

# वृषसानसंग्रहः

*The Vṛṣasārasaṅgraha, 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??

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XX??

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A Critical Edition

Volume I

Csaba Kiss



UniorPress

Napoli 20??

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



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

Typeset in EB Garamond and Sanskrit2003 by Csaba Kiss,  
using Xe<sub>La</sub>T<sub>E</sub>X, BibT<sub>E</sub>X, *MakeIndex*, ledmac, and Python

Stampato in Italia

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

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## *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 all the relevant manuscript material with me, and for leading the project in the most friendly and generous way through happy times as well as difficult Covid-affected years. While working on the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, I was also affiliated with another ERC project, the DHARMA PROJECT (ERC no. 809994), and I am grateful to all my colleagues involved in that endeavour, including Arlo Griffith, Emmanuel Francis, Annette Schmiedchen, Astrid Zotter, and Dániel Balogh.

During my visit to the National Archives in Kathmandu, the staff were as helpful and professional as ever. I wish to express my thanks to Jyoti Neupane, Manita Neupane, Saubhagya Pradhananga, Rubin Shrestha, Sahan Ranjitkar, and all other members.

I am grateful to Daniela Cappello, Marco Franceschini and Sushmita Das, who made great efforts to acquire manuscripts in Calcutta.

My colleagues and friends working in Naples or visiting Naples for shorter periods 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, Alexander von Rospatt, Martin Orwin, 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 and support me in every possible way.

I am infinitely grateful to my family for always supporting me unwa-  
veringly.

**CHECK REVERSE!!!**

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> McGann 1991, 27.

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

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

## Introduction

### On the Śivadharma corpus

The *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (VSS), a 24-chapter long Sanskrit Śaiva text, is almost always<sup>3</sup> transmitted as part of the the so-called Śivadharma corpus, in multiple-text manuscripts that usually contain eight texts. Much has been written recently on the corpus itself and on the individual texts of the corpus within it. For an introduction, an overview of secondary literature, an up-to-date bibliography, and the results of recent Śivadharma-related research, see De Simini & Kiss 2021. Since the VSS’s links to other texts of the corpus, with the possible exception of the *Dharmaputrikā*, are relatively weak, I will refer to other Śivadharma texts only when they are relevant for the present inquiry.<sup>4</sup>

### Title

The title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*<sup>5</sup> can be translated as: ‘A Compendium on the Essence of the Bull [of Dharma].’ The last two elements (*sāra-saṃgraha*) need little explanation: this work is a ‘compendium’ on, a ‘collection’ or ‘summary’ of (*saṃgraha*) the ‘essence’ (*sāra*) of its topic. The words ‘compendium’ and ‘collection’ reflect the composite nature of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* well; see sections on the structure of the text and on the its possible sources on pp. xv 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>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For cases that seem exceptions (K<sub>77</sub> and K<sub>41</sub><sup>(paper)</sup> **CHECK** if more) see the manuscript descriptions on pp. 2ff.

<sup>4</sup> Mainly in section ‘**CHECK**’ on p. xvi

<sup>5</sup> Read *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* for Petech’s *Vṛttasārasaṃgraha* in Petech 1984, 84.

<sup>6</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

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

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

In addition, in Śaiva contexts, the bull of Dharma does feature as Śiva’s vehicle. See, e.g., Bakker 2014, 68ff, especially p. 69, where Bakker, after analysing seals containing images of bulls, remarks: ‘The topicality of the Śaiva accommodation of the Dharma in the second half of the sixth century is nicely illustrated by a myth found in the original *Skandapurāṇa* [...] the uncontrollable, wild bull (*vṛṣa*) is domesticated by Śiva’s Gaṇapa Prabhākara [...] In this way the bull is transformed into Śiva’s vehicle (*vāhana*).’ Putting it more bluntly: ‘Making the bull Śiva’s vehicle, implies that Śiva has become the supreme lord of the Dharma, or that the Dharma has been accommodated in [Ś]aivism’ (Bakker, Bisschop, & Yokochi 2014, 65 n. 210).<sup>8</sup>

The possibility that the bull in the title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* refers not only to Dharma as a bull, but also to Śiva’s *vāhana* has been mentioned in De Simini & Mirnig 2017, 238 n. 13, and briefly discussed in Kiss 2021, 185–186 with the conclusion that although ‘while the bull as a synonym of Dharma is mentioned in the text repeatedly, [...] there is no clear reference to Śiva’s mount in the’ VSS, it is ‘not inconceivable that the redactors of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* had the same association in mind, namely that the bull in question is both Dharma and Śiva’s mount.’<sup>9</sup>

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

To laud the bull (*vṛṣa*) would be surprising if the intended meaning were the bull that is Śiva’s mount, but not if the word is intended in its figurative meaning, namely *dharmah*, or *sukṛtam* ‘the virtuous actions [prescribed by the Veda].’ For this meaning of *vṛṣah* see, for example, Amarasiṃha, *Nāmalingānuśāsana* 1.4.25b

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

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

<sup>8</sup> 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.’

<sup>9</sup> Note that *Śivadharmottara* 12.87 also mentions the ‘Dharma bull’: *īśvarāyatanaśyādhah śrīmān dharmavṛṣah sthitah | yatra vīravṛṣas tatra kṣityām gomātaraḥ sthitā ||*

## Introduction

(*sukṛtam vṛṣaḥ*), 3.3.220 (*sukṛte vṛṣabhe vṛṣaḥ*); Halāyudha, *Abhidhānaratnamālā* 1.125cd (*dharmāḥ puṇyaṁ vṛṣaḥ śreyāḥ sukṛtaṁ ca samaṁ smṛtam*); *Manu* 8[.]16a (*vṛṣo hi bhagavān dharmas...*); and the Gwalior Museum Stone Inscription of Pataṅgaśambhu (Mirashi 1962), l. 15, *vṛṣaikaniṣṭho 'pi jitasmaro 'pi yaḥ śaṅkaro 'bhūd bhuvi ko 'py apūrvvaḥ*, concerning the Śaiva ascetic Vyomaśambhu: ‘He was in the world an extraordinary new Śiva, since he too was *vṛṣaikaniṣṭhaḥ* (‘devoted solely to pious observance’; in Śiva’s case ‘riding only on the Bull’) and he too was *jitasmarah* (‘one who had defeated sensual urges’; in Śiva’s case ‘the defeater of the Love god Kāmadeva’). This is also the meaning of *vṛṣaḥ* in the title *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 the last sentence here, Sanderson implies that the *Vṛṣasārasaṁgraha* is organically part of the teachings that we may collectively call the Śivadharmā, and he thus supplies ‘Śiva’ 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,<sup>10</sup> which fits in well with the rather blurred and multi-layered affiliation of the text to Dharmasāstra, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism.<sup>11</sup>

Finally, as a fanciful experiment, and if one accepts that the VSS originated in Nepal,<sup>12</sup> one could wonder if the title *Vṛṣasārasaṁgraha* has anything to do with the Licchavī king Vṛṣadeva. Sanderson (2009, 74) mentions that Vṛṣadeva is ‘described in an inscription of his eighth-century descendant Jayadeva as having inclined towards Buddhism;<sup>13</sup> a view confirmed by a local chronicle, which attributes to him the establishing of Buddhist images,’ and that this king established ‘the Caitya of the Sīnagu-vihāra (the Svayambhūnāth Caitya).’ More importantly, Sanderson summarises the information to be found in the Changu Narayana Pillar Inscription (east shaft),<sup>14</sup> namely that Vṛṣadeva was the great-grandfather of Mānadeva,

<sup>10</sup> In contrast with, e.g., the UUMS C<sub>94</sub> fol. 184r ll. 3–4 (see Kiss 2021, 185–186): *īśvara uvāca | na jānanti ca loke 'smin mānavā mūḍhacetasaḥ | catuspādo bhaved dharmāḥ śuklo 'yaṁ mama vāhanaḥ ||*

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

<sup>12</sup> See **CHECK**

<sup>13</sup> See Vajracārya 1973, 148, l. 9: *sugataśāsanapakṣapātī*.

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

## *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

whose ‘dated inscriptions range in date from 459 to 505/6’ [CE] (Sanderson 2009, 75). This would place the reign of Vṛṣadeva around 400 CE. The early fifth century may look too early for the date of composition of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, and any connection between this king and the text is impossible to prove at the moment, but it is equally impossible to reject it fully, and if there were any connection, it would serve as explanation for the slightly unusual nature of the title (‘... the essence of the bull’).

## Genre

Is the VSS a Purāṇa? There are at least two reasons to think so. One is the section VSS 1.63–76, 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 other than to imply that it describes its own origins?

Another argument is that the topics dealt with in the VSS are exactly what we expect from a Purāṇa. The famous *purāṇapañcalakṣaṇa* includes, following Wilson’s translation (in Rocher 1986, 26), the following: (1) primary creation, cosmogony and chronology (*sarga*); (2) creation, destruction of the world (*pratisarga*); (3) geneologies (*vaṃśa*); (4) Manu eras (*manvantaras*); (5) history (*vaṃśānucarita*).<sup>15</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. It is possible that some parts of the VSS were originally intended to form a *purāṇa*. The part in question could be the outermost layer of the text. This leads us to the examination of the structure of the VSS.

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

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

## Introduction

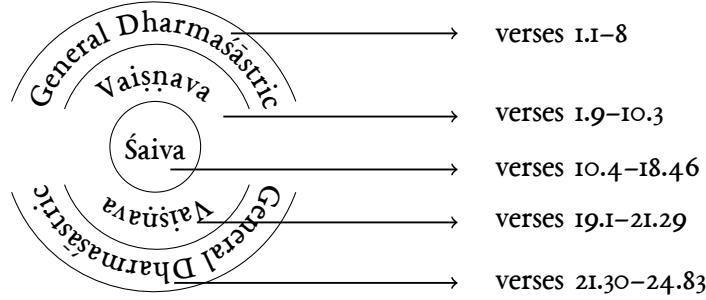


Figure 1: The structure of the VSS (reproduced from Kiss 2021, 188)

## Structure

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

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

Another way to represent the overall structure of the VSS visually is shown by Figure 2 on p. xvii below. The VSS is represented as a lotus whose petals represent chapters. White petals indicate chapters within the general Dharmaśāstric layer; light grey colour indicates the Vaiṣṇava layer; dark grey colour indicates Śaiva chapters. The divisions are not clear-cut: the first few verses of chapter one belong to the general layer and there are some transitions within chapters. Also, the layers are not hermetically sealed, and there is some ‘leaking’ between the chapters. Śaiva chapters do contain Vaiṣṇava material and vice versa. The labels next to the petals are keywords that indicate the main topic of the individual chapters. Big check marks indicate the presence of Anarthayajña the ascetic in the given chapter, while smaller check marks indicate references in the given chapters to Anarthayajña’s ascetic practice repeatedly called *anartha-yajña*, i.e. ‘non-material / internalised sacrifice / worship.’ Anarthayajña in both senses seems to be one of the main foci of the VSS. A brief overview of the Vaiṣṇava chapters would be the following. Anarthayajña, a Vaiṣṇava ascetic, who propagates a system of internalised *āśramas* / a system beyond the tradi-

tional *āśramas*, and who was born into an obscure or fluid *varṇa* (*brāhmaṇa* / *kṣatriya*), who is also a propagator of a Śaiva(?) version of internalised sacrifice or worship, is being tested by Viṣṇu; he passes the test and follows Viṣṇu to Viṣṇuloka.

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

### Connection to other texts

The VSS’s debt to the *Mahābhārata* (MBh) is evident right from its first few verses. As already remarked in Kiss 2021, 187, the frame story in the VSS comprises

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

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

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

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

Śivadharmas texts:

Embryology

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

Compare, borrowings



Introduction

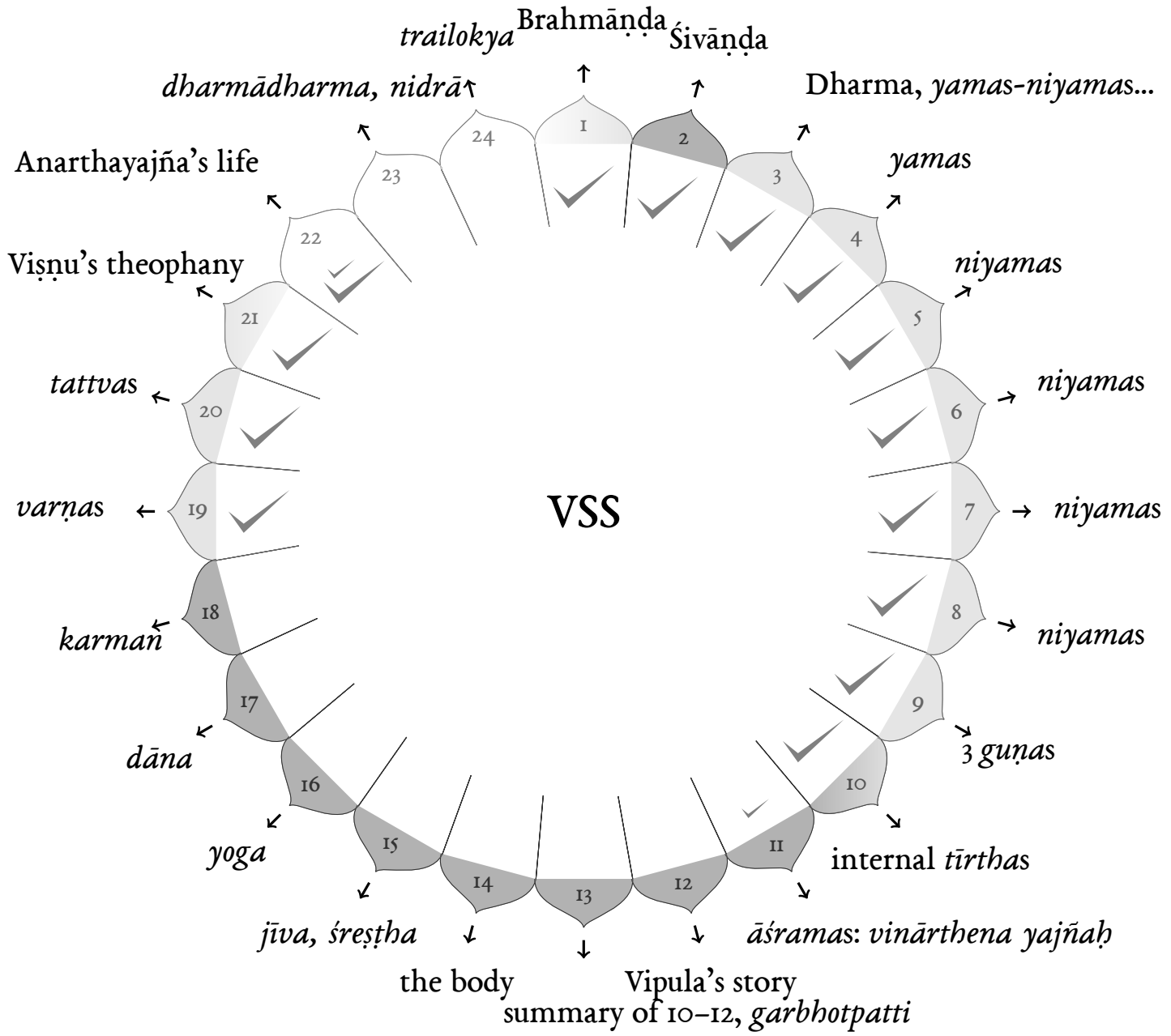


Figure 2: The structure and topics of the VSS

*Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṁgraha*

Bṛhatkālottara,

## Introduction

### Dating and provenance

There are a number of reasons to think that Nepal, or the Kathmandu valley, is the main candidate for being the VSS’s place of composition or final redaction. As for the time it may have happened, the first half of the period in the history of Nepal that is the most poorly documented and is thus variably labelled ‘the transitional period,’<sup>16</sup> or a ‘relatively obscure period,’<sup>17</sup> i.e. the period ‘[b]etween the Licchavis, who last appear in epigraphical record in 737[CE], and the Malla kings, who ruled from 1200–1768’,<sup>18</sup> is the most probable one.

To make assumptions about the place of composition of the VSS, we can consider the following: the location of the manuscript evidence, place names and individuals mentioned in the text, and a possible influence of any local language on the style and grammar of the text.

All MSS known to us that transmits the VSS hail from Nepal. This in itself is not strong evidence but it stands in stark contrast with the MSS situation of the ŚDhŚ and the ŚDhU.<sup>19</sup>

The geographical locations mentioned in the VSS include the *tīrthas* mentioned in chapter ten: Himavat (the Himālayas), Kurukṣetra, Prayāga, Vārāṇasī, Yamunā, Gaṅgā, Agnitīrtha, Somatīrtha, Sūryatīrtha, Puṣkara, Mānasa, Naimiṣa, Bindusāra (= Bindusaras), Setubandha, Suradraha or Surahrada, Ghaṇṭikeśvara, and Vāgīśa. These may hint at the area where the VSS was composed by giving more significance to location nearby and by being more specific when mentioning local sacred places. Some names on the list above are easy to indentify and at the same time probably too often included in lists such as this one to be indicative enough: Himavat, Kurukṣetra,<sup>20</sup> Prayāga, Vārāṇasī, Yamunā, Gaṅgā, Puṣkara (modern Pushkar), and Naimiṣa.<sup>21</sup> All these are locations in modern North India, or in the case of Himavat, for our purposes and more precisely North India and Nepal. Agnitīrtha, Somatīrtha and Sūryatīrtha could also be locations in North India, although they are more obscure than the ones above. For Agnitīrtha, see, e.g., *Padmapurāṇa* 3.45.27ab: *agnitīrtham iti khyātaṃ yamunādakṣiṇe*

<sup>16</sup> Petech 1984, 31

<sup>17</sup> Sanderson 2009, 77

<sup>18</sup> Sanderson 2009, *ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> See, e.g., De Simini & Mirnig 2017, 589.

<sup>20</sup> Generally thought to be the area around Thaneswar/Thanesar (Dey 1899, 45), 160km northwest of Delhi.

<sup>21</sup> Bisschop 2006, 217: ‘Naimiṣa has been identified with the region around modern Nimsar on the Gomatī river in Uttar Pradesh (SP vol. I, p. 67, n. 23). This identification is doubted by Mirashi (1968).’

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*taṭe*; and *Padmapurāṇa* 6.139.1ab: *sābhramatyuttare kūle agnitīrtham iti śrutam*; therefore Agnitīrtha may be placed at the souther banks of the Yamunā or at the northern banks of the Sābhramatī river (modern Sabarati) in the area of Ahmedabad. Somatīrtha is also sometimes placed on the banks of the Sabarmati, see, e.g., *Padmapurāṇa* 6.161.1ab: *somatīrtham tato gacched guptaṃ sābhramatitāṭe*. Sūryatīrtha is sometimes placed in Kurukṣetra.<sup>22</sup> Going further in the list, Mānasa is generally thought to be ‘[a] lake on the peak of the Himālayas’,<sup>23</sup> modern Manasarovar.<sup>24</sup> Bindusāra, which most probably stands for Bindusaras, can be a sacred place north of Mount Kailāsa,<sup>25</sup> two miles south of Gaṅgotri,<sup>26</sup> or alternatively Sitpur in Gujarat, north-west of Ahmedabad.<sup>27</sup>

In contrast with these, Setubandha is the traditional name for the ridge of rocks between South India and Śrī Laṅkā, and Ghaṇṭikeśvara could be a sacred place in Orissa.<sup>28</sup> Vāgīśa seems difficult to locate, but it is most probably a sacred place east of Kathmandu. The name comes up in *Nepālamāhātmya* 3.21–25 as a location south of and not far from the Hanumadiśvara-līṅga, which is in the southern outskirts of Bhaktapur in Nepal, at the confluence of two rivers (according to Acharya 1992, 37–38 and 298):

*kiṃciddūre saṅgamasya yajñabhūmiṃ manoharām |*  
*vidhāya munibhir sārddham vājapeyam athākarot ||*  
*yajñam samāpya vālmīkir navanāḍīmayam girim |*  
*āruroha dvijaśreṣṭho munibhir munisattamaḥ ||*  
*kātake tasya śailasya nānānirjharaśobhite |*  
*līṅgam samsthāpayām āsa vālmīkīśvarasaṃjñitam ||*  
*sthāpayitvā mahālīṅgam vālmīkir munisattamaḥ |*  
*svāśrame tamasātīre yayau munigaṇair vṛtaḥ ||*  
*vālmīkīśvaram ālokya vāgvibhūtiḥ prajāyate |*  
*ato vāgīśvaram līṅga pravadanti manīṣiṇaḥ ||*

Not far from the confluence [Vālmīki] prepared a nice sacrificial ground together with the sages, and performed the Vājapeya sacrifice. After having completed the sacrifice, Vālmīki, the best of the twice-born, the truest of sages, climbed the mountain on which fresh grass was

<sup>22</sup> See Mani 1975, s.v. ‘sūryatīrtha’.

<sup>23</sup> Mani 1975, s.v. ‘mānasa IV’.

<sup>24</sup> Dey 1899, 57.

<sup>25</sup> Mani 1975, s.v. ‘bindusaras’.

<sup>26</sup> Dey 1899, 11.

<sup>27</sup> Dey 1899, *ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Sanderson 2009, 113 n. 241.

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growing(?)<sup>29</sup> together with the sages. In a valley of the mountain which was embellished with various waterfalls, he installed a *liṅga* called Vālmikīśvara. Having installed that great *liṅga*, Vālmiki, the truest of sages, surrounded by groups of sages, returned to his own *āśrama* on the banks of the river Tamasā. If one sees the Vālmikīśvara [*liṅga*], one will have the power of speech (*vāg-vibhūti*). That is why the wise call it the Vāgīśvara-*liṅga*.

I have reproduced a map from the beginning of Acharya 1992 as Figure 4 on p. xxiv below. On this map, Vāgīśvara is placed north-east of Bhaktapur.

The only toponym left from the list with which we started this section is Suradraha.<sup>30</sup> This sacred place is mentioned as the most important one in VSS 18.15, in a chapter that lists personal names, placenames, rivers, deities, etc., that are considered the best (*śreṣṭha*) of all others in the same category:

*devatānām hariḥ śreṣṭhaḥ śreṣṭhā gaṅgā nadīṣu ca |*  
*anāśanas tapahśreṣṭhas tīrthaśreṣṭhaḥ suradrahaḥ ||18.15*

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

This suggests that the location of Suradraha could potentially give us a hint on the geographic centre of the community in which the VSS was commissioned or composed. Unfortunately, at the moment I have no useful information on Suradraha. Nevertheless, I suppose that it should be a sacred place in the Kathmandu valley.

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

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

<sup>29</sup> *navanāḍimayaṃ*. Emend to *navanadīmayaṃ* (‘having nine rivers’)?

<sup>30</sup> Always spelt *surahrada* in Naraharinath’s edition.

tra.<sup>31</sup> Since this placename, and the Sahya mountains (12.93),<sup>32</sup> come up in the framework of a dreamlike, fanciful part of the narrative, playing the role of ‘the far-away, magical land,’ a Nepalese origin of the VSS is still tenable.

Perhaps the most telling of all toponyms found in the VSS is Mṛgendraśikhara, where Anarthayajña’s *āśrama* is situated, ‘on the southern slopes of the Himalayas.’<sup>33</sup> This name comes up several times in the *Nepālamāhātmya* and thus features on the map in Acharya 1992 (Figure 4). Mṛgendraśikhara is a mountain situated north of Kathmandu. Today the area is called Śivapurī. See details on the identification and on legends connected to Mṛgendraśikhara in Gögge 2007, 114ff. The VSS specifies that Anarthayajña’s *āśrama* was on the banks of the Mahendrapathaga,<sup>34</sup> but I have not been able to identify this river.

The location with which the ascetic Anarthayajña is connected strongly suggests the Kathmandu valley as the geographical focus of the VSS because he is a key figure and main interlocutor in the VSS.<sup>35</sup>

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

Devaśarman asks his disciple, Vipula, to protect his wife, Ruci, pri-

<sup>31</sup> The city we are looking for is clearly in the South, therefore Karavīrapura as ‘the Piṭha of the North’ in Kashmir is not a good candidate (see, e.g., Sanderson 2007, 261). Rather, as Dey (1899, 35) puts it: ‘A town situated on the north of the Western Ghāts near Jooner [Junnar?], on the bank of the Venā [Venna], a branch of the Krishnā, where Krishna met Parasurāma and killed its king named Srigāla (*Harivansa*).’ See *Harivaṃśa* App. I. 18.352–355: *pūrvajais tava govinda pūrvam puram idam kṛtam | karavīrapuram nāma rāṣṭram caiva niveṣitam || pure ’smin nṛpatiḥ kṛṣṇa vāsudevo mahāyaśāḥ | sṛgāla iti vikhyāto nityam paramakopanaḥ ||*; and also *Padmapurāṇa* 6.106.3: *āsīt sahyādriviṣaye karavīrapure purā | brāhmaṇo dharmavit kaścid dharmadatto ’tviśrutah ||*.

<sup>32</sup> ‘The northern part of the Western Ghāts north of the river Kāveri’ (Dey 1899, 78).

<sup>33</sup> See VSS 22.4–5: *vaiśampāyana uvāca | śṛṇu rājann avahito yogendrasya mahātmanah | āśramam varṇajātīnām vakṣyāmy eva narādhipa || himavaddakṣiṇe pārśve mṛgendraśikhare nṛpa | mahendrapathagānāmanadītre narādhipa ||*. ‘Vaiśampāyana spoke: Listen, O King, attentively. I shall tell you about the *āśrama*, the *varṇa* and the *jāti* of the great and noble yogin, O king. In the southern region of the Himālaya, on the Mṛgendra peak, O king, on the banks of the river Mahendrapathaga, O King [was his *āśrama*].’

<sup>34</sup> See fn. 33.

<sup>35</sup> On Anarthayajña’s central role in the VSS, see more in Kiss 2021.

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

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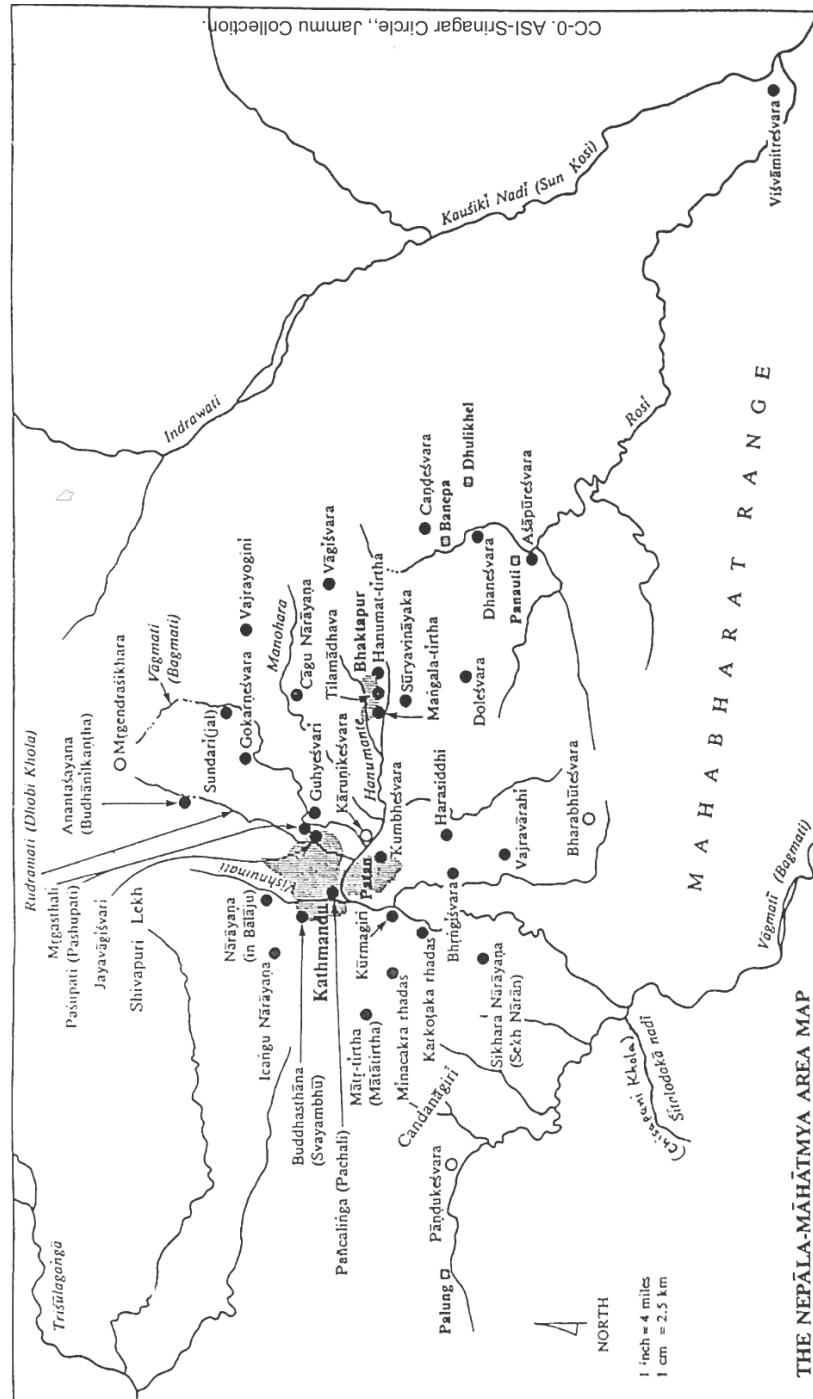


Figure 4: Map in Acharya 1992



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marily from Indra’s amorous advances, while he is away from home. Vipula decides that the only way he can protect Ruci is from within, i.e., by entering her body by yogic powers. Vipula succeeds in protecting Ruci’s reputation and departs to practise extreme austerities. Later he encounters several people (in fact, as we learn later, Day and Night, and the six seasons) who mention ‘Vipula’s path to the other world’ (*vipulasya pare loke yā gatis*, MBh 13.42.27cd) as something horrible. He wonders what sins he may have committed that could yield such unfortunate consequences. He realizes that by not telling Devaśarman that he actually entered Ruci’s body, he lied and thus may have committed a horrible sin. When Devaśarman learns about this, he praises Vipula for his services instead, and all three, Devaśarman, his wife, and Vipula, go to heaven.<sup>36</sup>

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

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

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

As for the dating of the VSS, the *terminus ante quem* for its composition/redaction the obvious date is the earliest MSS that transmits it. The earliest dated MS that contains the VSS is Ko<sub>77</sub>. It is dated to Nepal Saṃvat 156, i.e., 1035–36 CE.<sup>37</sup> In a multiple-text MS<sup>38</sup> that is potentially earlier than Ko<sub>77</sub>, the VSS is written in a hand that seems later than that used for some

<sup>36</sup> See a summary of Vipula’s story in the MBh also in Sukthankar 1944, 317–318.

<sup>37</sup> See Shastri 1928, 721 and De Simini & Mirnig 2017, 591. The date is clearly visible as ‘*saṃvat 156*’ in the last line of the penultimate folio side of Ko<sub>77</sub>/8.

<sup>38</sup> See more detail on this MS, which is now to be found in Munich, in Harimoto 2022.

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of the other texts within the MS.<sup>39</sup> The final colophon of the VSS (and the DharmP) in this MS (f. 50r) is followed by the date [Nepāla] ‘*saṃvat* 192,’ i.e., 1071–1072 CE.

The above mentioned two MSS make it impossible to date the VSS later than to the first half of the 11th century CE, and parts of the text could be considerably older than that period. Archaic features that may indicate that the VSS or parts of it were composed much earlier than the early 11th century include the following. Chapter ten, while it teaches the yogic tubes (*nāḍī*) *Suṣumnā* and *Idā*, is silent on *Piṅgalā*, which is a situation similar to that in the 6–7-century *Niśvāsa naya*<sup>40</sup> (see details at the analysis of chapter 10 on pp. xxix and in the notes to the translation). Similarly, 11.23a (*nivṛt-tyādi caturvedaś*) mentions four Śaiva *kalās*, instead of the expected and somewhat later, and in character tantric, five, namely *nivṛtti*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *vidyā*, *śānti*, and *śāntyatīta*. In the same chapter, the order in which the *āśramas* are taught (*grhastha*, *brahmacārin*, *vānaprastha*, *parivrājaka*) is reminiscent of *Āpastambadharmasūtra* 2.9.21.1, and is relatively rare, as opposed to the traditional order (*brahmacārin*, *grhastha*, *vānaprastha*, *parivrājaka*) found, e.g., in *Manu*. (See Kiss 2021, 195–196.) Another feature that might point towards a date considerably earlier than the 11th century is the system of *tattvas* in chapter 20: the *mahābhūtas* of classical Sāṅkhya are called *dhātus* here, the *tanmātras* of classical Sāṅkhya are called *guṇas*,<sup>41</sup> the *buddhi* of classical Sāṅkhya is called *mati*, and the highest *tattva* is singular unlike the multiple *puruṣas* of classical Sāṅkhya. These may well be archaisms included in the VSS consciously, but they could also indicate that the time of composition of the VSS is much closer to pre-classical Sāṅkhya than what the MS evidence suggests.<sup>42</sup>

All in all, in light of all the above, it is difficult to be more precise on

<sup>39</sup> Harimoto 2022, 597–598: ‘This Śivadharmā ms consists of two major parts, easily distinguishable by different hands: one that appears to be produced in 9th-c. Nepal [...], and another seemingly from a century or so later [...] The next set of folios making up this Śivadharmā ms consists of three titles: the *Uttaromāmaheśvarasaṃvāda\** (24 folios), the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (50 folios), and the *Dharmaputrikā* (11 folios). We do not know the original order of these three works because each section starts with folio 1. Moreover, even though these three titles appear to be written by the same hand (probably somewhat later than the first part), there is no certainty that these folios were produced to complement the first part.’

<sup>40</sup> Goodall, Sanderson, & Isaacson 2015, 33–35.

<sup>41</sup> In contrast with, e.g. ŚDhU 10.40–46 and UUMS chapter 5, DharmP 1.42–43, or the ŚivaUp.

<sup>42</sup> There are also numerous borrowings in VSS 20 from the Śāntiparvan of the MBh. See more details at the analysis of VSS chapter 20 in volume two.

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the dating of the VSS than saying that its production must have happened before the end of the 10th century—or beginning of the 11th century CE if our oldest dated MS that transmits the VSS is close in time to the actual composition or redaction of the text. This could suggest a date considerably earlier than the 10th century, and therefore a tentative dating for the VSS would be the 7th to 10th centuries CE.

### Why was the VSS included in the Śivadharma corpus?

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

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

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

MORE...

### Pāśupatas in the VSS

#### Tantric influence?

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

## Buddhism in the VSS

### *Misc*

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

## Contents and analysis of chapters 1–12

Here follow short descriptions of the topics found in chapters 1–12 of the VSS—those edited and translated in this volume—accompanied by brief discussions and analyses.<sup>43</sup>

### *Adhyāya 1*

After a *maṅgala*-verse that addresses a deity whose identity is obscure (is it Śiva or the impersonal Brahman, or possibly Viṣṇu?; verse 1.1), we enter the first layer of the text, which comprises a dialogue between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana and could be labelled Dharmaśāstric. Janamejaya wishes to hear the essence, the ultimate Dharmic teaching, of the *Mahābhārata*. In response, Vaiśampāyana starts relating a dialogue during which Viṣṇu, disguised as a Brahmin, tests an ascetic called Anarthayaṇṇa, reknown for performing non-material sacrifice (*anarthayaṇṇa*, 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.

<sup>43</sup> See a Sanskrit summary of the contents of the VSS, based on Naraharinath’s edition, in Acharya 2014, 61–72 **CHECK**.

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Keywords: Brahmā, Brahman

*Adhyāya 2*

2. śivāṇḍasaṃkhyā 3. ahiṃsāpraśaṃsā 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. pūrvakarmavipāka 19. dānayajñaviśeṣa 20. pañcaviṃśati-tattvanirṇaya 21. kalpanirṇaya 22. varṇagotrāśrama 23. nidrotpatti 24. śās-travarṇana

*Adhyāya 3*

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

*Adhyāya 4*

*Adhyāya 5*

*Adhyāya 6*

*Adhyāya 7*

*Adhyāya 8*

*Adhyāya 9*

*Adhyāya 10*

*Adhyāya 11*

*Adhyāya 12*

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

## *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

### Topics in chapters 13–24

#### Notes on the language

##### *Newar influence?*

The language of the VSS goes beyond the idiosyncrasies of epic Sanskrit. It exhibits strong similarities to Śaiva Aīśa Sanskrit,<sup>44</sup> and it applies particular metrical licences and uses a special vocabulary, morphology and syntax. The analysis of this language, ideally, would help us confirm the identity of the author(s) or redactor(s) of the text, and our views on its place of composition. In fact, to feed a working hypothesis, I will mention parallelisms between the language of the VSS and early classical Newar whenever possible. Of course, the assumable date of the composition of the VSS, which is without much doubt early 11th century or before, does not allow much direct comparison with contemporary Newar language texts.<sup>45</sup> Therefore I have to project a much later Newar grammar onto an earlier and less well-known state of the language, which is not without risks.

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

#### Number and gender

One of the most evident deviation from Pāṇinian grammar in the text of the VSS is a general disregard of grammatical concord as to number and gender.<sup>46</sup> See, e.g., a plural verb (metri causa?) with a singular subject in VSS 1.16ab:

<sup>44</sup> On Aīśa, see, e.g., Goodall 1998, lxv ff., Törzsök 1999, xxvi ff., Kiss 2015, 77–87, Gerstmayr 2017, Hatley 2018, 28ff.

<sup>45</sup> The earliest dated Newar document is the Ukū Bāhāḥ landgrant palmleaf manuscript from 1114 CE. See, e.g., Malla 1990.

<sup>46</sup> Compare Kölver’s introductory remarks in his investigation of ‘Newarized Sanskrit’ (Kölver 1999, 202) in the *Svayambhūpurāṇa* thus (ibid. 192):

‘Number is often ignored

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

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

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

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*rātryāgame praliyante jagat sarvaṃ carācaram*

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

See a neuter plural participle picking up a neuter singular and a feminine singular noun in 1.62ab:

*pramāṇaṃ nāma saṃkhyā ca kīrtitāni samāsataḥ*

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

This confusion, or often metrically forced disregard of standard Sanskrit grammar, when dealing with number and gender, becomes almost predictable when the noun phrase involves numerals.<sup>47</sup> See, e.g., verse 1.2cd:

*parva cāsya śataṃ pūrṇaṃ śrutvā bhāratasaṃhitām*

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

Here one would expect either a plural genitive (*parvāṇāṃ śataṃ*), a compound (*śataparvāṇi*), or a plural accusative (*parvāṇi śataṃ*). Similarly, *gatiś ca pañca vijñeyāḥ* in 3.5a stands for *gatayaś ca pañca vijñeyāḥ* (‘and the paths are to be known as five’), partly metri causa; and an interrogative quantifier (*kati*, ‘how many?’) can trigger the same: *gatis tasya kati smṛtāḥ* (3.1d; ‘how many are its path[s]?’). It is not without interest that classical Newar rarely applies any plural marker in noun phrases with numerals.<sup>48</sup> Moreover in Newar, ‘nouns denoting inanimate objects are indifferent as to number.’<sup>49</sup> A further clear example is verse 3.6cd:

*tasya patnī mahābhāgā trayodaśa sumadhyamāḥ*

He has thirteen beautiful wives with nice waists.

<sup>47</sup> I am thankful to Judit Törzsök, who first pointed out to me the regular nature of the phenomenon itself as seen in the VSS, and who later drew my attention to the similar Newar grammatical rule (personal communication, Nov 29, 2023), which led me to an investigation of a possible link between the Sanskrit of the VSS and classical Newar.

<sup>48</sup> See, e.g., Jørgensen 1941, 18: ‘The plural ending is wanting where plurality is expressed in other ways; thus always after numerals, and mostly after nouns denoting “many, all”’.

<sup>49</sup> Jørgensen 1941, 5 and 17.

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

Here, with no variants in the MSS consulted, only the very end of the noun phrase (*sumadhyamāḥ*) has the required plural ending. This again is what we often see in Newar.<sup>50</sup> A good example of total number-blindness is 5.17cd:

*kīrtitāni viśeṣeṇa śaucācāram aśeṣataḥ*

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

Note that there would have been little problem in composing the same line in standard Sanskrit, e.g., beginning with *kīrtitaṃ ca...* Instead, this line gives away something about the author’s indifference towards grammatical concord.<sup>51</sup> Also, the participle *kīrtitāni* might function here as a finite verb in the plural: ‘they teach [the practice of purity].’ In this case there is some sense of number but coupled with a totally blurred boundary between finite verbs and participles.

In general, gender confusion is not unusual in epic Sanskrit and in Aśa.<sup>52</sup>

Syntax

Instr. as Ablative: 2.1ab: <TEXT> śrutaṃ mayā janāgreṇa brahmāṇḍasya tu nirṇayam|</TEXT>

Otter 57: ‘there are no different forms for cardinals and ordinals,’

ergative

Special structures: caturmaunasya vakṣyāmi indreṇāsmi phalaṃ dattaṃ

kathito ’smi

as if not proofread

Stem form nouns

stem form nouns (prātipadika); Jørgensen 1941, §18.1: ‘Nominative. This case has no ending but represents the pure stem.’

<sup>50</sup> ‘Any case [...] and/or plural markers [...], as well as postpositions [...], are added to the last constituent of the N[oun] P[hrase].’ (Otter 2020, 11–12.) E.g.: in the Newar phrase *thwo khum-na khañ-ā rājā-pani* (‘these kings seen by the thief’), the only indication that multiple kings are involved is the plural marker *-pani* at the end (ibid.).

<sup>51</sup> Compare Kölver’s remark on the phrase *āgataḥ sarve nāgāḥ* in *Svayambhūpurāṇa* (on p. 459 in Shastri 1894): ‘this is a remarkable lack of sensitivity as to the category of number’ (Kölver 1999, 195).

<sup>52</sup> See, e.g., Oberlies 2003, XXXVIII–XL and Kiss 2015, 85 and the Index.



## Introduction

a more or less full collation is important: we cannot automatically reject ‘ungrammatical’ or unmetrical forms because they may well be the ‘original’ one

Niśvāsa book p.441: ‘Note that these sentences have been rephrased, in order to obviate the (metrical) need for prātipadikas in the Svachanda (ॐ:ॐff). In one case, sparśatanmātra, the use of the prātipadika only obeys the metre if one treats the following ligature (spa) as not making the previous syllable long. It is possible that jihvāyām 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 Svachanda (ॐ:ॐcd).’

search ibid for prātipadika,

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

## Vocabulary

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

generate list from index

- metre?

+ newari plural, in Jørgensen 1941, §17:

‘The plural ending is wanting where plurality is expressed in other ways; thus always after numerals, and mostly after nouns denoting “many, all”.’

Modern Nepali: singular after numerals.

Kölver

## Metre

As regards metrical licences, the first striking feature is the generous use of the poetic licence sometimes labelled ‘muta cum liquida,’<sup>53</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>54</sup> In the VSS, tra, vra, śra, pra, and also śya, śva, sva, dva, all involving conjunct consonants with a liquid sounds or semi-

<sup>53</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>54</sup> See e.g. Apte’ XXX Dictionary Appendix A p. 1. ADD real life examples.

*Vṛṣasārasaṅgraha*

vowels in second position, and possibly also rpa,CHECK! seem additional ones.

Parākhya 5:4c, 5:44a, 5:76c, 5:124a. (see p. lxxxi)

SYM: pūjayet ... mantriṇā 18.23 b-d; yajec cakre ca vidhivad yoginīsid-  
dhim icchatā 21.12cd

The well-known author on prosody, Kedārabhaṭṭa (11-12th centuries),<sup>55</sup> frequently quoted by Mallinātha, gives the following definition in his *Vṛttaratnākara* (here given together with Sulhaṇa's *Sukavihṛdayanandinī* commentary):

*padādāv iha varṇasya saṁyogah kramasaṁjñikah |*  
*purahsthitenā tena syāl laghutā 'pi kvacid guroḥ || 1.10 ||*

*vibhaktyantaṃ padaṃ tasya padasyāḍau vartamāno yo  
varṇas tasya saṃyogaḥ | sa iha śāstre kramasaṃjño jñeyah  
| tena krameṇa purovartinā prāṅpadānte vartamānasya  
prāptagurubhāvasyāpi laghutā syāt | kvacil lakṣānurod-  
hena | nanu ka eṣaḥ kramo nāma saṃyoga ucyate | pūrvācāryāṇāṃ  
piṅgalanāgabhṛtīnāṃ kālidāsādīnāṃ ca kavīnāṃ samayah  
parigrhitah | saṃyogaḥ kramasaṃyogaḥ || 10 || tatra gra-  
samyogena yathā | idam asyodāharaṇam |*

*taruṇaṃ sarśapaśākam navaudanam picchalāni ca dadhīni |*  
*alpavyayena sundari grāmyajano miṣṭam aśnāti || 1.11 ||*

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].

... TRANSLATE

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:

<sup>55</sup> SOURCE

*Introduction*

nidravyo hriyam eti hrīparigataḥ prabhraśyate tejasah

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 śithila-dvitva, 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 Viśākha-datta 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

Reference: see comments by Dr. Ganesh and Nityananda Misra in this thread started by Vishvas Vasuki: %<https://groups.google.com/forum/#!topic/bvparishat/yarGLuhc14/discussion>  
poetic licences

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

### Witnesses

Vindicate your edition: look at the apparatus, all the Ed entries

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 from 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 phyogenetics slightly Even the best mss can containing 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>56</sup> In the manuscript descriptions

<sup>56</sup> As I remarked elsewhere (Kiss 2021, 185, n. 9): ‘Asiatic Society (Calcutta), Manuscript G 4076, cat. no. 4083, may seem to be an independent manuscript of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃ-*

*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>57</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)C<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>58</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*,

*graha*, 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 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>59</sup>

<sup>57</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>58</sup> <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01694-00001/382>

## Introduction

6) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 7) *Dharmaputrikā*, 8) *Śivopaniṣad*.

The VSS occupies 45 folios: it starts on f. 193 (the recto side, online 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)C<sub>45</sub> Cambridge University Library, Add. 1645. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a detailed description of this manuscript in the CUDL online catalogue.<sup>59</sup> According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 4.4 × 61.7 cm. The manuscript is dated to (Nepal) ‘*saṃvat 259 śrāvaṇa śukla dvādaśīyādi(?) < trayodaśyām*,’ which converts to July 10/11 Monday/Tuesday, 1139 CE.<sup>60</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) *Umāmaheśvaraṃvāda*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*.

The VSS occupies 37 folios plus one folio side: it starts on f. 201v line 4 (online image no. 404), and it ends on f. 238v line 3 (online image no. 478).

<sup>59</sup> <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01645/404>

<sup>60</sup> F. 247r line 6. The CUDL website transcribes this colophon as: *saṃvat 259 śrāvaṇaśukladvādaśī[pyādi 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* 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*

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 and Harimoto).<sup>61</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>62</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>63</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>64</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>65</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Personal communication, 1 Dec 2021.

<sup>62</sup> <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02102/181>

<sup>63</sup> Image no. 180, *Śivopaniṣad* 7.122: *yauvanasthā grhasthāś ca [prāsā]dasthāś ca ye nṛpāḥ*.

<sup>64</sup> Compare with the claim of the online catalogue: “The present manuscript probably contained seven texts.”

<sup>65</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.



## 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*<sup>o</sup>), ff. 271 and 272 are missing, and the text resumes on f. 273r with verse 3.30b (*[ahimsā pa]ramam 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>66</sup>, the next folio being 306r (*carmatāś ca dvijasundarīsu*, verse 18.27b; nine folios and chapters 15–17 are completely missing).

Again, there are two missing folios after *bandhus sarvva*<sup>o</sup> 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*<sup>o</sup> (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>67</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>68</sup> The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a

This slightly illogical decision may mean that the younger copy was not tailor-made for the old portion, but rather that it was taken from a younger manuscript which was perhaps considered more legible. Otherwise it would have been more practical to stop copying the first folio at the point where the next begins.

<sup>66</sup> Of course, my verse numbering in chapters 13–24 may change slightly during the editing process.

<sup>67</sup> [https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp\\_ngmcpdocument\\_00098499](https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00098499)

<sup>68</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*

palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 274 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 7) *Dharmaputrikā*, 8) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*.

As for each text in this collection, the foliation for the VSS restarts from f. iv (f. ii 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>69</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>70</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 (*viṃśakoṭīṣu 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 vanaspatināṃ 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

<sup>69</sup> See a similar evaluation in Bisschop 2018, 56.

<sup>70</sup> [https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp\\_ngmcpdocument\\_00085264](https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00085264)

## Introduction

4.30ab–47ab, the upper one 47d–68a, and so on so forth. Thus when reading the text from these images, after exp. 48, one has to start with the lower leaf and 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>71</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>72</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>73</sup>—the microfilm images of the folios containing the VSS are often blurred to an extent that makes them difficult

<sup>71</sup> [https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp\\_ngmcpdocument\\_00062373](https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00062373)

<sup>72</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)

<sup>73</sup> [http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A\\_11-3\\_Śivadharmottara](http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A_11-3_Śivadharmottara)

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

to use.

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

*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 dhyāyaḥ 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 Śivadharmas 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

## Introduction

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 grounds. It contains the following text in the order they are presented in the manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasamgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*. The VSS appears on ff. 212–252. This source gives reliable readings and contains relatively few scribal mistakes.<sup>74</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) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*.

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

### The Kolkata manuscripts

**(N)Ko<sub>77</sub>** MS G4077 in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Kolkata.<sup>75</sup> This is a palm leaf MS, transmitting the VSS in 52 folios. The MS is dated to July 6, 1036 CE (Nepāla Samvat 156; see De Simini 2017, 542), which makes it ‘the oldest known dated attestation of the corpus’ (De Simini 2016b, 250–251). In spite of this, after collating this MS for 1.1–12 and 8.1–8, I abandoned

<sup>74</sup> This description had as its starting point a shorter description written and kindly shared with me by Nirajan Kafle.

<sup>75</sup> I am grateful to Daniella Cappello and Marco Francheschini for managing to obtain digital copies of most of the folios of this MS.

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

it because its readings seemed rather useless.<sup>76</sup>

**(N)Ko<sub>76</sub>** MS G 4076 in the collection of The Asiatic Society, Kolkata.<sup>77</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>76</sub> (MS G 3852), a Śivadharmā corpus MS in the same collection lacking the VSS; see note 56 on page 1.

*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.

Paper MSS? hidden

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.

<sup>76</sup> See, e.g., 8.1–8, as transmitted in this MS: *pañcasvādhyāyanam ihāmutra sukhārthinā | saivasāṅkhyā purāṇaṁ ca smārtabhāratasaṃhitā* ||8.1|| *saivatatvaṁ vicintata saivāpāsūpatadvaye | atra vistarata prokta tatvasārasamucaye* ||8.2|| *saṃkhyātatvaṁ tu saṃkhyeṣu bodhavya tatvacintakaiḥ | pañcatattvavibhāgena kīrtitāni maharṣibhiḥ* ||8.3|| *purāṇeṣu mahikoṣa vistareṇa prakīrtita | āyogaś ca tīryaṁ ca yatnataḥ samaveśayet* ||8.4|| *smārta varṇṇasamācāra dharmāṅyāyapravarttakam | śiṣṭācāro vikalpena grāhya tatva asahitaḥ* ||8.5|| *itihāsam adhīyānaḥ sarvajñaḥ sa naro bhavet | dharmārthakā-mamokṣeṣu saṁśayaś tena chidyate* ||8.6|| *pañcoprasthavinigraha sṛṇuyāvaṁhito dvija | striyo vā garbitaḥ svargaḥ svayāmmuktis ca kīrtiyate | svapnopaghātaṁ viprendra divāsvapnaṁ ca pañcamah* ||8.7|| *agamyastri divārsyase dharmapatnī ca vā bhavet | virud-dhastri na bhaveta varṇṇavarṇṇabhraṣṭādhikāma ca* ||8.8||

<sup>77</sup> I am grateful to Sushmita Das for attempting to get a copy of this MS in March 2020, and to Daniella Cappello and Marco Francheschini, who managed to do so.

## Introduction

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*]ṭikāṃsram [= °kāmbaram] eva ca | daśayogāsanāsīno

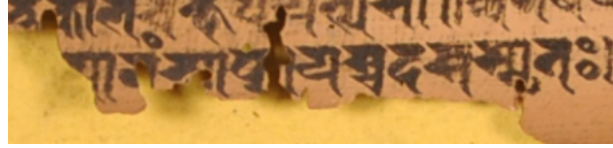
L<sub>16</sub> (f. 38rv) gives:



*sphaṭikāṃsatam eva ca || devayogāsanāsīto*

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

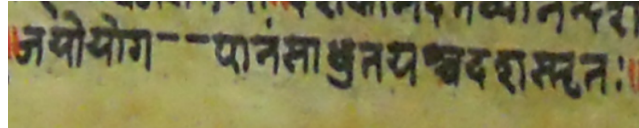
Here K<sub>82</sub> (f. 39v) reads:



[*japo yogas tapo*] *dhyānaṃ svādhyāyaś ca daśa smṛtaḥ*

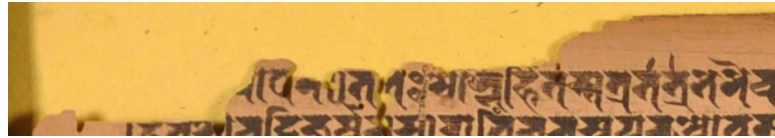
with *dhyā* and *svā* damaged;

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



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

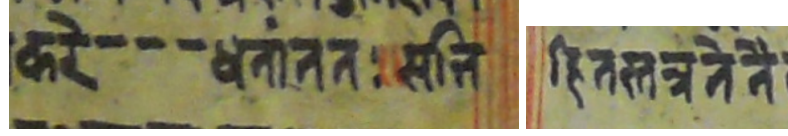
K<sub>82</sub> (f. 39r) gives:



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

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

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



*kare - - - dhatām 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 Śivadharma corpus (Naraharinath 1998): see e.g. De Simini 2016a, 66, n. 190; 2017, 542, Bisschop 2018, 58–59, Bisschop, Kafle, & 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 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

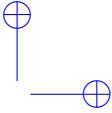
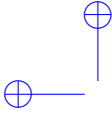
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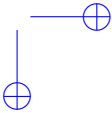
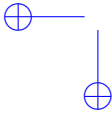
*Vṛṣasārasaṅgraha*

*An Annotated Translation*

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*Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṁgraha*



*Appendices*

passegges 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 Inscriptions Database: <https://siddham.network>

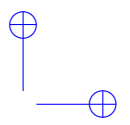
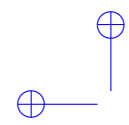
**ŚDhŚ** = *Śivadharmaśāstra*

**ŚDhU** = *Śivadharmottara*

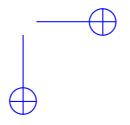
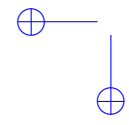
**VSS** = asdfadfasdfadsa

TO BE SUPPLIED

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



*Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṁgraha*





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- Arthasāstra*: 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  
*Mātaṅgalīlā*: see Śāstri 1910  
YS: see **CHECK**  
*Raghuvamśa*: see  
*Vāgmatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsā*:  
*Vājasaneyisaṃhitā*: see Weber 1972  
*Viṣṇudharmottara*:  
*Viṣṇudharma*: see Grünendahl 1983  
*Viṣṇupurāṇa*: see Pathak 1997–1999  
OTHER PURANAS  
CHANGE repeated authornames with —————

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