

The Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, a text of the Śivadharma 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 this edition? It is not much more than a new copy, and carefully prepared new version of a text called *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, based on a number of witnesses, augmented with an analysis of the contents, with contextualisation, and with an English translation. As for the critical edition, while I went to great lengths to understand the textual history behind the manuscripts used, it is obviously a deeply contaminated version of a text transmitted through contaminated witnesses. Nevertheless, it is hopefully a version that is as close to the authors’ and redactors’ original intention around the time they assembled these chapters together, approximately in the seventh to tenth centuries, as possible. Of course we do not know if there was a single moment when the intention to compose a new text on Dharma under the title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* was born or if there was one single ‘original copy’,¹ but it is hopefully the most meaningful and most readable among all available copies. Still, the present book is just a version of a text that surely has never existed exactly in this very form, inevitably showing signs of being an eclectic edition. Furthermore, it may show unintentional characteristics of the 21st century (ones that go beyond the modern Devanāgarī typeface or occasional choices based on our modern understandings and misunderstandings) mixed with characteristics of the first millenium. We know that ‘[a]ll editing is an act of interpretation.’² And many of the editorial decisions I made were based on opinions expressed by colleagues during our regular reading sessions. Thus this edition is a result of the interpretative efforts of a group of scholars, and this may sometimes, but hopefully rarely, have caused contradictions.

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

Find a hard copy of McGann’s Textual Condition.

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

² McGann 1991, ??.

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

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

Introduction

The Śivadharma corpus

In general...

Reading the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

The title

The title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* can be translated as: ‘A Compendium on the Essence of the Bull [of Dharma].’ The last two elements (*sāra-saṃgraha*) need little explanation: this work is a ‘compendium’ on, a ‘collection’ or ‘summary’ of (*saṃgraha*) the ‘essence’ (*sāra*) of its topic. The words ‘compendium’ and ‘collection’ reflect the composite nature of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* well; see sections on the structure of the text and on the its possible sources on pp. ??ff and pp. ??ff. The remaining question is weather 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.³

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

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

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

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

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

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

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

MMW ‘vṛṣa’:

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

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

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

The ŚDhU also mentions the ‘Dharma bull’:

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

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

Śivapurāṇa 2.3.40.54–55:

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

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

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

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

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

Introduction

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

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

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

Bhattacharya (1977, 1552) suggests that

In the Purāṇas the bull (Vṛṣabha or Vṛṣa) of Śiva is identified with Dharma, “virtue personified”. This is a new development to sanctify the animal vehicle of the god. This new situation took place with the religious rite when an offering of a bull to a Brahmin deemed to be of a high religious merit.

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

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

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

that one of the earliest sources to fuse the figures of Nandin and the bull is the relatively early⁵ *Matsyapurāṇa*.

Vṛṣadeva’s commission? As a fanciful experiment, and if one supposes that the VSS originated in Nepal, one could wonder if the title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* has anything to do with the Licchavi king Vṛṣadeva. Sanderson (2009, 74) mentions that Vṛṣadeva is ‘described in an inscription of his eighth-century descendant Jayadeva as having inclined towards Buddhism;’ (Vajrācārya 1973, 148, l. 9: *sugataśāsanapakṣapāṭi*) ‘a view confirmed by a local chronicle, which attributes to him the establishing of Buddhist images,’ and that this king established ‘the Caitya of the Śinagu-vihāra (the Svayambhūnāth Caitya).’ More importantly, Sanderson summarises the information to be found in the Changu Narayana Pillar Inscription (east shaft),⁶ namely that Vṛṣadeva was the great-grandfather of Mānadeva, whose ‘dated inscriptions range in date from 459 to 505/6’ [CE] (Sanderson 2009, 75).⁷ This would place the reign of Vṛṣadeva around 400 CE. The early fifth century may look too early for the date of composition of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, and any connection between this king and the text is impossible to prove at the moment, but it is equally impossible to reject any connection, and if there were one, it would give some explanation for the slightly unusual nature of the title.

Petech 1984:80 Vṛttasārasaṃgraha = Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

Gopālarājavarṇasāvalī p. 124 Dharmadeva and a vṛṣa statue? Text mentions vṛṣadhvaja though...

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

The genre

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

Another argument is that the topics dealt with in the VSS are exactly what we expect from a Purāṇa. The famous *purāṇapañcalakṣaṇa* includes,

⁵ See Rocher 1986, 199.

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

⁷ Vṛṣadeva was succeeded by Śaṅkaradeva and Dharmadeva.

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following Wilson’s translation (in Rocher 1986, 26), the following: (1) primary creation, cosmogony and chronology (*sarga*); (2) creation, destruction of the world (*pratisarga*); (3) geneologies (*vaṃśa*); (4) Manu eras (*manvantaras*); (5) history (*vaṃśānucarita*).⁸ Arguably all these are present in the VSS, most of them already in chapter one, and later in twenty-one and twenty-four, plus narratives of the deeds of gods (e.g. in chapter twenty-three), and much more that one normally sees in Purāṇas.

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

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

search ibid for prātipadika,

The structure of the VSS

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

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

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

Contents of chapters 1–12

9

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

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

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

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

Introduction

Dating and provenance

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

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

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

Maybe the VSS is eclectic because of dvairājya?

– Dating

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

– Place of composition: geographical names and persons mentioned

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

Newari

+ newari plural, in Jørgensen 1941, §17:

‘The plural ending is wanting where plurality is expressed in other ways; thus always after numerals, and mostly after nouns denoting “many, all”.’¹⁰

Modern Nepali: singular after numerals.

The geographical locations mentioned in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* are the following:

- in the narrative in chapter 12:
 - Mṛgendrasīkhara (on the southern slopes of the Himalayas; 22.5ab: *himavaddakṣiṇe pārśve mṛgendrasīkhare*)

¹⁰ I am thankful to Judit Törzsök, who first pointed out to me the phenomenon itself in the VSS, and later drew my attention to the similar Newari grammatical rule.

Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṃgraha

- Mahendrapathaga(? , the name of a river near Mṛ̥gendrasīkhara)
- Kusuma (i.e., Pāṭaliputra)
- the Gāṅgā and the Gaṇḍakī River
- Naravīrapura (in the south, see 12.60)
- the Sahya mountain (12.93)
- *tīrthas* mentioned in ch. 10:
 - Himavat (the Himalayas)
 - Kurukṣetra
 - Prayāga
 - Vārāṇasī
 - Yamunā
 - Gaṅgā
 - Agnitīrtha
 - Somatīrtha
 - Sūryatīrtha
 - Puṣkara
 - Mānasa
 - Naimiṣa
 - Bindusāra (= Bindusaras)
 - Setubandha
 - Suradraha
 - Ghaṇṭikeśvara
 - Vāgīśa

Introduction

Interpretation of chapters

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

The role of the VSS in the Śivadharmā corpus

- general ideas
 - is this text really Śaiva? why in this collection?
 - niśvāsa as sadāśiva in ch. 16; Niśvāsa uttarasūtra 5.50–51; see also Kāṭhī Niśvāsamukha p.11ff; ibid. p.12: “The term niśvāsa means sighing. Thus, an alternative meaning of the Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā could also be a “sighing tantra.” To be more precise, a tantra that originated from the sighing of Śiva. This is to say, the speech of Śiva.”
 - tattva-system: mati and suśira (ch. 20)
 - parallels: MBh, Bṛhatkālottara,
 - ch. 21: Viṣṇu; is this a Śaiva text?
 - āśramas are in an order different from usual; compare this to NĀT; “Variations on the āśrama-system”
- History of Dharmasastra 2.1 pp. 416ff on āśramas
 - n. 988! see Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra ii.9.21.1: catvāra āśramā gārhaṣṭhyam ācāryakulaṃ maunaṃ vānaprasthyam iti| Quoted by Śāṅkara But the chapters in Āpastamba follow the traditional order. “Āp. places the householder first among the āśramas, probably on account of the importance of that stage to all other āśramas.” Kane ibid.
 - ibid p. 417: person in last āśrama is called: parivrāṭ, parivrājaka(!), bhikṣu, muni, yati. See Olivelle, Patrick. The Āśrama System. The

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

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

Introduction

- Palm leaf: /home/csaba/mmedia/images/scan/saiva/sivadharmacorpus/mss_florinda/newari/ngmpp/palm_leaf_3:3/fr.8493.0.A 0003-03_3/A3-03+65851+177_vss_start.jpg Paper MS /home/csaba/mmedia/images/scan/saiva/sivadharmacorpus/1341-06/DSCN0331 fol. 204_vss.JPG
- Vipula
Vipula in the MBh:
MBh 13040016aff
Devaśarman and his wife Ruci 13040017a tasya rūpeṇa → 13040017a tasyā rūpeṇa
all gods, esp. Indra, are in love with her but Devaśarman guards her wants to perform yajña: how to guard her during the ritual? calls his pupil, Vipula tells him that Indra can assume various forms Vipula decides that the only way to protect her from Indra is to magically 'enter' her (with yoga) he tells her stories and enters her
MBh 13041001ff Indra sees the opportunity and enters the āśrama as a beautiful man he sees Vipula's lifeless body Ruci fancies Indra, but Vipula in his body stops her from standing up Indra sings to her beautiful songs he says "I have come for you, I am Devendra, I am in love" Vipula stops her from doing anything Indra is a bit shocked by her not being moved, gets angry and can see now that Vipula is in her Vipula leaves her, enters his own body, and abuses Indra and tells Indra how wicked he is Indra is ashamed and disappears Devaśarman returns to the āśrama, Vipula tells him what happened and Devaśarman praises him
- ETC., see translation here: <https://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/m13/m13b005.htm>
- See summary also here: V. S. Sukthankar. Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata. Poona, V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee, 1944. 317–318 <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.281344/page/n333>

Dhyāna in the VSS and the DharmP

Compare, borrowings

Misc

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

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

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

Texts related to the VSS

MBh Manu Nīśvāsakārikā



Introduction

Pāśupatas in the VSS
Buddhism in the VSS

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

Notes on the language

The language of the VSS goes beyond the idiosyncrasies of epic Sanskrit. It exhibits strong similarities to Śaiva Aśa Sanskrit,¹¹ and it applies particular metrical licences and uses a special vocabulary, morphology and syntax. The analysis of this language, ideally, could lead us to the author(s) or redactors of the text and to its place of composition. Here I only give a brief overview of the most important phenomena. For details see the observations on the constitution of the Sanskrit text in the footnotes to the translation (pp. ??), as well as the Index.

Newari?

- VSS too old for this comparison?

- metre?

-

Metre

As regards metrical licences, the first striking feature is the generous use of the poetic licence sometimes labelled ‘muta cum liquida,’¹² namely that some consonant clusters that would normally turn the previous short (laghu) syllable long (guru) may in some cases do not do so. The syllables pra, bra, hra, kra, especially at the beginning of words CHECK, are well-known candidates for this licence.¹³ In the VSS, tra, vra, śra, pra, and also śya, śva, sva, dva, all involving conjunct consonants with a liquid sounds or semi-vowels in second position, and possibly also rpa, CHECK! seem additional ones.

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

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

The well-known author on prosody, Kedārabhaṭṭa (11-12th centuries),¹⁴ frequently quoted by Mallinātha, gives the following definition in his *Vṛt-taratnākara* (here given together with Sulhaṇa’s *Sukaviḥṛdayanandinī* commentary):

¹¹ See Goodall, Törzsök, Hatley, Kiss, Meyr?

¹² For recent contributions on this phenomenon, see e.g. Ranjan Sen 2006 (discussing it as appearing in Latin) and Balogh 2018, note 6 (discussing Sanskrit metre).

¹³ See e.g. Apte’ XXX Dictionary Appendix A p. 1. ADD real life examples.

¹⁴ SOURCE

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

- final -am etc. counts as long (reverse of muta cum liquida)
- In Kannada and Telugu prosody, under the name of śīthila-dvīṭva, the exception is that sometimes in a consonant cluster of the form [consonant + “r”], the “r” (repha) can be ignored, so that it is not a conjunct consonant anymore.
- The exception is not accepted by purists: Shatavadhani Ganesh says that the Sanskrit masters like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha, Śrīharṣa, and Viśākhadatta have not freely used this exception (though the masters in Kannada and other languages have). Being more of a “poetic licence” and a violation of the standard rule (only found in later poetry), it is extremely unlikely that any sane poet would have indulged in that exception in all four pāda-s of a verse. Thus it is very unlikely that the program will miss identifying a verse that indulges in this
- Reference: see comments by Dr. Ganesh and Nityananda Misra in this thread started by Vishvas Vasuki: <https://groups.google.com/forum/#!topic/bvparishat/yarcGLuhc14/d>
poetic licences

Vocabulary

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

Number and gender

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

Syntax

- Special structures: caturmaunasya vakṣyāmi indreṇāsmi phalaṃ dat-taṃ

kathito ’smi
as if not proofread

Introduction

Stem form nouns

- stem form nouns (prātipadika); Jørgensen 1941, §18.1: ‘Nominative. This case has no ending but represents the pure stem.’
- a more or less full collation is important: we cannot automatically reject ‘ungrammatical’ or unmetrical forms because they may well be the ‘original’ one

Introduction



Figure 1: A possible reconstruction of the geography of the VSS. Toponyms in italics are uncertain. Map constructed using a simple hydrographic map made by Daniel Dalet (d-maps.com).

Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṁgraha

A Critical Edition of Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha 1–12

Witnesses

Hanneder’s Intro to Text Genealogy, Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique(Introduction): very useful summary, use it! Hanneder 2009 p. 5: ‘textual criticism is often viewed as something to be learned by practice rather from reading about it.’ *ibid.*: ‘In fact, both translating and editing are something most Indologists have learned in a pragmatic way through examples from within the field, and some have managed to become quite good at it.’ *ibid.*: ‘in most cases this approach is sufficient’

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

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

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

In the pre-modern era, the VSS has been transmitted exclusively in multiple-text manuscripts that were produced in Nepal. Even when a manuscript of the VSS seems to be a single-text MS, chances are high that it originally belonged to a multiple-text manuscript.¹⁵ In the manuscript descriptions

¹⁵ As I remarked elsewhere (Kiss 2021, 185, n. 9): ‘Asiatic Society (Calcutta), Manuscript G 4076, cat. no. 4083, may seem to be an independent manuscript of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, but as De Simini has already remarked (2016b, 240 n. 19) [= De Simini 2016b], it is probably from a multiple text manuscript. In fact, from what can be gathered from its

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

below, in addition to some general remarks, I will mainly focus on information relevant to the VSS. For much more detail on the overall features of these manuscripts, see De Simini 2016b and the catalogues I mention at some of the individual manuscript.¹⁶

In recently published and forthcoming critical editions of and articles on the Śivadharma corpus (e.g. Bisschop 2018 and Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021), the sigla of the manuscripts used are made up of a letter signifying the script (e.g. ‘N’ for Nepālākṣara/Newari), a superscript letter for the current location where the manuscript is deposited (e.g. ‘C’ for Cambridge), and two (sometimes only one or even three) subscript digits echoing the last digit(s), if any, of the reference number of the manuscript in the library where it is located or, in the case of NGMPP reel numbers, the last two digits of the first part of the reel number. For details of this system and for the underlying reasons, see Bisschop 2018, 50–51. Since in the case of the VSS all available manuscripts use some variant of the Nepālākṣara script, in this publication I omit the first letter, making the letter for the current location non-superscript. This helps keeping the apparatus readable. In the manuscript descriptions below, I give this omitted and implied ‘N’ in brackets as a reminder.

The Cambridge manuscripts

(N)^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.¹⁷ According to this catalogue, the date of creation of this manuscript is the 12th century, its dimensions are 5 × ca. 53.5 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 258 folios and transmitting eight texts: 1) *Śivadharmaśāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadhar-masaṃgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 6) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 7) *Dharmaputrikā*, 8) *Śivopaniṣad*.

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

description in Shastri 1928, 716ff, it seems likely that this manuscript was originally part of manuscript Asiatic Society (Calcutta) G 3852, cat. no. 4085. See for example the folio numbering in these two manuscripts: ASC G 3852 contains 210 folios, and ASC G 4076 starts on folio 210.⁷

¹⁶ I owe thanks to Florinda De Simini for sharing with me most of the manuscripts listed here, to Kengo Harimoto and Gudrun Melzer (Munich) for providing photos of the Munich MS, and to Nirajan Kafle for sharing a digital copy of the Paris MS with me.

¹⁷ <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01694-00001/382>

Introduction

image no. 381, is an empty folio side, the text itself starts on the verso side); it ends on f. 239r (online image no. 473). The text of the VSS is transmitted fully, without any folios or major sections of the text missing. The leaves transmitting the VSS are well-preserved. Some folio sides are faded and most folios are somewhat damaged on the right side, sometimes at other parts, and it seems from the images that some opaque-looking tape has been applied to protect these damaged sections. In my critical edition the broken off, completely lost, *akṣaras* are represented by ×, the illegible *akṣaras* under the tape by *CHECK* (‘illegible’). The quality of the readings of this manuscript is one of the best among the available witnesses, comparable only to 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.¹⁸ According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 4.4 × 61.7 cm. The manuscript is dated to (Nepala) ‘*saṃvat 259 śrāvaṇa śukla dvādaśīyādi(?) < trayodaśyām*,’ which converts to July 10/11 Monday/Tuesday, 1139 CE.¹⁹ 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) *Śivadharmasamgraha*, 4) *Śivopaniṣad*, 5) *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsamvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha*, 8) *Dharmaṣūtrikā*.

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

¹⁸ <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01645/404>

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

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and Harimoto).²⁰ This is more difficult to see in the case of the VSS, but 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.²¹ According to this catalogue, the date of creation is the 12th century, and the dimensions of the manuscript are 4.8 × ca. 52.5 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 96 folios. Six texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmottara*, 2) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, 3) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 4) *Śivopaniṣad*, 5) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 6) *Dharmaputrikā* (only f. 322v). Note that the *Śivadharmottara* starts on f. 51r, thus the part that most probably contained the *Śivadharmasāstra* is lost.

The *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* starts on f. 267r line 1 (online image no. 181). The online description labels this image as f. 237r. This first folio in fact has no visible foliation. The previous text, the *Śivopaniṣad*, ended on f. 236v, with pāda b of verse 7.122,²² 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.²³

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.²⁴

²⁰ Personal communication, 1 Dec 2021.

²¹ <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02102/181>

²² Image no. 180, *Śivopaniṣad* 7.122: *yauvanasthā grhasthāś ca [prāsā]dasthāś ca ye nṛpāḥ*.

²³ Compare with the claim of the online catalogue: “The present manuscript probably contained seven texts.”

²⁴ Cf. the metadata on the CUDL site: ‘1 folio of the same dimensions is a modern supply for the beginning of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*.’ A hardly readable note in pencil to the same effect is visible at the top of the first folio side (f. 267r, ‘mode..... supply beg of Vṛṣasāra-saṃgr.’). I am not sure how ‘modern’ this supplement is, but it seems indeed likely that a lost first folio was supplemented with a later copy. To match the end of this new copy with the beginning of the next, older, folio, a scribe more or less erased the beginning of the first line in the old folio, rather than the last line of the younger folio. This slightly illogical decision may mean that the younger copy was not tailor-made for the old portion, but rather that it was taken from a younger manuscript which was perhaps

Introduction

In this multiple-text manuscript, the VSS is transmitted in an incomplete form, that is to say, a number of folios are missing (most notably chapters 15–17). The first partially visible folio number is in image 184: the numeral characters 200+60 are visible (268v, according to the CUDL online catalogue). In image 186, the folio number 269 is clearly visible (f. 269v). In folio 270v, the continuous text is broken at verse 2.21c (*kāmarū*^o), ff. 271 and 272 are missing, and the text resumes on f. 273r with verse 3.30b (*[ahimsā pa]ramam sukham*). Folio 291 is missing (verses 12.87cd–12.113). In folio 296v (image no. 234) the text breaks off again at *vātaśūlair upadrutā | śukro* (verse 14.22b)²⁵, the next folio being 306r (*carmatāś ca dvijasundarīsu*, verse 18.27b; nine folios and chapters 15–17 are completely missing).

Again, there are two missing folios after *bandhus sarvva*^o 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*^o (verse 20.22, f. 309v) and *snāyu majjā sirā tathā* (verse 20.51d, f. 311r). The VSS ends on f. 322v (image no. 262) with the concluding colophon *vṛṣasārasaṅgraha samāpta iti*. This folio also contains the beginning of the *Dharmaputrikā*, but this multiple-text manuscript contains no more folios.

In the apparatus, the siglum C^Σ signifies all three Cambridge MSS described above.

The Kathmandu 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.²⁶ 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).²⁷ The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 274 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śiva-*

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

²⁵ Of course, my verse numbering in chapters 13–24 may change slightly during the editing process.

²⁶ https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00098499

²⁷ See f. 12r line 2 of the *Dharmaputrikā* in this MS: *navottarāsītīyute sate bde āsāḍhaśuklasya tithau tṛtīye*, translated by De Simini 2016b, 252 n. 49 as: ‘in [the year] 189, in the 3rd lunar day of the bright [fortnight] of [the month] Āṣāḍha.’ She adds that the date is verified in Petech 1984, 46 as May 24, 1069 CE.

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dharmasaṃgraha, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 7) *Dharmaputrikā*, 8) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*.

As for each text in this collection, the foliation for the VSS restarts from f. iv (f. ir is a cover) and the text spans ff. iv–46r. This is a beautifully written and well-preserved manuscript which gives very useful readings and has proved to be essential for the reconstruction of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*.²⁸

(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.²⁹ According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 55 x 5.5 cm. It is an undated palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 74 folios. Four texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmottara*, 2) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 3) *Śivopaniṣad*, 4) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*.

Some folios feature monochrome drawings. A great number of the leaves that transmit the VSS are damaged and, at least judging from the microfilm images, faded and slightly disordered. The folio numbers are rarely visible. The VSS starts on exp. 44 (upper leaf, no folio number is visible here). The text continues on the lower leaf and then on the upper leaf on exp. 43 (going backwards, so to say) up to 1.62 (*viṃśakoṭiṣu gulmeṣu ūrdhva*^o). 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

²⁸ See a similar evaluation in Bisschop 2018, 56.

²⁹ https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00085264

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leaf and 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.³⁰ According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 58 × 6 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara. Dated to Nepāla Samvat 290 (1169–70 CE). It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 289 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasamgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha*, 7) *Uttarottaramahāsamvāda*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*. Ff. 209v–264v contain the VSS.

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

(N)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.³¹ According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 58.5 × 5.5 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara and the MS is dated to Nepāla Samvat 321 (1200–01 CE). It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 215 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasamgraha* (only a few folios are extant, e.g. ff. 124 and 143), 4) *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsamvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*.

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

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

NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3)³²—the microfilm images of the folios containing the VSS are often blurred to an extent that makes them difficult to use.

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

Paper MSS? hidden

³⁰ https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00062373

³¹ http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A_3-3_Śivadharmasamgraha

³² http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A_11-3_Śivadharmottara

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

The Munich manuscript

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

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

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

The Paris manuscript

(N)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 indiennes, Collège de France as MS Skt 57-B 23. I have collated the readings of this MS for VSS chapters three and eight. It contains 249 palm leaves. Folios 214 and 216 are missing from the part of the manuscript that transmits the VSS, thus we don’t have verses 1.60d–2.21ab, as well as 3.14–42 and 4.1–7. Foliation appears on the verso side: in the left-hand margin in Newari alphabetical numerals and in the right-hand margin in arabic numerals by a second hand. The portion that contains the VSS is fairly well-preserved and the text is written in a clear hand. Although it is an undated manuscript, it could be dated to the 11th century CE on palaeographical

Introduction

grounds. It contains the following text in the order they are presented in the manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasamgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsamvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*. The VSS appears on ff. 212–252. This source gives reliable readings and contains relatively few scribal mistakes.³³

The Oxford manuscript

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

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

The Kolkata manuscripts

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

(N)Ko₇₆ MS G 4076 in the collection of The Asiatic Society, Kolkata.³⁴ 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 Ko₅₂ (MS G 3852), a *Śivadharmasamgraha* corpus MS in the same collection lacking the VSS; see note 15 on page 3.

(N)Ko₇₇ According to Shastri 1928, 720, MS G 4077 in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Kolkata, a palm leaf MS, transmits the VSS in 52 folios.

³³ This description had as its starting point a shorter description written and kindly shared with me by Nirajan Kafle.

³⁴ I am grateful to our colleague Sushmita Das for attempting to get a copy of this MS in March 2020.

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

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

The Tübingen manuscript

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

The London manuscript

(N)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) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*. This MS is described in Wujastyk 1985.

While collating MS 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 [= °kāṃbaram] eva ca | daśayogāsanāsīno

L₁₆ (f. 38iv) gives:



sphaṭikāṃsatam eva ca || devayogāsanāsīto

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

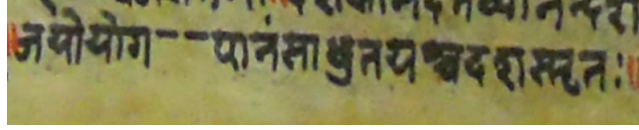
Here K₈₂ (f. 39v) reads:



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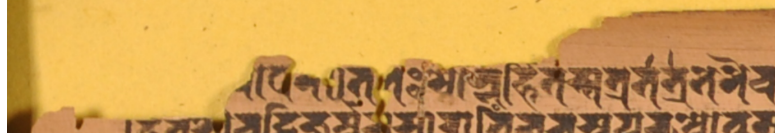
[*japo yogas tapo*] *dhyānaṃ svādhyāyaś ca daśa smṛtaḥ*
with *dhyā* and *svā* damaged;

L₁₆ (f. 381r) cannot read the bit that is completely lost, and it misreads the damaged *dhyānaṃ* as *dhānaṃ*, *svādhyā* as *sādhu*:



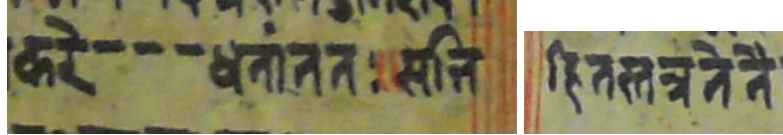
In the next example, the text is supposed to read *kare grhya tapodhanam | tataḥ so 'ntarhitas tatra tenaiva*.

K₈₂ (f. 39r) gives:



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

L₁₆ (f. 38or) gives:



kare - - dhatāṃ 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 1–12.

Naraharinath's edition

(N)E Much has been said of Yogi Naraharinath's pioneering but problematic edition (the *editio princeps*) of the Śivadharmā corpus (Naraharinath 1998): see e.g. De Simini 2016a, 66, n. 190; 2017, 542, Bisschop 2018, 58–59, Bisschop, Kāfle, & Lubin 2021, 55. My impression of the text of the VSS in Naraharinath's edition is that its quality is considerably inferior to those of the other texts of the corpus. It may or may not be Naraharinath's fault; others must have been involved in the process of transcription, and the number and nature of the innumerable mistakes all over the text may

Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṁgraha

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

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Editorial policies

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

SDh MSS from Nepal
stemma...

वृषसारसंग्रहः

[एकोनविंशतिमो ऽध्यायः]

[गावः]

विगतराग उवाच ।
क्रियासूक्ष्मो महाधर्मः कर्मणा केन प्राप्यते ।
अल्पोपायं नरार्थाय पृच्छामि कथयस्व मे ॥ १९:१ ॥

अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच ।
अल्पोपायं महाधर्मं कथयामि द्विजोत्तम ।
सुखेन लभते स्वर्गं कर्मणा येन तच्छृणु ॥ १९:२ ॥

लोकानां मातरो गावो गोभिः सर्वं जगद्धृतम् ।
गोमयममृतं सर्वं जातं सर्वं शिवेच्छया ॥ १९:३ ॥

सर्वदेवमया गावः सर्वदेवमयो द्विजः ।
सर्वदेवमयी भूमिः सर्वदेवमयः शिवः ॥ १९:४ ॥

तस्माद्गावः सदा सेव्या धर्ममोक्षार्थसिद्धिदाः ।
परिचर्या यथाशक्त्या ग्रासवासजलादिभिः ॥ १९:५ ॥

ताडयेन्नातिवेगेन वाचयेन्मृदुनाचरेत् ।
पालयेत घनाढ्येषु भग्नोद्विग्नेषु यत्नतः ॥ १९:६ ॥

व्याधिव्रणपरिक्लेश ओषधोपक्रमं चरेत् ।
कण्डूयनं च कर्तव्यं यथासौख्यं भवेद्भवाम् ॥ १९:७ ॥

गवां प्रदक्षिणं कृत्वा श्रद्धाभक्तिसमन्वितः ।

✦

(2a) ०धर्म] C₉₄E, ०धर्म K₈₂ (3d) सर्व] C₉₄, सर्व० K₈₂E (4a) ०मया] C₉₄
K₈₂, ०मयी E (4c) ०मयी भूमिः] C₉₄, ०मयी भूमि K₈₂, ०मयो भूमिः E (5b)
०दाः] C₉₄K₈₂, ०दा E (6c)] C₉₄K₈₂, पालयन्तर्पणाद्येषु E (7a) ०व्रण०] C₉₄,
०वन० E (7b) ०क्रमं च] C₉₄, ०क्रमश्च० E (8b) ०न्वितः] K₈₂E, ०न्वितः
C₉₄

वृषसारसंग्रहे

सागरान्ता मही सर्वा प्रदक्षिणीकृता भवेत् ॥ १९:८ ॥

स्पृष्टसंस्पर्शनाद्ये च श्रद्धया यदि मानवः ।
अहोरात्रकृतं पापं नश्यते नात्र संशयः ॥ १९:९ ॥

लाङ्गूलेनोद्धृतं तोयं मूर्ध्ना गृह्णाति यो नरः ।
यावज्जीवकृतं पापं नश्यते नात्र संशयः ॥ १९:१० ॥

विधिवत्स्नापयेद्गांश्च मन्त्रयुक्तेन वारिणा ।
तेनाम्भसा स्वयं स्नात्वा सर्वपापक्षयो भवेत् ॥ १९:११ ॥

व्याधिर्विघ्नमलक्ष्मीत्वं नश्यते सद्य एव च ।
मृतापत्यानपत्याश्च स्नानमेव प्रशस्यते ॥ १९:१२ ॥

गवां शृङ्गोदकं गृह्य मूर्ध्नि यो धारयेन्नरः ।
स सर्वतीर्थस्नानस्य फलं प्राप्नोति मानवः ॥ १९:१३ ॥

ग्रासमुष्टिप्रदानेन गोषु भक्तिसमन्वितः ।
अग्निहोत्रं हुतं तेन सर्वदेवाः सुतर्पिताः ॥ १९:१४ ॥

चत्वारः स्तनधारास्तु यस्तु मूर्ध्ना प्रतीच्छति ।
स चतुःसागरं गत्वा स्नानपुण्यफलं लभेत् ॥ १९:१५ ॥

गवार्थं यस्त्यजेत्प्राणान्गोग्रहेषु द्विजोत्तम ।
कल्पकोटिशतं दिव्यं शिवलोके महीयते ॥ १९:१६ ॥

च्युतभग्नादिसंस्कारं सर्वं यः कुरुते नरः ।
भार्याकोटिशतं दानं यत्फलं परिकीर्तितम् ॥ १९:१७ ॥

तत्फलं लभते मर्त्यः शिवलोकं च गच्छति ।

✧

(8cd) सर्वा प्र] C₉₄K₈₂, सर्वा न्य E (9a)] C₉₄K₈₂, पृष्टसंस्पर्शनाद्यश्च E (11a)
] K₈₂, विधिवच्छापयेद्गांश्च C₉₄, विधिवत्स्नापयेद्गांश्च E (12a) व्याधिर्वि०] C₉₄,
व्याधिवि० K₈₂E (12c)] C₉₄K₈₂^{pc}, मृत्यपत्यानपत्याश्च, मृतापत्याश्च गावाश्च E
(13a) ०दकं] C₉₄E, ०दक K₈₂ (13c) ०स्नानस्य] C₉₄K₈₂^{pc}E, ०स्नान K₈₂^{ac} (14c)
हुतं] C₉₄E, फलं K₈₂ (17c) भार्या०] K₈₂E, आर्या C₉₄ (18b) ०लोकं च गच्छति]
C₉₄E, ०लोके वगच्छति K₈₂

एकोनविंशतिमो ऽध्यायः

शिवलोकपरिभ्रष्टः पृथिव्यामेकराङ्गवेत् ॥ १९:१८ ॥

समासतः समाख्यातं यथातत्त्वं द्विजोत्तम ।
न शक्यं विस्तराद्वक्तुं गोमहाभाग्यमुत्तमम् ॥ १९:१९ ॥

[चातुर्वर्ण्यम्]

विगतराग उवाच ।
देवा अष्टविधाः प्रोक्तास्तिर्यक्पञ्चविधः स्मृतः ।
मानुषमेकमेवाहुश्चातुर्वर्णः कथं भवेत् ॥ १९:२० ॥

अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच ।
पूर्वकल्पसृजस्त्वेष विष्णुना प्रभविष्णुना ।
एकवर्णो द्विजश्चासीत्सर्वकल्पाग्रमग्रतः ॥ १९:२१ ॥

सर्ववेदविदो विप्राः सर्वयज्ञविदस्तथा ।
तेषां विप्रसहस्राणां यज्ञोत्साहमनो भवेत् ॥ १९:२२ ॥

वृद्धविप्रसहस्राणां मतमाज्ञाय ब्राह्मणैः ।
कर्तुं कर्म समारब्धं कर्म चापि विभज्यते ॥ १९:२३ ॥
ऋत्विजत्वे स्थिताः केचित्केचित्संरक्षणे स्थिताः ।

❖

(19c) विस्तराद्व०] E, विस्तरान्व० C₉₄, विस्तरां व० K₈₂ (19d)] C₉₄, गोम-
हात्म्यस० E (20a) देवा अष्ट०] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀K₇, देवाःरष्ट० E (20b) ऋक्प०]
C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇E, ऋक्प० C₉₄ • स्मृतः] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀K₇E, स्मृताः C₄₅ (20c) मा-
नुष०] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀K₇, मानुष्य० E (20d) ऋवर्णः] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀, ऋवर्ण K₇, ऋव-
र्ण्यः E (21a) ऋसृजस्त्वेष] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀K₇, ऋसृजस्त्वेष C₄₅, ऋसृजत्येष E (21c)
एकवर्णो द्विजश्चासी०] K₇, ए०वर्णो द्विजश्चासी० C₉₄, एकवर्णा द्विजश्चासी० C₄₅,
एकवर्ण द्विजश्चासी० K₁₀, एकवर्णो द्विजश्चासी० K₈₂, एवं वर्णा द्विजश्चासी० E
(22b) ऋयज्ञ०] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇, ऋवेद० E (22c) तेषां] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₇, तथा
E (22d) यज्ञोत्सा०] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂E, यज्ञोच्छाह० K₁₀, यज्ञोत्साह० K₇ (unmetr.)
(23b) ऋज्ञाय] K₈₂C₄₅K₁₀K₇, ऋज्ञाय C₉₄, ऋश्रित्य E • ब्राह्मणैः] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀K₇
E, ब्राह्मणेः C₄₅ (23c) कर्तुं] C₉₄C₄₅K₇E, कर्तुं K₈₂K₁₀ • समारब्धं] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀
K₇, समारब्धं C₄₅, समारब्ध E (23d) कर्म चापि] C₉₄C₄₅K₁₀K₇, कर्म चापि K₈₂,
कर्मश्चापि E (24b) ऋरक्षणे स्थिताः] K₈₂K₁₀K₇E, ऋरक्ष--- C₉₄, रक्षणे स्थि C₄₅

वृषसारसंग्रहे

अर्थोपार्जनयुक्तान्ये अन्ये शिल्पे नियोजिताः ॥ १९:२४ ॥

एवं यज्ञविधानेन कर्तुमारेभिरे पुरा ।

यथोद्दिष्टेन कर्मण यज्ञोत्साहमवर्तत ॥ १९:२५ ॥

आगता ऋषयः सर्वे देवताः पितरस्तथा ।

अन्योन्यमब्रुवन्तत्र देवर्षिपितृदेवताः ॥ १९:२६ ॥

यज्ञार्थमसृजद्वर्णं विधिना क्रतुहेतवः ।

एवमेव प्रवर्तन्तु भवद्भिर्द्विजसत्तमाः ॥ १९:२७ ॥

इज्याध्ययनसम्पन्ना ब्राह्मणा ये ऽत्र कल्पिताः ।

सुविप्रा विप्रतां यान्तु षड्कर्मनिरताः सदा ॥ १९:२८ ॥

रक्षणार्थं तु ये विप्राः कल्पिताः शस्त्रपाणयः ।

क्षत्राणाय विप्राणां नित्यक्षत्रव्रतोद्भवाः ॥ १९:२९ ॥

अर्थोपार्जनमुद्दिश्य कल्पिता ये द्विजातयः ।

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29cd cf. MBh 12.59.128ab : ब्राह्मणानां क्षत्राणात्ततः क्षत्रिय उच्यते

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(24c) ०युक्तान्ये] C₉₄K₁₀K₇E, ०युक्तान्ये C₄₅, ०युक्तात्मे K₈₂ (24d) अन्ये] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇E, om. C₉₄^{ac} (25b) ०मारेभिरे] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇E, ०म आरेभिरे K₈₂ (25c) यथोदि०] E, यथोदि० C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇ (25d) ०वर्तत] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀E, ०वर्ततः K₇ (27ab) ०सृजद्वर्णं वि०] C₉₄K₁₀K₇E, ०सृजद्वर्णान्वि० C₄₅, ०सृजद्वर्णान्वि० K₈₂ (27b) ०धिना] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₇E, ०धानां K₁₀ • क्रतुहेतवः] K₈₂K₁₀K₇, क्रतु---तवः C₉₄, क्रतुहेतुत C₄₅, पातुहेतवः E (27d) भवद्भिर्द्वि०] C₉₄C₄₅, भगवद्भिर्द्वि० C₉₄^{ac}, भवद्भिर्द्वि० K₈₂K₁₀K₇, भवतिद्वि० E • ०सत्तमाः] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₇E, ०सत्तमः K₁₀ (28b) ये ऽत्र] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇, यत्र E • कल्पिताः] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₇E, कल्पिता K₁₀ (28c) सुविप्रा] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₇E, सुविप्र K₁₀ • यान्तु] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₇E, यातु K₁₀ (28d) षड्कर्म०] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇, षड्कर्मा० E • सदा] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂E, सजा K₁₀, सदाः K₇ (29a) विप्राः] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀K₇E, विप्रा C₄₅ (29b) शस्त्र०] C₉₄K₈₂K₇E, शास्त्र० C₄₅K₁₀ (29c) क्षत्र०] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀, क्षत्र० C₄₅K₇, कृत० E • विप्राणां] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂E, विप्राणा K₁₀ (29d) नित्यक्षत्र०] C₉₄C₄₅K₇, नित्यं क्षत्र० K₈₂K₁₀, नित्यं क्षात्र० E • ०व्रतोद्भवाः] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₇E, ०व्रतोत्तमः K₁₀ (30b) ये] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₇E, यो K₁₀

एकोनविंशतिमो ऽध्यायः

ते तु वैश्यत्वमायान्तु वार्त्तोपायरतोद्भवाः ॥ १९:३० ॥
वधबन्धनकर्मसु शिल्पस्थानविधेषु च ।
कल्पिता ये द्विजातीनां सर्वे शूद्रा भवन्तु ते ॥ १९:३१ ॥
प्राजापत्यं ब्राह्मणानामिज्याध्ययनतत्परात् ।
स्थानमैन्द्रं क्षत्रियाणां प्रजापालनतत्परात् ॥ १९:३२ ॥
वैश्यानां वासवस्थानं वाणिज्यकृषिजीविनाम् ।
शूद्राणां मरुतः स्थानं शुश्रूषानिरतात्मनाम् ॥ १९:३३ ॥
महर्षिपितृदेवानां मतमाज्ञाय निश्चितः ।
एष संकल्पितो ब्रह्मा पद्मयोनिः पितामहः ॥ १९:३४ ॥
संकल्पप्रभवाः सर्वे देवदानवमानवाः ।
पशुपक्षिमृगा मुख्या यावन्ति जगसम्भवाः ॥ १९:३५ ॥

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32 cf. Vāyupurāṇa 1.8.166 : प्राजापत्यं ब्राह्मणानां स्मृतं स्थानं क्रियावताम् । स्थानम् ऐन्द्रं क्षत्रियाणां संग्रामेष्वपलायिनाम् ॥ ≈ Bhaviṣyapurāṇa 2.1.34, etc. 33 cf. Vāyupurāṇa 1.8.167–168ab : वैश्यानां मारुतं स्थानं स्वधर्ममुपजीविनाम् । गान्धर्वं शूद्रजातीनां प्रतिचारेण तिष्ठताम् ॥ स्थानान्येतानि वर्णानां व्यत्याचारवतां स्वयम् ।

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(30d) वार्त्तोपायरतो०] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀K₇, वार्त्तो आपणतोद्भवाः E (31a) वध-
बन्धनकर्मसु] C₉₄K₈₂, वधवन्धनकर्मेषु C₄₅K₁₀K₇E (31b) ०विधेषु] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂
K₁₀K₇, ०वधेषु E (31c) ०जातीनां] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀E, ०जातीना K₇ (32ab)
प्राजापत्यं ब्राह्मणानामिज्याध्ययनतत्परात्] C₉₄C₄₅, प्राजापत्यं ब्राह्मणानामिज्याध्य-
यनतत्परात् K₈₂, प्राजापत्य ब्राह्मणामीज्याध्ययनतत्परात् K₁₀, प्राजापत्यं ब्राह्मणामी-
ज्याध्ययनतत्परात् K₇, प्राजापत्यं ब्राह्मणानामीज्याध्ययनतत्परां E (32c) ०न्द्रं]
C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂E, ०न्द्र K₁₀K₇ (32d) ०त्परात्] K₈₂C₄₅K₁₀K₇, ०त्परात् C₉₄, ०त्परं
E (33b) वाणिज्य०] C₉₄C₄₅K₁₀, वाणिज्यं K₈₂E • ०जीविनाम्] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₇E,
०जीविनम् K₁₀ (33cd) शूद्राणां मरुतः स्थानं शुश्रूषानिरतात्मनाम्] C₉₄C₄₅K₇E,
om. K₈₂, शूद्राणां मरुतस्थानं शुश्रूषानिरतात्मनाम् K₈₂ शूद्राणा मरुतः स्थानं शुश्रूषा-
निरतात्मनाम् K₁₀ (34a) ०देवानां म०] C₉₄K₈₂K₁₀E, ०देवाना म० C₄₅ (34b)
मत०] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₁₀E, मन० K₇ • निश्चितः] C₉₄C₄₅K₁₀K₇E, निश्चिताः K₈₂ (34c)
०कल्पितो ब्रह्मा] C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂E, ०कल्पिता ब्रह्मा K₁₀ (35b) देवदानवमानवाः]
C₉₄C₄₅K₈₂K₇E, देवदेदानमानवः K₁₀^{ac}, देवदानमानवः K₁₀^{pc} (35c) ०मृगा] C₄₅K₈₂
K₁₀E, ०गा C₉₄ (35d) जग०] C₉₄C₄₅E, जंगम० K₈₂, जगे K₁₀

वृषसारसंग्रहे

भूतसंकल्पकं नाम कल्पमासीद्विजोत्तम ।
कीर्तितानि समासेन किमन्यच्छ्रोतुमिच्छसि ॥ १९:३६ ॥

विगतराग उवाच ।
किं तपः सर्ववर्णानां वृत्तिर्वापि तपोधन ।
यज्ञाश्चैव पृथक्त्वेन श्रोतुमिच्छामि तत्त्वतः ॥ १९:३७ ॥

अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच ।
ब्राह्मणस्य तपो यज्ञाः - तपः क्षात्रस्य रक्षणम् ।
वैश्यश्च तप वाणिज्य तपः शूद्रस्य सेवनम् ॥ १९:३८ ॥

प्रतिग्रहधनो विप्रः क्षत्रियस्य धनुर्धनम् ।
कृषिर्धनं तथा वैश्यः शूद्रः शुश्रूषणं धनम् ॥ १९:३९ ॥

आरम्भयज्ञः क्षत्रस्य हविर्यज्ञो विशस्तथा ।
शूद्रः परिचरो यज्ञो जपयज्ञो द्विजातयः ॥ १९:४० ॥

सत्य तीर्थं द्विजातीनां रण तीर्थं तु क्षत्रियाः ।
आर्या तीर्थं तु वैशानां ! शूद्रतीर्थं तु वै द्विजाः ॥ १९:४१ ॥

नास्ति विद्यासमो मित्रो नास्ति दानसमः सखा ।
नास्ति ज्ञानसमो बन्धुर्नास्ति यज्ञो जपः समः ॥ १९:४२ ॥

धर्महीनो मृतस्तुल्यो देवतुल्यो जितेन्द्रियः ।
यज्ञतुल्यो ऽभयं दाता शिवतुल्यो मनोन्मनः ॥ १९:४३ ॥

विगतराग उवाच ।
दान यज्ञस्तपस्तीर्थं संन्यासं योग एव च ।
एतेषु कतमः श्रेष्ठः श्रोतुमिच्छामि कीर्तय ॥ १९:४४ ॥

अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच ।
दानधर्मसहस्रेभ्यः यज्ञयाजी विशिष्यते ।
यज्ञयाजीसहस्रेभ्यस्तीर्थयात्री विशिष्यते ॥ १९:४५ ॥

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40ab ≈ MBh 12.224.61ab and 12.230.12ab

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(36a) भूतसंकल्पकं नाम] C₉₄ C₄₅ K₈₂ K₁₀ K₇, भूतसंकल्पकर्ता य E

एकोनविंशतिमो ऽध्यायः

तीर्थयात्रिसहस्रेभ्यस्तपनिष्ठो विशिष्यते ।
 तपनिष्ठसहस्रेभ्यः श्रेष्ठः संन्यासिकः स्मृतः ॥ १९:४६ ॥
 संन्यासीनां सहस्रेभ्यः श्रेष्ठो यच्च जितेन्द्रियः ।
 जितेन्द्रियसहस्रेभ्यः योगयुक्तो विशिष्यते ॥ १९:४७ ॥
 योगयुक्तसहस्रेभ्यः श्रेष्ठो लीनमनः स्मृतः ।
 तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन आदौ मन विशोधयेत् ॥ १९:४८ ॥
 निगृहीतेन्द्रियग्रामः स्वर्गमोक्षौ तु साधनम् ।
 विशिष्टे त्विन्द्रियग्रामे तिर्यन्नरकसाधनम् ॥ १९:४९ ॥
 विगतराग उवाच ।
 चराचराणां भूतानां कतमः श्रेष्ठ उच्यते ।
 कथयस्व ममाद्य त्वं छेत्तुमर्हसि संशयम् ॥ १९:५० ॥
 अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच ।
 चराचराणां भूतानां तत्र श्रेष्ठो - चराः स्मृताः ।
 चराणां चैव सर्वेषां बुद्धिमान्श्रेष्ठ उच्यते ॥ १९:५१ ॥
 बुद्धिमान्बु ! च सर्वेषु ततः श्रेष्ठ नराः स्मृताः ।
 नराणां चैव सर्वेषां ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठ उच्यते ॥ १९:५२ ॥
 विद्वस्वपि च सर्वेषु कृतबुद्धिर्विशिष्यते ।
 कृतबुद्धिषु सर्वेषु श्रेष्ठः कर्ता स उच्यते ॥ १९:५३ ॥
 कर्तृष्वपि च सर्वेषु ब्रह्मवेदी विशिष्यते ।
 ब्रह्मवेदि परं ! विप्रः नान्यं वेद्मि परं तपः ।
 स विप्रः स तपस्वी च स योगी स शिवः स्मृतः ॥ १९:५४ ॥

॥ इति वृषसारसंग्रहे दानयज्ञविशेषो नाम उनविंशतितमो ऽध्यायः
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An Annotated Translation

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[ekonaviṁśatimo ’dhyāyaḥ]
[Chapter Nineteen]

[gāvaḥ —
Cows]

vigatarāga uvāca |
kriyāsūkṣmo mahādharmāḥ karmaṇā kena prāpyate |
alpopāyaṁ narārthāya prcchāmi kathayasva me || 19:1 ||

Vigatarāga spoke: By what action can the great Dharma, whose rituals are subtle[?], be reached? I ask for an easy method for mankind, tell me about it.

anarthayajña uvāca |
alpopāyaṁ mahādharmam kathayāmi dvijottama |
sukhena labhate svargaṁ karmaṇā yena tac chr̥ṇu || 19:2 ||

Anarthayajña spoke: I shall teach you the great Dharma that is the easy method, O Brahmin. Listen to that action by which heaven can be reached easily.

lokānām mātaro gāvo gobhiḥ sarvaṁ jagad dhṛtam |
gomayam amṛtaṁ sarvaṁ jātaṁ sarvaṁ śiveccaya || 19:3 ||

Cows are the mothers of the worlds. Cows hold all the world. All cow-dung is nectar, all are produced by Śiva’s will.

sarvadevamayā gāvaḥ sarvadevamayo dvijaḥ |
sarvadevamayī bhūmiḥ sarvadevamayaḥ śivaḥ || 19:4 ||

Cows contain all the gods. The Brahmin contains all the gods. Earth contains all the gods. Śiva contains all the gods.

tasmād gāvaḥ sadā sevyā dharmamokṣārthasiddhidāḥ |
paricaryā yathāśaktyā grāsavāsajalādibhiḥ || 19:5 ||

Therefore cows are always to be served because they give religious duties, liberation, financial gain and success. They should be provided with food, shelter, water, etc., with all one’s effort.

tādayen nātivegena vācayen mṛdunācaret |
pālayeta ghanādhyeṣu bhagnodvigneṣu yatnataḥ || 19:6 ||

One should not beat them too hard...? Protect them in thick [darkness or when in multitude], in case something is broken or they are startled.

Translation of chapter 19

vyādhivraṇaparikleśa oṣadhopakramaṃ caret |
kaṇḍūyanaṃ ca kartavyaṃ yathāsaukhyaṃ bhaved gavāṃ || 19:7 ||

In case of pain from disease or wound, one should apply remedy using medicine. Rubbing should be done as much as it is pleasurable for cows.

gavāṃ pradakṣiṇaṃ kṛtvā śraddhābhaktisamanvitaḥ |
sāgarāntā mahī sarvā pradakṣiṇīkṛtā bhavet || 19:8 ||

By circumambulating cows with faith and devotion, the whole Earth up to the oceans gets circulambulated.

sprṣṭasaṃsparsanādye ca śraddhayā yadi mānavaḥ |
ahorātrakṛtaṃ pāpaṃ naśyate nātra saṃśayaḥ || 19:9 ||

If a man touches a cow with faith his sins, be them committed at daylight or at night, will disappear, no doubt.

lāṅgūlenoddhṛtaṃ toyaṃ mūrdhnā grhṇāti yo naraḥ |
yāvaj jīvakṛtaṃ pāpaṃ naśyate nātra saṃśayaḥ || 19:10 ||

He who applies the water that has been dispersed by a [cow's] tail onto his head, will have his sins accumulated throughout his life destroyed, no doubt.

vidhivat snāpayed gāṃś ca mantrayuktena vāriṇā |
tenāmbhasā svayaṃ snātvā sarvapāpakṣayo bhavet || 19:11 ||

One should bathe the cows as prescribed, using water onto which mantras have been recited. If he himself bathes in the same water, he will have all his sins destroyed.

vyādhir vighnaṃ alakṣmītvam naśyate sadya eva ca |
mṛtāpatyānapatyāś ca snānam eva praśasyate || 19:12 ||

Diseases, obstructing forces, and bad luck will disappear instantly. Those with dead offspring or without offspring praise this very bath.

gavāṃ śṛṅgodakaṃ grhya mūrdhni yo dhārayen naraḥ |
sa sarvatīrthasnanāsya phalaṃ prāpnoti mānavaḥ || 19:13 ||

19.12 Understand *praśasyate* in *pāda* d as active and plural (*prasamsanti*).

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

If a man collects the ‘horn-water’ of cows and applies it on his head,
he will receive the fruits of bathing at all the sacred pilgrimage places.

grāsamuṣṭipradānena goṣu bhaktisamanvitaḥ |
agnihotraṃ hutam tena sarvadevāḥ sutarpitāḥ || 19:14 ||

If somebody gives a handful of food to cows with devotion, by this
an Agnihotra is being performed and all the gods become satisfied.

catvāraḥ stanadhārās tu yas tu mūrdhnā pratīcchati |
sa catuḥsāgaraṃ gatvā snānapuṇyaphalaṃ labhet || 19:15 ||

He who collects on his head the four streams [of milk] from the teats
will receive the meritorious fruits of visiting the four oceans.

gavārthaṃ yas tyajet prāṇān gograheṣu dvijottama |
kalpakotiśataṃ divyaṃ śivaloke mahīyate || 19:16 ||

He who gives his life for cows during an attempt at stealing them, O
greatest of Brahmins will prosper in Śivaloka for millions of years.

cyutabhagnādisaṃskāraṃ sarvaṃ yaḥ kurute naraḥ |
bhāryākotiśataṃ dānaṃ yat phalaṃ parikīrtitam || 19:17 ||

If a man rears all [the cows] that have missing or broken [limbs]
CHECK, will get all the fruits that are said to be produced by do-
nating millions of wives,

tatphalaṃ labhate martyaḥ śivalokaṃ ca gacchati |
śivalokaparibhraṣṭaḥ pṛthivyām ekarāḍ bhavet || 19:18 ||

and will go to Śivaloka. When descended from Śivaloka, he will be-
come a universal monarch on Earth.

samāsataḥ samākhyātaṃ yathātattvaṃ dvijottama |
na śakyaṃ vistarād vaktuṃ gomahābhāgyam uttamam || 19:19 ||

I have taught [about cows] truly, in brief, O supreme Brahmin. It is
impossible to talk about the excellence of cows in more detail.

19.13 Applying ‘horn water’ means sprinkling with water filled into a cow’s horn,
while reciting the Gāyatrī mantra a hundred times. See note to ŚDhŚ 10.24 in Bisschop,
Kafle, & Kiss forthcoming.

Translation of chapter 19

[*cāturvarṇyam* —

vigatarāga uvāca |
devā aṣṭavidhāḥ proktās tiryak pañcavidhāḥ smṛtaḥ |
mānuṣam ekam evāhuḥ cāturvarṇaḥ katham bhavet || 19:20 ||

Vigatarāga spoke: The gods are of eight kinds, animals are of five kinds. Mankind is said to be only one single [kind]. How come that there is the system of four social classes (*varṇa*)?

anarthayajña uvāca |
pūrvakalpasṛjas tv eṣa viṣṇunā prabhaviṣṇunā |
ekavarṇo dvijaś cāsit sarvakalpāgram agrataḥ || 19:21 ||

Anarthayajña spoke: It [i.e. the system of four social classes] was created by Lord Viṣṇu in the previous æon[s]. Before the very beginning of all æons, there was a single class (*varṇa*) of Brahmins (*dvija*).

sarvavedavidō viprāḥ sarvayajñavidas tathā |
teṣāṃ viprasahasrāṇāṃ yajñotsāhamano bhavet || 19:22 ||

The Brahmins (*vipra*) got to know all the Vedas and all the sacrifices. These thousands of Brahmins (*vipra*) developed an inclination to make a resolution to perform sacrifices.

vṛddhaviprasahasrāṇāṃ matam ājñāya brāhmaṇaiḥ |
kartum karma samārabdham karma cāpi vibhajyate || 19:23 ||

Having understood the intention of the thousands of senior Brahmins (*vipra*), the Brahmins (*brāhmaṇa*) commenced performing rituals (*karman*) and the tasks (*karman*) were distributed.

ṛtvijatve sthitāḥ kecit kecit samrakṣaṇe sthitāḥ |
arthopārjanayuktānye anye śilpe niyojitāḥ || 19:24 ||

Some took on the function of being priests (*ṛtvij*), some took on the task of protection. Some got engaged in the acquisition of materials and others were appointed to do manual crafts.

evam yajñavidhānena kartum ārebhire purā |
yathoddīṣṭena karmaṇa yajñotsāha-m-avartata || 19:25 ||

19.20 *cāturvarṇ[y]am*

19.21 See above *sṛja* for *sṛṣṭa* in XXX.

19.24 Note the form *ṛtvijatva*. Note the double sandhi in °*yuktānye* (*yuktā anye*).

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

This is how they started performing sacrifices in the beginning. With the tasks (*karman*) thus distributed, the will to perform sacrifices increased.

āgatā ṛṣayaḥ sarve devatāḥ pitaras tathā |
anyonyam abruvan tatra devarṣipitrdevatāḥ || 19:26 ||

Then came all the Ṛṣis and all the gods and the Ancestors. They discussed it among themselves, the divine Ṛṣis, the Ancestors and the gods.

yajñārtham asṛjad varṇaṃ vidhinā kratuhetavaḥ |
evam eva pravartantu bhavadbhir dvijasattamāḥ || 19:27 ||

Brahmā/Viṣṇu (*vidhi*) created class for the sake of sacrifice. [The classes are] for the purpose of rituals (*kratu*). Proceed in this very manner, Sirs, O excellent twice-born!

ijyādhyayanasampannā brāhmaṇā ye 'tra kalpitāḥ |
suviprā vipratāṃ yāntu ṣaṭkarmaniratāḥ sadā || 19:28 ||

Those Brahmins (*brāhmaṇa*) who are now engaged in sacrifice and recitation, those good Brahmins (*suvipra*) shall become Brahmins (*vipratāṃ yāntu*), always engaged in the six duties [of Brahmins] (*ṣaṭkarman*).

rakṣaṇārtham tu ye viprāḥ kalpitāḥ śastrapāṇayaḥ |
kṣatatrāṇāya viprāṇāṃ nityakṣatravratodbhavāḥ || 19:29 ||

As for those Brahmins (*vipra*) that have been appointed to protect [the sacrifice] with weapons in their hands, to protect the Brāhmins (*vipra*) from injury, they shall eternally follow[?] the vow of Kṣatras.

arthopārjanam uddiśya kalpitā ye dvijātayaḥ |
te tu vaiśyatvam āyāntu vārttopāyاراتodbhavāḥ || 19:30 ||

As for those twice-born who have been appointed for the acquisition of materials, they shall become Vaiśyas, involved in the means of trade.

vadhabandhanakarmasu śilpasthānavidheṣu ca |
kalpitā ye dvijātīnāṃ sarve śūdrā bhavantu te || 19:31 ||

19.25 Perhaps understand pāda a as *evamvidhānena yajñam kartum*.
19.27 Note the confused syntax both in pādas ab and cd.

Translation of chapter 19

Those of the twice-born who have been appointed to the tasks of slaughtering and tying [animals] and of manual skills, they all shall become Śūdras.

prājāpatyaṃ brāhmaṇānāṃ ijjādhyayanatatparāt |
sthānam aindraṃ kṣatriyāṇāṃ prajāpālanatatparāt || 19:32 ||

The [world] of Prajāpati belongs to the Brahmins (*brāhmaṇa*) [after death] because they are devoted to the sacrifice and to recitation. The [world] of Indra belongs to the Kṣatriyas because they are devoted to the protection of the people.

vaiśyānāṃ vāsavasthānaṃ vāṇijyakṛṣijīvinām |
śūdrāṇāṃ marutaḥ sthānaṃ śuśrūṣāniratātmanām || 19:33 ||

The [world] of Vāsus belongs to the Vaiśyas who earn their living by trade and agriculture. The [world] of Marut belongs to the Śūdras who devote themselves to service.

maharṣipitrdevānāṃ matam ājñāya niścitaḥ |
eṣa saṃkalpito brahmā padmayoniḥ pitāmahaḥ || 19:34 ||

Understanding the intention of the great Ṛṣis, the Ancestors and the gods, lotus-born Brahmā, the Grandfather, it [i.e. the system of *varṇas*] was established firmly.

saṃkalpaprabhavāḥ sarve devadānavamānavāḥ |
paśupakṣimṛgā mukhyā yāvanti jagasambhavāḥ || 19:35 ||

All the main domestic animals, birds and wild animals that are born in the world,

bhūtasamkalpakam nāma kalpam āsīd dvijottama |
kīrtitāni samāseṇa kim anyac chrotum icchasi || 19:36 ||

CHECK [The social classes] have been taught briefly. What else do you wish to hear?

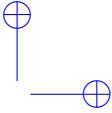
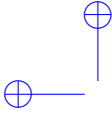
vigatarāga uvāca |
kiṃ tapaḥ sarvavarṇānāṃ vṛttir vāpi tapodhana |
yajñās caiva prthaktvena śrotum icchāmi tattvataḥ || 19:37 ||
anarthayajña uvāca |
brāhmaṇasya tapo yajñāḥ - tapaḥ kṣātrasya rakṣaṇam |
vaiśyaś ca tapa vāṇijya tapaḥ śūdrasya sevnam || 19:38 ||
pratigrahadhano vipraḥ kṣatriyasya dhanur dhanam |

Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

kṛṣir dhanam tathā vaiśyaḥ śūdraḥ śuśrūṣaṇam dhanam || 19:39 ||
ārambhayaājñāḥ kṣatrasya havir yajño viśas tathā |
śūdraḥ paricaro yajño japayaājño dvijātayaḥ || 19:40 ||
satya tīrtha dvijātīnām raṇa tīrtham tu kṣatriyāḥ |
āryā tīrtham tu vaiśānām ! śūdratīrtham tu vai dvijāḥ || 19:41 ||
nāsti vidyāsamo mitro nāsti dānasamaḥ sakḥā |
nāsti jñānasamo bandur nāsti yajño japaḥ samaḥ || 19:42 ||
dharmahīno mṛtas tulyo devatulyo jitendriyaḥ |
yajñatulyo 'bhayaṁ dātā śivatulyo manonmanaḥ || 19:43 ||
vigatarāga uvāca |
dāna yajñas tapas tīrtham saṃnyāsam yoga eva ca |
eteṣu katamaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ śrotum icchāmi kīrtaya || 19:44 ||
anarthayaājña uvāca |
dānadharmaśahasrebhyaḥ yajñayājī viśiṣyate |
yajñayājīśahasrebhyas tīrthayātrī viśiṣyate || 19:45 ||
tīrthayātrisahasrebhyas tapaniṣṭo viśiṣyate |
tapaniṣṭhaśahasrebhyaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ saṃnyāsikaḥ smṛtaḥ || 19:46 ||
saṃnyāsīnām śahasrebhyaḥ śreṣṭho yac ya jitendriyaḥ |
jitendriyaśahasrebhyaḥ yogayukto viśiṣyate || 19:47 ||
yogayuktasahasrebhyaḥ śreṣṭho līnamanaḥ smṛtaḥ |
tasmāt sarvaprayatnena ādau mana viśodhayet || 19:48 ||
nigrhītendriyagrāmaḥ svargamokṣau tu sādhanam |
viśiṣṭhe tv indriyagrāme tiryannarakasādhanam || 19:49 ||
vigatarāga uvāca |
carācarāṇām bhūtānām katamaḥ śreṣṭha ucyate |
kathayasva mamādya tvaṁ chettum arhasi saṁśayam || 19:50 ||
anarthayaājña uvāca |
carācarāṇām bhūtānām tatra śreṣṭho - carāḥ smṛtāḥ |
carāṇām caiva sarveṣāṁ buddhimān śreṣṭha ucyate || 19:51 ||
buddhimāṇsu ! ca sarveṣu tataḥ śreṣṭha narāḥ smṛtāḥ |
narāṇām caiva sarveṣāṁ brāhmaṇaḥ śreṣṭha ucyate || 19:52 ||
vidvarṣu api ca sarveṣu kṛtabuddhir viśiṣyate |
kṛtabuddhiṣu sarveṣu śreṣṭhaḥ kartā sa ucyate || 19:53 ||
kartrṣu api ca sarveṣu brahmavedī viśiṣyate |
brahmavedi param ! vipraḥ nānyaṁ vedmi param tapaḥ |
sa vipraḥ sa tapasvī ca sa yogī sa śivaḥ smṛtaḥ || 19:54 ||
|| iti vṛṣasārasaṃgrāhe dānayaājñaviśeṣo nāma unaviṣṭatitamo 'dhyāyaḥ ||

Appendices

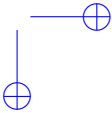
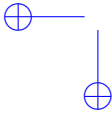
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Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṁgraha

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Symbols and Abbreviations

Symbols

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Abbreviations

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

f.

ff.

MGMCP

MGMPP

MS(S) = manuscript(s)

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

ŚDhŚ = *Śivadharmaśāstra*

ŚDhU = *Śivadharmottara*

VSS = asdfadfasdfadsa

TO BE SUPPLIED

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



Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṁgraha

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Kūrmapurāṇa: see Mukhopādhyāya 1890

Padmapurāṇa: see **CHECK**

Buddhacarita: see **CHECK**

Bodhisattvabhūmi: see **CHECK**

Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa: see **CHECK**

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

Manu: see Dave 1972

Mahābhārata: see Sukthankar & al. 1927–1966

Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha: see Sternbach 1974–2007

Mātāṅgalīlā: see Śāstri 1910

YS: see **CHECK**

Raghuvamśa: see

Vāgmatīmāhātmyaprasaṃsā:

Vājasaneyisaṃhitā: see Weber 1972

Viṣṇudharmottara:

Viṣṇudharma: see Grünendahl 1983

Viṣṇupurāṇa: see Pathak 1997–1999

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