

वृषसानसंश्रुतः

The Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, a text of the Śivadharmā corpus

A Critical Edition

Volume I

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

THE ŚIVADHARMA PROJECT

Studies on the History of Śaivism
X??

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A Critical Edition

Volume I

Csaba Kiss



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Preface

Aims and problems

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

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

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

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

² McGann 1991, 27.

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

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

Introduction

Śivadharmā corpus

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

Title

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Or putting it more bluntly:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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To laud the bull (*vṛṣa*) would be surprising if the intended meaning were the bull that is Śiva’s mount, but not if the word is intended in its figurative meaning, namely *dharmah*, or *sukṛtam* ‘the virtuous actions [prescribed by the Veda].’ For this meaning of *vṛṣah* see, for example, Amarasimha, *Nāmalingānuśāsana* 1.4.25b (*sukṛtam vṛṣah*), 3.3.220 (*sukṛte vṛṣabhe vṛṣah*); Halāyudha, *Abhidhānatnamālā* 1.125cd (*dharmah puṇyaṃ vṛṣah śreyah sukṛtaṃ ca samaṃ smṛtam*); *Manu* 8[.]16a (*vṛṣo hi bhagavān dharmas...*); and the Gwalior Museum Stone Inscription of Pataṅgaśambhu (Mirashi 1962), l. 15, *vṛṣaikaniṣṭho ‘pi jitasmaro ‘pi yah śaṅkaro ‘bhūd bhuvi ko ‘py apūrvvah*, 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 *vṛṣah* in the title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, one of the works of the Śivadharmā corpus (see, e.g., Sanderson 2014, p. 2), i.e., ‘Summary of the Essentials of the [Śiva]dharma’.

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

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

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

¹¹ See p. xvii.

¹² See **CHECK**

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

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

Genre

Is the VSS a Purāṇa? There are at least two reasons to think so. One is the section VSS 1.63–76, 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) genealogies (*vaṃśa*); (4) Manu eras (*manvantaras*); (5) history (*vaṃśānucarita*).¹⁵ Arguably all these are present in the VSS, most of them already in chapter one, and later in twenty-one and twenty-four, plus narratives of the deeds of gods (e.g. in chapter twenty-three), and much more. It is possible that some parts of the VSS were originally intended to form a *purāṇa*. The part in question could be the outermost layer of the text. This leads us to the examination of the structure of the VSS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Structure

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

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

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

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

¹⁷ Understand *pādamātram*?

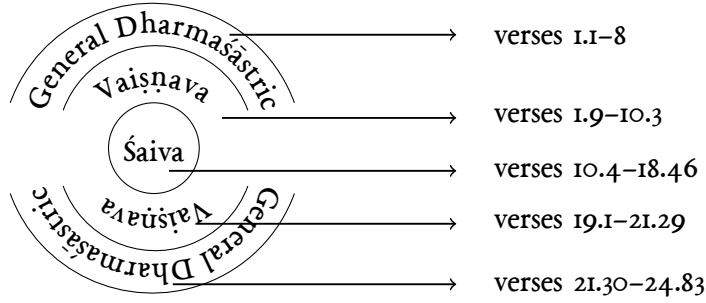


Figure 1: The structure of the VSS (reproduced from Kiss 2021, 188)

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

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

CHECKMARKS !

Connection to other texts

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

a dialogue between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana, echoing the setting of

Introduction

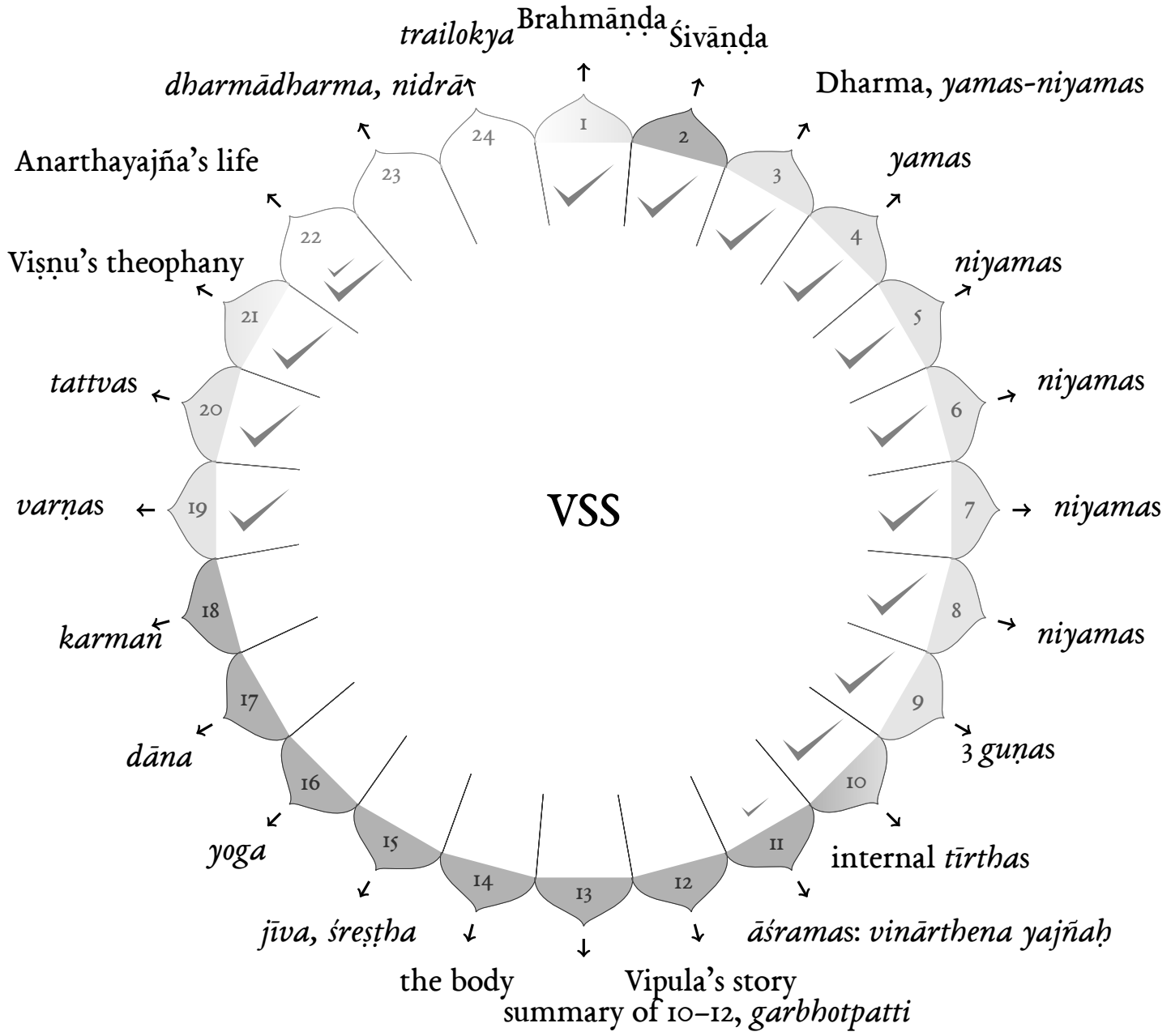


Figure 2: The structure and topics of the VSS

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

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

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

Bṛhatkāṇṭika,

Dating and provenance

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

To make assumptions about the place of composition of the VSS, we

¹⁸ Kiss 2021, 187

¹⁹ Petech 1984, 31

²⁰ Sanderson 2009, 77

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can consider the following: the location of the manuscript evidence, place names and individuals mentioned in the text, and a possible influence of any local language on the style and grammar of the text.

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

The geographical locations mentioned in the VSS include the *tīrthas* mentioned in chapter ten: Himavat (the Himālayas), Kurukṣetra, Prayāga, Vārāṇasī, Yamunā, Gaṅgā, Agnitīrtha, Somatīrtha, Sūryatīrtha, Puṣkara, Mānasa, Naimiṣa, Bindusāra (= Bindusaras), Setubandha, Suradrāha or Surahrada, Ghaṇṭikeśvara, and Vāgīśa. These may hint at the area where the VSS was composed by giving more significance to locations nearby and by being more specific when mentioning local sacred places. Some names on the list above are easy to indentify and at the same time probably too often included in lists such as this one to be indicative enough: Himavat, Kurukṣetra,²² Prayāga, Vārāṇasī, Yamunā, Gaṅgā, Puṣkara (modern Pushkar), and Naimiṣa.²³ All these are locations in modern North India, or in the case of Himavat, for our purposes and more precisely North India and Nepal. Agnitīrtha, Somatīrtha and Sūryatīrtha could also be locations in North India, although they are more obscure than the ones above. For Agnitīrtha, see, e.g., *Padmapurāṇa* 3.45.27ab: *agnitīrtham iti khyātaṃ yamunādakṣiṇe taṭe*; and *Padmapurāṇa* 6.139.1ab: *sābhramatī-uttare 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 sābhramatītate*. Sūryatīrtha is sometimes placed in Kurukṣetra.²⁴ Going further in the list, Mānasa is generally thought to be ‘[a] lake on the peak of the Himālayas’,²⁵ modern Manasarovar.²⁶ Bindusāra, which most probably stands for Bindusaras, can

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

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

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

²⁴ See Mani 1975, s.v. ‘sūryatīrtha’.

²⁵ Mani 1975, s.v. ‘mānasa IV’.

²⁶ Dey 1899, 57.

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be a sacred place north of Mount Kailāsa,²⁷ two miles south of Gaṅgotri,²⁸ or alternatively Sitpur in Gujarat, north-west of Ahmedabad.²⁹

In contrast with these, Setubandha is the traditional name for the ridge of rocks between South India and Śrī Laṅkā, and Ghaṇṭikeśvara could be a sacred place in Orissa.³⁰ Vāgīśa seems difficult to locate, but it is most probably a sacred place east of Kathmandu. The name comes up in *Nepālamāhātmya* 3.21–25 as a location south of and not far from the Hanumadiśvara-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 navanāḍimayaṃ girim |
āruroha dvijaśreṣṭho munibhir munisattamaḥ ||
kaṭake tasya śailasya nānānirjharasobhite |
līṅgam saṃsthāpayām āsa vālmīkiśvarasaṃjñitam ||
sthāpayitvā mahālīṅgam vālmīkir munisattamaḥ |
svāśrame tamasātīre yajau munigaṇair vṛtaḥ ||
vālmīkiśvaram ālokyā vāgvibhūtiḥ prajāyate |
ato vāgīśvaram līṅga pravadanti manīṣiṇaḥ ||

Not far from the confluence [Vālmiki] prepared a nice sacrificial ground together with the sages, and performed the Vājapeya sacrifice. After having completed the sacrifice, Vālmiki, the best of the twice-born, the truest of sages, climbed the mountain on which fresh grass was growing(?)³¹ together with the sages. In a valley of the mountain which was embellished with various waterfalls, he installed a *līṅga* called Vālmikiśvara. Having installed that great *līṅga*, 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 Vālmikiśvara [*līṅga*], one will have the power of speech (*vāg-vibhūti*). That is why the wise call it the Vāgīśvara-līṅga.

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

The only toponym left from the list with which we started this section is Suradraha.³² This sacred place is mentioned as the most important one in

²⁷ Mani 1975, s.v. ‘bindusaras’.

²⁸ Dey 1899, II.

²⁹ Dey 1899, *ibid.*.

³⁰ Sanderson 2009, II.3 n. 241.

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

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

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

devatānām hariḥ śreṣṭhaḥ śreṣṭhā gaṇḍā nadīṣu ca |
anāśanas tapaḥśreṣṭhas tīrthaśreṣṭhaḥ suradrahaḥ || 18.15

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

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

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

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

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

³⁴ The city we are looking for is clearly in the South, therefore Karavīrapura as ‘the Piṭha of the North’ in Kashmir is not a good candidate (see, e.g., Sanderson 2007, 261). Rather, as Dey (1899, 35) puts it: ‘A town situated on the north of the Western Ghāts near Jooner [Junnar?], on the bank of the Venā [Venna], a branch of the Krishnā, where Krishna met Parasurāma and killed its king named Srigāla (*Harivansa*).’ See *Harivaṃśa* App. I. 18.352–355: *pūrvajais tava govinda pūrvam puram 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 ’tīvīrutah ||*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁷ See fn. 36.

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

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

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

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

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

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

As for the dating of the VSS, the *terminus ante quem* for its composition/redaction the obvious date is the earliest MSS that transmits it. The earliest dated MS that contains the VSS is Ko₇₇. It is dated to Nepal Saṃvat 156, i.e., 1035–36 CE.⁴⁰ In a multiple-text MS⁴¹ that is potentially earlier than Ko₇₇, the VSS is written in a hand that seems later than that used for some of the other texts within the MS.⁴² The final colophon of the VSS (and the DharmP) in this MS (f. 50r) is followed by the date [Nepāla] ‘samvat 192,’ i.e., 1071–1072 CE.

The above mentioned two MSS make it impossible to date the VSS later

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

⁴⁰ See Shastri 1928, 721 and De Simini & Mirnig 2017, 591. The date is clearly visible as ‘samvat 156’ in the last line of the penultimate folio side of Ko₇₇/8.

⁴¹ See more detail on this MS, which is now to be found in Munich, in Harimoto 2022.

⁴² Harimoto 2022, 597–598: ‘This Śivadharma 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 Śivadharma ms consists of three titles: the *Uttaromāmaheśvarasaṃvāda** (24 folios), the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (50 folios), and the *Dharmaputrikā* (11 folios). We do not know the original order of these three works because each section starts with folio 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.’

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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*⁴³ (see details at the analysis of chapter 10 on pp. xli and in the notes to the translation). Similarly, 11.23a (*nivṛtṭyādi caturvedas*) mentions four Śaiva *kalās*, instead of the expected and somewhat later, and in character tantric, five, namely *nivṛtti*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *vidyā*, *śānti*, and *śāntyatīta*. In the same chapter, the order in which the *āśramas* are taught (*grhastha*, *brahmacārin*, *vānaprastha*, *parivrajaka*) is reminiscent of *Āpastambadharmasūtra* 2.9.21.1, and is relatively rare, as opposed to the traditional order (*brahmacārin*, *grhastha*, *vānaprastha*, *parivrajaka*) 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*,⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵

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

⁴³ Goodall, Sanderson, & Isaacson 2015, 33–35.

⁴⁴ In contrast with, e.g. ŚDhU 10.40–46 and UUMS chapter 5, DharmP 1.42–43, or the ŚivaUp.

⁴⁵ 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.

Introduction

Authors, redactors and target audience

Why was the VSS included in the Śivadharma corpus?

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

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

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

MORE...

Pāśupatas in the VSS

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

Language

Newar influence?

The language of the VSS goes beyond the idiosyncrasies of epic Sanskrit. It exhibits strong similarities to Śaiva Aīśa Sanskrit,⁴⁶ and it applies particular metrical licences and uses a special vocabulary, morphology and syntax. The analysis of this language, ideally, would help us confirm the identity of the author(s) or redactor(s) of the text, and our views on its place of composition. In fact, to feed a working hypothesis, I will mention parallelisms between the language of the VSS and early classical Newar—since the VSS was most probably produced in the Kathmandu valley⁴⁷—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.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹ See, e.g., a plural verb (*metri causa?*) with a singular subject in VSS 1.16ab:

⁴⁶ On Aīśa, see, e.g., Goodall 1998, lxv ff., Törzsök 1999, xxvi ff., Kiss 2015, 77–87, Gerstmayr 2017, Hatley 2018, 28ff.

⁴⁷ See pp. xx ff.

⁴⁸ The earliest dated Newar document is the Ukū Bāhāḥ landgrant palmleaf manuscript from 1114 CE. See, e.g., Malla 1990.

⁴⁹ 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 kṛtam* 470, 8 ‘the Nāga girl made (it) full of rain’], and case

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

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rātryāgame 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.⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹ Moreover in Newar, ‘nouns denoting inanimate objects are indifferent as to number.’⁵² A further clear example is verse 3.6cd:

tasya patnī mahābhāgā trayodaśa sumadhyamāḥ

He has thirteen beautiful wives with nice waists.

Here, with no variants in any of the MSS consulted, only the very end of the noun phrase (*sumadhyamāḥ*) has the required plural ending. This again is

⁵⁰ 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.

⁵¹ See, e.g., Jørgensen 1941, 18: ‘The plural ending is wanting where plurality is expressed in other ways; thus always after numerals, and mostly after nouns denoting “many, all”’. Incidentally, singular after numerals is also the norm in Modern Nepali, and in other, even more distant languages such as Hungarian.

⁵² Jørgensen 1941, 5 and 17.

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what we often see in Newar.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ 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 Aśā.⁵⁵ It is its extent in the VSS that suggests a very strong external influence, supposedly of classical Newar.

Case and syntax

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

*bhūmipradātā dvija hīnadīnaḥ
samṛddhasasyo jalasaṃnikṛṣṭaḥ |
sa yāti lokam amarādhīpasya
vimānayanena manohareṇa ||*

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

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

⁵³ ‘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.).

⁵⁴ 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).

⁵⁵ See, e.g., Oberlies 2003, XXXVIII–XL, and Kiss 2015, 85 and the Index therein.

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vocative, and everything else is in the nominative: endings seem but decorations. This is difficult to explain by classical Newar influence since Newar does have a dative case marker, with animate nouns added to the genitive marker. Similarly difficult is to explain why then *pādas* cd are written in perfect standard Sanskrit.⁵⁶

There are dozens, or hundreds, of syntactical oddities in the VSS, even if not all this baffling.⁵⁷ Somewhat similarly to what Kölver describes in his analysis of the language of the *Svayambhūpurāṇa*, a Nepalese composition (Kölver 1999), there often (but not always!) seems to be a lack of understanding of the passive, together with the application of the ergative, one of the basic syntactical tools of classical Newar. To demonstrate this, a good example is 12.113cd:

indreṇāsmi phalaṃ dattaṃ sa phalaṃ datta me bhavān

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

Again, this is the translation that seems to fit the context. Here the skeleton of *pāda* c is a well-constructed passive: *indreṇa phalaṃ dattaṃ*, but then, instead of adding a dative or genitive (e.g., *indreṇa me phalaṃ dattaṃ*), the author chooses a finite verb (*asmi*). In *pāda* d, after seemingly treating *phalaṃ* as a masculine noun, and leaving *datta* in stem form metri causa, and using *me* for *mayā*,⁵⁸ this time ends the phrase with a noun in the nominative (*bhavān*) instead of the dative or genitive. Why not try to write *dattaṃ tad eva te mayā*,⁵⁹ or *dattaṃ tava tad eva ca*? Constructions with *datta/kathita* plus an expected dative are especially prone to confusion. See, e.g., VSS 1.63cd–64ab and 10.2d:

*brahmaṇā kathitaṃ pūrṇaṃ mātariśvā yathātatham
vāyunā pāda saṃkṣīpya prāptaṃ cośanasam purā*

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

bravīmi vaḥ purāvṛttaṃ nandinā kathito 'smi aham

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

⁵⁶ See a similarly puzzling situation in the *Brahmayāmala*, which is briefly described in Kiss 2015, 74 as follows: ‘One of the most intriguing questions concerning the Bra[hma]Yā[mala] is not why its language deviates from Pāṇini so often but rather why sometimes it falls back to perfectly standard Pāṇinian language for fairly long passages.’

⁵⁷ Most of them are addressed in the footnotes to the translation.

⁵⁸ This often happens in epic Sanskrit, see Oberlies 2003, 4.1.3, pp. 102–103.

⁵⁹ Although this solution carries the metric fault of being iambic.

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

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

eṣa garbhasamutpattiḥ kathito 'smi varānane

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

āgneyadhātum somaṃ ca kathito 'smi varānane

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

kathito 'smi samāsenā kim anyac chrotum icchasi

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

These are also similar to what Jørgensen analyses in a Sanskrit passage in the Newar *Vicitrakarṇikāvadānoddhṛta*, namely that the phrase *na jñāto 'ham* must in that context mean ‘I did not know.’⁶⁰

Sometimes the agent in an active construction with a transitive verb simply imitates an ergative structure: *viṣṇunā... papraccha* (1.8), *sa[!] hovāca pathīkena* (12.60a).⁶¹

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

caturmaunasya vakṣyāmi śṛṇuṣvāvahito bhava

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

One could say that *pāda* a is simply elliptical and that a verb like *lakṣaṇam* or *svabhāvam* (‘the characteristics/essence [of X]’) is missing. 1.38ab is similar:

brahmāṇḍānāṃ prasamkhyātum mayā śakyaṃ katham dvija

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

This phenomenon is difficult to explain by any Newar influence since classical Newar would usually also require an extra word (such as *kham* ‘thing,

⁶⁰ Jørgensen 1931, 77 and 328. Compare *tat phalam sa niveditaḥ* (‘he gave that fruit’) in VSS 12:67d.

⁶¹ This happens also in Aiśa. See, e.g., *Siddhayogēśvarīmata* 18.23: *pūjayet ... mantriṇā* (Törzsök 1999, 42).

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topic, word, story’) in such a sentence. It might belong to a class of phenomena in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit that Edgerton labels as ‘Genitive with miscellaneous verbs.’⁶²

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

yajec cakre ca vidhivad yoginīsiddhim icchatā 21.12cd

Cardinal and ordinal numbers

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

caturviṃśati yat tattvaṃ prakṛtiṃ viddhi niścayam
dvāviṃśati ahaṃkāras tattvaṃ uktaṃ maṇiśibhiḥ

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

This phenomenon is known to a certain degree from epic Sanskrit,⁶³ and is even more characteristic of classical Newar.⁶⁴

Stem form nouns

Stem form nouns, or *prātipadikas*, are extremely common in the language of the VSS. They are not alien to the Aśā Sanskrit of Śaiva Tantras,⁶⁵ but the extent to which they prevail in the VSS is striking and it reminds one of the zero suffix of the nominative and accusative, or rather of the ‘casus indefinitus’ or ‘absolute case’ of classical Newar.⁶⁶ Often stem forms are required to restore the metre, and they would thus be difficult to emend, and often they blend in sandhi with the following word. See some clear examples below with the expected, but usually unmetrical, form in parentheses:

⁶² Edgerton 1953, vol. 1, §7.65, p. 47.

⁶³ See Oberlies 2003, §5.2.2, pp. 127–128.

⁶⁴ See Jørgensen 1941, 42 and Otter 2020, 57.

⁶⁵ See, e.g., Kiss 2015, 75–77 and Goodall, Sanderson, & Isaacson 2015, 126 and 441.

⁶⁶ Jørgensen 1941, 18 and 21, and Otter 2020, 16.

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- 1.64a: *vāyunā pāda saṃkṣipya (pādaṃ)*
- 1.64c: *tenāpi pāda saṃkṣipya (pādaṃ)*
- 2.25c: *bhogam akṣaya tatraiva (akṣayaṃ)*
- 2.26d: *īśānānāṃ smṛtālayaḥ (smṛta ālayaḥ)*
- 4.19f: *prasahyasteya pañcamam (°steyaṃ)*
- 4.72a: *caturdhyānādhunā (°dhyānam adhunā)*
- 4.77a: *pramādashāna pañcaiva (°sthānam or °sthānāni)*
- 6.5c: *vedādhyayana kartavyaṃ (vedādhyayanam)*
- 6.14a: *dvitīyaṃ tattva puruṣaṃ (tattvaṃ)*

Vocabulary

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

generate list from index

Modern Nepali: singular after numerals.

Kölver

Metre

As regards metrical licences, perhaps the most striking feature is the generous use of the poetic licence sometimes labelled ‘muta cum liquida,’⁶⁷ namely that some consonant clusters that would normally turn the previous short (*laghu*) syllable long (*guru*) may in some cases do not do so.⁶⁸ Syllables beginning with *pr*, *br*, *hr*, *kr*, especially (or exclusively?) at the beginning of words, are well-known candidates for this licence.⁶⁹ In the VSS, *tr*, *vr*, *śr*, *pr*, and also *śy*, *śv*, *sv*, *dv*,⁷⁰ can also trigger this licence. All these syllables involve conjunct consonants with a semivowel in second position.

For context, it is perhaps not useless to briefly show what a well-known author on prosody, Kedārabhaṭṭa (11th or 12th century),⁷¹ who is frequently quoted by Mallinātha, has to say on this phenomenon in his *Vṛttaratnākara* (here given together with Sulhaṇa’s *Sukavihṛdayanandinī* com-

⁶⁷ For a recent contribution on this phenomenon, see, Sen 2006 (discussing it as it appears in Latin).

⁶⁸ On its appearance in Śaiva Tantras, see, e.g., Goodall 2004, lxxxi and Goodall, Sanderson, & Isaacson 2015, 441.

⁶⁹ See, e.g., Apte 1890, Appendix A p. 1.

⁷⁰ See, e.g., the cadence of 5.15b: *śukaśyenakān* for ∪ ∪- ∪-

⁷¹ Ollett 2013, 333.

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mentary):⁷²

padādāv iha varṇasya saṃyogaḥ kramasaṃjñikah |
purahsthitenā tena syāl laghutā 'pi kvacid guroḥ || 1.10 ||

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

[Comm.:] *vibhaktyantaṃ padaṃ tasya padasyādaḥ vartamāno yo varṇas tasya saṃyogaḥ | sa iha śāstre kramasaṃjñō jñeyah | tena krameṇa purovartinā prāk-padānte vartamānasya prāptagurubhāvasyāpi laghutā syāt | kvacil lakṣānurodhena | nanu ka eṣaḥ kramo nāma saṃyoga ucyate | pūrvācāryāṇāṃ piṅgalanā-gaprabhṛtīnāṃ kālidāsādīnāṃ ca kavīnāṃ samayaḥ parigrhītaḥ | saṃyogaḥ kramasaṃyogaḥ || 10 || tatra gra-saṃyogena yathā | idam asyodāharanam |*

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

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

Tender mustard seed, fresh porridge, and slimy curds: men in the village eat these kinds of savoury dishes, O pretty girl, because they do not have much money.⁷³

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

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

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

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

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

⁷² Patel 2020.

⁷³ I.e.: ‘you are pretty, don’t waste your time with poor village men.’

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padādāv iti kim | anyatra mā bhūt |

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

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

- 1.1c: *harīndra*(*br*)*ahmādibhir āsamagraṃ (upajāti)*
 4.67c: *prajñābodha*(*sr*)*uṭiṃ smṛtiṃ ca labhate mānaṃ ca nityaṃ labhed*
 (*śārdūlavikṛīḍita*)
 4.89a: *iti yama*(*pr*)*avibhāgaḥ kīrtito ’yaṃ dvijendra (mālinī)*
 5.5cd: *parastrīpara*(*dr*)*avyeṣu śaucaṃ kāyikaṃ ucyate (pathyā)*
 5.9cd: *vānaprasthasya*(*tr*)*iguṇaṃ yatīnāṃ tu caturguṇaṃ (na-vipulā)*
 5.15ab: *haṃsasārasacakraḥvakukkuṭān śuka*(*sy*)*enakān (pathyā)*
 8.33a: *tasmān mauna*(*vr*)*ataṃ sadaiva sudṛḍhaṃ kurvīta yo niścitaṃ (śārdūla-*
vikṛīḍita)
 10.31b: *īśānenābhijūṣṭaṃ hr̥di*(*hr*)*ada vimalaṃ nādaśītāmbupūrṇaṃ (srag-*
dharā)
 11.9ab: *manaḥśuddhis tu*(*pr*)*athamāṃ dravyaśuddhir ataḥ param (na-vipulā)*

These indeed follow the rule of having the special conjunct with the semi-vowel at the beginning of a word in the sense that the word can be a member of a compound.⁷⁴ To understand how unique the VSS’s indulgence in the ‘muta cum liquida’ licence is, the epics and the Purāṇas should be examined from this perspective.

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

- 3.42d: *etatpunyapha*(*la*)*m ahimsakajanaḥ prāpnoti niḥsaṃśayaḥ (śārdūla-*
vikṛīḍita)
 4.5a: *na narṃaya*(*kt*)*aṃ anṛtaṃ hinasti (upajāti)*⁷⁵
 4.39c: *aśeṣaya*(*jñ*)*aṭapadānapuṇyaṃ (upajāti)*
 4.59c: *viññānadha*(*rma*)*kulakīrtināśa (upajāti)*
 4.59d: *bhavanti vi*(*pra*)*damayā vihīnāḥ (upajāti)*
 5.20a: *śaucāśaucavidhijña mānava ya*(*di*)*kālakṣaye niścayaḥ (śārdūlavikṛī-*
ḍita)

⁷⁴ There are some problematic verses that I ignore here. They are unlikely to change the overall picture.

⁷⁵ Versions of this line in the MBh and the MatsP read °*yuktaṃ vacanaṃ* (see the apparatus at veres 4.5 in the edition).

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- 6.18b: *jijñāsyantāṃ dvijen(dra) bhavadahanakaraḥ prārthanākalpavṛkṣaḥ*
(sragdharā)
- 7.13b: *saubhā(gya)m atulaṃ labheta sa nara rūpaṃ tathā śobhanaṃ (śārdū-*
lavikrīḍita)
- 8.44d: *na bhavati punaja(nma) kalpakotyaṃyute 'pi (mālinī)*
- 11.42b: *saṃsāroddhara(ṇa)m anityahara(ṇa)m ajñānanirmūlanam (śārdū-*
lavikrīḍita)
- 11.42c: *prajñāvṛddhika(ṛa)m amoghakaraṇaṃ kleśārṇavottāraṇaṃ (śārdū-*
lavikrīḍita)
- 11.42d: *janmavyādhiha(ṛa)m akarmadahanam sevet sa dharmottamam (śā-*
rdūlavikrīḍita)
- 12.150c: *nityaṃ rogādhivā(sa)m aniyatavapuṣaṃ trāhi mām kālapāśāt (srag-*
dharā)

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

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Contents and analysis of chapters 1–12

Here follow short descriptions of the topics found in chapters 1–12 of the VSS—edited and translated in this volume—accompanied by brief discussions and analyses.⁷⁶

Adhyāya 1

After a *maṅgala*-verse that addresses a deity whose identity is obscure (is it Śiva or the impersonal Brahman?; verse 1.1), we enter the first layer of the text, which comprises a dialogue between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana and could be labelled Dharmaśāstric. Janamejaya wishes to hear the essence, the ultimate Dharmic teaching, of the *Mahābhārata*. In response, Vaiśampāyana starts relating a dialogue during which Viṣṇu, disguised as a Brahmin, tests an ascetic called Anarthayajña, reknown for performing non-material sacrifice (*anarthayajña*, the topic of *adhyāya* eleven), and a devotee of Viṣṇu (which becomes clear in *adhyāya* twenty-one). This is the beginning of the layer one could label Vaiṣṇava. The first topic they discuss is *brahmavidyā* (1.9–10), and ambiguous definition of the impersonal Brahman and/or the syllable *om*. The next topic is *kāla* (‘death, time’), the origin of the body, karma (1.11–17), and the divisions of time (from *truṭi*, *nimeṣa* up to *kalpas*, 1.18–31), 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 Brahmāṇḍa (1.41–49). In addition, Viṣṇu features as the ruler of the centre of the Brahmāṇḍa (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 Brahmāṇḍa. Finally, verses 1.63–76 list the redactors and transmitters of the Purāṇas, from Brahmā to Vyāsa Dvaipāyana, Romaharṣa, and Romaharṣa’s son Amitabuddhi.

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, sāmkyha, purāṇa, smārta, bhārata) 9. traiguṇyav-

⁷⁶ 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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iśeṣaṇīya 10. kāyatīrthavivarṇana 11. caturāśramadharmavidhāna 12. vipulopākhyāna (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. śāstravarṇana

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

Topics in chapters 13–24

A Critical Edition of Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha 1–12

Introduction to the Critical Edition

While it is probably unnecessary to argue in favour of producing a high-quality edition of any of the texts in the Śivadharmā corpus—given its importance for our understanding of the history of Śaivism—it is worth clarifying why the versions of the VSS and the other texts of the corpus as printed in Naraharinath 1998 are not satisfactory.⁷⁷ One could simply refer the reader to the apparatus in this new edition: the readings given in Naraharinath’s *editio princeps* rarely prove useful or are accepted against the manuscript evidence. One could also point out further problems in Naraharinath’s edition, such as countless typos, misreadings, and readings and omissions that may come from his low-quality sources,⁷⁸ and a lack of any critical apparatus or any documentation of the witness(es) used.⁷⁹ In addition to this, although it does not affect this volume, a great chunk of the text, verses 17.38–18.16, are missing in Naraharinath.

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

[T]extual criticism is often viewed as something to be learned by practice rather from reading about it. ... In fact, both translating and editing are something most Indologists have learned in a pragmatic way through examples from within the field, and some have managed to become quite good at it. ... [I]n most cases this approach is sufficient ...⁸⁰

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

⁷⁷ As West (1973, 61) puts it, following a long tradition of philologists: ‘Is your edition really necessary? That is the first question.’

⁷⁸ Just to quote a few from the first few verses: *sahasrādhyāyar uttamam* for *sahasrādhyāyam uttamam* (1.2b), *nāradasaṃhitām* for *bhāratasaṃhitām* (1.2d), *śaṃkha* for *śaṅkuḥ* (1.34b), omissions in 1.34cd–35, etc.

⁷⁹ He must have worked from paper manuscripts, see p. 9.

⁸⁰ Hanneder 2009, 5.

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times each manuscript or each chapter, *horribile dictu*, each verse, requires a slightly different approach, and these approaches keep changing during the editorial process. For example, the idea that there could be a connection between the linguistic oddities of the VSS’s language and classical Newar⁸¹ arose relatively late, and it did change my views on some textual problems and some of the solutions thereof, and led me to change some of my previously proposed emendations. Thus editing is always subjective in the sense that the method applied is influenced by the editor’s knowledge of the text, the genre, the milieu, etc., or in the case of this edition, the collective knowledge of all my colleagues who took part in VSS reading and brain-storming sessions throughout the years.

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

Witnesses

In the pre-modern era, the VSS has been transmitted exclusively in multiple-text manuscripts that were produced in Nepal. Even when a manuscript of the VSS seems to be a single-text MS, chances are high that it originally belonged to a multiple-text manuscript.⁸² In the manuscript descriptions below, in addition to some general remarks, I will mainly focus on information relevant to the VSS. For much more detail on the overall features of these manuscripts, see De Simini 2016b, Bisschop 2018, Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, Bisschop, Kafle, & Kiss forthcoming, and the catalogues I mention at some of the individual manuscript.⁸³

⁸¹ See p. xxx.

⁸² As I remarked elsewhere (Kiss 2021, 185, n. 9): ‘Asiatic Society (Calcutta), Manuscript G 4076, cat. no. 4083, may seem to be an independent manuscript of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, but as De Simini has already remarked (2016b, 240 n. 19), it is probably from a multiple text manuscript. In fact, from what can be gathered from its description in Shastri 1928, 716ff, it seems likely that this manuscript was originally part of manuscript Asiatic Society (Calcutta) G 3852, cat. no. 4085. See for example the folio numbering in these two manuscripts: ASC G 3852 contains 210 folios, and ASC G 4076 starts on folio 210.’

⁸³ I owe thanks to Florinda De Simini for sharing with me most of the manuscripts listed here, to Kengo Harimoto and Gudrun Melzer (Munich) for providing photos of

Introduction

In recently published and forthcoming critical editions of and articles on the Śivadharma corpus,⁸⁴ 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.⁸⁵ Since in the case of the VSS all the manuscripts I utilised are written in some variant of the Nepālākṣara script,⁸⁶ in this publication I omit the first letter, making the letter for the current location non-superscript. This helps keeping the apparatus readable. In the manuscript descriptions below, I give this omitted and implied ‘N’ in brackets as a reminder.

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

Cambridge manuscripts

(N)C₉₄ Cambridge University Library, Add. 1694.1. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a detailed description of this manuscript in the CUDL online catalogue.⁸⁷ According to this catalogue, the date of creation of this manuscript is the 12th century, and its dimensions are 5 × ca. 53.5 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 258 folios and transmitting eight texts: 1) *Śivadharmaśāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadhar-maśaṃgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 6) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 7) *Dharmaputrikā*, 8) *Śivopaniṣad*.

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

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

⁸⁴ Bisschop 2018, Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, and Bisschop, Kafle, & Kiss forthcoming.

⁸⁵ For details of this system and for the underlying reasons, see Bisschop 2018, 50–51.

⁸⁶ I have not used NGMCP B 219/3 NAK 4/2537 (paper, Maithilī script), and L₁₆ (paper, Devanāgarī script, see below).

⁸⁷ <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01694-00001/382>

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

(N)C₄₅ Cambridge University Library, Add. 1645. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a detailed description of this manuscript in the CUDL online catalogue.⁸⁸ According to this catalogue, its dimensions are 4.4 × 61.7 cm. The manuscript is dated to (Nepāla) ‘*saṃvat 259 śrāvaṇa śukla dvādaśīyā di < trayodaśyām,*’ which converts to July 10/11 Monday/Tuesday, 1139 CE.⁸⁹ The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 247 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, 4) *Śivopaniṣad*, 5) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*.

The VSS occupies 37 folios plus one folio side: it starts on f. 201v line 4 (online image no. 404), and it ends on f. 238v line 3 (online image no. 478). The readings of this manuscript seem to follow those of K₈₂ remarkably closely while transmitting the *Śivadharmottara* (as observed by De Simini and Harimoto).⁹⁰ This is more difficult to see in the case of the VSS, but

⁸⁸ <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01645/404>

⁸⁹ F. 247r line 6. The CUDL website transcribes this colophon as: *saṃvat 259 śrāvaṇaśukladvādaśīpyaḍi 8 trayodaśyām* (retrieved 8 Dec 2021). The element *dvādaśīpyaḍi* could be read as *dvādaśīyā di*, perhaps a mistake for *dvādaśyām di* (*di* for a misplaced *diva/divā?*), and the symbol that does look like a figure ‘8’ of a slightly later period than the manuscript itself (resembling the mathematical symbol <) might also be a *kākapada*. Alternatively, one could understand *yā* as a Newar genitive marker, *dvādaśī-yā di* meaning ‘the day of the twelfth.’ Another faint *kākapada* is perhaps to be seen under *daśī*, therefore it is possible that the scribe’s intention was to delete *dvādaśī* and correct it to *trayodaśyām*, and then the date becomes 11th of July. Kengo Harimoto has suggested that the unclear element (*yādi/pyaḍi*) is in fact *ghaṭi*, and after comparing these two syllables to other instances of *gha* and *ṭa*, one cannot but agree. In this case this should be an indication of the exact time (Skt. *ghaṭi/ghaṭikā*, Newar *ghaṭi*) the scribe finished copying the text. It is still not clear if we should take *dvādaśī* or *trayodaśyām* as the date. For help on the conversion of the date and for a detailed discussion on the colophon I am indebted to Kengo Harimoto.

⁹⁰ Personal communication, 1 Dec 2021.

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indeed, they seem closely related.

(N)C₀₂ Cambridge University Library, Add. 2102. All available folios of this MS have been collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a detailed description of this manuscript in the CUDL online catalogue.⁹¹ According to this catalogue, the date of creation is the 12th century, and the dimensions of the manuscript are 4.8 × ca. 52.5 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 96 folios. Six texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmottara*, 2) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, 3) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 4) *Śivopaniṣad*, 5) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 6) *Dharmaputrikā* (only f. 322v). Note that the *Śivadharmottara* starts on f. 51r, thus the part that most probably contained the *Śivadharmasāstra* is lost.

The VSS starts on f. 267r line 1 (online image no. 181). The online description labels this image as f. 237r. This first folio in fact has no visible foliation. The previous text, the *Śivopaniṣad*, ended on f. 236v, with pāda b of verse 7.122,⁹² which is not the end of the *Śivopaniṣad*: about eighteen verses, probably transmitted in one single folio, are lost. This means that, if the foliation and the order of the folios are presented correctly, and if the portion containing the VSS indeed belongs to the same manuscript, folios 237–266, i.e. thirty folios, are missing. They must have transmitted the *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, which takes up twenty-three folios in C₉₄, and twenty folios in C₄₅. Thus this MS did most probably transmit all eight texts of the Śivadharm corpus.⁹³

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.⁹⁴

⁹¹ <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02102/181>

⁹² Image no. 180, *Śivopaniṣad* 7.122: *yauvanasthā grhasthāś ca [prāsā]dasthāś ca ye nṛpāh.*

⁹³ Compare with the claim of the online catalogue: “The present manuscript probably contained seven texts.”

⁹⁴ Cf. the metadata on the CUDL site: ‘1 folio of the same dimensions is a modern supply for the beginning of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*.’ A hardly readable note in pencil to the same effect is visible at the top of the first folio side (f. 267r, ‘mode.....supply beg of Vṛṣasāra-saṃgr.’). I am not sure how ‘modern’ this supplement is, but it seems indeed likely that a lost first folio was supplemented with a later copy. To match the end of this new copy with the beginning of the next, older, folio, a scribe more or less erased the beginning of the first line in the old folio, rather than the last line of the younger folio. This slightly illogical decision may mean that the younger copy was not tailor-made for the old portion, but rather that it was taken from a younger manuscript which was perhaps considered more legible. Otherwise it would have been more practical to stop copying the first folio at the point where the next begins. See some more detail on this folio on p. 11

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In this multiple-text manuscript, the VSS is transmitted in an incomplete form, that is to say, a number of folios are missing (most notably chapters 15–17). The first partially visible folio number is in image 184: the numeral characters 200+60 are visible (268v, according to the CUDL online catalogue). In image 186, the folio number 269 is clearly visible (f. 269v). In folio 270v, the continuous text is broken at verse 2.21c (*kāmarū*°), ff. 271 and 272 are missing, and the text resumes on f. 273r with verse 3.30b ([*ahiṃsā pa*] *ramaṃ sukham*). Folio 291 is missing (verses 12.87cd–12.113). In folio 296v (image no. 234) the text breaks off again at *vātaśūlair upadrutā | śukro* (verse 14.22b),⁹⁵ the next folio being 306r (starting with *carmatāś ca divi-jasundarīṣu*, verse 18.27b; nine folios and chapters 15–17 are completely missing).

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

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

Kathmandu palm-leaf manuscripts

(N)K₈₂ NGMPP A 1082/3, NAK 3/393. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a brief description of this MS in the NGMCP online catalogue.⁹⁶ 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).⁹⁷ The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 274 folios. Eight texts are

below.

⁹⁵ Of course, my verse numbering in chapters 13–24 may change slightly during the editing process.

⁹⁶ https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00098499

⁹⁷ See f. 12r line 2 of the *Dharmaṣūtrikā* in this MS: *navottarāsītīyute sate bde āsāḍhaśuklasya tithau tṛtīye*, translated by De Simini 2016b, 252 n. 49 as: ‘in [the year] 189, in the 3rd lunar day of the bright [fortnight] of [the month] Āṣāḍha.’ She adds that the date is verified in Petech 1984, 46 as May 24, 1069 CE.

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transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 7) *Dharmaputrikā*, 8) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*.

As for each text in this collection, the foliation for the VSS restarts from f. iv (f. ir is a cover) and the text spans ff. iv–46r. This is a beautifully written and well-preserved manuscript which gives very useful readings and has proved to be essential for the reconstruction of the VSS.⁹⁸

(N)K₁₀ NGMPP A 10/5, NAK 1/1261. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a brief description of this MS in the NGMCP online catalogue.⁹⁹ 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 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°*). 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 leaf and

⁹⁸ See a similar evaluation in Bisschop 2018, 56.

⁹⁹ https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00085264

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

continue with the upper one.

(N)K₇ NGMPP B 7/3 = A 1082/2, NAK 1/1075. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a brief description of this MS in the NGMCP online catalogue.¹⁰⁰ According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 58 × 6 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara. Dated to Nepāla Samvat 290 (1169–70 CE). It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 289 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 7) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*. Ff. 209v–264v contain the VSS.

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

(N)K₃ NGMPP A 3/3 (= A 1081/5), NAK 5-737. I have collated this MS only for verses 1.1–15ab to test it. See a brief description of this MS in the NGMCP online catalogue.¹⁰¹ According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 58.5 × 5.5 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara and the MS is dated to Nepāla Samvat 321 (1200–01 CE). It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 215 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (only a few folios are extant, e.g. ff. 124 and 143), 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*.

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

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

NGMPP A 11/3, NAK 5-738¹⁰²—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.

¹⁰⁰ https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00062373

¹⁰¹ http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A_3-3_Śivadharmasāstra

¹⁰² http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A_11-3_Śivadharmottara

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Kathmandu paper manuscripts

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

K₄₁ is a good example to see how relatively late witnesses, a paper MS, can be important. Its readings are relatively independent of most palm-leaf MSS, and seem to shed some light on what source(s) Naraharinath may have used because there are a great number of instances where E and K₄₁ (and K₁₀₇, see below) read together against most other witnesses. E.g., C₉₄, C₄₅, C₀₂, K₈₂, K₁₀, K₇, K₃, and M read *bhāratasaṃhitām*, or a slightly corrupt form of the same, in 1.2cd, while the two paper MSS K₄₁, and K₁₀₇, and Naraharinath’s E read (a clearly wrong) *nāradasaṃhitām*. Similarly, in 1.17cd most witnesses read *vettum arhasi*, while K₄₁, K₁₀₇, and E (and M!) read *vaktum arhasi*. In some instances, the paper MSS K₄₁ and K₁₀₇ give readings that might be old or ‘original.’ E.g., 20.40d is missing in a great number of MSS (C₉₄, C₄₅, K₈₂, K₁₀), K₇ gives (improvises?) a less than perfect *tān nibodha dvijottamaḥ*,¹⁰³ while K₄₁, K₁₀₇, and E give a similarly imperfect *vijñeyā ca manīṣibhiḥ*.¹⁰⁴ Sometimes these two paper MSS either alter the text, or again, preserve older readings. E.g., in 16.34 K₄₁, K₁₀₇, and E give *bhagavān uvāca* against all other witnesses’ *maheśvara uvāca*. After 12.30d (*vipulaḥ punar abravīt*), K₄₁, K₁₀₇, and again E, insert a somewhat unnecessary *vipula uvāca*. These and many other examples could prove that Naraharinath used manuscripts that were close to K₄₁ and K₁₀₇, and some of the oddities in his edition originate in fact in actual readings rather than misreadings or 20th-century alterations.¹⁰⁵

Another fascinating phenomenon in K₄₁ is traces of editorial activity. There is a rather peculiar *kākapada*, or editorial sign to mark omission,

¹⁰³ One would expect the vocative *dvijottama*.

¹⁰⁴ The correct sandhi would be *vijñeyās ca*.

¹⁰⁵ Compare this with Bisschop, Kifle, & Lubin 2021, 58–59, especially the following piece of information: ‘According to the information kindly provided by Diwakar Acharya (personal communication), it may have been based on a Devanāgarī manuscript from the time of Raṇa Bahādur Shah (1775–1806).’

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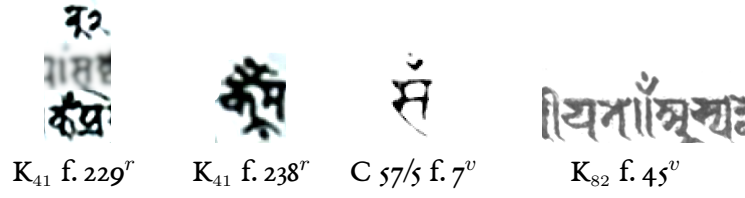


Figure 5: *Kākapadas*

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

Consulting Einicke 2009, a rich catalogue of editorial marks, one gets the impression that this type of *kākapada*, which has a dot in it, is not frequently seen. Two instances of such a *kākapada* occur in two NGMPP *Viṣṇudharmaśāstra* MSS from 1661 and 1713 CE,¹⁰⁶ one in the above mentioned Śivadharma MS NGMPP C 57/5 from 1826 CE,¹⁰⁷ and in a *Kālacakratantra* MS written in old Bengali script from 1446 CE, which has (most probably much later) corrections in Nepālākṣara script.¹⁰⁸

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

¹⁰⁶ MSS G 18/2 and B 218/2, Einicke 2009, 161–162 and 236.

¹⁰⁷ Einicke 2009, 164 and 328.

¹⁰⁸ Einicke 2009, 65–66 and 328. On p. 66, Einicke remarks: ‘Besonderheiten: Korrekturen einzelner Zeichen in späterer Newārī-Schrift am Rand’.

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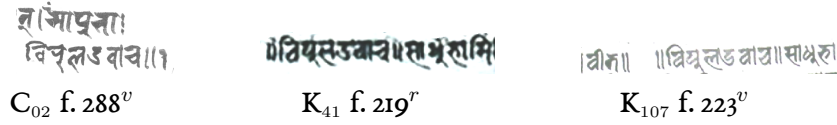


Figure 6: Insertion of *vipula uvāca* in C_{02}

leaf MS with the 17th-century paper MS.¹⁰⁹

These observations also shed some light on the origin of the first folio of C_{02} , which is in a hand that looks later than that in the rest of that MS.¹¹⁰ Most old palm-leaf MSS start with *karmahetuḥ śarīrasya* etc. at VSS 1.14ab, while the two paper MSS K_{41} and K_{107} , and Naraharinath read *anarthayañña uvāca* || *karmahetuḥ śarīrasya*. The only palm-leaf MS that reads with the paper MSS is C_{02} , on its only folio that is written in a later hand. This at least tells us that the supplied first folio in C_{02} comes from a source that is closer to the paper MSS than to the old palm-leaf MSS, and it could also be another piece of evidence for editorial activity by someone who carefully examined these sources, and in addition, introduced fresh contamination. For this kind of easy-to-spot contamination, a good example is the insertion of the somewhat unnecessary *vipula uvāca* in palm-leaf NS C_{02} after 12.30, inspired by paper MS K_{41} , and/or K_{107} (see Figure 6). Note the tiny *kākapada* with the dot on the palm-leaf on the left and the insertion in a different hand in the margin below. It seems probable that our anonymous editor went through some paper MSS and noted differences in the palm-leaf MS C_{02} (and in K_{82} , see Figure 5).

(N) K_{107} NGMCP C107/7, NAK 9/537. Paper. Size: 37.1 × 10.8 cm. 174 folios. This MS is dated to NS 809 (1688–89 CE),¹¹¹ Folios 1–88 are missing. These must have contained the *Śivadharmasāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*.¹¹² The MS thus contains only six texts: 1) *Śivadharmasamgraha* ff. 89r–133v, 2) *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda* ff. 134r–163v, 3) *Śivopaniṣad* ff. 164r–181r, 4) *Uttarottaramahāsamvāda* ff. 182r–206v, 5) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha* ff. 207r–251v, 6) *Dharmaputrikā* ff. 252r–262v.

The script of this 17th-century MS seems extremely similar to that of

¹⁰⁹ More on this in volume two.

¹¹⁰ See p. 5.

¹¹¹ (f. 262v). De Simini reads NS 803 (2016b, 253 n. 51). I prefer reading NS 809.

¹¹² Cf. De Simini 2016b, 252 n. 48. See also an unfinished table of contents on f. 262r, which confirms that at least the *Śivadharmasāstra* was part of this bundle: || *asyānukramah* || *prathama śivadharmo nāma*.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

K₄₁, therefore the latter can also be dated to the 17th century. USE IT?
CHECK

Munich manuscript

M This MS is preserved at the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich, Germany.¹¹³ It has no access number. I have collated the readings of this MS only for VSS chapters one and five as a test. I received the digital images of this MS from Kengo Harimoto shortly after he had taken pictures of it in Munich on Nov 16, 2021. This MS contains the following texts: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *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 caturviṃśatimodhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ | samvat 192 māghakṛṣṇadivāpāñcamyām || 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.

Paris manuscript

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

¹¹³ Harimoto 2022, 596. See more detail in that paper.

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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 grounds. It contains the following text in the order they are presented in the manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasamgraha*, 4) *Umāmahēśvarasaṃvāda*, 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.¹¹⁴

Oxford manuscript

(N)O₁₅ This palm-leaf manuscript is deposited in the Bodleian Library, in Oxford, under shelf mark Sansk. a. 15. It is dated to Nepāla Samvat 307 (1186–87 CE), and it contains 335 folios, transmitting the following texts: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasamgraha*, 4) *Umāmahēśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*.

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

Kolkata manuscripts

(N)Ko₇₇ MS G4077 in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Kolkata.¹¹⁵ 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

¹¹⁴ This description had as its starting point a shorter description written and kindly shared with me by Nirajan Kafle.

¹¹⁵ I am grateful to Daniella Cappello and Marco Francheschini for managing to obtain digital copies of most of the folios of this MS.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

‘the oldest known dated attestation of the corpus’ (De Simini 2016b, 250–251). In spite of this, after collating this MS for 1.1–12 and 8.1–8, I abandoned it because its readings seemed rather useless.¹¹⁶

(N)Ko₇₆ MS G 4076 in the collection of The Asiatic Society, Kolkata.¹¹⁷ Shastri 1928 (716–718) gives a detailed description of this manuscript along with the text of VSS 1.1–16. According to Shastri, the dimensions of the MS are 22½ × 2 inches (57.15 × 5.08 cm), the text is complete and the script is of the twelfth century CE.

This manuscript may appear as a rare instance of the VSS being transmitted independently, and not in a multiple-text manuscript, but it seems very likely that it was originally part of Ko₇₆ (MS G 3852), a Śivadharma corpus MS in the same collection lacking the VSS; see note 82 on page 2.

Tübingen manuscript

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

London manuscript

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

¹¹⁶ See, e.g., 8.1–8, as transmitted in this MS: *pañcasvādhyāyanam ihāmutra sukhārthinā | saivasāṅkhyā purāṇāṇ ca smārtabhāratasaṃhitā* ||8.1|| *saivatatvaṃ vicin-tata saivāpāsūpatadvaye | atra vistarata prokta tatvasārasamucaye* ||8.2|| *saṃkhyātatvaṃ tu saṃkhyeṣu bodhavya tatvacintakāḥ | pañcatattvavibhāgena kīrtitāni maharṣibhiḥ* ||8.3|| *purāṇeṣu mahikoṣa vistareṇa prakīrtita | āyoyas ca tiryāṇ ca yatnataḥ samaveśayet* ||8.4|| *smārta varṇṇasamācāra dharmāṇyāyapravarttakam | śiṣṭācāro vikalpena grāhya tatva asahitaḥ* ||8.5|| *itihāsam adhīyānaḥ sarvajñaḥ sa naro bhavet | dharmārthakā-mamokṣeṣu saṃśayas tena chidyate* ||8.6|| *pañcoprasthavinigraha sṃnyāvamhito dvija | striyo vā garhitaḥ svargaḥ svayammukṭis ca kīrtiyate | svapnopaghātaṃ viprendra di-vāsvapnaṃ ca pañcamah* ||8.7|| *agamyastri divārsyase dharmapatni ca vā bhavet | virud-dhastri na bhaveta varṇṇavarṇṇabhraṣṭādhikāma ca* ||8.8||

¹¹⁷ I am grateful to Sushmita Das for attempting to get a copy of this MS in March 2020, and to Daniella Cappello and Marco Francheschini, who managed to do so.

Introduction

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

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

K₈₂ (f. 40r) reads:



[*spha*]ṭikāṃ⁺ram [= ^okāṃbaram] *eva ca* | *daśayogāsanāsino*

L₁₆ (f. 38iv) gives:



sphaṭikāṃsatam eva ca || *devayogāsanāsīto*

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

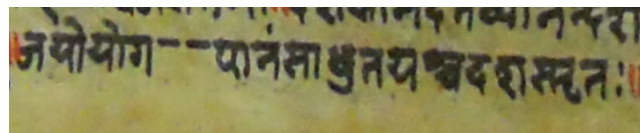
Here K₈₂ (f. 39v) reads:



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

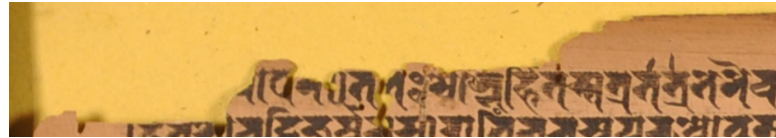
with *dhyā* and *svā* damaged;

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



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

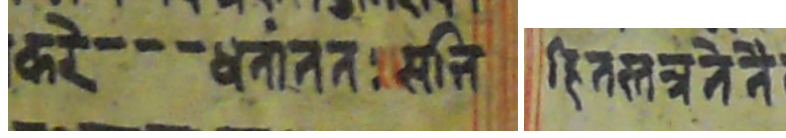
K₈₂ (f. 39r) gives:



Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

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

L₁₆ (f. 38or) gives:



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

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

Naraharinath's edition

(N)E Much has been said of Yogi Naraharinath's pioneering but problematic edition (the *editio princeps*) of the Śivadharma corpus (Naraharinath 1998).¹¹⁸ My impression of the text of the VSS in Naraharinath's edition (pp. 580–678) is that its quality is considerably inferior to those of the other texts of the corpus. It may or may not be Naraharinath's fault; others must have been involved in the process of transcription, and the number and nature of the innumerable mistakes all over the text may also suggest a general problem with the typesetting process. In addition to this, it is clearer and clearer that Naraharinath must have used late paper MSS, and some of the oddities in his text and some of the alterations that are difficult to explain come in fact therefrom. See the description of K₄₁ and K₁₀₇ above. In spite of all the noise in Naraharinath's edition, it was useful to have his text as a starting point, and it is sometimes useful to consider his readings. Therefore I have recorded the readings found in his publication for all twelve chapters given in my critical edition.

¹¹⁸ See, e.g., De Simini 2016a, 66, n. 190; 2017, 542, Bisschop 2018, 58–59, and Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, 55.

Introduction

Editorial policies

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

SDh MSS from Nepal

stemma...

वृषसारसंग्रहः

[प्रथमो ऽध्यायः]

[स्तुतिः]

अनादिमध्यान्तमनन्तपारं
सुसूक्ष्ममव्यक्तजगत्सुसारम् ।
हरीन्द्रब्रह्मादिभिरासमग्रं
प्रणम्य वक्ष्ये वृषसारसंग्रहम् ॥ १ : १ ॥

[जनमेजयवैशम्पायनसंवादः]

शतसाहस्रिकं ग्रन्थं सहस्राध्यायमुत्तमम् ।
पर्व चास्य शतं पूर्णं श्रुत्वा भारतसंहिताम् ॥ १ : २ ॥

✧

1a cf. ŚDhU 10.6 : आदिमध्यान्तनिर्मुक्तः स्वभावविमलः प्रभुः । सर्वज्ञः परिपूर्णश्च शिवो ज्ञेयः
शिवागमे ॥ 2c cf. MBh 1.2.70ab : एतत्पर्वशतं पूर्णं व्यासेनोक्तं महात्मना

Witnesses used for this chapter : C₉₄ ff. 193v–195v, C₄₅ ff. 201v–203v, C₀₂ ff. 267r–270r,
K₈₂ ff. iv–3v, K₁₀ exp. 44, 43 lower and then upper leaf (1.62cd–2.22 are missing), K₇
ff. 209v–211v, K₃ ff. 227v–229v (collated only up to 1.15ab), M ff. 1r–3v, K₇₇ ff. iv–4r
(collated only up to 1.16), K₄₁ ff. 204r–206r, K₁₀₇ ff. 206r–209r (collated only up to
1.15), E pp. 580–585 ; C_Σ = C₉₄ + C₄₅ + C₀₂

✧

(1a) ०न्तमनन्त०] Σ, ०न्तमन्त० C₄₅^{ac} • ०पारं] C_Σ K₇ MK₄₁ K₁₀₇ E, ०पारं K₈₂ K₁₀
K₃ K₇₇ (1b) सुसूक्ष्म०] Σ, शुसूक्ष्म० C₀₂ • ०व्यक्त०] Σ, ०व्य० K₇₇ • ०जगत्सुसा-
रम्] C₉₄ C₄₅ K₈₂ K₇ MK₄₁ K₁₀₇ E, ०जगत्सुसारं C₀₂, ०जगत्सुरासुरं K₁₀, ०जगत्सु-
सारम् K₃ (1c) हरी०] Σ, हरीं K₇₇ • ०भिरासमग्रं] Σ, ०भिर्यत्समग्रं M (unmetr.),
०भिरासमग्रं K₁₀₇ (1d) वृष०] Σ, ०वृषो C₉₄^{ac} (2a) ०स्त्रिकं] Σ, ०स्त्रकं K₄₁ •
ग्रन्थं] Σ, ग्रन्थं K₇₇ (2b) सहस्राध्यायमु०] Σ, सहश्रध्यायमु० C₀₂, सहस्राध्या-
यरु० E (2c) पर्व चास्य] C₉₄ K₈₂ K₁₀ K₇ M^{pc}, पर्वचास्य C₄₅, पर्वमस्य C₀₂ K₃ M^{ac}
K₄₁ K₁₀₇ E, पूर्व चास्य K₇₇ • शतं पूर्णं] Σ, त C₀₂, शतं पूर्णं K₇₇ (2d) श्रुत्वा] Σ,
श्रद्धा C₄₅ • भारतसंहिताम्] C₉₄ C₄₅ K₈₂ K₁₀ K₇ MK₄₁, भारतसंहिता C₀₂, भारतसंहितं
K₃, नारदसंहिताम् K₄₁ K₁₀₇ E

वृषसारसंग्रहे

अतृप्तः पुनः प्रच्छ वैशम्पायनमेव हि ।
जनमेजयेन यत्पूर्वं तच्छृणु त्वमतन्द्रितम् ॥ १ : ३ ॥
जनमेजय उवाच ।
भगवन्सर्वधर्मज्ञ सर्वशास्त्रविशारद ।
अस्ति धर्मं परं गुह्यं संसारार्णवतारणम् ॥ १ : ४ ॥
द्वैपायनमुखोद्गीर्णं धर्मं वा यद्विजोत्तम ।
कथयस्व हि मे तृप्तिं कुरु यत्नात्तपोधन ॥ १ : ५ ॥
वैशम्पायन उवाच ।

✧

4ab = MBh 13.112.9ab

✧

(3a)] em., अतृप्तः पुनः प्रच्छ C₉₄, अतृप्तः पुनः प्रच्छ C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇, अतृप्तः पुनः प्रच्छ C₀₂, अतृप्तः पुनः प्रच्छ K₃, अतृप्तः पुनः प्रच्छ M, प्रच्छ पुनः तृप्तो K₇₇, अतृप्ताः पुनः प्रच्छ K₄₁, अतृप्तः पुनः प्रच्छ K₁₀₇, अतृप्ताः पुनः प्रच्छ E (3b) वैशम्पायनं] Σ, वेसम्पायनं C₀₂ (3c)] C₉₄C₄₅K₇K₃K₄₁K₁₀₇E, जनमेजये यत्पूर्वं C₉₄, जन्मेजयेन यत्पूर्वं C₀₂, जनमेजयेन यत्पूर्वं K₈₂, जनमेजयेन यत्पूर्वं K₁₀, जन्मेजयेन यत्पूर्वं M, जन्मेजयेन यत्पूर्वं K₇₇ (3d) तच्छृणु त्वमं] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₇ MK₄₁K₁₀₇E, तच्छृणु त्वमं C₀₂, --- K₁₀, तच्छृणु त्वमं K₃, तच्छृणु त्वमं K₇₇ • तन्द्रितम्] C₉₄C₄₅K₇K₃ MK₇₇K₄₁K₁₀₇E, तन्द्रितः C₀₂K₈₂, --- K₁₀ (4) जनमेजय] Σ, जन्मेजय C₀₂ (4a) भगवन्सं] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇K₄₁K₁₀₇E, भगवन्सं C₀₂, भगवन्सं K₃, भगवन्सं M • धर्मज्ञः] Σ, धर्मज्ञः K₈₂, धर्मज्ञः K₃ (4b) विशारदः] C₉₄K₁₀K₇K₃K₄₁, विशारदः C₄₅C₀₂K₈₂K₇₇K₁₀₇E, विशारदः M (4c) अस्ति धर्मः] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀K₇K₄₁K₁₀₇E, अस्ति धर्मः C₄₅, अस्ति धर्मः C₀₂ MK₇₇, अधर्मः K₃ • परं गुह्यं] C₉₄K₁₀K₃ MK₇₇K₄₁K₁₀₇E, परं गुह्यं C₄₅, परं गुह्यं C₀₂K₈₂, परं गुह्यं K₇ (4d) तारणम्] Σ, तारणम् K₇₇ (5a) द्वैपायनं] Σ, द्वैपायनं C₀₂, द्वैपायनं K₇₇ • मुखोद्गीर्णं] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇K₄₁K₁₀₇, मुखोद्गीर्णं C₀₂K₇₇, मुखोद्गीर्णं K₃, मुखं गीर्णं M^{ac}, मुखं गीर्णं M^{pc}, मुखोद्गीर्णं E (5b) धर्मं वा यद्वि] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀K₇K₄₁K₁₀₇E, धर्मं यद्वि C₄₅, धर्मवत्यद्वि C₀₂K₇₇, धर्मं वा यद्वि K₃, धर्मवाक्यं द्वि M • उत्तमः] Σ, उत्तमः C₀₂, उत्तमः M (5c) हि मे तृप्तिं] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀K₇K₄₁K₁₀₇E, हि मे तृप्तिं K₃K₇₇, प्रसादेन M (5d) यत्नात्तपोधनः] C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇K₄₁K₁₀₇E, यत्नात्तपोधनः C₉₄, यत्नात्तपोधनः C₀₂, यत्नात्तपोधनः K₃, यत्नात्तपोधनः M, यत्नात्तपोधनः K₇₇ (6) वैशम्पायन उवाच] Σ, om. M^{ac}, वै ॥ वैशम्पायन K₁₀₇

प्रथमो ऽध्यायः

शृणु राजन्नवहितो धर्मारख्यानमनुत्तमम् ।
 व्यासानुग्रहसम्प्राप्तं गुह्यधर्मं शृणोतु मे ॥ १ : ६ ॥
 अनर्थयज्ञकर्तारं तपोव्रतपरायणम् ।
 शीलशौचसमाचारं सर्वभूतदयापरम् ॥ १ : ७ ॥
 जिज्ञासनार्थं प्रश्नैकं विष्णुना प्रभविष्णुना ।
 द्विजरूपधरो भूत्वा पप्रच्छ विनयान्वितः ॥ १ : ८ ॥
 [ब्रह्मविद्या]
 [विगतराग उवाच ।]
 ब्रह्मविद्या कथं ज्ञेया रूपवर्णविवर्जिता ।
 स्वरव्यञ्जननिर्मुक्तमक्षरं किमु तत्परम् ॥ १ : ९ ॥
 अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच ।

❖

(6a) राजन्न०] Σ, राजनं० K₃, राजन० M • ०हितो] Σ, ०हितं K₄₁ (6b) ०ख्या-
 नमनुत्तमम्] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀K₇ME, ०ख्यानमुत्तमम् C₄₅, ०ख्यानमुत्तमम् C₀₂, ०धर्मव्या-
 ख्यानमुत्तमं K₃ (hypermetr.), ०ख --- मनुत्तमं K₇₇, ०ख्यानमनुत्तमः K₄₁, ०ख्यान-
 मुत्तमः K₁₀₇ (6c) ०प्राप्तं] Σ, ०प्राप्त C₀₂ (6d) ०धर्म] Σ, ०र्म C₀₂, ०धर्म K₇₇ •
 शृणोतु] Σ, शृणोत C₀₂ • मे] Σ, मै C₄₅ (7a) ०कर्तारं] Σ, ०कर्त्तन्तं K₁₀ (7b)
 ०व्रत०] Σ, ०प्रत० M • ०यणम्] C₉₄C₄₅K₁₀MK₇₇K₄₁K₁₀₇E, ०यन C₀₂, ०यणः
 K₈₂, ०यनं K₇, ०यणं K₃ (7c) ०चारं] Σ, ०चार K₇₇ (7d) ०परम्] C₉₄C₄₅
 K₈₂K₇MK₄₁K₁₀₇E, ०न्वितम् C₀₂K₃K₇₇, ०परं K₁₀ (8a) ०र्थ प्रश्नैकं] C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀
 K₇, ०र्थ प्रश्नैकं C₉₄K₃, ०र्थप्रश्नैकम् C₀₂K₄₁K₁₀₇E, ०र्थप्रश्नैकं M, ०थप्रश्नैक K₇₇ (8b)
 प्रभ०] Σ, प्रभु० C₀₂, प्राभ० K₇ (8c) ०धरो] Σ, ०रो C₉₄, ०धरा K₁₀ (8d)
 ०न्वितः] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇K₇₇K₄₁K₁₀₇E, ०न्वितं C₀₂K₃M (9a) कथं] Σ, कथ K₇₇
 • ज्ञेया] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀K₇MK₇₇K₄₁K₁₀₇, ज्ञेयं C₄₅C₀₂, ज्ञेय K₃, भूयो E (9b) ०वर्ण०]
 Σ, ०वर्णा० E • ०वर्जिता] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₃MK₄₁K₁₀₇E, ०वर्जितं C₀₂, ०वर्जिताः
 K₇, --- ता K₇₇ (9c) ०व्यञ्जन०] Σ, ०व्यञ्जन० E (9cd) ०मुक्तमक्ष०] C₉₄C₀₂
 K₈₂K₁₀K₇K₁₀₇E, ०मुक्त अक्ष० C₄₅K₇₇, ०मुक्तं अख० K₃, ०मुक्तं अक्ष० M, ०म्मुक्तं-
 मक्ष० K₄₁ (9d) किमु तत्परम्] C₉₄K₈₂K₇K₇₇K₄₁K₁₀₇E, किमतः परम् C₄₅C₀₂,
 किमतत्परं K₁₀K₃M

वृषसारसंग्रहे

अनुचार्यमसन्दिग्धमविच्छिन्नमनाकुलम् ।
निर्मलं सर्वगं सूक्ष्ममक्षरं किमतः परम् ॥ १:१० ॥

[कालपाशः]

विगतराग उवाच ।
देही देहे क्षयं याते भूजलाग्निशिवादिभिः ।
यमदूतैः कथं नीतो निरालम्बो निरञ्जनः ॥ १:११ ॥

कालपाशैः कथं बद्धो निर्देहश्च कथं व्रजेत् ।
स्वर्गं वा स कथं याति निर्देहो बहुधर्मकृत् ।
एतन्मे संशयं ब्रूहि ज्ञातुमिच्छामि तत्त्वतः ॥ १:१२ ॥

अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच ।

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11b cf. KūrmP 2.23.74 : अथ कश्चित्प्रमादेन म्रियते ऽग्निविषादिभिः । तस्याशौचं विधातव्यं कार्यं चैवोदकादिकम् ॥

✧

(10a) अनुचार्य०] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}MK_{41}K_{107}E$, अनुचार्य० $C_{02}K_7K_3$, अन्त्रचाय० K_{77}° (10ab) ०सन्दिग्धमविच्छिन्नमनाकुलम्] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_7K_3MK_{41}K_{107}E$, ०विच्छिन्नसन्दिग्धमनाकुलम् C_{02} , ०सन्दिग्धमनच्छिन्नमनाकुलम् K_{10} , ०सन्दिग्धमविच्छिन्नमनाकुलं K_{77}° (10c) ०गं] Σ , ०ग K_{77}° (10c) ०क्षरं किमतः परम्] $C_{45}M$, ०क्षरं किमु तत्परम् $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$, ०क्षरं किमतत्परं $C_{02}K_3K_{107}$, ०क्षर किमतः परं K_{77}° , ०क्षराङ्कमतत्परं K_{41} (11) ०राग उवाच] Σ , ०रागोवाच K_3 (11a) देहे क्ष०] $C_{94}C_{02}K_7$, देहात्क्ष० C_{45} , देहक्ष० $K_{82}K_{10}K_3MK_{77}^{\circ}K_{41}K_{107}E$ • याते] Σ , यान्ते K_3 (11b) ०जलाग्निशिवादिभिः] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7MK_{41}K_{107}E$, ०जलाग्निशिवादिभिः C_{02} , ०जलाग्निं शि०दिभिः K_3 , ०जालादिशिवादिभिः K_{77}° (11c) ०दूतैः] Σ , ०दूतैः $C_{02}K_3$ • कथं] Σ , कथ K_{77}° • नीतो] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7K_3$, नीत्वा C_{02} , नीतः M , नीते K_{77}° , नीता $K_{41}K_{107}E$ (11d) निरालम्बो] Σ , निरोलया K_{41} , निरोरैन्वो K_{107} (12a) ०पाशैः] Σ , ०पाशे C_{02} , ०पाशै K_3 • बद्धो] Σ , बद्धो C_{45} , बद्ध K_3 (12b) निर्देहश्च] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7M^{pc}K_{41}K_{107}E$, निर्देहः स C_{02} , निर्देहस्य K_3 , निर्देहन्म M^{ac} , निर्देहश्च K_{77}° • व्रजेत्] Σ , भवेत् K_{10} (12c) स्वर्गं] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7K_{41}K_{107}E$, स्वर्गं $C_{02}K_3M$, स्वागं K_{77}° • स] Σ , सं $K_{10}M$ • याति] $K_{82}K_{10}K_7K_3M$, यान्ति $C_{\Sigma}E$ (12d) निर्देहो] Σ , निर्देहो K_{77}° (12e) एतन्मे संशयं] $C_{\Sigma}K_7MK_{41}K_{107}E$, एतन्मे संशये K_{82} , एतन्मे संशयो $K_{10}K_3$, एवं विस्मयसंसय K_{77}° (12f) ०तुमिच्छामि] Σ , ०तुमि C_{45} (13) अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच] Σ , om. K_{82}^{ac}

प्रथमो ऽध्यायः

अतिसंशयकष्टं ते पृष्ठो ऽहं द्विजसत्तम ।
 दुर्विज्ञेयं मनुष्यैस्तु देवदानवपन्नगैः ॥ १ : १३ ॥
 कर्महेतु शरीरस्य उत्पत्ति निधनं च यत् ।
 सुकृतं दुष्कृतं चैव पाशद्वयमुदाहृतम् ॥ १ : १४ ॥
 तेनैव सह संयाति नरकं स्वर्गमेव वा ।
 सुखदुःखं शरीरेण भोक्तव्यं कर्मसम्भवम् ॥ १ : १५ ॥
 हेतुनानेन विप्रेन्द्र देहः सम्भवते नृणाम् ।
 यं कालपाशमित्याहुः शृणु वक्ष्यामि सुव्रत ॥ १ : १६ ॥

✧

(13a)] $C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7M^{pe}K_{107}$, अतिसंशयकष्टन्ते C_{94} , अतिसंशयकष्टम्मे $C_{02}M^{ac}$
 E , अतिसंशयकष्टो मो K_3 , अतिसंशयकष्टश्च K_{77}^o , अतिसंशयकष्टन्ते पा K_{41} (13b)
 द्विजसत्तम] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7MK_{41}K_{107}E$, च द्विजोत्तमः $C_{02}K_{77}^o$, द्विजसत्तमः K_3
 (13c) ०ज्ञेयं] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_7$, ०ज्ञेय $C_{02}K_{10}K_3MK_{77}K_{41}K_{107}E$ • मनुष्यैस्तु] $C_{94}K_{82}$
 $K_{10}K_7MK_{77}K_{41}K_{107}E$, मनुष्यैश्च C_{45} , मनुष्यैस्तु C_{02} , मनुष्यैस्तु K_3 (14a) कर्म०] C_{94}
 $C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7K_3MK_{77}^o$, अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच ॥ कर्म० $C_{02}K_{41}K_{107}E$ • ०हेतु] Σ , ०हेतुः
 C_{45} , ०हेतु C_{02} • शरीरस्य] Σ , शरीरस्य C_{02} , स---स्य K_{77}^o (14b) उत्पत्ति
 नि०] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7K_{77}K_{41}K_{107}E$, उत्पत्तिनि० $C_{02}K_3$, उत्पत्तिनि० M • च यत्]
 Σ , च यः K_{10} , यत् K_3 (14c) सुकृतं] Σ , सुकृतकृतन् C_{02} , सुकृत K_3 • चैव] Σ ,
 वापि $K_3K_{77}^o$ (14d) पाश०] Σ , पाशा० K_{77}^o • ०हृतम्] Σ , ०हृतः C_{02} (15a)
 तेनैव] Σ , तेनेव $C_{02}K_3$ • सह संयाति] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7K_{107}E$, सह सा यान्ति C_{02}
 K_3 , सह सा याति M , सह संयान्ति K_{77}^o , सह स याति K_{41} (15b) नरकं स्वर्ग०] Σ ,
 नरकदुर्ग० K_{77}^o • वा] $C_{\Sigma}K_{10}K_7MK_{41}K_{107}E$, च $K_{82}K_3K_{77}^o$ (15c) सुख०] Σ , सुखं
 M • ०दुःखं] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_7M$, ०दुःख $C_{02}K_{10}K_{77}K_{41}K_{107}E$ (15d) भोक्तव्यं] Σ ,
 भोक्तव्य K_{77}^o • ०सम्भवम्] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7M$, ०सम्भवः $C_{02}K_{41}K_{107}E$, ०संभावात्
 K_{77}^o (16a) हेतुनानेन] Σ , हेतुना तेन K_{77}^o , हेतुनाने K_{107}^{ac} • ०न्द्र] Σ , ०न्द्रः K_{10}
 (16b) देहः] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_7E$, देहे C_{02} , देह $K_{10}MK_{77}K_{41}$, देहं K_{107} • नृणाम्] Σ ,
 नृणा $C_{45}C_{02}$ (16c) यं कालपाशमित्याहुः] $em.$, यं कालपाशमित्याह $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$,
 कालपासेति सत्वाह C_{02} , यं कालपाशमित्याहु $K_{10}K_7K_{41}E$, कालपाषेति पस्त्वेह M ,
 यां कालपासमित्याहु K_{77}^o (16d) ०व्रत] $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}K_7MK_{41}E$, ०व्रतः $C_{45}C_{02}K_{77}^o$

वृषसारसंग्रहे

न त्वया विदितं किञ्चिज्ज्ञास्यसि कथं द्विज ।
 कालपाशं च विप्रेन्द्र सकलं वेत्तुमर्हसि ॥ १ : १७ ॥
 कलाकलितकालं च कालतत्त्वकलां शृणु ।
 त्रुटिद्वयं निमेषस्तु निमेषद्विगुणा कला ॥ १ : १८ ॥
 कलाद्विगुणिता काष्ठा काष्ठा वै त्रिंशतिः कला ।
 त्रिंशत्कला मुहूर्तश्च मानुषेन द्विजोत्तम ॥ १ : १९ ॥
 मुहूर्तत्रिंशकेनैव अहोरात्रं विदुर्बुधाः ।
 अहोरात्रं पुनस्त्रिंशन्मासमाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ १ : २० ॥
 समा द्वादश मासाश्च कालतत्त्वविदो जनाः ।
 शतं वर्षसहस्राणि त्रीणि मानुषसंख्यया ॥ १ : २१ ॥
 षष्टिं चैव सहस्राणि कालः कलियुगः स्मृतः ।

22 K₁₀ omits verses 22–24

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(17a) विदितं] Σ , विदित C₀₂ (17ab) किञ्चिज्ज्ञास्यसि] C₄₅M, किञ्चिद्वि^० C₉₄^{pc}K₈₂K₁₀
 K₇K₄₁E, किद्वि^० C₉₄^{ac}, किञ्चि जि^० C₀₂ (17b) कथं द्विज] Σ , $\approx \approx \approx \approx \approx \approx \approx \approx$ म
 त्वया विदितं किञ्चिद्विज्ञास्यसि_l (cancelled) कथं द्विज C₀₂ (17c) कालपाशं च] Σ ,
 कालपाशेति M (17d) वेत्तुमर्हसि] C₂K₈₂K₁₀, वेत्तुमूहसि K₇, वक्तुमर्हसि MK₄₁
 E (18a) कला^०] Σ , काला^० C₀₂K₈₂^{ac} • ०कलित^०] Σ , ०कन्मित^० K₄₁ • ०कालं
 च] Σ , ०कालश्च ME (18b) ०कलां] C₉₄C₀₂K₁₀K₄₁E, ०कला C₄₅K₇, ०विधि
 K₈₂, ०कलाः M (18c) त्रुटिद्वयं] C₉₄C₀₂K₇E, त्रुटिद्वय C₄₅K₁₀, त्रुटिद्वयं K₈₂M,
 त्रुविद्वयं K₄₁ • ०मेषस्तु] Σ , ०मेवस्तु C₉₄, ०मेषद्वि^० K₈₂ (18d) निमेषद्वि^०] Σ ,
 निमेषाद्वि^० M (19a) ०गुणिता काष्ठा] Σ , ०गुणितं काष्ठा M, ०गुणितं काष्ठी K₄₁
 (19b) काष्ठा वै त्रिंशतिः] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀K₇K₄₁E, वै त्रिंशता C₄₅, काष्ठा वै त्रिंशति C₀₂,
 काष्ठान्वै त्रिंशति M (19c) मुहूर्तश्च] Σ , मुहूर्त्त C₄₅, मुहूर्तश्च E (19d) मानुषेन]
 Σ , मानुषश्च C₀₂ • ०त्तम] C₂K₈₂K₇^{pc}K₄₁E, ०तमः K₁₀M, ०त्तमः K₇^{ac} (20a)
 मुहूर्त^०] Σ , मुहूर्त्ता M, मुहूर्त्त E (20b) ०धाः] Σ , ०धा K₄₁ (20c) ०रात्रं]
 Σ , ०रात्र M (20d) ०नीषिणः] Σ , ०नीषिन M (21a) समा] Σ , मास C₀₂,
 समा समाया K₄₁ • ०मासाश्च] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇K₄₁, ०मासश्च C₀₂E, मासाहुः M
 (21b) काल^०] Σ , कला^० K₇ (21c) शतं] Σ , शत^० K₄₁E (21d) मानुष^०]
 Σ , माणुष्य^० C₄₅C₀₂ (unmetr.) (22a) षष्टिं चैव] C₂K₇M, षष्टिं वर्ष^० K₈₂K₄₁,
 षष्टिश्चैव E (22b) ०युगः] Σ , ०युग ME

प्रथमो ऽध्यायः

द्विगुणः कलिसंख्यातो द्वापरो युग संज्ञितः ॥ १ : २२ ॥

त्रेता तु त्रिगुणा ज्ञेया चतुः कृतयुगः स्मृतः ।

एषा चतुर्युगासंख्या कृत्वा वै ह्येकसप्ततिः ॥ १ : २३ ॥

मन्वन्तरस्य चैकस्य ज्ञानमुक्तं समासतः ।

कल्पो मन्वन्तराणां तु चतुर्दश तु संख्यया ॥ १ : २४ ॥

दश कल्पसहस्राणि ब्रह्माहः परिकल्पितम् ।

रात्रिरेतावती प्रोक्ता मुनिभिस्तत्त्वदर्शिभिः ॥ १ : २५ ॥

रात्र्यागमे प्रलीयन्ते जगत्सर्वं चराचरम् ।

अहागमे तथैवेह उत्पद्यन्ते चराचरम् ॥ १ : २६ ॥

परार्धपरकल्पानि अतीतानि द्विजोत्तम ।

अनागतं तथैवाहुर्भृगुरादिमहर्षयः ॥ १ : २७ ॥

यथार्कग्रहतारेन्दु भ्रमतो दृश्यते त्विह ।

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(22c) द्विगुणः कलिसंख्यातो] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_7$, कलिसंख्यास्तु द्विगुणो M , द्विगुणः क-
लिसंख्यातो K_{41} , द्विगुणा कलिसंख्यातो E (22d) द्वापरो युग संज्ञितः] Σ , द्वापरः
युगः संज्ञिकम् M , द्वापरे युग संज्ञितः E (23a) त्रेता] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{41}E$, त्रेता C_{02}
 M , त्रेता K_7 • त्रिगुणा] Σ , तृगुणो M • ज्ञेया] Σ , ज्ञेयः M (23b) •युगः] Σ ,
•युग E (23d) ह्ये०] Σ , हे० K_7 • •सप्ततिः] Σ , •सप्तति M (24a) चैकस्य]
 Σ , om. $K_{82}M^{ac}$ (24b) •क्तं] Σ , •क्त M (24c) कल्पो] C_{45} , कल्प $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}$
 $K_7MK_{41}E$ • मन्वन्त०] Σ , न्वन्त० M^{ac} , मन्वन्त० M^{pc} (24d) •दश] Σ , •दशं
 C_{45} • संख्यया] Σ , संक्षया M (25b) •आहः] Σ , •आह C_{94} • परिकल्पितम्]
 $C_{94}K_7$, करिकल्पितम् C_{45} , परिकल्पितः $C_{02}K_{10}MK_{41}E$, परिकीर्तिताः K_{82} (25d)
•दर्शिभिः] Σ , •दर्शिभि M (26a) •गमे] Σ , •गम K_{41} • प्रलीयन्ते] Σ , प्रलीयते
 C_{45} (26b) सर्वं च०] Σ , सर्वश्च० M (26c) अहागमे] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_7$, अहाग---
 K_{10} , अहरागमे M (unmetr.), अहागम K_{41} , अहागमे E (26d) •पद्यन्ते] Σ , •प-
द्यन्ति M (27a) •र्ध०] Σ , •र्ध K_{10} , •ध० K_{41} (27cd) •वाहुर्भृ०] $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$
 $K_7K_{41}E$, •वाहु भृ० $C_{02}K_{10}M$ (27d) •महर्षयः] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_{41}E$, •महयः K_{82}^{ac} ,
•महर्षयः K_7 , •महर्षिभिः M (28a) •आर्क०] Σ , •आर्का० M^{ac} • •तारेन्दु] Σ ,
•तारैन्दु M (28b) भ्रमतो] Σ , भुमनो K_{41} • दृश्यते त्विह] $C_{94}K_{82}K_{10}K_7K_{41}E$,
दृश्यन्दिह C_{45} , दृश्यते त्विहः C_{02} , दृश्यते त्विहः M

वृषसारसंग्रहे

कालचक्रं भ्रमित्वैव विश्रमं न च विद्महे ॥ १:२८ ॥

कालः सृजति भूतानि कालः संहरते पुनः ।

कालस्य वशगाः सर्वे न कालवशकृत्कचित् ॥ १:२९ ॥

चतुर्दश परार्धानि देवराजा द्विजोत्तम ।

कालेन समतीतानि कालो हि दुरतिक्रमः ॥ १:३० ॥

एष कालो महायोगी ब्रह्मा विष्णुः परः शिवः ।

अनादिनिधनो धाता स महात्मा नमस्कुरु ॥ १:३१ ॥

[परार्धादि]

विगतराग उवाच ।

श्रुतं वै कालचक्रं तु मुखपद्मविनिःसृतम् ।

परार्धं च परं चैव श्रोतुं वः प्रतिदीपितम् ॥ १:३२ ॥

अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच ।

एकं दशं शतं चैव सहस्रमयुतं तथा ।

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29ab ≈ UMS I2.34cd: कालः पचति भूतानि कालः संहरते प्रजाः 29 ≈ KūrmP I.II.32: कालः सृजति भूतानि कालः संहरते प्रजाः । सर्वे कालस्य वशगा न कालः कस्यचिद्वशे ॥ 30d = MBh I2.220.4Id = GarP I.I08.7d

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(28c) भ्रमित्वैव] corr., भ्रमत्वैव C₉₄K₈₂K₇E, भ्रमत्वेव C₄₅K₁₀M, भ्रमत्वेह C₀₂, भ्रमत्यैव K₄₁ (28d) ०श्रमं] C_ΣK₈₂^{pc}K₇K₄₁E, ०श्रमो K₈₂^{ac}, ०श्रामन् K₁₀, ०श्रामो M • विद्महे] Σ, विग्रहे C₄₅, विद्यते M (29b) कालः] Σ, काल E (29c) कालस्य] Σ, कालःस्य M^{ac} • वशगाः] Σ, वशगा E (29d) कालवशकृ०] Σ, कालो वशकृ० M (30b) देवराजा] Σ, देवराज ME • ०त्तम] Σ, ०त्तमः M (31a) कालो] C₉₄ C₄₅K₈₂, काल C₀₂K₁₀K₇MK₄₁E (31b) ब्रह्मा विष्णुः परः] C₄₅, ब्रह्मविष्णुपरः C₉₄K₇MK₄₁, ब्रह्मा विष्णु परः C₀₂K₈₂K₁₀, ब्रह्मविष्णुपर E (unmetr.) (32a) श्रुतं वै] Σ, श्रुतो वः M • ०चक्रं तु] Σ, ०चक्रस्य C₀₂, ०चक्रत्तु M (32b) विनिःसृतम्] corr., विनिसृतम् C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇MK₄₁E (unmetr.) (32c) परार्धं च] C₄₅C₀₂K₈₂K₁₀K₇K₄₁E, परार्धं च C₉₄, परार्धञ्च M^{ac}, परार्धञ्चे M^{pc} • परं चैव] Σ, परार्धैव MK₄₁ (32d) वः] Σ, नः M^{pc}, यः E • ०दीपितम्] Σ, ०दीयतां M (33) अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच] Σ, om. K₈₂^{ac} (33b) सहस्रं] Σ, साहस्रं M • ०युतं] Σ, ०तन् K₁₀

प्रथमो ऽध्यायः

प्रयुतं नियुतं कोटिमर्बुदं वृन्दमेव च ॥ १:३३ ॥
 खर्वं चैव निखर्वं च शङ्कु पद्मं तथैव च ।
 समुद्रो मध्यमन्तं च परार्धं च परं तथा ॥ १:३४ ॥
 सर्वे दशगुणा ज्ञेयाः परार्धं यावदेव हि ।
 परार्धद्विगुणेनैव परसंख्या विधीयते ॥ १:३५ ॥
 परात्परतरं नास्ति इति मे निश्चिता मतिः ।
 पुराणवेदपठिता मयाख्याता द्विजोत्तम ॥ १:३६ ॥

[ब्रह्माण्डम्]

विगतराग उवाच ।
 ब्रह्माण्डं कति विज्ञेयं प्रमाणं ज्ञापितं क्वचित् ।
 कति चाङ्गुलिमूर्ध्वेषु सूर्यस्तपति वै महीम् ॥ १:३७ ॥
 अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच ।

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34ab = BrahmanḍaP 3.2.101

34ab After these two pādas, K₄₁ inserts this : वृन्दश्चैव महावृन्द द्विपरो नन्तमेव च 34cd
 E omits 34cd-35 and then inserts this : वृन्दश्चैव महावृन्द द्विपरानन्तमेव च

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(33c) प्र०] Σ, प० K₄₁ (33cd) कोटिम०] Σ, कोटिर० K₇ (33d) ऽर्बुदं]
 Σ, ऽर्बुदं K₇ (34a) निखर्वं च] Σ, निखर्वं तु K₁₀, निसर्वश्च M (34b) शङ्कु]
 Σ, शंख E • पद्मं] Σ, पद्म M (34c) समुद्रो] Σ, समुद्र० M • मध्यमन्तं च]
 C_ΣK₈₂^{ac}MK₄₁, मध्यमान्तं च K₈₂^{pc}, मध्यमन्तश्च K₁₀, मध्यमन्तश्च K₇ (34d) परार्धं
 च परं तथा] Σ, परार्धपरद्वेगुणाम् M (35a) सर्वे] Σ, सर्व K₄₁ (35b) परार्धं]
 K₇, परार्धं C₉₄, परार्ध C₄₅C₀₂K₈₂K₁₀MK₄₁ (35c) परार्ध०] Σ, परार्ध K₇ (35d)
 ऽसंख्या] Σ, ऽसख्या M (36ab) परात्परतरं नास्ति इति मे निश्चिता मतिः] C_Σ
 K₁₀K₇^{pc}K₄₁E, परात्परतरं नास्ति इति मे निश्चिता मति K₈₂K₇^{ac}, परात्परतरनास्ति इति
 मे निश्चिता मति M (36c) ऽवेद०] C₉₄E, ऽवेदे C₄₅C₀₂K₁₀K₇K₄₁, ऽवेदा K₈₂,
 ऽवेदैः M (36d) ऽख्याता] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂, ऽख्यातं C₀₂K₁₀K₇MK₄₁E • उत्तम] Σ,
 उत्तम M (37a) ब्रह्माण्डं] Σ, ब्रह्माण्ड C₀₂ (37b) प्रमाणं ज्ञापितं क्वचित्] conj.,
 प्रमाणं चापितं क्वचित् C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₄₁E, प्रमाञ्चापितत् क्वचित् K₇, प्रमाणञ्चापितां कति
 M (37c) ऽर्ध्वेषु] em., ऽर्ध्वेषु C_ΣK₈₂K₁₀K₇MK₄₁E (37d) सूर्यस्त०] Σ, र्यो
 M^{ac}, शूर्यो M^{pc} • महीम्] C₄₅C₀₂K₈₂MK₄₁, महीम् C₉₄, मही K₁₀K₇E

वृषसारसंग्रहे

ब्रह्माण्डानां प्रसंख्यातुं मया शक्यं कथं द्विज ।
 देवास्ते ऽपि न जानन्ति मानुषाणां च का कथा ॥ १:३८ ॥
 पर्यायेण तु वक्ष्यामि यथाशक्यं द्विजोत्तम ।
 ब्रह्मणा यत्पुराख्यातो मातरिश्वा यथा तथा ॥ १:३९ ॥
 शिवाण्डाभ्यन्तरेणैव सर्वेषामिव भूभृताम् ।
 दश नाम दिशाष्टानां ब्रह्माण्डे कीर्तितं शृणु ॥ १:४० ॥

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39cd cf. BrahmanḍaP 3.4.58cd: ब्रह्मा ददौ शास्त्रमिदं पुराणं मातरिश्वने

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(38a) ब्रह्मा०] Σ , ब्रह्म० M • प्रसंख्यातुं] Σ , प्रसंसा तु K_{10} , च संख्यातुं E (38b)
 शक्यं क०] $K_{82}K_{10}K_{41}^{pc}E$, शक्या क० $C_{\Sigma}K_7$, सख्याङ्क० M, ह्यक्यं क० K_{41}^{ac} (38c)
 देवास्ते] Σ , देवतापि M (38d) मानुषाणां च] Σ , मानुषार्नञ्च M^{ac} , मानुषानाञ्च
 M^{pc} (39c) यत्पुराख्यातो] $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$, यत्पुराख्यातं M, यत्प्रयात्परायाख्यातो
 K_{41} , यत्प्रमाख्यातो E (40a) शिवाण्डा०] Σ , शिवाण्ड० M^{ac} , शिवाण्डे० M^{pc}
 (40b) सर्वेषामिव भूभृताम्] conj., सर्वेषामिव भूरिताः $C_{94}C_{45}K_7$, सर्वेषामेव भूरि-
 ताः C_{02} , सर्वेषामिव भूरिता K_{82} , सर्वेषामेव भूरिणाम् K_{10} , सर्षपा इव भाविता M,
 सर्वेषामेव भूरिनाः K_{41} , सर्वेषामेव भूरिमां E (40c) दिशा०] Σ , शिवा० K_{10} (40d)
 ब्रह्माण्डे] Σ , ब्रह्माण्डा M • कीर्तितं शृणु] Σ , य च कीर्तितम् C_{45} , कीर्तिता शृणु M

Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṅgraha

An Annotated Translation

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[prathamo 'dhyāyaḥ]
[Chapter One]

[stutiḥ —
Invocation]

anādimadhyāntam anantapāraṃ
susūkṣmam avyaktajagatsusāraṃ |
harīndrabrahmādibhir āsamagraṃ
praṇamya vakṣye vṛṣasārasaṃgraham || 1:1 ||

Having bowed to the One who has no beginning, no middle part and no end, whose boundaries are limitless, who is very subtle and who is the unmanifest and fine essence of the world, together with Hari, Indra, Brahmā and the other [gods], I shall recite [the work called] ‘A Compendium on the Essence of the Bull [of Dharma]’.

1.1 This verse echoes VSS 20.3: *nādimadhyam na cāntam ca yan na vedyaṃ surair api* | *atisūkṣmo hy atisthūlo nirālambo nirañjanaḥ* ||; which could suggest that *pāda* c above might be parallel with *na vedyaṃ surair api*. Perhaps understand *asamagraṃ* [vedyaṃ]; ‘incompletely [known].

Pāda a is also reminiscent of, among other famous passages, BhG 11.19:
anādimadhyāntam anantavīryam anantabāhum śaśisūryanetram | paśyāmi tvām
dīptahutāśavaktram svatejasā viśvam idam tapantam ||.

See also BhG 10.20cd:

aham ādiś ca madhyam ca bhūtānām anta eva ca ||.

A faint reference to the BhG seems proper at the beginning of a work that claims to deliver a teaching based on, but also to surpass, the MBh (see following verses of the VSS). Compare also, e.g., KūrmP 1.11.237:

rūpaṃ tavāśeṣakalāvihīnam agocaraṃ nirmalam ekarūpaṃ | anādimadhyāntam
anantam ādyaṃ namāmi satyaṃ tamasah parastāt ||.

To say that a god has no beginning and no end in a temporal or spacial sense is natural (*anādi*° ...°*antam*), but to have no ‘middle part’ (°*madhya*°) in these senses is slightly less so. Thus the rather commonly occurring phrase *anādimadhyāntam* is probably a fixed expression usually referring to a deity that is endless, eternal and immaterial. As to which deity or what form of a deity this stanza refers to, it may be Śiva, his name missing in *pāda* c, but the phrasing of the verse is vague enough to keep the question somewhat open: the impersonal Brahman might be another option, even more so if we look at verses 1.9–10, whose topic is *brahmavidyā*.

In *pāda* b *jagat-susāraṃ* is most probably not to be interpreted as *jagatsu sāraṃ* (‘the essence in the worlds’). Another way to translate *avyaktajagatsusāraṃ* would be: ‘who is the fine essence of the unmanifest world.’

Strictly speaking, *pāda* c is unmetrical, but it is better to simply acknowledge here the phenomenon of ‘muta cum liquida’, namely that syllables followed by consonant clusters such as *ra*, *bra*, *bra*, *kra*, *śra*, *śya*, *śva*, *sva*, *dva* can be treated as short (*laghu*). (See Introduction pp. xxxviff.) Thus *harīndrabrahmā*° can be treated as a regular beginning of an *upajāti* (U - U - -), the syllable *bra* not turning the previous syllable long (*guru*).

Translation of chapter 1

[*janamejayavaiśampāyanasaṁvādaḥ* —
 Dialogue of Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana]
śatasāhasrikaṁ granthaṁ sahasrādhyāyam uttamam |
parva cāsyā śataṁ pūrṇaṁ śrutvā bhāratasaṁhitām || 1:2 ||

Having listened to the *Bhāratasaṁhitā* [i.e. the *Mahābhārata*], the supreme book of a hundred thousand [verses] and a thousand chapters (*adhyāya*), with all its hundred sections (*parvan*),

atr̥ptaḥ puna papraccha vaiśampāyanam eva hi |
janamejayena yat pūrvam tac chr̥ṇu tvam atandritam || 1:3 ||

Janamejaya remained unsatisfied. Listen unweariedly to what he asked Vaiśampāyana in the past.

The reading *āsamaṅgram* in *pāda* c is suspect (see a preliminary comment on this above), although the initial *ā-* might convey some sort of completeness, meaning ‘all round’ (see e.g. Kale 1992, 226). The fact that we could perceive the ending of *pādas* a and b (*pāram-sāram*), as well as *pādas* c and d, as (in the latter case, oddly) rhyming pairs (*gram-graham*) suggests that accepting the reading *āsamaṅgram* could be the right decision (as suggested by Alessandro Battistini). I translate this verse accordingly. M gives an exciting, albeit unmetrical, alternative (*yat samaṅgram*), but this seems more like a guess to me than the correct reading. For some time I was considering emending *āsamaṅgram*. The most tempting of all the possible options (*arcyam/arhyam/arghyam/iḍyam/āḍhyam/agram, āsamastam*) seemed to be *āptam agram*, meaning ‘appointed/received/respected [by Hari, Indra, Brahmā etc.] as the foremost one’. The fact that the *akṣaras āsam* and *āptam* look similar in most of the scripts used in our manuscripts could support this conjecture. *āptam* could also possibly refer to the text itself, although then the syntax becomes slightly confusing: ‘I shall recite the *Vṛṣasārasaṁgraha* that was first received by Hari...’ etc. Another candidate was *ādhyam agram*: ‘Having bowed to [Him] who contains/is rich with Hari, Indra, Brahmā etc.’ I have not emended the text because it is difficult to know if there is any need for change and if there is, which reading to choose. There was no consensus when this verse was discussed in our extended Śivadharma reading group.

Pāda d seems hypermetrical, but it can be interpreted as a *vaṁśastha* line, a change from *triṣṭubh* to *jagatī* (as suggested by Dominic Goodall).

1.2 The dialogue of Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana makes up the outermost layer of the VSS (except for the introductory stanzas 1.1–3; see Introduction **CHECK**), mostly containing general *dharmaśāstric* material.

That the MBh should contain a hundred thousand verses is hinted at e.g. in line 19 of the Khoh Charter 2 of Śarvanātha, year 214 (Siddham IN00088: *uktañ ca mahābhārata śatasāhasryam* (understand °*ryām*) *saṁhitāyām*...). The hundred *parvans* of the *Mahābhārata* are listed in MBh 1.2.33–70. Note the use of the singular (*parva*) in connection with numerals (*śataṁ*).

1.3 My emendation from the unmetrical *punaḥ* to the unusual, or rather, Middle Indic (Edgerton 1953, vol. 2, p. 347), and Newari (Jørgensen 1941, 113), *puna* is based on the assumption that in the original the metre must have overridden morphology, similarly to what may have happened in 8.4.4d (Mālinī metre): *na bhavati punajanma kalpakotyaṁyute*

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

janamejaya uvāca |
bhagavan sarvadharmajña sarvaśāstraviśārada |
asti dharmam param guhyam saṃsārārṇavatāraṇam || 1:4 ||

Janamejaya spoke: O venerable sir, O knower of the entire Dharma, O you who are well-versed in all the sciences (*śāstra*)! There is a supreme and secret Dharma [that brings about] liberation from the ocean of mundane existence (*saṃsāra*),

dvaipāyanamukhagīrṇam dharmam vā yad dvijottama |
kathayasva hi me tṛptim kuru yatnāt tapodhana || 1:5 ||

that is, the Dharma that emerged from [Vyāsa] Dvaipāyana’s mouth, O best of Brahmins. Teach me that and help me find satisfaction at all cost, O great ascetic!

vaiśampāyana uvāca |
śṛṇu rājann avahito dharmākhyānam anuttamam |
vyāsānugrahasamprāptam guhyadharmam śṛṇotu me || 1:6 ||

’pi, and in 12.151c (Sragdharā metre): *garbhāvāsam na ca tvan na ca punamaraṇam kleśam āyāsapūrṇam*.

For an unsatisfaction or dissatisfaction (*atrpti*) with previous teachings in a somewhat similar manner to what Janamejaya experiences here, see e.g. *Niśvāsa* mūla 1.9:

vedāntam viditam deva sāmṛkhyam vai pañcaviṃśakam | na ca tṛptim gamiṣyāmo hy ṛte śaivād anugrahāt ||

and the *Śivadharmasāstra*: **CHECK**. Vaiśampāyana, a Ṛṣi, disciple of Vyāsa, great-grandson to Arjuna, recited the Mahābhārata at the snake sacrifice of Janamejaya. This setting is an echo of the starting point of the Mahābhārata, see MBh 1.1.8ff. In fact the next few verses in the VSS make it clear that the VSS picks up where the Mahābhārata left off: Janamejaya has heard the whole Mahābhārata from Vaiśampāyana, but he is eager to hear more.

It is tempting to emend *pāda* c to contain a stem form proper noun (*janamejaya*) in order to maintain the metre, and note how the manuscripts struggle with this *pāda*. Stem form nouns, *prātipadikas*, abound in the VSS: see Introduction p. **CHECK**. On the other hand, the contracted/syncopated form *janmejaya* occurs, e.g., in BhāgP 12.06.16 and BrahmaVP 4.14.41, 46. The hypermetrical form *janamejayena*, and the construction finite verb + instrumental (*papraccha... janamejayena*), could be original; compare 1.8 and 4.75 below.

1.4 Note *dharmā* as a neuter noun in *pāda* c and in the next verse.

1.5 The majority of the MSS consulted include a *vā* in *pāda* b, and although C₄₅’s reading seems a bit smoother, that manuscript rarely gives superior readings. Therefore I have chosen *dharmam vā yad*, in which *vā* functions probably in a weak sense. That the secret Dharma Janamejaya is seeking is the one taught by Vyāsa Dvaipāyana, and thus no real options are involved here, becomes clear in 1.6cd. The reading of M in *pāda* b (*dharmavākyaṃ*) is tempting but could be a later correction. In general, M’s readings here are unique but probably secondary: *hi me tṛptim* in *pāda* c seems more attractive than M’s *prasādena* because it echoes *atrptaḥ* in 1.3a

Translation of chapter 1

Vaiśampāyana spoke: Listen with great attention, O king, to this unsurpassed narration of Dharma. Hear the secret Dharma that I received by Vyāsa’s favour.

anarthayajñakartāraṃ tapovrataparāyaṇam |
śīlaśaucasamācāraṃ sarvabhūtagāyāparam || 1:7 ||
jijñāsanārthaṃ praśnaikaṃ viṣṇunā prabhaviṣṇunā |
dvijarūpadharo bhūtvā papraccha vinayānvitaḥ || 1:8 ||

Viṣṇu, the great Lord, assuming the form of a twice-born [Brahmin], wanted to test [Anarthayajña, the ascetic yogin] who performed nonmaterial sacrifices (*anarthayajña*), focused on his austerities and observances, whose conduct was virtuous and pure, and who was intent on compassion towards all living beings; therefore he [Viṣṇu] humbly asked him a question.

[*brahmavidyā* —
 Knowledge of Brahman]

[*vigatarāga uvāca |*]
brahmavidyā katham jñeyā rūpavarṇavivarjitā |
svaravyañjananirmuktam akṣaram kimu tat param || 1:9 ||

[Vigatarāga spoke:] How is the knowledge of the Brahman to be understood if it is devoid of form and colour? Why is that supreme syllable that is devoid of vowels and consonants the supreme one?

anarthayajña uvāca |
anuccāryam asandigdham avicchinnam anākulam |
nirmalaṃ sarvagaṃ sūkṣmam akṣaram kim ataḥ param || 1:10 ||

Anarthayajña replied: That syllable is not to be pronounced, is unquestionable, non-dividable, consistent, spotless, all-pervading and subtle: what could be higher than that?

1.7 On Anarthayajña, the interlocutor of VSS 1.9–10.2 and 19.1–21.22, and an important figure discussed in 22.3ff, as well as a concept (‘nonmaterial sacrifice’), see Kiss 2021 and Introduction p. ??.

1.8 Note the odd syntax here: *viṣṇunā... dvijarūpadharo bhūtvā papraccha*. The agent of the active verb is in the instrumental case (ergative structure).

1.9 The translation of this verse, and the reconstruction and interpretation of *pāda* d, which is echoed in 1.10d, is slightly tentative. I doubt if *kimu* could have the standard (Vedic) meaning ‘how much more/less’ here. Rather *u* is probably just an expletive. In general it seems that this verse references the syllable *om*.

1.10 In *pāda* d, I have choosen, somewhat randomly, *kim ataḥ* instead of *kimu tat*, trying to make sense of 10.9–10.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

[*kālapāśaḥ* —
Noose of death and time]

vigatarāga uvāca |
dehī dehe kṣayaṃ yāte bhūjalāgniśivādibhiḥ |
yamadūtaiḥ kathaṃ nīto nirālambo nirañjanaḥ || 1:11 ||

Vigatarāga spoke: When the body disintegrates in the ground, in water, in fire, or [is torn apart] by jackals and other [animals], how is the supportless and spotless soul led [to the netherworld] by Yama’s messengers?

kālapāśaiḥ kathaṃ baddho nirdehaś ca kathaṃ vrajet |
svargaṃ vā sa kathaṃ yāti nirdeho bahudharmakṛt |
etan me saṃśayaṃ brūhi jñātum icchāmi tattvataḥ || 1:12 ||

How is it bound by the nooses of death/time? And if it is bodiless, how can it move? And how does the [soul of a] virtuous [person] (*bahudharmakṛt*) reach heaven if it has no body? This is my doubt. Teach me. I want to know the truth.

anarthayajña uvāca |
atisaṃśayakaṣṭhaṃ te prṣṭo ’haṃ dvijasattama |
durvijñeyaṃ manuṣyais tu devadānavapannagaiḥ || 1:13 ||

Anarthayajña spoke: You are asking me about an extremely doubtful and problematic matter, O truest of the twice-born. [This is something that] is difficult to understand by humans, and [even] by gods (*deva*), demons (*dānava*) and serpents (*pannaga*).

karmahetu śarīrasya utpatti nidhanaṃ ca yat |
sukṛtaṃ duṣkṛtaṃ caiva pāśadvayaṃ udāhṛtaṃ || 1:14 ||

The cause of both the birth and death of the body is karma. Good and bad deeds are called the two nooses.

1.11 The word °śivā° in *pāda* b is slightly suspect, and could be the result of metathesis, from °viṣā° (‘by poison’). Nevertheless, jackals seems appropriate in this context, for they are commonly associated with human corpses, death and the cremation ground (see e.g. Ohnuma 2019). Furthermore, *pāda* b lists phenomena that cause the body to disintegrate, and not causes of death; thus the reading *śiva* is probably correct.

1.12 The word *kāla* has, as usual, a double meaning here: *kālapāśa* is both Yama’s noose, and also the limitations and bondage caused by time, as becomes clear at the discussion on the different time units in verses 1.18–31.

1.13 Note *te* used for *tvayā* in *pāda* a. Alternatively, taking *te* as genitive, the line could be translated as: ‘I am being asked about a great problem of yours that originates in doubts...’

1.14 The MSS give *karmahetu* in *pāda* a overwhelmingly, which could work as a neuter *bahuvrihi* compound picking up both a stem-form *utpatti* and *nidhanaṃ*. *karmahetuḥ* (C₄₅) is grammatically more correct, picking up the feminine *utpatti*, but now I consider a neuter stem-form *utpatti* unsurprising.

Translation of chapter 1

*tenaiva saha saṃyāti narakam svargam eva vā |
sukhaduḥkham śarīreṇa bhoktavyam karmasambhavam || 1:15 ||*

[The soul] goes to hell or heaven accordingly. Happiness and suffering, both arising from karma, are to be experienced by the body.

*hetunānena viprendra dehaḥ sambhavate nṛṇām |
yam kālapāśam ity āhuḥ śṛṇu vakṣyāmi suvrata || 1:16 ||*

It is for this reason, O great Brahmin, that the human body is born. Now learn about that which they call the noose of time, I shall teach you, O you of great observances.

*na tvayā viditam kiñcij jijnāsyasi katham dvija |
kālapāśam ca viprendra sakalam vettum arhasi || 1:17 ||*

[If] you don't know anything, how could you start your investigation, O twice-born? O great Brahmin, you should know the noose of time in its entirety.

*kalākalitakālam ca kālatattvakalām śṛṇu |
truṭidvayam nimeṣas tu nimeṣadviguṇā kalā || 1:18 ||*

Learn about time (*kāla*) which is divided into digits (*kalā*), [i.e. about] the division[s] (*kalā*) of the entity [called] time (*kālatattva*). Two atomic units of time (*truṭi*) is one twinkling (*nimeṣa*). One digit (*kalā*, cca. 1.6 second) is twice a twinkling.

*kalādviguṇitā kāṣṭhā kāṣṭhā vai triṃsatih kalā |
triṃsatkalā muhūrtaś ca mānuṣena dvijottama || 1:19 ||*

Two digits (*kalā*) form one bit (*kāṣṭhā*, 3.2 seconds). Thirty bits (*kāṣṭhā*) is one digit (*kalā*?, 1.6 minutes). Thirty digits (*kalā*) make up one section (*muhūrta*, 48 minutes) in human terms, O great Brahmin.

*muhūrtatriṃśakenaiva ahorātram vidur budhāḥ |
ahorātram punas triṃśan māsam āhur manīṣiṇaḥ || 1:20 ||*

1.17 The variant *jijnāsyasi* seems to be the lectio difficilior as opposed to *vijnāsyasi*, but the latter could also work fine here. Note how M (agreeing with E) gives a reading (*vaktum arhasi*) that is clearly out of context. This confirms that while M comes up with interesting readings, they are mostly to be ignored.

1.18 1.18d and 1.19a are problematic in the light of 1.19b, which redefines *kalā* in harmony with the traditional interpretation, see e.g. *Arthaśāstra* 2.20.33: *triṃsatkāṣṭhāḥ kalāḥ*. On divisions of time, see also, e.g., Manu 1.64ff. I have calculated 1.6 second for one *kalā* backwards, starting from one day (see 1.20ab).

1.19 Understand *mānuṣena* as *mānuṣasaṃkhyayā* (1.21d).

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

Thirty sections (*muhūrta*) are known to the wise as night and day [i.e. a full day]. Thirty days and nights are taught by the wise to be one month.

samā dvādaśa māsās ca kālatattvavido janāḥ |
śataṃ varṣasahasrāṇi trīṇi mānuṣasaṃkhyayā || 1:21 ||

One year is twelve months [according to] people who know the entity of time. The time span of three hundred

ṣaṣṭiṃ caiva sahasrāṇi kālaḥ kaliyugaḥ smṛtaḥ |
dviguṇaḥ kalisaṃkhyāto dvāparo yuga saṃjñitaḥ || 1:22 ||

and sixty thousand years by human terms is said to be the Kali age (*yuga*). The Dvāpara age is known to be twice as long as the Kali age.

tretā tu triguṇā jñeyā catuḥ kṛtayugaḥ smṛtaḥ |
eṣā caturyugāsaṃkhyā kṛtvā vai hy ekasaptatiḥ || 1:23 ||

The Tretā age is thrice [as long], the Kṛta age four [times as long as the Kali age]. This is the figure related to the four ages (*yuga*). Taking it seventy-one [times],

manvantarasya caikasya jñānam uktaṃ samāsataḥ |
kalpo manvantarāṇāṃ tu caturdaśa tu saṃkhyayā || 1:24 ||

the knowledge about one time-span of a Manu (*manvantara*) has been taught briefly. One æon (*kalpa*) is fourteen *manvantaras* in total.

daśa kalpasahasrāṇi brahmāhaḥ parikalpitam |
rātrir etāvati proktā munibhis tattvadarsibhiḥ || 1:25 ||

Brahmā’s day (*brahmāhar*) is made up of ten thousand Kalpas. [Brahmā’s] night is of the same [duration] according to the wise who know the truth.

1.21 Note how a verb (e.g. *iti vadanti*, *iti prāhur*) is missing in the first half-verse.

1.22 Note the stem form noun *yuga* metri causa, or rather the compound *dvāparo-yuga-saṃjñitaḥ*, and also M’s unique but confused readings.

1.23 Note the lengthened vowel in °*yugā* (metri causa).

The ‘figure’ mentioned in this verse is the sum of the duration of the four *yugas*, which makes up one *mahāyuga*: Kaliyuga = 360,000 years, Dvāparayuga = 720,000 years, Tretāyuga = 1,080,000 years, Dvāparayuga = 1,440,000 years; altogether 3,600,000 years. 71 *mahāyugas* make up a *manvantara* (= 255,600,000 years; cf. Manu 1.79). One *kalpa* is 14 *manvantaras* (= 3,578,400,000 years). Ten thousand *kalpas* are one day of Brahmā, and his night is of the same length, which makes one full day of Brahmā 71,568,000,000,000 years. See next verses and e.g. González-Reimann 2016.

1.24 See 21.34ff on *kalpa* etc. The accepted reading *kalpo* in *pāda* c is probably not original.

1.25 M has a separator sign (|o|) at the end of *pāda* b, as if a section ended here.

Translation of chapter 1

rātryāgame praliyante jagat sarvaṃ carācaram |
ahāgame tathaiveha utpadyante carācaram || 1:26 ||

When [Brahmā’s] night falls, the whole moving and unmoving universe dissolves. And when [his] daylight comes, the moving and unmoving [universe] is born.

parārdhaparakalpāni atītāni dvijottama |
anāgataṃ tathaivāhur bhṛgurādimaharṣayaḥ || 1:27 ||

One *para* times *parārdha* [number of, i.e. two hundred quadrillion times a hundred quadrillion] *kalpas* have passed [so far], O great Brahmin. Bhṛgu and the other sages say that the future is the same [time span].

yathārkagrahatārendu bhramato dṛśyate tv iha |
kālacakraṃ bhramitvaiva viśramaṃ na ca vidmahe || 1:28 ||

Just as the sun, the planets, the stars and the moon are perceived in this world as wandering around, wandering on the wheel of time (*kālacakra*), we can never have a rest.

kālāḥ sṛjati bhūtāni kālāḥ samharate punaḥ |
kālasya vaśagāḥ sarve na kālavaśakṛt kvacit || 1:29 ||

Time creates living beings and time destroys them again. Everything is under the control of time. There is nothing that can bring time under control.

caturdaśa parārdhāni devarājā dvijottama |
kālena samatītāni kālo hi duratikramaḥ || 1:30 ||

Fourteen *parārdha* [fourteen hundred quadrillion] god kings, O Brahmin, have passed by over time, for time is difficult to overcome.

1.26 The plural form *praliyante* in *pāda* a is metri causa for *praliyate*, perhaps also influencing *utpadyante* (for *utpadyate*) in *pāda* d, which in turn is used here to avoid an iambic pattern (- - U - U - U -).

1.27 On the definition of the numbers *para* and *parārdha*, see verses 1.32–36. Note the peculiar compound *bhṛgu-r-ādi-maharṣayaḥ*, for *bhṛgvādimaharṣayaḥ*.

1.28 *bhramato* in *pāda* b seems to stand for the neuter participle *bhramat*. Alternatively, *bhramato* might mean ‘erroneously’ (*bhrama-tas*, abl.), but this would make the verse difficult to interpret. I have corrected *bhramatvaiva* to the standard form *bhramitvaiva*, although the former might conceal a final verb (*bhramāmaḥ?*).

1.30 Note that *samatītāni* (neuter) most probably picks up *devarājāḥ* (masculine) in this verse, or rather *devarājā* stands for *devarājānām* and *samatītāni* picks up °*parārdhāni*. It is not clear to me what *devarāja* (“god king”) means exactly (Indra?).

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

eṣa kālo mahāyogī brahmā viṣṇuḥ paraḥ śivaḥ |
anādinidhano dhātā sa mahātmā namaskuru || 1:31 ||

Time is [manifest] as a great yogin, as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and supreme Śiva, is beginningless and endless, is the creator, the great soul. Pay homage [to Time].

[*parārdhādi* —
Parārdha etc.: numbers]

vigatarāga uvāca |
śrutaṃ vai kālacakraṃ tu mukhapadmaviniḥṣṛtaṃ |
parārdhaṃ ca paraṃ caiva śrotaṃ vaḥ pratidīpitam || 1:32 ||

Vigatarāga spoke: I have now heard about the ‘wheel of time’ (*kālacakra*) from [your] lotus mouth. [I wish] to hear about [the terms] *parārdha* and *para* [mentioned above], as elaborated by you.

anarthayajña uvāca |
ekaṃ daśaṃ śataṃ caiva sahasraṃ ayutaṃ tathā |
prayutaṃ niyutaṃ koṭim arbudaṃ vṛndaṃ eva ca || 1:33 ||

Anarthayajña spoke: One, ten, a hundred, a thousand, and ten thousand (*ayuta*), a hundred thousand (*prayuta*), a million (*niyuta*), ten million (*koṭi*), a hundred million (*arbuda*), and one billion (*vṛnda*, 10^9),

kharvaṃ caiva nikharvaṃ ca śaṅku padmaṃ tathaiva ca |
samudro madhyam antaṃ ca parārdhaṃ ca paraṃ tathā || 1:34 ||

ten billion (*kharva*), a hundred billion (*nikharva*), one trillion (*śaṅku*, 10^{12}), and ten trillion (*padma*), a hundred trillion (*samudra*), one quadrillion (*madhya*, 10^{15}), ten quadrillion ([*an*]*anta*), a hundred quadrillion (*parārdha*), and two hundred quadrillion (*para*).

1.32 Although I have corrected the unmetrical *vinisṛtaṃ* in *pāda* b to *vinīḥṣṛtaṃ*, originally a metrical *vinisṛitaṃ* may have been intended. The reading of all manuscripts consulted, *vinisṛtaṃ*, may be considered metrical if we interpret it, loosely, as *vinisṛitaṃ*.

Pāda d is suspect and my translation tentative. M’s reading in *pāda* d (*śrotaṃ naḥ pratidīyatām*) might make sense (‘give it back/repeat it for us to hear’), but it sounds forced, as if the scribe tried to come up with a reading that he understood better than *śrotaṃ vaḥ pratidīpitam*, the reading of the majority of the witnesses, which is in fact not easy to interpret. One would expect a phrase meaning ‘please tell me about these.’ Finally, I have decided to take *vaḥ* as instrumental (‘by you’).

1.33 See a similar teaching of numbers in *BrahmaṇḍaP* 3.2.9iff.

1.34 Note that K_{41} inserts a line here. See apparatus. For *anta* meaning *ananta*, see 1.58cd–59ab. M’s reading in *pāda* d may be a result of an eyeskip to 1.35c.

Translation of chapter 1

sarve daśaguṇā jñeyāḥ parārdham yāvad eva hi |
parārdhadviguṇenaiva paraśamkhyā vidhīyate || 1:35 ||

Each should be known as powers of ten up to *parārdha*. The number corresponding to *para* is double that of *parārdha*.

parāt parataram nāsti iti me niścītā matiḥ |
purāṇavedapaṭhitā mayākhyātā dvijottama || 1:36 ||

There is no higher number than *para*. This is my firm conviction, which is based on my readings of the Purāṇas and the Vedas and [which I have now] taught [to you], O great Brahmin.

[*brahmāṇḍam* —
 Brahmā’s Egg: the Universe]

vigatarāga uvāca |
brahmāṇḍam kati vijñeyam pramāṇam jñāpitam kvacit |
kati cāṅguli-m-ūrdhveṣu sūryas tapati vai mahim || 1:37 ||

Vigatarāga spoke: What is the extent of the Brahmāṇḍa [i.e. the universe]? Is it disclosed anywhere? From how many finger’s breadths high does the sun heat the earth?

anarthayajña uvāca |
brahmāṇḍānām paraśamkhyātum mayā śakyam katham dvija |
devās te ’pi na jñānti mānuṣāṇām ca kā kathā || 1:38 ||

Anarthayajña spoke: How could I enumerate [all the details of] the Brahmāṇḍa, O twice-born? Even the gods do not know, not to mention humans.

1.36 Note that E inserts the line here that K₄₁ inserted above. See apparatus.

1.37 The use of the singular next to numerals is one of the hallmarks of the VSS (see p. xxxi). This means that *pāda* a may well refer to multiple *brahmāṇḍas*. Nevertheless, in the light of VSS 2.2d (*pramāṇam tasya vā kati*), I suspect that the first question here could be rendered in slightly more standard Sanskrit as *brahmāṇḍasya pramāṇam kati yojanāni vijñeyam. cāpitam kvacit* in *pāda* b in the witnesses is enigmatic. One may conjecture *prāpitam* (perhaps: ‘is it available somewhere?’), or *jñāpitam* (‘is it disclosed somewhere?’). I have chosen the latter. The intended form may have been *jñātam kenacit* (‘is it known by anyone?’), to which 1.38 below could be a reply. Of course, *cāpitam* could be analysed as *cāpi tam* (possibly for *cāpi tat*), but that would help little, unless we imagine that the question is ‘and where is it?’ (*cāpi tat kva*).

My emendation of *cāṅguli-m-ūrdhveṣu* to *cāṅguli-m-ūrdhveṣu* (with a hiatus-filler) is based on *ūrdhvatas* in 1.61d, which is part of the reply to the question posed in this line. In turn, *aṅguli* here triggered an conjecture in 1.61c.

1.38 One would expect *brahmāṇḍāni* in *pāda* a instead of *brahmāṇḍānām*, but we should probably understand *brahmāṇḍānām viśeṣān paraśamkhyātum*... The structure noun in genitive + verb meaning ‘telling’ occurs also in 4.69a and **CHECK**.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

paryāyeṇa tu vakṣyāmi yathāśakyaṃ dvijottama |
brahmaṇā yat purākhyāto mātariśvā yathā tathā || 1:39 ||

I shall teach [you], as far as I can, in due order and truthfully, that, O great
Brahmin, which Mātariśvan was taught by Brahmā in the past.

śivāṇḍābhyantareṇaiva sarveṣāṃ iva bhūbhṛtām |
daśa nāma diśāṣṭānām brahmāṇḍe kīrtitaṃ śṛṇu || 1:40 ||

Ten names of all the [cosmic] rulers of each of the eight directions in Brahmā’s
Egg, [which is] inside Śiva’s Egg, are being taught now, listen.

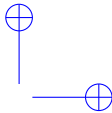
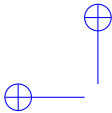
1.39 The claim that Brahmā taught Mātariśvan is confirmed in 1.64cd, and also, e.g.,
in *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* 3.4.58cd (see the apparatus).

1.40 My conjecture in *pāda* b (*bhūbhṛtām*) is based on the fact that the readings
transmitted in the MSS seem unintelligible, and, more importantly, that these names are
said, in the subsequent verses, to belong to *nāyakas* (‘chiefs, lords’), a possible synonym
of *bhūbhṛt* (‘a king’), and also that it is a minute intervention.

In *pāda* c, understand *diśāṣṭānām* as *diśām aṣṭānām* or *digaṣṭakānām*, and note that
one of the hallmarks of the language of the VSS is the use of the singular in the proximity
of numbers, where a plural would be expected (*daśa nāma*).

Appendices

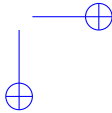
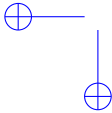
passages from part two



Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṅgraha

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Symbols and Abbreviations

Symbols

≈

cf.

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Abbreviations

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

f.

ff.

MGMCP

MGMPP

MS(S) = manuscript(s)

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

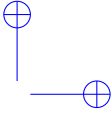
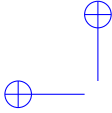
ŚDhŚ = *Śivadharmaśāstra*

ŚDhU = *Śivadharmottara*

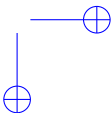
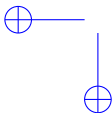
VSS = asdfadfasdfadsa

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