual nature of the title.

Petech 1984:80 Vṛttasārasaṃgraha = Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

Pañcāvaraṇastava 71: pratyag āśāsthitaṃ vande vṛṣaṃ ca vṛṣabhākṛtim|  
sākṣād dharmam sitam tryakṣam parameśasya vāhanam|| + notes to this  
verse on p. 171

*The genre*

Is the VSS a Purāṇa? There are at least two reasons to think so. One is the section VSS 1.63–76, a list of so-called *vedavyāsa*s, transmitters of Purāṇas, from Brahmā, to Vyāsa Dvaipāyana, Romaharṣa and his son. Why should a text include in its first chapter such a list if the implication is not that it is about its own origin?

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, destruc-

<sup>5</sup> See Rocher 1986, 199.

<sup>6</sup> Gnoli etc. and <https://siddham.network/inscription/in02001/>

<sup>7</sup> Vṛṣadeva was succeeded by Śaṅkaradeva and Dharmadeva.

## Introduction

tion of the world (*pratisarga*); (3) geneologies (*vaṃśa*); (4) Manu eras (*manvantaras*); (5) history (*vaṃśānucarita*).<sup>8</sup> 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 that one normally sees in Purāṇas.

Hazra. **CHECK** Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa is similar **CHECK**

Nīśvāsa book p.441: ‘Note that these sentences have been rephrased, in order to obviate the (metrical) need for prātipadikas in the Svachchanda (□□:□□ff). In one case, sparśatanmātra, the use of the prātipadika only obeys the metre if one treats the following ligature (ṣpa) as not making the previous syllable long. It is possible that jihvāyāṃ is a corruption of jihvāyā, a metrically required lengthened form of the instrumental jihvayā. For the expression śrotraśabdatvam āgatam, cf. the Nepalese reading of the previous line in the Svachchanda (□□:□□cd).’

search ibid for prātipadika,

*The structure of the VSS*

- Matryoshka - dialogues - affiliations - lotus diagramme - ch. 2 misplaced?

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., SivP 7.1.41: *sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṃśo manvantarāṇi ca | vaṃśānucaritaṃ caiva purāṇaṃ pañcalakṣaṇam ||*

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

*Contents of chapters 1–12*

9

**Adhyāya 1** After a *maṅgala*-verse that addresses a deity whose identity is obscure (is it Śiva or the impersonal Brahman?, verse 1.1), we enter the first layer of the text, which comprises a dialogue between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana and could be labelled Dharmaśāstric. Janamejaya wishes to hear the essence, the ultimate Dharmic teaching, of the *Mahābhārata*. In response, Vaiśampāyana starts relating a dialogue in which Viṣṇu, disguised as a Brahmin, is testing an ascetic called Anarthayajña, reknown for performing non-material sacrifice (*anarthayajña*, the topic of *adhyāya* eleven), and a devotee of Viṣṇu (which becomes clear in *adhyāya* twenty-one). This is the beginning of the layer one could label Vaiṣṇava. The first topic they discuss is *brahmavidyā* (1.9–10), and ambiguous definition of the impersonal Brahman and/or the syllable *om*. The next topic is *kāla* (‘death, time’), the origin of the body, karma (1.11–17), and the divisions of time (from *truṭi*, *nimeṣa* up to *kalpas*, 1.18–31), which leads to a teaching on numbers, from one up to two hundred quadrillion (*para*, 1.32–36). Verses 1.37–40 introduce a list of the rulers of the eight regions of the Brahmanḍa (1.41–49). In addition, Viṣṇu features as the ruler of the centre of the Brahmanḍa (1.50), reconfirming the general Vaiṣṇava character of this layer. 1.51–58 give the number of subordinates to each ruler mentioned above. 1.59–62 teaches the measurements of the Brahmanḍa. Finally, verses 1.63–76 list the redactors and transmitters of the Purāṇas, from Brahmā to Vyāsa Dvaipāyana, Romaharṣa, and Romaharṣa’s son Amitabuddhi.

**Adhyāya 2** . śivāṇḍasaṃkhyā 3. ahimśāpraśaṃsā 4. yamavibhāga 5. śaucācāraavidhi 6. yajñavidhi (also lokāḥ) 7. dānapraśaṃsā 8. niyamapraśaṃsā (p. 603: types of svādhyāyana: śaiva, sāmkhya, purāṇa, smārta, bhārata) 9. traiguṇyav-iśeṣaṇīya 10. kāyatīrthavivarṇana 11. caturāśramadharmavidhāna 12. vipu-lopākhyāna (narrative) 13. garbhotpatti (on conception) 14. praśnavyākaraṇa (why people are tall/short etc.) 15. jīvanirṇaya 16. adhyātmanirṇaya (yoga) 17. dānadharma 18. pūrvakarmavipākā 19. dānayajñaviśeṣa 20. pañcaviṃśati-tattvanirṇaya 21. kalpanirṇaya 22. varṇagotrāśrama 23. nidrotpatti 24. śās-travarṇana

– References to other works - Mahābhārata - nakule - vipule etc.

<sup>9</sup> See a Sanskrit summary of the contents of the VSS, based on Naraharinath’s edition, in Acharya 2014, 61–72 **CHECK**.



## Introduction

### Dating and provenance

Petech pp. 32ff -Narendradeva (c. 998-999) and Udayadeva (c. 998-1004), “no event of their reign is related” (p35)

-Nirbhayadeva (1004-1009), Rudradeva (1007-1028), Bhojadeva (1009-1020)

-Lakṣmīkāmādeva (1010-1041), see ŚDh MS Calcutta 4077 (Petech p38), this MS already contains the VSS

Maybe the VSS is eclectic because of dvairāja?

#### – Dating

- the archaic yoga of chapter 10 (no Piṅgalā), Śaiva
- order of āśramas, cf. Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, 23, Chapter 11, Śaiva
- 11.23a: 4 kalās (nivṛtṭyādi caturvedaś), instead of the later 5, Śaiva
- the tattvas (no tanmātras), Chapter 20, Vaiṣṇava
- varṇas and the Liṅgapurāṇa
- check lists of deities such as Vasus
- bull, Nandi

#### – Place of composition: geographical names and persons mentioned

To make assumptions about the place of composition of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, we can consider the following: the location of the manuscript evidence, place names and individuals mentioned in the text... The geographical locations mentioned in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* are the following:

- in the narrative in chapter 12:
  - Mṛgendrasīkhara (on the southern slopes of the Himalayas; 22.5ab: *himavaddakṣiṇe pārśve mṛgendrasīkhare*)
  - Mahendrapathaga(?), the name of a river near Mṛgendrasīkhara
  - Kusuma (i.e., Pāṭaliputra)
  - the Gāṅgā and the Gaṇḍakī River
  - Naravīrapura (in the south, see 12.60)
  - the Sahya mountain (12.93)
- *tīrthas* mentioned in ch. 10:
  - Himavat (the Himalayas)
  - Kurukṣetra

*Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṁgraha*

- Prayāga
- Vārāṇasī
- Yamunā
- Gaṅgā
- Agnitīrtha
- Somatīrtha
- Sūryatīrtha
- Puṣkara
- Mānasa
- Naimiṣa
- Bindusāra (= Bindusaras)
- Setubandha
- Suradraha
- Ghaṇṭikeśvara
- Vāgīśa

*Introduction*

*Interpretation of chapters*

- Chapter 12
  - everybody is donating to everybody,
  - the final donor is Brahmā
  - lot of testing going on in the frame story and also
  - in chapter 12
  - also the disguise thing is recurring: 12.37 and ch 1 and
  - when Viṣṇu reveals his identity

*The role of the VSS in the Śivadharmā corpus*

- general ideas
  - is this text really Śaiva? why in this collection?
  - niśvāsa as sadāśiva in ch. 16; Niśvāsa uttarasūtra 5.50–51; see also Kāfle 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.”
  - tattva-system: mati and suśira (ch. 20)
  - parallels: MBh, Bṛhatkālottara,
  - ch. 21: Viṣṇu; is this a Śaiva text?
  - āśramas are in an order different from usual; compare this to NĀT; “Variations on the āśrama-system”
- History of Dharmasastra 2.1 pp. 416ff on āśramas
  - n. 988! see Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra ii.9.21.1: catvāra āśramā gārhaṣṭhyam ācāryakulaṃ maunaṃ vānaprasthyam iti| Quoted by Śāṅkara But the chapters in Āpastamba follow the traditional order. “Āp. places the householder first among the āśramas, probably on account of the importance of that stage to all other āśramas.” Kane ibid.
  - ibid p. 417: person in last āśrama is called: parivrāṭ, parivrājaka(!), bhikṣu, muni, yati. See Olivelle, Patrick. The Āśrama System. The

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

History and Hermeneutics of a Religious Institution. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993. [megvan] p.82ff: The Order of Āśramas; *ibid*: “In later texts the usual order is student, householder, hermit, and renouncer, reflecting the sequence of the passage from one *āśrama* to another... In the Dharmasūtras, however, only Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha follow that order... A specific order becomes insignificant when the *āśramas* are taken as four alternative adult vocations.” Are they alternative adult vocations here in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*? They are numbered.

- *Grhastha. The Householder in Ancient Indian Religious Culture.* Edited by Patrick Olivelle. OUP, 2019. Especially Csaba Dezső’s article in it.
- %dscn 8034.jpg ff in folder /home/csaba/mmedia/images/scan/saiva/sivadharma corpus/pasupatimatam4/ % in Naraharinātha’s Paśupatimatam pp. 58off % CHECK if Naraharinath seems to be better at Sanskrit in other texts % the edition seems problematic at many places % a dialogue between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana, the latter of whom relates dialogues between Vigatarāga and Anarthayajña % revise as and lost/ill Bisschop in “Universal Śaivism”: ” – En-dashes indicate a lost or illegible syllable in the manuscript.”
- %N. of a celebrated king to whom Vaiśampāyana recited the [MBh.] (greatgrandson to Arjuna, as being son and, successor to Parikshit who was the son of Arjuna’s son Abhimanyu) [”SBr.] xi, xii AitBr. ”Sāṅkhir. xvi [MBh.] &c;
- Bisschop 2018, 2: “The full text of the corpus was first published by Naraharinātha in 1998, while over the past few years several scholars have started to work on individual parts of the corpus or referred to them in their studies. See, in particular, Acharya 2009; Bisschop 2010, 2014; De Simini 2013, 2016a, 2016b, 2017; De Simini & Mirnig 2017; Goodall 2011; Kafle 2013, 2015; Magnone 2005; Sander-son 2003/04, 2012/13; Schwartz 2012. An edition of the Śivadharmaśāstra alone, based on a single manuscript in the Adyar Library, has been published more recently as well (Jugnu & Sharma 2014). The Śivopaniṣad, which also forms part of the Śivadharma corpus, was already published much earlier but was not recognised as such, being included in a collection of Upaniṣads (Kunhan Raja 1933).”
- What MS did Naraharinātha used? See Bisschop 2018:58–59.

## Introduction

- Palm leaf: /home/csaba/mmedia/images/scan/saiva/sivadharmacorpus/mss\_florinda/newari/ngmpp/palm\_leaf\_3:3/fr.8493.0.A 0003-03\_3/A3-03+65851+177\_vss\_start.jpg Paper MS /home/csaba/mmedia/images/scan/saiva/sivadharmacorpus/1341-06/DSCN0331 fol. 204\_vss.JPG

- Vipula

Vipula in the MBh:

MBh 13040016aff

Devaśarman and his wife Ruci 13040017a tasya rūpeṇa → 13040017a tasyā rūpeṇa

all gods, esp. Indra, are in love with her but Devaśarman guards her wants to perform yajña: how to guard her during the ritual? calls his pupil, Vipula tells him that Indra can assume various forms Vipula decides that the only way to protect her from Indra is to magically 'enter' her (with yoga) he tells her stories and enters her

MBh 13041001ff Indra sees the opportunity and enters the āśrama as a beautiful man he sees Vipula's lifeless body Ruci fancies Indra, but Vipula in his body stops her from standing up Indra sings to her beautiful songs he says "I have come for you, I am Devendra, I am in love" Vipula stops her from doing anything Indra is a bit shocked by her not being moved, gets angry and can see now that Vipula is in her Vipula leaves her, enters his own body, and abuses Indra and tells Indra how wicked he is Indra is ashamed and disappears Devaśarman returns to the āśrama, Vipula tells him what happened and Devaśarman praises him

- ETC., see translation here: <https://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/m13/m13b005.htm>
- See summary also here: V. S. Sukthankar. Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata. Poona, V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee, 1944. 317–318 <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.281344/page/n333>

## *Dhyāna in the VSS and the DharmP*

Compare, borrowings

## Misc

- susūkṣma: Śivadharmottara 10.45cd–46: rudraḥ ṣaḍviṃśakaḥ proktaḥ śivaś ca paratas tataḥ || 45 || saptaviṃśatimaḥ śāntaḥ susūkṣmaḥ

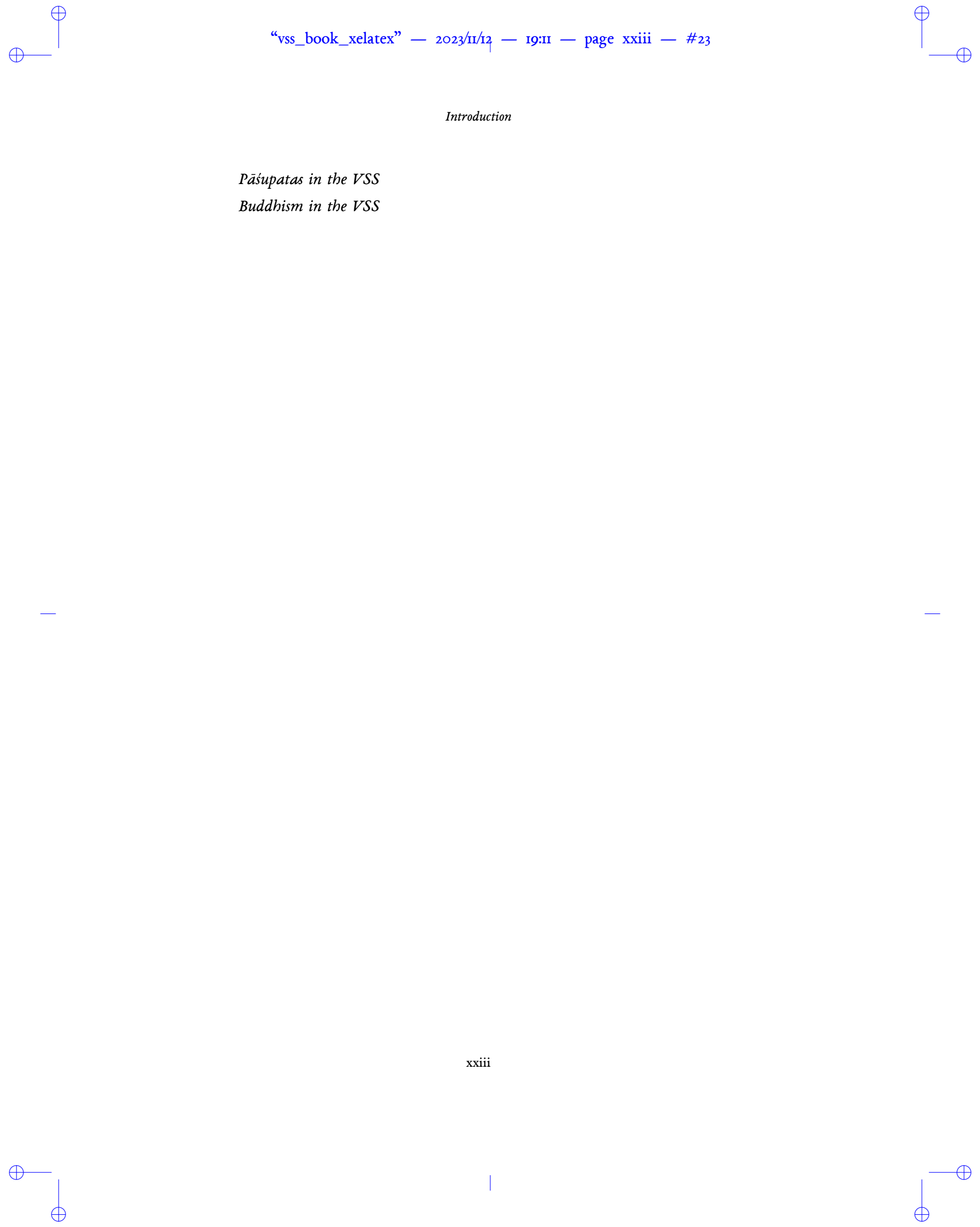
*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

parameśvaraḥ | svargāpavargayor dātā taṃ vijñāya vimucyate || 46 ||.  
yamas-niyamas: see table in Bisschop, Kaffle, & Lubin 2021, 17

- other Why is this mentioned at <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01694-00001/403>: C., Kunhan Raja, Un-published Upanishads (Adyar: The Adyar Library, 1933). Ahhh, Śivopaniṣat is in there! cf. śi-vasaṃkalpa in pp 319 ff. (Śi-vasaṃkalpopaniṣat) Bonazzoli, Giorgio, “Introducing Śivadharmā and Śivadharmottara”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* vol. 20 issue. 2 pp. 342-349 (1993). “There is no raw data.” EdX Harvard Digital Humanities
- CHECK out Kenji on the Umāmaheśvaraṣaṃvāda in the MBh, his summary looks similar to the VSS
- Kenji: “BDhS 2: Discussion of gṛhastha. but BDh 2.11.9-34 is a digression on the topic of caturāśrama (vikalpa type, not krama type), and the author denies caturāśrama idea.”
- MSS: see Bisschop 2018, 52-53; De Simini & Mirnig pp. 587, 591 % “a stable element of the corpus”
- Vindicate your edition: look at the apparatus, all the Ed entries

*Texts related to the VSS*

MBh Manu Nīśvāsakārikā



*Introduction*

*Pāśupatas in the VSS*  
*Buddhism in the VSS*

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

*Notes on the language*

The language of the VSS goes beyond the idiosyncrasies of epic Sanskrit. It exhibits strong similarities to Śaiva Aīśa Sanskrit,<sup>10</sup> and it applies particular metrical licences and uses a special vocabulary, morphology and syntax. The analysis of this language, ideally, could lead us to the author(s) or redactors of the text and to its place of composition. Here I 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 (pp. ??), as well as the Index.

*Metre*

As regards metrical licences, the first striking feature is the generous use of the poetic licence sometimes labelled ‘muta cum liquida,’<sup>11</sup> namely that some consonant clusters that would normally turn the previous short (laghu) syllable long (guru) may in some cases do not do so. The syllables pra, bra, hra, kra, especially at the beginning of words CHECK, are well-known candidates for this licence.<sup>12</sup> In the VSS, tra, vra, śra, pra, and also śya, śva, sva, dva, all involving conjunct consonants with a liquid sounds or semi-vowels in second position, and possibly also rpa, CHECK! seem additional ones.

The well-known author on prosody, Kedārabhaṭṭa (11-12th centuries),<sup>13</sup> frequently quoted by Mallinātha, gives the following definition in his *Vṛttaratnākara* (here given together with Sulhaṇa’s *Sukaviḥṛdayanandinī* commentary):

*padādāv iha varṇasya saṃyogaḥ kramasaṃjñikah |  
puraḥsthitena tena syāl laghutā ’pi kvacid guroḥ || 1.10 ||  
vibhaktyantaṃ padaṃ tasya padasyādaḥ vartamāno yo  
varṇas tasya saṃyogaḥ | sa iha śāstre kramasaṃjñō jñeyah  
| tena krameṇa purovartinā prāḥpadānte vartamānasya  
prāḥtagurubhāvasyāpi laghutā syāt | kvacil lakṣānurod-  
hena | nanu ka eṣaḥ kramo nāma saṃyoga ucyate | pūrvācāryāṇāṃ  
piṅgalanāgaḥprabhṛtīnāṃ kālīdāsādīnāṃ ca kavīnāṃ samayaḥ  
parigrhītaḥ | saṃyogaḥ kramasaṃyogaḥ || 10 || tatra gra-  
saṃyogena yathā | idam asyodāharaṇam |*

<sup>10</sup> See Goodall, Törzsök, Hatley, Kiss, Meyr?

<sup>11</sup> For recent contributions on this phenomenon, see e.g. Ranjan Sen 2006 (discussing it as appearing in Latin) and Balogh 2018, note 6 (discussing Sanskrit metre).

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. Apte’ XXX Dictionary Appendix A p. 1. ADD real life examples.

<sup>13</sup> SOURCE



## Introduction

*taruṇaṃ sarśapaśākam navaudanam picchalāni ca dadhīni |*  
*alpavyayena sundari grāmyajano miṣṭam aśnāti || I.11 ||*

TRANSLATE the whole passage!

In this [work], a consonant cluster at the beginning of a word is called *krama*. A [preceding] long syllable can sometimes be turned short by that initial [syllable].

Tender mustard seed, fresh porridge, and slimy curds: village people eat this kind of dishes, O beautiful goddess, due to lack of money.

To sum this example up: the verse given above (1.11) is in āryā, and the metric pattern of the second half-verse is the following: - - . - . - - . - - . - - . - - . This yields 28 morae, instead of the expected 27. By treating the final syllable of sundari short, in spite of the following grā, the pattern conforms to the expected pattern: - - . - . - - . - - . - - . - - .

The commentator gives several more examples (involving the syllables *gra*, *hra*, *bhra*), including this *Śārdūla* line:

nidravyo hriyam eti hrīparigataḥ prabhraśyate tejaśaḥ

In this line, the last syllable of eti should count as short, in spite of the fact that the beginning of the next word (hrī°) would normally turn it long.

The VSS abounds in this phenomenon of ‘muta cum liquida’. EXAMPLES from the VSS and from my emendations. CHECK

- only beginning of words in the VSS?
- final -am etc. counts as long (reverse of muta cum liquida)
- In Kannada and Telugu prosody, under the name of śīthīla-dvīṭva, the exception is that sometimes in a consonant cluster of the form [consonant + “r”], the “r” (repha) can be ignored, so that it is not a conjunct consonant anymore.
- The exception is not accepted by purists: Shatavadhani Ganesh says that the Sanskrit masters like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha, Śrīharṣa, and Viśākhadatta have not freely used this exception (though the masters in Kannada and other languages have). Being more of a “poetic licence” and a violation of the standard rule (only found in later poetry), it is extremely unlikely that any sane poet would have indulged in that exception in all four pāda-s of a verse. Thus it is very unlikely that the program will miss identifying a verse that indulges in this

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

- Reference: see comments by Dr. Ganesh and Nityananda Misra in this thread started by Vishvas Vasuki: <https://groups.google.com/forum/#!topic/bvparishat/yaicGLuhc14/d>  
poetic licences

Vocabulary

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

Number and gender

- Number: singular next to numerals, and general confusion (CHECK)
- the more original a section the more extreme language? see ch11

Syntax

- Special structures: caturmaunasya vakṣyāmi indreṇāsmi phalaṃ dat-taṃ

kathito 'smi  
as if not proofread

Stem form nouns

- stem form nouns (prātipadika)
- a more or less full collation is important: we cannot automatically reject ‘ungrammatical’ or unmetrical forms because they may well be the ‘original’ one

*Introduction*



Figure 1: 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).

*Vṛṣasārasaṅgraha*

## *A Critical Edition of Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha 1–12*

### Witnesses

Hanneder’s Intro to Text Genealogy, Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique (Introduction): very useful summary, use it! Hanneder 2009 p. 5: ‘textual criticism is often viewed as something to be learned by practice rather than reading about it.’ *ibid.*: ‘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.’ *ibid.*: ‘in most cases this approach is sufficient’

p. 7: basic method is common errors; age of mss, and number of mss preserving a reading is insignificant; Maas: only works if no contamination [but VSS must be deeply contaminated]

p. 11: Lachmann’s objective method with no subjective judgement (re-censio sine interpretatione) *ibid.*: ‘It seems that from these principles only the preference for the *lectio difficilior* made it into text-critical modernity, and even there reliance on it is sometimes rejected as too dangerous.’ Also uncommon and offensive readings are preferred. But nothing can be followed mechanically. inner criteria

clearly not one author here; revisions? Reject phylogenetics slightly Even the best mss can contain a bewildering number of problematic readings, and ‘worse’ mss can give us clues as to how to emend the text... Mention MaSa.m: there was a stemma, but it was useless music: practice and theory It is a skill. Mention Sanderson’s approach.

In the pre-modern era, the VSS has been transmitted exclusively in multiple-text manuscripts that were produced in Nepal. Even when a manuscript of the VSS seems to be a single-text MS, chances are high that it originally belonged to a multiple-text manuscript.<sup>14</sup> In the manuscript descriptions

<sup>14</sup> As I remarked elsewhere (Kiss 2021, 185, n. 9): ‘Asiatic Society (Calcutta), Manuscript G 4076, cat. no. 4083, may seem to be an independent manuscript of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, but as De Simini has already remarked (2016b, 240 n. 19) [= De Simini 2016b], it is probably from a multiple text manuscript. In fact, from what can be gathered from its

## *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

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 and the catalogues I mention at some of the individual manuscript.<sup>15</sup>

In recently published and forthcoming critical editions of and articles on the Śivadharma corpus (e.g. Bisschop 2018 and Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021), 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. For details of this system and for the underlying reasons, see Bisschop 2018, 50–51. Since in the case of the VSS all available manuscripts use some variant of the Nepālākṣara script, 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.

### *The Cambridge manuscripts*

(N)<sup>C</sup><sub>94</sub> Cambridge University Library, Add. 1694.1. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a detailed description of this manuscript in the CUDL online catalogue.<sup>16</sup> According to this catalogue, the date of creation of this manuscript is the 12th century, its dimensions are 5 × ca. 53.5 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 258 folios and transmitting eight texts: 1) *Śivadharmaśāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadhar-masaṃgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 6) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 7) *Dharmaputrikā*, 8) *Śivopaniṣad*.

The VSS occupies 45 folios: it starts on f. 193 (the recto side, online

description in Shastri 1928, 716ff, it seems likely that this manuscript was originally part of manuscript Asiatic Society (Calcutta) G 3852, cat. no. 4085. See for example the folio numbering in these two manuscripts: ASC G 3852 contains 210 folios, and ASC G 4076 starts on folio 210.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>15</sup> I owe thanks to Florinda De Simini for sharing with me most of the manuscripts listed here, to Kengo Harimoto and Gudrun Melzer (Munich) for providing photos of the Munich MS, and to Nirajan Kafle for sharing a digital copy of the Paris MS with me.

<sup>16</sup> <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01694-00001/382>

## Introduction

image no. 381, is an empty folio side, the text itself starts on the verso side); it 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 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 *CHECK* (‘illegible’). The quality of the readings of this manuscript is one of the best among the available witnesses, comparable only to K<sub>82</sub> and P<sub>57</sub>, making it one of the most important sources for the VSS.

(N)<sup>C</sup><sub>45</sub> Cambridge University Library, Add. 1645. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a detailed description of this manuscript in the CUDL online catalogue.<sup>17</sup> According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 4.4 × 61.7 cm. The manuscript is dated to (Nepala) ‘*saṃvat 259 śrāvaṇa śukla dvādaśīyādi(?) < trayodaśyām*,’ which converts to July 10/11 Monday/Tuesday, 1139 CE.<sup>18</sup> The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 247 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, 4) *Śivopaniṣad*, 5) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣa-sārasaṃgraha*, 8) *Dharmaṃputrikā*.

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<sub>82</sub> remarkably closely while transmitting the *Śivadharmottara* (as observed by De Simini

<sup>17</sup> <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01645/404>

<sup>18</sup> F. 247r line 6. The CUDL website transcribes this colophon as: *saṃvat 259 śrāvaṇaśukladvādaśīpyādi 8 trayodaśyām* (retrieved 8 Dec 2021). The element *dvādaśīpyādi* might be read as *dvādaśīyā di*, perhaps a mistake for *dvādaśyām di* (*di* for a misplaced *diva/divā*?), and the symbol that does look like a figure ‘8’ of a slightly later period than the manuscript itself (resembling the mathematical symbol <) might also be a *kākapada*. Another faint *kākapada* is perhaps to be seen under *daśī*, therefore it is possible that the scribe’s intention was to delete *dvādaśī*<sup>19</sup> and correct it to *trayodaśyām*, and then the date becomes 11th of July. Kengo Harimoto has suggested that the unclear element (*yādi/pyādi*) 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 (*ghaṭikā*) the scribe finished copying the text. It is still not clear if we should take *dvādaśī* or *trayodaśyām* as the date. For help on the conversion of the date and for a detailed discussion on the colophon I am indebted to Kengo Harimoto.

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

and Harimoto).<sup>19</sup> This is more difficult to see in the case of the VSS, but indeed, they seem closely related.

(N)C<sub>02</sub> Cambridge University Library, Add. 2102. All available folios of this MS have been collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a detailed description of this manuscript in the CUDL online catalogue.<sup>20</sup> According to this catalogue, the date of creation is the 12th century, and the dimensions of the manuscript are 4.8 × ca. 52.5 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 96 folios. Six texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmottara*, 2) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, 3) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 4) *Śivopaniṣad*, 5) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 6) *Dharmaputrikā* (only f. 322v). Note that the *Śivadharmottara* starts on f. 51r, thus the part that most probably contained the *Śivadharmasāstra* is lost.

The *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* starts on f. 267r line 1 (online image no. 181). The online description labels this image as f. 237r. This first folio in fact has no visible foliation. The previous text, the *Śivopaniṣad*, ended on f. 236v, with pāda b of verse 7.122,<sup>21</sup> 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<sub>94</sub>, and twenty folios in C<sub>45</sub>. Thus this MS did most probably transmit all eight texts of the Śivadharm corpus.<sup>22</sup>

This first folio of the VSS is in a hand which is different from the rest of the manuscript, but the hand changes back in the next folio.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Personal communication, 1 Dec 2021.

<sup>20</sup> <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02102/181>

<sup>21</sup> Image no. 180, *Śivopaniṣad* 7.122: *yauvanasthā grhasthāś ca [prāsā]dasthāś ca ye nṛpāḥ*.

<sup>22</sup> Compare with the claim of the online catalogue: “The present manuscript probably contained seven texts.”

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the metadata on the CUDL site: ‘1 folio of the same dimensions is a modern supply for the beginning of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*.’ A hardly readable note in pencil to the same effect is visible at the top of the first folio side (f. 267r, ‘mode..... supply beg of Vṛṣasāra-saṃgr.’). I am not sure how ‘modern’ this supplement is, but it seems indeed likely that a lost first folio was supplemented with a later copy. To match the end of this new copy with the beginning of the next, older, folio, a scribe more or less erased the beginning of the first line in the old folio, rather than the last line of the younger folio. This slightly illogical decision may mean that the younger copy was not tailor-made for the old portion, but rather that it was taken from a younger manuscript which was perhaps



## Introduction

In this multiple-text manuscript, the VSS is transmitted in an incomplete form, that is to say, a number of folios are missing (most notably chapters 15–17). The first partially visible folio number is in image 184: the numeral characters 200+60 are visible (268v, according to the CUDL online catalogue). In image 186, the folio number 269 is clearly visible (f. 269v). In folio 270v, the continuous text is broken at verse 2.21c (*kāmarū*°), ff. 271 and 272 are missing, and the text resumes on f. 273r with verse 3.30b ([*ahiṃsā pa*] *ramaṃ sukham*). Folio 291 is missing (verses 12.87cd–12.113). In folio 296v (image no. 234) the text breaks off again at *vātaśūlair upadrutā | śukro* (verse 14.22b)<sup>24</sup>, the next folio being 306r (*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 °*ṇeṣu 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<sup>Σ</sup> signifies all three Cambridge MSS described above.

## The Kathmandu manuscripts

(N)K<sub>82</sub> NGMPP A 1082/3, NAK 3/393. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a brief description of this MS in the NGMCP online catalogue.<sup>25</sup> 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).<sup>26</sup> The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 274 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śiva-*

considered more legible. Otherwise it would have been more practical to stop copying the first folio at the point where the next begins.

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

<sup>25</sup> [https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp\\_ngmcpdocument\\_00098499](https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00098499)

<sup>26</sup> See f. 12r line 2 of the *Dharmaputrikā* in this MS: *navottarāsītīyute sate bde āsāḍhaśuklasya tithau tṛtīye*, translated by De Simini 2016b, 252 n. 49 as: ‘in [the year] 189, in the 3rd lunar day of the bright [fortnight] of [the month] Āṣāḍha.’ She adds that the date is verified in Petech 1984, 46 as May 24, 1069 CE.

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

*dharmasaṃgraha*, 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 *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*.<sup>27</sup>

(N)K<sub>10</sub> NGMPP A 10/5, NAK 1/1261. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a brief description of this MS in the NGMCP online catalogue.<sup>28</sup> According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 55 x 5.5 cm. It is an undated palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 74 folios. Four texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmottara*, 2) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 3) *Śivopaniṣad*, 4) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*.

Some folios feature monochrome 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 1.62 (*viṃśakoṭiṣu gulmeṣu ūrdhva*<sup>o</sup>). Verses 1.62cd–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 *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, ending in a colophon for its chapter twenty-two, and still going backwards, the preceding folios continue transmitting the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. Exploring the presence of the VSS in this manuscript further, one should look at the expositions after no. 44. Exp. 45 contains the end of the *Śivopaniṣad*. The single leaf on exp. 46 is almost illegible but most probably contains a fragment of the *Gautamadharmasūtra*. The second line just above the string hole on the left reads ... *vīrud vanaspatīnāṃ 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

<sup>27</sup> See a similar evaluation in Bisschop 2018, 56.

<sup>28</sup> [https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp\\_ngmcpdocument\\_00085264](https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00085264)

## Introduction

leaf and continue with the upper one.

(N)K<sub>7</sub> NGMPP B 7/3 = A 1082/2, NAK 1/1075. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a brief description of this MS in the NGMCP online catalogue.<sup>29</sup> According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 58 × 6 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara. Dated to Nepāla Samvat 290 (1169–70 CE). It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 289 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasamgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha*, 7) *Uttarottaramahāsamvāda*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*. Ff. 209v–264v contain the VSS.

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

(N)K<sub>3</sub> NGMPP A 3/3 (= A 1081/5), NAK 5–737. I have collated this MS only for verses 1.1–15ab to test it. See a brief description of this MS in the NGMCP online catalogue.<sup>30</sup> According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 58.5 × 5.5 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara and the MS is dated to Nepāla Samvat 321 (1200–01 CE). It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 215 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasamgraha* (only a few folios are extant, e.g. ff. 124 and 143), 4) *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsamvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha*, 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:

NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3)<sup>31</sup>—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.

Paper MSS? hidden

<sup>29</sup> [https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp\\_ngmcpdocument\\_00062373](https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00062373)

<sup>30</sup> [http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A\\_3-3\\_Śivadharmasamgraha](http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A_3-3_Śivadharmasamgraha)

3\_Śivadharmasamgraha

<sup>31</sup> [http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A\\_11-3\\_Śivadharmottara](http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A_11-3_Śivadharmottara)

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

*The Munich manuscript*

**M** This MS is preserved at CHECK and has no access number CHECK. I have collated the readings of this MS only for VSS chapters one and five as a test. On this MS in more detail, see Harimoto 2022. I received the digital images of this MS from Kengo Harimoto shortly after he had taken pictures of it in Munich on Nov 16, 2021. This MS contains the following texts: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 4) *Śivopaniṣad*, 5) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Dharmaputrikā*. The section that must have contained the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, ff. 82–121, is lost. The portion that contains the VSS and the *Dharmaputrikā* is dated (f. 50r line 5): || *iti vṛṣasārasaṃgrāhe caturviṃśatimo dhyāyah samāptaḥ | samvat 192 māghakṛṣṇadivāpañcamyām || postakalikhitaṃ iti* ||. The year 192 in Nepāla Samvat converts to 1071–1072 CE. The part of the MS that precedes the VSS looks considerably earlier and is potentially an important witness for other texts of the Śivadharm corpus. An interesting feature of this MS is that it gives the number of verses contained in each chapter in the colophons. Ten folios that transmitted the VSS are missing: f. 5 (VSS 3.4–3.33), ff. 11–13 (VSS 6.20–8.45), ff. 24 (VSS 13.9–13.36), and ff. 39–43 (VSS 20.38–22.35).

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

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

*The Paris manuscript*

**(N)P<sub>57</sub>** This is a multiple-text palm-leaf manuscript written in Nepālākṣara script and preserved in the Collection Sylvain Lévi at the Institut 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 1.60d–2.21ab, as well as 3.14–42 and 4.1–7. Foliation appears on the verso side: in the left-hand margin in Newari alphabetical numerals and in the right-hand margin in arabic numerals by a second hand. The portion that contains the VSS is fairly well-preserved and the text is written in a clear hand. Although it is an undated manuscript, it could be dated to the 11th century CE on palaeographical

## Introduction

grounds. It contains the following text in the order they are presented in the manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasamgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsamvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*. The VSS appears on ff. 212–252. This source gives reliable readings and contains relatively few scribal mistakes.<sup>32</sup>

### *The Oxford manuscript*

(N)O<sub>15</sub> This palm-leaf manuscript is deposited in the Bodleian Library, in Oxford, under shelf mark Sansk. a. 15. It is dated to Nepāla Samvat 307 (1186–87 CE), and it contains 335 folios, transmitting the following texts: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasamgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsamvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*.

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

### *The Kolkata manuscripts*

I have not been able to access either of these two potentially important witnesses:

(N)Ko<sub>76</sub> MS G 4076 in the collection of The Asiatic Society, Kolkata.<sup>33</sup> Shastri 1928 (716–718) gives a detailed description of this manuscript along with the text of VSS 1.1–16. According to Shastri, the dimensions of the MS are 22½ × 2 inches (57.15 × 5.08 cm), the text is complete and the script is of the twelfth century CE.

This manuscript may appear as a rare instance of the VSS being transmitted independently, and not in a multiple-text manuscript, but it seems very likely that it was originally part of Ko<sub>52</sub> (MS G 3852), a *Śivadharmasamgraha* corpus MS in the same collection lacking the VSS; see note 14 on page 3.

(N)Ko<sub>77</sub> According to Shastri 1928, 720, MS G 4077 in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Kolkata, a palm leaf MS, transmits the VSS in 52 folios.

<sup>32</sup> This description had as its starting point a shorter description written and kindly shared with me by Nirajan Kafle.

<sup>33</sup> I am grateful to our colleague Sushmita Das for attempting to get a copy of this MS in March 2020.

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

The MS is dated to July 6, 1036 CE (Nepāla Samvat 156; see De Simini 2017, 542), which makes it ‘the oldest known dated attestation of the corpus’ (De Simini 2016b, 250–251).

*The 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.

*The London manuscript*

(N)L<sub>16</sub> This is a paper manuscript in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine under shelf number WI δ 16 (I–VIII). It contains 406 folios and the following texts: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*. This MS is described in Wujastyk 1985.

While collating MS L<sub>16</sub> for VSS chapter 22, I realised that it was to be a direct or close copy of K<sub>82</sub>. A few examples to prove this will suffice:

K<sub>82</sub> (f. 40r) reads:



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

L<sub>16</sub> (f. 38iv) gives:



*sphaṭikāṃsatam eva ca || devayogāsanāsīto*

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

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

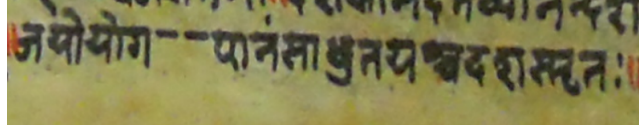




### Introduction

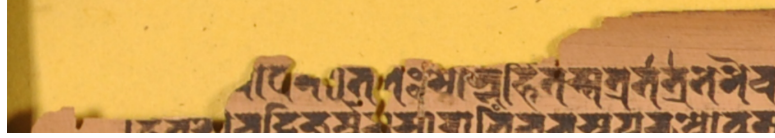
[*japo yogas tapo*] *dhyānaṃ svādhyāyaś ca daśa smṛtaḥ*  
with *dhyā* and *svā* damaged;

L<sub>16</sub> (f. 381r) cannot read the bit that is completely lost, and it misreads the damaged *dhyānaṃ* as *dhānaṃ*, *svādhyā* as *sādhū*:



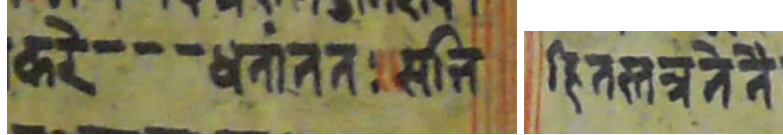
In the next example, the text is supposed to read *kare grhya tapodhanam | tataḥ so 'ntarhitas tatra tenaiva*.

K<sub>82</sub> (f. 39r) gives:



[*kare*] x x x x x *dha*na tataḥ so 'ntar(hitas tatra tenaiva

L<sub>16</sub> (f. 38or) gives:



*kare - - dhatāṃ tataḥ || sati hitas tatra tenaiva*

trying to make sense of the fragments. The examples above suggest that L<sub>16</sub> was copied directly from K<sub>82</sub> when the damage had already been done to K<sub>82</sub>. For this reason, I have not collated its readings for VSS chapters 1–12.

### Naraharinath's edition

(N)E Much has been said of Yogi Naraharinath's pioneering but problematic edition (the *editio princeps*) of the Śivadharmā corpus (Naraharinath 1998): see e.g. De Simini 2016a, 66, n. 190; 2017, 542, Bisschop 2018, 58–59, Bisschop, Kaffle, & Lubin 2021, 55. My impression of the text of the VSS in Naraharinath's edition 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

*Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṁgraha*

also suggest a general problem with the typesetting process. Nevertheless I have recorded the readings found in this publication for all twelve chapters given in my critical edition.



*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

SDh MSS from Nepal  
stemma...

# वृषसारसंग्रहः [ अष्टादशमो ऽध्यायः ]

[ स्वर्गोपागतानां चिह्नानि ]

देव्युवाच ।  
भुक्त्वा तु भोगान्सुचिरं यथेष्टं  
पुण्यक्षयान्मर्त्यमुपागतानाम् ।  
चिह्नानि तेषां कथयस्व मे ऽद्य  
यथाक्रमं कर्मफलं विशेषात् ॥१८:१॥

[ दानाष्टकम् ]

महेश्वर उवाच ।  
सदान्नदाता कृपणार्तिदीनां  
स वर्षकोट्यायुतमीशलोके ।  
भुक्त्वा च भोगान्सममप्सरोभिः  
प्रक्षीणपुण्यः पुनरेति मर्त्यम् ॥१८:२॥  
जायन्ति दिव्येषु कुलेषु पुंसः  
सस्त्रीसमृद्धे बहुभृत्यपूर्णे ।  
गौरश्वरत्नादिधनाकुलेषु  
रूपोज्ज्वलः कान्तिसमायुतश्च ॥१८:३॥

Testimonia for this chapter—C<sub>94</sub>: f. 224r line 4 – f. 226r line 4; C<sub>45</sub>: f. 226v line 6 – f. 228r line 6; C<sub>02</sub>: f. 306r line 1 – f. 306v line 5; K<sub>82</sub>: f. 31v line 1 – f. 33r line 6; M: f. 33v line 2 – f. 35v line 4; K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup>: f. 231r line 2 – f. 232v line 7; E: pp. 649–651 1 C<sub>02</sub> broke off in chapter 14 and resumes below at 18.28b. The gap in E that started at 17.39 continues up to 18.16c.

❖

**1a** तु ] Σ; om. K<sub>82</sub>, च M **1b** °क्षयान्म° ] Σ; °क्षया म° M **1c** चिह्नानि ] Σ; किञ्चिद् M **1d** विशेषात् ] Σ; विशेषः M **2** महेश्वर ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>; भगवान् K<sub>82</sub>MK<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup>  
**2a** °दीनां ] Σ; °दीना M **2b** °युतमीशलोके ] Σ; °युतमीनशलोके C<sub>94</sub><sup>ac</sup>, °युतस्वर्गलोके M  
**2c** °न्सममप्सरोभिः ] Σ; °न्सहरप्सरोभिः M, °न्सरोभिः K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup> **2d** °पुण्यः पुनरेति मर्त्यम् ] Σ; °पुण्यः पुनरेति मर्त्ये K<sub>82</sub>, °पुण्य पुनः मर्त्यलोके M **3a** ] C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>; --- C<sub>45</sub>, जायन्ति ते दिव्यकुलेषु पुन्साम् M, जायन्ति ते दिव्ये कुलेषु पुंसः K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup> (unmetr.) **3c** गौर° ] C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup>; गौरव° C<sub>94</sub><sup>ac</sup>, गोर° C<sub>45</sub>M • °रत्नादि° ] K<sub>82</sub>M; °रत्नादि° C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup>, °रत्नाति° C<sub>45</sub> • °धना° ] Σ; °समा° M **3d** रूपोज्ज्वलः ] em.; रूपोज्ज्वल° C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>, रूपोज्ज्वलः M, रूपज्ज्वल° K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup> • °समायुतश्च ] C<sub>94</sub><sup>pc</sup>K<sub>82</sub>; °समायुतश्च C<sub>94</sub><sup>ac</sup>C<sub>45</sub>M

वृषसारसंग्रहे

वस्त्रं सुसत्कृत्य द्विजस्य दानात्  
 स्वर्गेषु मोदन्ति स वर्षकोट्यः ।  
 पुनश्च ते मर्त्यमुपागताश्च  
 चिह्नं महच्छ्रीपदमाप्नुवन्ति ॥१८:४॥

कूपप्रपापुष्करिणीप्रदाता  
 स लोकमाप्नोति जलेश्वरस्य ।  
 ततः स तस्माच्च्युतिमाप्य लोकात्  
 सुखी सुतृप्तेषु कुलेषु जायेत् ॥१८:५॥

रत्निप्रमाणादपि हेमदानात्  
 सुरेन्द्रलोकं समवाप्नुवन्ति ।  
 तस्माच्च्युतो मर्त्यमुपागतानां  
 चिह्नं समृद्धिर्धनधान्यलक्ष्म्याः ॥१८:६॥

अदूष्य भूमीवरविप्रदानात्  
 स लोकमाप्नोति सुरेश्वरस्य ।  
 भुक्त्वा तु भोगान्च्युत मर्त्यलोके  
 चिह्नं लभेद्वै विषयाधिपत्वम् ॥१८:७॥

द्विजस्य सत्कृत्य तिलप्रदाता  
 स लोकमाप्नोति च केशवस्य ।  
 भ्रष्टस्ततो मर्त्यमुपागतस्तु

✧

**4a** वस्त्रं सुसत्कृत्य ]  $C_{94}C_{45}$ ; वस्त्रं सुसंस्कृत्य  $K_{82}$ , सुवस्त्र सत्कृत्य  $M$ , वस्त्रं सुसंस्कृत्य  $K_{41}^{(paper)}$   
**4b** °कोट्यः ]  $\Sigma$ ; °कोट्या  $M$  **4c** ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{41}^{(paper)}$ ; पुनश्च्युता मर्त्यमुपागतानां  $M$   
**4d** चिह्नं म° ]  $\Sigma$ ; चिह्नम्मा°  $C_{94}$ , चिह्नं न°  $M$  **5a** कूप° ]  $\Sigma$ ; कूपं  $M$  • °पुष्करिणी° ]  $K_{82}$   
 $K_{41}^{(paper)}$ ; °पुष्करिणी°  $C_{94}$ , °पुष्करिणी°  $C_{45}$ , °पुष्करिणी°  $M$  **5b** जलेश्वरस्य ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$   
 $K_{41}^{(paper)}$ ; जलेःस्वरस्य  $M$  **5c** ]  $C_{94}K_{41}^{(paper)}$ ; ततः स तस्माच्च्युतिमाप्य लोकात्  $C_{45}$ , ततः  
 स तस्माच्च्युतिमाप्य लोके  $K_{82}$ , तस्मात्स लोकाश्च्युत मर्त्यलोके  $M$  **5d** °तृप्तेषु ]  $\Sigma$ ; °तृ---  
 $C_{45}$ , °तृप्तेषु  $K_{82}$  • कुलेषु जायेत् ]  $\Sigma$ ; च जायते सः  $M$  **6a** रत्नि° ]  $C_{94}K_{82}$ ; रति°  
 $C_{45}$ , रत्ति°  $M$ , रत्न°  $K_{41}^{(paper)}$  • °प्रमाणा° ]  $\Sigma$ ; °प्रमाना°  $M$  • °दानात् ]  $\Sigma$ ; °दाता  $M$   
**6b** समवाप्नुवन्ति ]  $\Sigma$ ; समवाप्नुवन्ति  $C_{45}$ , समवाप्नुवन्ति  $M$  **6c** तस्माच्च्युतो ]  $\Sigma$ ; तस्माच्च्युते  
 $M$  **6d** चिह्नं ]  $\Sigma$ ; चिह्न  $C_{94}$  • °लक्ष्म्याः ]  $K_{82}$ ; लक्ष्याः  $C_{94}M$ , लक्ष्मः  $C_{45}$ , लक्ष्या  $K_{41}^{(paper)}$   
 • समृद्धिर्ध° ]  $\Sigma$ ; समृद्धिर्ध°  $M$  **7a** °दानात् ]  $\Sigma$ ; °दाता  $M$  **7b** लोकमाप्नोति ]  $\Sigma$ ; लोक  
 प्राप्नोति  $K_{41}^{(paper)}$  • सुरे° ]  $\Sigma$ ; स्वरे°  $M$  **7c** भुक्त्वा भोगान्च्युत ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$ ; स भुक्तभोगां  
 च्युत  $M$ , भुक्त्वा भोगान्च्युत  $K_{41}^{(paper)}$  **7d** लभेद्वै ]  $C_{94}K_{41}^{(paper)}$ ; लभेद्वै  $C_{45}$ , भवेद्वै  $K_{82}$ ,  
 भवेतद्  $M$  **8a** तिल° ]  $\Sigma$ ; तिलः  $M$  **8b** केशवस्य ]  $\Sigma$ ; वासवेभ्यः  $M$  **8c** °गतस्तु ]  $\Sigma$ ;  
 °गतस्य  $M$

अष्टादशमोऽध्यायः

चिह्नं लभेदक्षयमर्थलाभम् ॥१८:८॥  
 गवां सुरूपां विधिवद्विजानां  
 दत्त्वा च गोलोकमवाप्नुवन्ति ।  
 कल्पावसाने समुपेत्य मर्त्ये  
 चिह्नं गवाढ्यं शतगोयुतं च ॥१८:९॥  
 स्वर्गं गतानां पुरुषस्य चिह्नं  
 धनाढ्यता श्री सुखभोगलाभम् ।  
 आयुर्यशोरूपकलत्रपुत्रं  
 सम्पद्विभूतिकुलकीर्तिमर्थम् ॥१८:१०॥  
 [ निरयागतानां चिह्नानि ]  
 दानाष्टकं चोत्तम कीर्तितं ते  
 चिह्नं च लोकं च समासतो मे ।  
 शृणोतु देवी निरयागतानां  
 चिह्नं च कर्म च विपाकतां च ॥१८:११॥  
 हत्वा च विप्रं मनसा च वाचा  
 स याति पारं निरयस्य घोरम् ।  
 अशीतिकल्पं निरये क्रमेण  
 भुक्त्वा पुनस्तिर्यं शतायुतानाम् ॥१८:१२॥  
 जायन्ति ते मानुष हीनविद्याः  
 प्रत्यन्तवासाः कुलवित्तहीनाः ।  
 नित्यं च तस्याक्षयरोगपीडा  
 इदं तु चिह्नं द्विजजीवहर्तुः ॥१८:१३॥

✧

8d लभेद° ] Σ; भवेद° K<sub>82</sub>, नृणाञ्चो M 9a गवां सुरूपां ] K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup>; गवां स्वरूपां C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>,  
 गवां स्वरूपं C<sub>45</sub>, गवा सुरूपा M 9b च ] Σ; स M 9c समुपेत्य मर्त्ये ] Σ; पुनः मर्त्यलोके  
 M 9d चिह्नं ] Σ; चिह्न K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup> 10a स्वर्गं गतानां ] Σ; स्वर्गागतानां M 10b °ढ्यता ]  
 Σ; °ढ्यतां M 10c °र्यशो° ] Σ; °र्यषे° M 10d °मर्थम् ] Σ; °मत्वम् M 11a चोत्तम ]  
 Σ; चोत्तम M • कीर्तितं ते ] em.; कीर्तनं ते C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>, {कीर्तितन्ते} C<sub>45</sub>, कीर्तितो यम्  
 M, कीर्तिनन्ते K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup> 11b चिह्नं च ] Σ; चिह्नं स M • समासतो ] Σ; समागतो M  
 11c शृणोतु देवी ] Σ; {शृण्वन्तु देवो} M 11d चिह्नं च ] Σ; चिह्नं स्व° M • विपाकतां  
 च ] Σ; विपाकतानाम् M 12a विप्रं ] Σ; विप्र MK<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup> 12b ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>; स यान्ति  
 पारं निरयं सुघोरम् M, स याति पारं निरयश्च घोरम् K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup> 12c निरये ] Σ; निरयः  
 M 12d पुनस्तिर्यं ] Σ; पुनः तिय M 13a °विद्याः ] C<sub>45</sub>M; °विद्या C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup>  
 13b °वासाः ] Σ; °वासा K<sub>82</sub>, °वासी M • हीनाः ] Σ; °हीना M 13d इदं तु चिह्नं ] Σ;  
 चिह्नञ्च मे त M

वृषसारसंग्रहे

पीत्वा च मद्यं द्विज कामतो वा  
 आघ्राति गन्धं स्वमनीषिकेण ।  
 स याति घोरं नरकमसह्यं  
 यावच्च कल्पं दश अत्र भुक्त्वा ॥१८:१४॥  
 तिर्यं च सर्वमनुभूय दुःखं  
 स कष्टकष्टेन मनुष्यजन्म ।  
 चण्डालशौनश्चपचत्वमेति  
 श्यामं च तालु भवतीह चिह्नम् ॥१८:१५॥  
 निन्दन्ति ये वेद सभूय जिह्वा  
 यः कूटसाक्षी स च खल्वलान्धौ ।  
 सुहृद्बद्धा मृत्युशतं हि गर्भे  
 गर्हाशनोच्छिष्टभुजो भवन्ति ॥१८:१६॥  
 स्तैन्यं तु यः कुर्वति पापसत्त्वं  
 ते पापदोषान्नरकं व्रजन्ति ।  
 मन्वन्तरादीन्यनुभूय दुःखं  
 पुनश्च तिर्यं शतशो जनुभूयात् ॥१८:१७॥

✧

16 cf. Manu II.57: ब्रह्मोज्झता वेदनिन्दा कौटसाक्ष्यं सुहृद्बद्धः । गर्हितानाद्ययोर्जग्धिः सुरापान-  
 समानि षट् ॥

16c E resumes here with महो (for मृत्यु; about two folio sides seem to be missing).

✧

**14a** मद्यं ]  $\Sigma$ ; मद्य M • द्विज ]  $K_{82}M$ ; द्विजः  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{41}^{(paper)}$  (unmetr.) • वा ]  
 $\Sigma$ ; वे  $K_{41}^{(paper)}$  **14b** आघ्राति ]  $\Sigma$ ; माघ्राति M • °मनीषिकेण ]  $\Sigma$ ; °मनीषिकेन M,  
 °मणीषिकेण  $K_{41}^{(paper)}$  **14c** ]  $\Sigma$ ; स याति घोरा नरकर्मसह्यं M **14d** कल्पं दश अत्र ]  $\Sigma$ ;  
 कल्पा दशमन्त्र M **15a** सर्वमनुभूय दुःखं ]  $\Sigma$ ; सर्वमनुभूय दुःख  $K_{82}$ , सर्व मनुभूय दुःखा M  
**15b** कष्टकष्टेन ]  $\Sigma$ ; कष्टकष्टेन  $C_{45}$ , कष्टकष्टेन M • °जन्म ]  $\Sigma$ ; °जन्मम् M **15c** चण्डाल° ]  
 $\Sigma$ ; चाण्डाल°  $MK_{41}^{(paper)}$  • °त्वमेति ]  $\Sigma$ ; °त्वमे  $C_{45}$  **15d** श्यामं ]  $\Sigma$ ; श्यामः  $K_{41}^{(paper)}$   
 • भवतीह ]  $\Sigma$ ; भवतीति ह  $K_{41}^{(paper)}$  • चिह्नम् ]  $\Sigma$ ; चिह्नं M **16a** ]  $C_{94}K_{82}K_{41}^{(paper)}$ ;  
 निन्दन्ति ये वेद सभूय जिह्वा  $C_{45}$ , निन्दन्ति ये वेद सखपजिह्वा  $K_{10}$ , निन्दन्ति ये वेद शस्त्राय  
 जिह्वा  $K_7$ , निन्दन्ति यो वेद स भूय जिह्वा M **16b** यः कूटसाक्षी ]  $\Sigma$ ; यः कूटसाक्ष  $C_{45}$ ,  
 यो कूटसाक्षी M • खल्वलान्धौ ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{41}^{(paper)}$ ; खल्वलान्धौ M **16c** मृत्यु° ]  $\Sigma$ ;  
 महो° E **16d** गर्हा° ]  $\Sigma$ ; गर्भा° M • भवन्ति ]  $\Sigma$ ; भवन्ति भुङ्क्वा महदुःख E **17a** स्तैन्यं तु ]  
 corr.; स्तैन्यस्तु  $C_{94}K_{82}K_{41}^{(paper)}$ , स्तैन्यस्तु  $C_{45}$ , स्तैन्यञ्च M, दैत्यस्तु E • यः ]  $C_{45}ME$ ;  
 ये  $C_{94}K_{82}K_{41}^{(paper)}$ , यैः  $C_{94}^{ac}$  • °सत्त्वम् ]  $\Sigma$ ; °सत्त्वन्  $C_{94}$  **17b** ते ]  $\Sigma$ ; \_  $C_{94}$ , स M  
 • °दोषान्न° ]  $\Sigma$ ; °दोषा न°  $C_{45}M$  • व्रजन्ति ]  $\Sigma$ ; प्रयान्ति M **17c** °न्तरादीन्य° ]  $\Sigma$ ;  
 °न्तरादीम° M • दुःखं ]  $\Sigma$ ; दुःख  $K_{41}^{(paper)}$  **17d** तिर्यं श° ]  $\Sigma$ ; तिर्यं स° M, तिर्यं कश°  
 $K_{41}^{(paper)}$  E • नुभूयात् ]  $\Sigma$ ; नुभुक्त्वा M

अष्टादशमो ऽध्यायः

मानुष्यजन्मेषु च दुःखभागी  
 स्तेनत्वमायाति पुनश्च मूढः ।  
 सुवर्णचोरी कुनखत्व चिह्नम्  
 विशीर्णगात्रो रजतापहारी ॥१८:१८॥

ताम्रापहारी स्फुटिताग्रपाणिर्  
 लोहापहारी भुजछेद चिह्नम् ।  
 कांसापहारी करभग्न चिह्नं  
 हत्वा च रीति-त्रपु-सीसकानाम् ॥१८:१९॥

नासोष्ठकर्णश्रवणस्य छेदश्  
 चिह्नं नृणां वस्त्रहरः कुचैलः ।  
 धान्यापहारी भवते ऽङ्गहीनो  
 दीपापहारी भवते ऽन्ध चिह्नम् ॥१८:२०॥

निर्वापहा काण भवेत चिह्नं  
 यः स्त्रीं हरेत्सो ऽपि जितः स्त्रिया स्यात् ।  
 सस्यापहारी भवते ऽन्नहीनो  
 हत्वायुधमस्त्रहतत्व चिह्नम् ॥१८:२१॥

अन्नापहारी परदत्तभोक्ता

✧

21 cf. Mitākṣara ad Yājñavalkya 3.216cd: ... न्यासापहारी च काणः, स्त्रीपण्योपजीवी षण्डः, कौमारदारत्यागी दुर्भगः...

✧

**18a** मानुष्य° ] Σ; मनुष्य° K<sub>82</sub>M **18b** ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup>; स्तेनत्वमायाति पुनश्च मूढाः M, स्तेने ऽयम आयाति पुनश्च मूढाः E **18c** °चोरी ] C<sub>94</sub>; °चौ= C<sub>45</sub>, °चोरी K<sub>82</sub>M K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup>, °चौर E • कुनखत्व चिह्नम् ] C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup>E; कनखत्व चिह्नं C<sub>45</sub>, कुनत्व चिह्नं M<sup>ac</sup>, कुनक्षत्व चिह्नं M<sup>pc</sup> **18d** विशीर्ण° ] Σ; विशीर्ण° C<sub>45</sub> • °गात्रो ] Σ; °सूत्रद् M **19a** ताम्रापहारी ] Σ; ताम्रापहारी M, ताम्रापहारि E • स्फुटिता° ] Σ; स्फुटिता° E • °पाणिर् ] Σ; °पाणि MK<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup>, °पाणीर् E **19b** लोहापहारी ] Σ; लोह---हारी C<sub>94</sub> • चिह्नम् ] Σ; चिह्नम् M **19c** कांसा° ] Σ; कांसो° K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup> • कर° ] Σ; क° C<sub>94</sub> • चिह्नं ] Σ; चिह्नम् M<sup>pc</sup>, ह्म M<sup>ac</sup> **19d** हत्वा च रीति° ] C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup>E; हत्वापचारीति C<sub>45</sub>, हत्वा च रीति K<sub>82</sub>, हत्वा च रीती° M **20a** नासो° ] Σ; नासौ° E **20b** चिह्नं ] Σ; चिह्नं M • °हरः ] Σ; °हरं E • कुचैलः ] Σ; कुचेलः K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup>E **20c** भवते ऽङ्ग° ] K<sub>82</sub>MK<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup>; भवदेङ्ग° C<sub>94</sub>, भवत्यङ्ग° C<sub>45</sub>, भवत्येङ्ग° E **20d** दीपा° ] Σ; दीपो E • भवते ऽन्ध ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>MK<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup>; भवत्यन्ध E **21a** चिह्नं ] Σ; चिह्नं C<sub>45</sub>, चिह्नं M **21b** ] corr.; यः स्त्री हरेत्सो ऽपि जितस्त्रिया स्यात् C<sub>94</sub>, यः स्त्री हरे सो ऽपि जितः स्त्रियायात् C<sub>45</sub>, यः स्त्री हरेत्सो ऽपि जित स्त्रिया स्यात् K<sub>82</sub>, यः स्त्री हरे स्त्रीभिः जिता भवन्ति M, यः स्त्री हरेत्सो ऽपि जितः स्त्रिया स्यात् K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup>E **21c** भवते ऽन्नहीनो ] Σ; भवते ऽन्नहीनः C<sub>45</sub>, भवेतन्नहीनः K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup> **21d** °युधमस्त्र° ] Σ; °युधयन्त्र E

वृषसारसंग्रहे

हत्वा तु गावः स भवेद्वरिद्रः ।  
हरिं हरेत्तद्धरिणा दहन्ति  
हत्वा तु मेषान् अजगर्दभं वा ॥१८:२२॥

स भारभृङ्गीव्यमुदाहरन्ति  
रत्नापहारी अनपत्यता च ।  
छत्रापहारी अपवित्रता च  
हत्वा च बीजं स भवेदबीजः ॥१८:२३॥

गोधूमशालियवमुद्रमाषान्  
हत्वा मसूरं विलयं व्रजन्ति ।  
कामातुरो मातर मातृपुत्रीं  
मातृस्वसां गच्छति मातुलानीम् ॥१८:२४॥

राजाङ्गनां पुत्रसुतां सुषां च  
प्रव्राजिनीं ब्राह्मणीमन्त्यजां च ।  
अजाश्वमेषं सुरभीसुतां च  
यत्कामयेत्तेषु विमूढचेताः ॥१८:२५॥

स याति कृच्छ्रं नरकं सुघोरं  
स वर्षकोटीशतशो भ्रमित्वा ।  
तीर्यञ् च भूयः शतशो व्यतीत्य  
कष्टेन वै जायति मानुषत्वम् ॥१८:२६॥

हीनाङ्गता दीनशरीरताश्च  
यो मातृगामी स भवेदलिङ्गः ।  
मातृस्वसातल्पगवातलिङ्गा  
लिङ्गापरोधः सुतपुत्रिकामः ॥१८:२७॥

✧

**23b** cf. Mitākṣara ad Yājñavalkya 3.216cd: ... गौतमो ऽपि क्वचिद्विशेषमाह । ...  
न्यासापहार्यनपत्यः, रत्नापहार्यत्यन्तद्वरिद्रः...

✧

**22b** भवेद्वरिद्रः ] Σ; भवे दरिद्रः M **22c** हरिं हरेत्तद्धरिणा ] Σ; हरिम्भवे त हरिणा M,  
हरिहरेत्तद्धरिणा E **22d** ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup>; हत्वा च मेषानजगर्दभम्च K<sub>82</sub>, हत्वा च  
मेषामजगर्दभञ्च M, हत्वा तु मेषानजगर्दभश्च E **23a** °ङ्गीव्य° ] Σ; °ङ्गीवा° M, °ङ्गीव° E  
**23b** अनपत्यता ] Σ; ---त्यता C<sub>94</sub> **23c** अपवित्रता ] C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup>E; अपरित्रता C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>M  
**23d** ] C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>ME; °हत्वा नृजीवः स भवेदजीवः C<sub>45</sub>, हत्वा च बीजं स भवेदजीवः K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup>  
**24c** °पुत्रीं ] K<sub>82</sub>; °पुत्री E **24d** मातुलानीम् ] E; मातुलानी K<sub>82</sub> **25b** °व्राजिनीं ] E;  
°व्राजिनी K<sub>82</sub> **25c** °मेषं ] K<sub>82</sub>; °मेष° E • °सुतां च ] corr.; °सुतं च K<sub>82</sub>; °sutāśca  
E **25d** °चेताः ] K<sub>82</sub>; °चेतः E **27c** °वात° ] K<sub>82</sub>; °वान° E **27d** लिङ्गापरोधः ] K<sub>82</sub>;  
लिङ्गेपरोधः E

अष्टादशमो ऽध्यायः

स्रुषां च यः सेवति रक्तमेही  
 दौश्चर्म्यतां च द्विजसुन्दरीषु ।  
 राजाङ्गनायासु च लिङ्गच्छेदः  
 प्रव्राजिनीकामुक मूत्रकृच्छ्रम् ॥१८:२८॥

सव्याधिलिङ्गं लभते ऽन्त्यजासु  
 विलीनलिङ्गः पशुयोनिगामी ।  
 जायन्ति ते मूषिक धान्यचौरी  
 क्षीरं हरेद्वायसतां प्रयाति ॥१८:२९॥

कांसापहारी स भवेत्तु हंसः  
 श्वानत्वमायाति रसापहारी ।  
 हत्वा च सूचीं तु भवेत्स दंशः  
 हत्वा तु सर्पिर्वृषतां प्रयाति ॥१८:३०॥

मांसं तु हत्वा स भवेत्तु गृध्रस्  
 तैलापहारी खगतां प्रयाति ।  
 गुडं च हत्वा गुडिका भवन्ति  
 शाकापहारी स भवेन्मयूरः ॥१८:३१॥

हत्वा पशुं पङ्कुरजायतेहः  
 चित्रत्वमायाति सुवस्त्रहारी ।  
 हत्वा दुकूलं स च सारसत्वं  
 क्षौमं च हत्वा स च दुर्बलत्वम् ॥१८:३२॥

ऊर्नानि वस्त्राण्यपहत्य मेषः  
 छुछुन्दरी जायति गन्धहारी ।  
 ब्रह्मस्वमल्पमपहत्य भोक्ता

✧

29cd for these pādas and the next verse, cf. Manu 12.62: धान्यं हत्वा भवत्याखुः कांस्यं हंसो जलं प्लवः । मधु दंशः पयः काको रसं श्वा नकुलो घृतम् ॥ 31 cf. Manu 12.63ab: मांसं गृध्रो वसां मद्गुस्तैलं तैलपकः खगः 31c cf. Manu 12.64d: गोधा गां वाग्गुदो गुडम् 31d cf. Manu 12.65b: पत्रशाकं तु बर्हिणः

28b C<sub>02</sub> resumes here in f. 306r with चर्मताश्च द्विजसुन्दरीषु

✧

28b दौश्चर्म्यतां च ] corr.; दौचर्मतां च K<sub>82</sub>, दौः चर्मराश् च E 28c लिङ्गं ] E; लिङ्गः K<sub>82</sub>  
 29a लिङ्गं ] K<sub>82</sub>; लिङ्ग E 29d °यसतां ] E; °यता K<sub>82</sub><sup>ac</sup>, °यसता K<sub>82</sub><sup>pc</sup> 30a कांसां ]  
 em.; हंसां K<sub>82</sub>E • भवेत्तु ] conj.; भवेन्नि° K<sub>82</sub>E 30b रसां ] E; रषा° K<sub>82</sub> 30c सूचीं ]  
 corr.; सूची K<sub>82</sub>, सूचीन् E 30d सर्पिर्वृष° ] E; सर्पि वृष° K<sub>82</sub> 31d मयूरः ] K<sub>82</sub>; मयूरम्  
 E



वृषसारसंग्रहे

स गृध्र उच्छिष्टभुजो भवन्ति ॥१८:३३॥  
 पादेन यः स्पर्शयते द्विजाङ्घ्रिं  
 तच्छीतरक्तं चरणौ भवेत् ।  
 पादेन यः स्पर्शयते च गावः  
 स पादरोगान्विविधांलुभेत् ॥१८:३४॥  
 यो मातरः ताडयते पादेन  
 पादे तदीये कृमयः पतन्ति ।  
 पादात्पृशेद्यः पितरं दुरात्मा  
 सूनोन्नपादः स भवेत्परत्र ॥१८:३५॥  
 पदात्पृशेत्तोयमनादरेण  
 सश्लीपदीपादयुगे भवेत् ।  
 पादेन यः स्पर्शयते हुताशं  
 स चाग्निपादः सततं भवेत् ॥१८:३६॥  
 पादेन यश्चार्यमुपस्पृशेत्  
 स पादच्छेदं बहुशो लभेत् ।  
 ग्रन्थापहारी स भवेत् मूकः  
 दुर्गन्धवक्त्रः परिछिद्रवादी ॥१८:३७॥  
 पैशुन्यवादी स च पूतिनासाम्  
 अनम्रवक्त्रस्त्वनृतापवादी ।  
 पारुष्यवक्ता मुखपाकरागी  
 असत्प्रलापी स च दन्तरोगः ॥१८:३८॥  
 स्तीक्ष्णप्रदायी स च वक्रनास  
 सन्भिन्नवक्ता स च कण्ठरोगी ।  
 क्रुद्धेक्ष्णः पश्यति यस्तु विप्रं  
 तीव्राक्षिरोगी स तु जायते हि ॥१८:३९॥  
 प्रद्वेषयालोकयते ऽतिथीन्य  
 उत्पादिताक्षिस्स भवेत्परत्र ।  
 वैरूप्यं चक्षुस्त्वतिसूक्ष्मचक्षुः  
 स जायते केकरपिङ्गयक्षुः ॥१८:४०॥  
 गर्ताक्षिकादीनि विपाण्डुराणि  
 नेत्रामयान्येव च पापदोषात् ।  
 शृण्वन्ति ये पापकथां प्रशस्तां

अष्टादशमो ऽध्यायः

तां कर्णसर्पिः परिपीडियेत ॥१८:४१॥  
शृण्वन्ति निन्दां हरिशर्वयोर्यः  
स कर्णशूलेन तु जीवती वा ।  
मातापितृणां शृणुते ऽपवादः  
स कर्णसाफेन विनाशमेति ॥१८:४२॥  
शृणोति निन्दां गुरुविप्रजा यः  
स कर्णपूयं स्रवते सरक्तम् ।  
विरूप्यदारिद्र्यकुलाधमेषु  
अनिष्टकर्मभृतिजीवनाश्च ॥१८:४३॥  
अकीर्तनं दर्शनवर्जनं च  
श्वापाकतोश्चादिषु जायते सः ।  
एतानि चिह्नं निरयागतानां  
मानुष्यलोके कुकृतस्य दृष्टम् ।  
समासतः कीर्तित एव देवि  
यथैव मुक्तिस्त्विह कर्मभङ्गः ॥१८:४४॥  
मातापित्रोघतो यासुतदुहितृवहा भ्रातृगम्भीरवेगा  
भार्यावर्ता विवर्ता कुटिलगतिवधुर्बान्धवोर्मोतरङ्गा ।  
कामक्रोधोभकूला करिमकरझषा ग्राहकामा भयन्ते  
मृत्योराख्यार्णवे ऽस्मिन्न शरणविवशाकालदृष्टो प्रयाति ॥१८:४५॥  
नित्यं येन विना न याति दिवसं पञ्चत्वमापद्यते  
त्यक्त्वा देह वनान्तरेषु विषमे श्वानश्रिगालाकुले ।  
बन्धुः सर्वनिवर्तते गतदया धर्मेक तत्र स्थितः  
तस्माद्धर्मपरो न चान्यः सुहृदः सेवेत्परत्रार्थिनः ॥१८:४६॥

॥ इति वृषसारसंग्रहे पूर्वकर्मविपाकचिह्नाष्टादशो ऽध्यायः॥

*An Annotated Translation*

This page intentionally left blank...

[ aṣṭādaśamo 'dhyāyah ]  
[Chapter Eighteen]

[ svargopāgatānāṃ cihnāni —  
Marks of those who return from heaven ]

devy uvāca |  
bhuktvā tu bhogān suciram yatheṣṭam  
puṇyakṣayān martyam upāgatānām |  
cihnāni teṣāṃ kathayasva me 'dya  
yathākramam karmaphalam viśeṣāt || 18:1 ||

Devī spoke: Please tell me now about the characteristic marks of those who, after having experienced enjoyable things as they please for a long time, their merits thus having worn away, return to the mortal world, and especially about the fruits of their deeds, one by one.

[ dānāṣṭakam —  
Eight kinds of donation ]

maheśvara uvāca |  
sadānnadātā kṛpaṇārtidīnām  
sa varṣakoṭyāyutam īśaloke |  
bhuktvā ca bhogān samam apsarobhiḥ  
prakṣiṇapunyaḥ punar eti martyam || 18:2 ||

Maheśvara spoke: He who regularly gives food to the poor and to the ones afflicted by pain will experience enjoyments in Īśaloka together with Apsarases for millions of years, before he returns to the world of mortals, his merits having worn away.

jāyanti divyeṣu kuleṣu puṃsaḥ  
sastrīsamṛddhe bahubhṛtyapūrṇe |  
gaurāśvaratnādīdhanākuleṣu  
rūpoj्ज्वालाḥ kāntisamāyutaś ca || 18:3 ||

[These] men will be [re-]born in divine families, [later] having a wife and wealth and many servants, into families that are stuffed with wealth that consists of cows, horses, jewels etc., he himself possessing shining beauty and loveliness.

18.3 Note the change from plural (*kuleṣu*) to singular (*°samṛddhe*, *°pūrṇe*) in *pāda* a and b, the slightly irregular plural nominative *puṃsaḥ* in *pāda* a, and that *sastrī* might have been meant as a separate word, in the sense of *sastrīkaḥ* (‘married’). I take *gaur aśva°* in *pāda* c as if it were part of the compound: *gośva°*. See NāradaP 1.71.77ab for a compound similar to the one here: *gajāśvaratharatnaiś ca grāmakṣetradhanādibhiḥ*

Translation of chapter 18

*vastram susatkṛtya dvijasya dānāt*

*svargeṣu modanti sa varṣakoṭyaḥ |*

*punaś ca te martyam upāgatāś ca*

*cihnam mahacchrīpadam āpnuvanti || 18:4 ||*

[If one] donates clothes to a Brahmin with utmost respect, he will have fun in the heavens for millions of years. When they return to the world of mortals, their characteristics mark is that they rise to an extremely glorious rank.

*kūpaprapāpuṣkariṇīpradātā*

*sa lokam āpnoti jaleśvarasya |*

*tataḥ sa tasmāc cyutim āpya lokāt*

*sukhī sutrpteṣu kuleṣu jāyeta || 18:5 ||*

He who donates wells, fountains, or lotus-ponds will reach the world of Jaleśvara [i.e. Varuṇa]. Then falling from that world, he will be [re-]born into a very comfortable [well-to-do?] family, and will be happy.

*ratnipramāṇād api hemadānāt*

*surendralokaṁ samavāpnuvanti |*

*tasmāc cyuto martyam upāgatānām*

*cihnam samṛddhir dhanadhānyalakṣmyāḥ || 18:6 ||*

By donating as little gold as a cubit, people can reach the world of Surendra [i.e. Indra]. The characteristic mark of those who fall from there to the world of mortals is prosperity, riches, wealth, and good fortune.

*adūṣya bhūmīvaravipradānāt*

*sa lokam āpnoti sureśvarasya |*

*bhuktvā tu bhogān cyuta martyaloke*

*cihnam labhed vai viṣayādhipatvam || 18:7 ||*

By donating an excellent piece of land to a Brahmin without corruption[?], he will reach the world of Sureśvara [Śiva/Brahmā?]. After experiencing enjoyments, he falls back to the world of mortals, And will possess the characteristic mark of sovereignty.

18.4 Note that *pāda* a can be considered metrical only if *dvi* in *dvijasya* does not make the previous syllable heavy (muta cum liquida). Note the plural nominative °*koṭyaḥ* in *pāda* b for a more standard accusative °*koṭīḥ* (from *koṭi* or *koṭī*).

18.5 The phrase *sutrpteṣu kuleṣu* (lit. ‘into satified families’) is slightly odd.

18.6 I have chosen *lakṣmyāḥ* in *pāda* d against *lakṣyāḥ* as a lectio difficilior. It is supposed to stand for a plural nominative.

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

*dvijasya satkṛtya tilapradātā  
sa lokam āpnoti ca keśavasya |  
bhraṣṭas tato martyam upāgatas tu  
cihnam labhed akṣayam arthalābham || 18:8 ||*

He who donates sesame seeds to a Brahmin respectfully will reach the world of Keśava [i.e. Viṣṇu]. Then, having fallen and returned to the world of mortals, he will possess the characteristic mark of undiminishing acquisition of wealth.

*gavāṃ surūpāṃ vidhivad dvijānāṃ  
dattvā ca golokam avāpnvanti |  
kalpāvasāne samupetya martye  
cihnam gavādhyam śatagoyutam ca || 18:9 ||*

By donating beautiful cows to Brahmins, people reach Goloka. At the end of the æon, they return to the world of mortals. Their characteristic mark would be an abundance of cows with a hundred cows.

*svargam gatānāṃ puruṣasya cihnam  
dhanādhyatā śrī sukhābhogalābham |  
āyuryaśorūpakalatraputram  
sampad vibhūtikulakīrtim artham || 18:10 ||*

The characteristic marks of those who have been in heaven are: an abundance of wealth, grace, the attainment of happiness and enjoyment, [a long] life, glory, beauty, family, sons, success, power, a glorious family, and riches.

[ *nirayāgatānāṃ cihnāni* —  
Marks of those who return from hell ]

*dānāṣṭakam cottama kīrtitam te  
cihnam ca lokam ca samāsato me |  
śṛṇotu devī nirayāgatānāṃ  
cihnam ca karmaṃ ca vipākatām ca || 18:11 ||*

18.9 It seems that *gavāṃ* is meant to be a singular accusative of *go*. Or is it a different animal? See 18.9d.

18.10 Note the discrepancy in grammatical number in *pāda* a. Note the seemingly accusative forms °*lābham* and °*kīrtim* (for *lābhah* and *kīrtir*). The last syllable of *vibhūti* is treated as long.

Translation of chapter 18

I have taught you the eight supreme kinds of donation, the characteristic marks, and the [corresponding] worlds in brief. Listen, O Goddess, to the characteristic marks of those who have returned from hell, and to their actions and the fruition thereof.

*hatvā ca vipraṃ manasā ca vācā  
sa yāti pāraṃ nirayasya ghoram |  
aṣṭikalpaṃ niraye krameṇa  
bhuktvā punas tiryā śatāyutānām || 18:12 ||*

If one hurts a Brahmin mentally or verbally, one goes to the boundaries of terrible hell. Gradually experiencing [his karmas] for eighty years in hell, he will live as an animal for millions [of years/lives].

*jāyanti te mānuṣa hīnavidyāḥ  
pratyantavāsāḥ kulavittahīnāḥ |  
nityaṃ ca tasyākṣayarogapīḍā  
idaṃ tu cihnaṃ dvijajīvahartuḥ || 18:13 ||*

Those men will be [re-]born without any knowledge, will live on the fringes of town, and will lack family and wealth. They will always be tormented by incurable diseases. These are the characteristic marks of one who endangers the life of a Brahmin.

*pītvā ca madyaṃ dvija kāmato vā  
āghrāti gandhaṃ svamanīṣikeṇa |  
sa yāti ghoram narakam asahyaṃ  
yāvac ca kalpaṃ daśa atra bhuktvā || 18:14 ||*

If a Brahmin drinks alcohol definitely intentionally, smells [its] odour on his own accord, he will go to the terrible and unbearable hell for ten æons to experience [his karmas] there.

18.11 Note the stem form adjective *uttama*, probably metri causa, in *pāda* a. The slightly odd phrase *śṛṇotu devī*, instead of a vocative with *śṛṇu*, is metri causa. Note the accusative form *karmaṇi*, probably metri causa, in *pāda* d.

18.12 Note the stem form *tiryā* in *pāda* d (metri causa), and that the phrase *śatāyutānām* is ambiguous. Perhaps *śatāyutābdam* (for *śatāyutāny abdāni*) or *śatāyutāni janmāni* was meant.

18.13 In *pāda* a, I take *mānuṣa* as a stem form noun (metri causa).

18.14 I take *dvija* in *pāda* a as a stem form noun (for *dvijaḥ*). If standard sandhi is expected between *pāda* a and be, then *vā* in *pāda* a is to be understood to stand for *vai* (‘definitely’). Strictly speaking, *pāda* c is unmetrical, the last syllable of *narakam* ending in a light syllable. Word-ending syllables are often treated as heavy in this text. In *pāda* d *atra* probably stands for *tatra* (*narake*). It is not clear why *atra* seemed better to the redactors.



*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

*tiryam ca sarvam anubhūya duḥkham*

*sa kaṣṭakaṣṭena manuṣyajanma |*

*caṇḍālaśaunaśvapacatvam eti*

*śyāmam ca tālu bhavatīha cihnam || 18:15 ||*

Experiencing all the pain of animal existence, he will, with great difficulty, [reach] a human birth. He will go through [states of being] a Caṇḍāla, a butcher, and a dog-cooker. In this case, the characteristic mark is that his palate becomes black.

*nindanti ye veda †sambhūya† jihvā*

*yaḥ kūṭasākṣī sa ca khalv alāndhau |*

*suhṛdvdadhā mṛtyuśataṃ hi garbhe*

*garhāśanocchiṣṭabhujo bhavanti || 18:16 ||*

Those who despise the Vedas will [be reborn] with their tongues ... He who gives false testimony will [be reborn] blind[?]. [In case of] the murder of a friend, [one will experience] a hundred deaths in the womb. Those who eat forbidden food will eat [only] leftovers [in their next lives].

*stainyam tu yaḥ kurvati pāpasattvam*

*te pāpadoṣān narakam vrajanti |*

*manvantarādīny anubhūya duḥkham*

*punaś ca tiryam śataśo ’nubhūyāt || 18:17 ||*

Those wicked people[?] who steal will, because of this sinful crime, go to hell. Suffering pain for at least[?] a Manu-era, one will again and again, for a hundred times, experience animal existence.

*mānuṣyajanmeṣu ca duḥkhabhāgī*

*stenatvam āyāti punaś ca mūḍhaḥ |*

*suvarṇacorī kunakhatva cihnam*

*viśīrṇagātro rajatāpahārī || 18:18 ||*

18.15 The syntax of *pāda* a is obscure. Either understand *tiryam* as *tiryas* (‘being an animal,’ ‘in an animal form’) or *tiryam* as qualifying *duḥkham* (‘the pain of animal existence’). The last syllable of *sarvam* in *pāda* a is treated as long. The two syllables of *tālu* scan as long-long.

18.16 I take *veda* as a stem form noun in *pāda* a. I suspect that *pāda* a may have contained a reference to *upajihvā*, a disease of the tongue. Understands *garhāśanocchiṣṭabhujo* in *pāda* d as *garhitāśanā ucchiṣṭabhujo* with double sandhi.

18.17 Note the discrepancy between *yaḥ kurvati* and *te vrajanti* in *pāda* a and b, and the corresponding attempt in C<sub>94</sub> to correct *yaḥ* to *ye*. One could also emend °*sattvam* to °*sattvaḥ*. Note how E echoes the reading of K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup> in *pāda* d.

Translation of chapter 18

When born as a human, he will suffer. The fool will become a thief again. If one steals gold, the characteristic mark will be that one will have ugly nails. One who steals silver will have broken limbs.

*tāmrāpahārī sphuṭitāgrapāṇir*  
*lohāpahārī bhujacheda cihnam |*  
*kāṃsāpahārī karabhagna cihnam*  
*hṛtvā ca rīti-trapu-sīsakānām || 18:19 ||*

If one steals copper, the fore part of one’s hand will be split. If one steals steel, the characteristic mark will be a broken arm. If one steals brass, the characteristic mark will be a broken hand. Stealing bell-metal, tin or lead

*nāsoṣṭhakarṇaśravaṇasya chedaś*  
*cihnam nṛṇāṃ vastraharaḥ kucailaḥ |*  
*dhānyāpahārī bhavate ’ṅgaḥino*  
*dīpāpahārī bhavate ’ndha cihnam || 18:20 ||*

will cause clefts in the nose, lips, ears, and problems with hearing[?]. The characteristic mark of one who stole people’s clothes is being badly-dressed. Those who steal grain will lack some of their limbs. If one steals lamps, the characteristic mark is that he will become blind.

*nirvāpahā kāṇa bhaveta cihnam*  
*yaḥ strīṃ haret so ’pi jitaḥ striyā syāt |*  
*sasyāpahārī bhavate ’nnahīno*  
*hṛtvāyudham astrahatatva cihnam || 18:21 ||*

The characteristic mark of one who takes away sacrificial offerings is becoming one-eyed. He who abducts women will himself be overcome by a woman. Somebody who steals corn will lack food. If one steals weapons, the characteristic mark is death by a missile.

*annāpahārī paradattabhoktā*  
*hṛtvā tu gāvaḥ sa bhaved daridraḥ |*  
*hariṃ haret tad dhariṇā dahanti*  
*hṛtvā tu meṣān ajagardabham vā || 18:22 ||*

18.19 Note the stem forms °cheda and °bhagna in *pādas* b and c. Note *kāṃsa* as an alternative form of *kāṃsya*, and °bhagna as a stem form in *pāda* c.

18.20 Note stem form metri causa in *pāda* d (*andha*).

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

One who steals food will live on [food] given by others. One who steals cows will become poor. One who steals horses will be destroyed by a horse. One who steals sheep, goats, donkeys,

*sa bhārabhṛjjīvya-m-udāharanti  
ratnāpahārī anapatyatā ca |  
chatrāpahārī apavitratā ca  
hṛtvā ca bījaṃ sa bhaved abījaḥ || 18:23 ||*

will lead[?] a burdened life, they say[?]. One who steals jewels: [the mark is] childlessness. One who steals parasols: [the mark is] impurity. Stealing seeds, one becomes seedless.

*godhūmaśāliyavamudgamāśān  
hṛtvā masūraṃ vilayaṃ vrajanti |  
kāmaturo mātara mātṛputrīm  
mātṛśvasāṃ gacchati mātulānīm || 18:24 ||*

If one steals wheat, rice, barley, mungo beans, wild beans, or lentils, one will die. If somebody, being sick with desire, sexually approaches his mother, his mother’s daughter, his mother’s sister, or the wife of a maternal uncle,

*rājāṅganāṃ putrasutāṃ snuśāṃ ca  
pravrajīnīm brāhmaṇīm antyajāṃ ca |  
ajāśvameṣāṃ surabhīsutāṃ ca  
yat kāmayet teṣu vimūḍhacetāḥ || 18:25 ||*

or if somebody desires a royal concubine, his son’s daughter, a female religious mendicant, a Brahmin’s wife, or the wife of a low-born, a goat, horse, sheep, or a cow, with a foolish mind,

*sa yāti kṛcchraṃ narakam sughoraṃ  
sa varṣakoṭīśataśo bhramitvā |  
tīryaṇ ca bhūyaḥ śataśo vyatītya  
kaṣṭhena vai jāyati mānuṣatvam || 18:26 ||*

he will go to the painful and extremely terrible hell. Wandering [through transmigration] a million times, dying as an animal again and again a hundred times, he will, with great difficulty, be born as a human.

*hīnāṅgatā dīnaśarīratās ca  
yo mātṛgāmī sa bhaved alīgaḥ |  
mātṛśvasātalpagavātālīṅgā  
līṅgāparodhaḥ sutaputrikāmaḥ || 18:27 ||*

Translation of chapter 18

He who had sex with his mother will lack some limbs and will have a miserable body, and will have no penis. ...

*snuṣāṃ ca yaḥ sevati raktamehī*  
*dauścarmyatām ca dvijasundarīṣu |*  
*rājāṅganāyāsu ca liṅgacchedaḥ*  
*pravrajīnikāmuka mūtrakṛcchram || 18:28 ||*

He who has sex with a daughter-in-law will pass blood with his urine. With a Brahmin's wife: having bad skin. With royal concubines: deprivation of a penis. Longing for a female mendicant: painful discharge of urine.

*savyādhiliṅgaṃ labhate 'ntyajāsu*  
*vilīnālīṅgaḥ paśuyoniḡāmī |*  
*jāyanti te mūṣika dhānyacaurī*  
*kṣīraṃ hared vāyasatām prayāti || 18:29 ||*

With low-born women: he will have a diseased penis. He who has sex with animals will have his penis disappear. He who steals grain will be born as a rat. If one steals milk, one will become a crow.

*kāṃsāpahārī sa bhavet tu haṃsaḥ*  
*śvānatvam āyāti rasāpahārī |*  
*hṛtvā ca sūcīm tu bhavet sa daṃśaḥ*  
*hṛtvā tu sarpir vṛṣatām prayāti || 18:30 ||*

Who steals copper will become a goose. He who steals sweet juices will become a dog. By stealing needles, he becomes a gnat. By stealing ghee, he becomes a bull.

*māṃsaṃ tu hṛtvā sa bhaveta gṛdhras*  
*tailāpahārī khagatām prayāti |*  
*guḍaṃ ca hṛtvā guḍikā bhavanti*  
*śākāpahārī sa bhaven mayūraḥ || 18:31 ||*

18.28 Understand °āṅganāyāsu as °āṅganāsu? Note stem form in *pāda* d.

18.29 Note the singular subject with a plural predicate, and the stem form noun *mūṣika* in *pāda* c. For this and the next verse, compare Manu 12.62 (in Olivelle's translation; see the Sanskrit in the apparatus; emphasis mine): 'By stealing grain, one becomes a rat; by stealing bronze, a ruddy goose; by stealing water, a Plava coot; by stealing honey, a gnat; by stealing milk, a crow; by stealing sweets, a dog; by stealing ghee, a mongoose'.

18.30 For my emendation of *haṃsāpahārī* to *kāṃsāpahārī* in *pāda* a, see Manu 12.62: *kāṃsyam haṃso...* and 18.19c above. Since *nihaṃsaḥ* in the same *pāda* is difficult to interpret, and we expect *haṃsaḥ* anyway, I conjectured *tu haṃsaḥ* there.

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

If he steals meat, he will be a vulture. If he steals oil, he will be a bird. If he steals sugar, he will become a flying fox/bat[?]. If he steals vegetables, he will become a peacock.

*hṛtvā paśuṃ paṅgurajāyatehaḥ*  
*citratvam āyāti suvastrahārī |*  
*hṛtvā dukūlaṃ sa ca sārasattvam*  
*kṣaumaṃ ca hṛtvā sa ca durbalatvam || 18:32 ||*  
*ūrnāni vastrāṇy apahrtya meṣaḥ*  
*chuchundarī jāyati gandhahārī |*  
*brahmasvam alpam apahrtya bhoktā*  
*sa gr̥dhra ucchiṣṭabhujō bhavanti || 18:33 ||*  
*pādena yaḥ sparśayate dvijāṅghriṃ*  
*tacchītaraktaṃ caraṇau bhaveta |*  
*pādena yaḥ sparśayate ca gāvah*  
*sa pādārogān vividhāṃl labheta || 18:34 ||*  
*yo mātaraḥ tādāyate pādena*  
*pāde tadīye kṛmayah patanti |*  
*pādāt pṛśed yaḥ pitaraṃ durātmā*  
*sūnonnapādaḥ sa bhavet paratra || 18:35 ||*  
*padāt pṛśet toyam anādareṇa*  
*saślīpadīpādayuge bhaveta |*  
*pādena ya sparśayate hutāśaṃ*  
*sa cāgnipādaḥ satataṃ bhaveta || 18:36 ||*  
*pādena yaś cāryam upasprśeta*  
*sa pādacchedaṃ bahuśo labheta |*  
*granthāpahārī sa bhaveta mūkaḥ*  
*durgandhavaakraḥ parichidravādī || 18:37 ||*  
*paiśunyaṇvādī sa ca pūtināsām*  
*anamravaktras tv anṛtāpavādī |*  
*pāruṣyavaktā mukhapākāragī*

18.31 For this verse, see Manu 12.63–65 (in Olivelle’s translation; see the relevant excerpts from the Sanskrit in the apparatus; these in italics here): ‘*by stealing meat, a vulture; by stealing fat, a Madgu cormorant; by stealing oil, a cockroach; by stealing salt, a cricket; by stealing curd, a Balāka flamingo; by stealing silk, a partridge; by stealing linen, a frog; by stealing cotton cloth, a Krauñca crane; by stealing a cow, a monitor lizard; by stealing molasses, a flying fox; by stealing fine perfumes, a muskrat; by stealing leafy vegetables, a peacock; by stealing various kinds of cooked food, a porcupine; by stealing uncooked food, a hedgehog*’.

Translation of chapter 18

asat pralāpī sa ca dantarogaḥ || 18:38 ||  
 stīkṣṇapradāyī sa ca vakranāsa  
 sambhinnavaktā sa ca kaṇṭharogī |  
 kruddhekṣaṇaḥ paśyati yas tu vipraṁ  
 tīvrākṣirogī sa tu jāyate hi || 18:39 ||  
 pradveṣayālokayate 'tithin ya  
 utpāditākṣis sa bhavet paratra |  
 vairūpya cakṣus tv atisūkṣmacakṣuḥ  
 sa jāyate kekarapiṅgayakṣuḥ || 18:40 ||  
 gartākṣikādīni vipāṇḍurāṇi  
 netrāmayāny eva ca pāpadoṣāt |  
 śṛṇvanti ye pāpakathāṁ praśastāṁ  
 tām karṇasarpīḥ paripīḍiyeta || 18:41 ||  
 śṛṇvanti nindāṁ hariśarvayor yaḥ  
 sa karṇasūlena tu jīvati vā |  
 mātāpitṛṇāṁ śṛṇute 'pavādaḥ  
 sa karṇasāphena vināśam eti || 18:42 ||  
 śṛṇoti nindāṁ guruviprajā yaḥ  
 sa karṇapūyaṁ sravate saraktam |  
 virūpyadāridhrakulādhameṣu  
 anīṣṭakarmabhṛtijīvanāś ca || 18:43 ||  
 akīrtanaṁ darśanavarjanaṁ ca  
 śvāpākato śvādiṣu jāyate saḥ |  
 etāni cihnaṁ nirayāgatānāṁ  
 mānuṣyaloke kukṛtasya dṛṣṭam |  
 samāsataḥ kīrtita eva devī  
 yathaiva muktis tv iha karmabhaṅgaḥ || 18:44 ||  
 mātāpitroghato yāsutaduhitrvahā bhrātr̥gambhīravegā  
 bhāryāvartā vivartā kuṭilagativadhur bāndhavormītarāṅgā |  
 kāmakrodhobhakulā karimakarajhaṣā grāhakāmā bhayante  
 mṛtyor ākhyārṇave 'smin na śaraṇavivaśākāladr̥ṣṭo prayāti || 18:45 ||  
 nityaṁ yena vinā na yāti divasaṁ pañcatvam āpadyate  
 tyaktvā deha vanāntareṣu viṣame śvānaśrigālākule |  
 bandhuḥ sarvanivartate gatadayā dharmaika tatra sthitaḥ  
 tasmād dharmaparo na cānyaḥ suhṛdaḥ sevet paratrārthinaḥ || 18:46 ||  
 || iti vṛṣasārasaṁgrāhe pūrvakarmavipākacihnāṣṭādaśo 'dhyāyaḥ ||

*Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṁgraha*

## *Appendices*

passeges from part two



*Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṁgraha*

## *Symbols and Abbreviations*

### Symbols

≈

cf.

=

### Abbreviations

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

**f.**

**ff.**

**MGMCP**

**MGMPP**

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

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

**ŚDhŚ** = *Śivadharmaśāstra*

**ŚDhU** = *Śivadharmottara*

**VSS** = asdfadfasdfadsa

TO BE SUPPLIED

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

*Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṁgraha*

## References

### Primary Sources

*Arthaśāstra*: see Kangle 1969

*Uttarottara*: see **CHECK**

*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*: see **CHECK**

*Rgveda-khila*: see Scheftelowitz 1906

*Kūrmapurāṇa*: see Mukhopādhyāya 1890

*Padmapurāṇa*: see **CHECK**

*Buddhacarita*: see **CHECK**

*Bodhisattvabhūmi*: see **CHECK**

*Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*: see **CHECK**

*Bhagavadgītā*: see Sukthankar & al. 1927–1966 **CHECK**

*Manu*: see Dave 1972

*Mahābhārata*: see Sukthankar & al. 1927–1966

*Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha*: see Sternbach 1974–2007

*Mātāṅgalīlā*: see Śāstri 1910

YS: see **CHECK**

*Raghuvamśa*: see

*Vāgmatīmāhātmyaprasaṃsā*:

*Vājasaneyisaṃhitā*: see Weber 1972

*Viṣṇudharmottara*:

*Viṣṇudharma*: see Grünendahl 1983

*Viṣṇupurāṇa*: see Pathak 1997–1999

OTHER PURANAS

CHANGE repeated authornames with —————

### Secondary Sources and Editions

Acharya 2014: Acharya, Anilakumara. *Śivadharmasaṅgrahaḥ: Ādyādhyāyatrāyasya samīkṣātmakapāṭhasampādanam adhyayanañ ca =*

*Śivadharmasaṅgrahaḥ: a critical edition and study of first three chapters.* New Delhi: Eklis Books.

Bakker 2014: Bakker, Hans T. *The world of the Skandapurāṇa: Northern India in the sixth and seventh centuries.* Supplement to Groningen Oriental Studies. Leiden: Brill.

Bhattacharya 1977: Bhattacharya, Gourishwar. ‘Nandin and Vṛṣabha.’ In: Wolfgang Voigt (ed.), XIX. *Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 28. bis 4. Oktober 1975 in Freiburg im Breisgau*, vol. 2 of *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Supplement*, pp. 1545–1567. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.

Bisschop 2018: Bisschop, Peter C. *Universal Śaivism: The appeasement of all gods and powers in the Śāntiyādhyāya of the Śivadharmasāstra.* No. 18 in Gonda Indological Studies. Leiden & Boston: Brill.

Bisschop, Kāfle, & Lubin 2021: Bisschop, Peter C., Kāfle, Nirajan, & Lubin, Timothy. *A Śaiva Utopia. The Śivadharmasāstra’s Revision of Brahmanical Vārṇāśramadharmasāstra. Critical Edition, Translation & Study of the Śivāśramādhyāya of the Śivadharmasāstra.* No. 1 in Studies in the History of Śaivism. Napoli: Università degli Studi di Napoli L’Orientale, Dipartimento Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo.

Dave 1972: Dave, Jayantakrishna Harikrishna (ed.). *Manu-Smṛti with Nine Commentaries by Medhātithi, Sarvajñānārāyaṇa, Kullūka, Rāghavānanda, Nandana, Rāmachandra, Maṇirāma, Govindarāja and Bhāruci.* No. 29, 33, 37–40 in Bharatiya Vidyā Series. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.

De Simini 2016a: De Simini, Florinda. *Of Gods and Books: Ritual and knowledge transmission in the manuscript cultures of premodern India.* No. 8 in Studies in Manuscript Cultures. Berlin: De Gruyter.

De Simini 2016b: De Simini, Florinda. ‘Śivadharmas Manuscripts from Nepal and the Making of a Śaiva Corpus.’ In: Michael Friedrich & Cosima Schwarke (eds.), *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts*, no. 9 in Studies in Manuscript Cultures, pp. 233–286. De Gruyter.

De Simini 2017: De Simini, Florinda. ‘When Lachmann’s method meets the Dharma of Śiva: Common Errors, Scribal Interventions, and the Transmission of the Śivadharmas Corpus.’ In: Vincenzo Vergiani,

Camillo Formigatti, & Daniele Cuneo (eds.), *Indic Manuscript Cultures through the Ages. Material, textual and historical investigations*, no. 14 in *Studies in Manuscript Cultures*, pp. 505–547. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Goodall, Rout, Sathyanarayanan *et al* 2005: Goodall, Dominic, Rout, Nibedita, Sathyanarayanan, Sarma, S.A.S., Ganesan, T, & Sambandhasivacarya, S. *Pañcāvaraṇastava of Aghoraśiva: A Twelfth Century South Indian Prescription for the Visualisation of Sadāśiva and his Retinue*. Pondicherry: IFP.

Grünendahl 1983: Grünendahl, Reinhold. *Viṣṇudharma. Viṣṇudharmāḥ. Precepts for the Worship of Viṣṇu*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag.

Hanneder 2009: Hanneder, Jürgen. ‘Introduction.’ *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens. Text Genealogy, Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, vol. 52–53:5–16.

Harimoto 2022: Harimoto, Kengo. ‘A Few Notes on a Newly Discovered Manuscript of the Śivadharma Corpus.’ In: ‘*Verità e bellezza*’: *Essays in Honour of Raffaele Torella*, vol. XCVII.1 of *Series Minor*, pp. 595–626. Napoli: UniorPress.

Kangle 1969: Kangle, R.P. *The Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra, Part I: Sanskrit text with glossary*. Bombay: University of Bombay.

Kiss 2021: Kiss, Csaba. ‘‘...not satisfied with the Mahābhārata...’ (śrutvā bhāratasaṃhitām atṛptaḥ): the function of the Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha in the Śivadharma corpus.’ In: Florinda De Simini & Csaba Kiss (eds.), *Śivadharmāmṛta. Essays on the Śivadharma and its Network*, *Studies on the History of Śaivism* 2, pp. 183–202. Università di Napoli L’Orientale Dipartimento Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo, Napoli: UniorPress.

McGann 1991: McGann, Jerome. *The Textual Condition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mirashi 1962: Mirashi, Vasudev Vishnu. ‘The Gwalior Museum Stone Inscription of Patañgasambhu.’ *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad*, vol. 64:3–13.

Mukhopādhyāya 1890: Mukhopādhyāya, Nīlmaṇi. *The Kūrma Purāṇa. A System Of Hindu Mythology And Tradition*. Bibliotheca Indica. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal.

- Naraharinath 1998: Naraharinath, Yogin (ed.). *Śivadharmā Paśupatimatam Śivadharmamahāśāstram Paśupatināthadarśanam*. Kathmandu: Bṛhadādhyātmikapariśadaḥ Kāṭhamaṇḍapaḥ Gorakhā-hindurāṣṭram.
- Pathak 1997–1999: Pathak, M. M (ed.). *The Critical Edition of the Vi-ṣṇupurāṇam, critically edited by M. M. Pathak*. Vadodara: Oriental Institute.
- Rocher 1986: Rocher, Ludo. *The Purāṇas*. No. 2.3 in History of Indian Literature. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Sanderson 2009: Sanderson, Alexis. ‘The Śaiva Age: The rise and dominance of Śaivism during the early medieval period.’ In: Shingo Einoo (ed.), *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*, Institute of Oriental Culture Special Series 23, pp. 41–350. Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo.
- Sanderson 2014: Sanderson, Alexis. ‘The Śaiva literature.’ *Journal of Indological Studies*, vol. 24 & 25 (2012–2013):1–113.
- Sanderson 2015: Sanderson, Alexis. ‘Tolerance, Exclusivity, Inclusivity, and Persecution in Indian Religion During the Early Mediaeval Period.’ In: John Makinson (ed.), *Honoris Causa: Essays in Honour of Aveek Sarkar*, pp. 155–224. UK: Allen Lane.
- Scheftelowitz 1906: Scheftelowitz, Isidor. *Die Apokryphen des Rgveda (Khilāni)*. No. 1 in Indische Forschungen. Breslau: M. & H. Marcus.
- Shastri 1928: Shastri, Haraprasad. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection Under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. 5: Purāṇa Manuscripts*, vol. 5. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Sternbach 1974–2007: Sternbach, Ludwik (ed.). *Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha*. Hoshiarpur: Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute.
- Sukthankar & al. 1927–1966: Sukthankar, Vishnu Sitaram & al. (eds.). *The Mahābhārata: for the first time critically edited by V. S. Sukthankar, with the co-operation of ... other scholars*. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- Vajrācārya 1973: Vajrācārya, Dhanavajra. *Licchavikālakā abhilekha anuvāda, aitihāsika vyākhyāsaḥita*. No. 6 in Aitihāsika sāmāgrī mālā.

*Translation of chapter 18*

Kathmandu, Nepal: Nepāla ra Eśiyālī Adhyayana Saṁsthāna, Tribhuvana Viśvavidyālaya.

Weber 1972: Weber, Albrecht. *The Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā in the Mādhyandina and the Kāṇva-Śākhā with the Commentary of Mahīdhara*,. No. 103 in Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series. Varanasi [Berlin]: Chowkhamb.

Wujastyk 1985: Wujastyk, Dominik. *A Handlist of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine*, vol. 1. London: The Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine.

Śāstri 1910: Śāstri, T. Gaṇapati (ed.). *Mātāṅgalīlā of Nīlakaṇṭha*. Trivandrum: Travancore Govt. Press.



## Index to Introduction and Translation

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*.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <i>Abhidhānaratnamālā</i> , xiii         | Sanderson, Alexis, xiii                |
| <i>Arthaśāstra</i> , 1017                | <i>Śivadharmasamgraha</i> , 4–6,       |
| <i>āśrama</i> , xiii                     | 8–12                                   |
| <i>Bhagavadgītā</i> , 1017               | <i>Śivadharmasāstra</i> , 4–7, 9–12,   |
| <i>Bodhisattvabhūmi</i> , 1017           | 1015                                   |
| <i>Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa</i> , 1017            | <i>Śivadharmottara</i> , 4–12, 1015    |
| <i>Buddhacarita</i> , 1017               | <i>Śivapurāṇa</i> , xv                 |
| bull, xi                                 | <i>Śivopaniṣad</i> , 4–6, 8–12         |
|  | <i>Sukavihrdayanandinī</i> , xxiv      |
| <i>Dharmaputrikā</i> , xxi, 4–12         | <i>Umāmaheśvarasamvāda</i> , 4–        |
| <i>gaṇa</i> , xi                         | 6, 8–12, 1017                          |
| <i>Gautamadharmasūtra</i> , 8            | <i>Uttarottara</i> , 1017              |
| <i>Kūrmapurāṇa</i> , 1017                | <i>Uttarottaramahāsamvāda</i> , 4–     |
|  | 6, 8–12                                |
| <i>Mahābhārata</i> , xi, xiii, xvi, 1017 | <i>Vāgmatīmāhātmyaprasaṃsā</i> ,       |
| <i>Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha</i> , 1017      | 1017                                   |
| <i>Mānavadharmasāstra</i> , xiii, 1009,  | <i>Vājasaneyisamhitā</i> , 1017        |
| 1010, 1017                               | <i>Viṣṇudharma</i> , 1017              |
| <i>Mātaṅgalilā</i> , 1017                | <i>Viṣṇudharmottara</i> , 1017         |
| <i>Matsyapurāṇa</i> , xiv                | <i>Viṣṇupurāṇa</i> , 1017              |
| <i>Nāradapurāṇa</i> , 1002               | <i>vṛṣa</i> , xii, xiii                |
| <i>Nāmalingānuśāsana</i> , xiii          | <i>vṛṣabha</i> , xiii                  |
| <i>Padmapurāṇa</i> , 1017                | <i>Vṛṣasārasamgraha</i> , ix–xi, xiii– |
| <i>Raghuvamśa</i> , 1017                 | xvii, xxi–xxiii, 3–13                  |
| <i>Rgveda-khila</i> , 1017               | <i>Vṛttaratnākara</i> , xxiv           |
|  | <i>Yogasūtra</i> , 1017                |

*Todo list*

Find a hard copy of McGann’s Textual Condition. . . . . ix

Paper MSS? hidden . . . . . 9