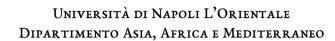
The Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, a text of the Śivadharma corpus
A Critical Edition
Volume 1

-



The Śivadharma Project

Studies on the History of Śaivism X??

Editor-in-Chief Florinda De Simini

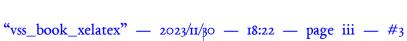
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## Università di Napoli L'Orientale DIPARTIMENTO ASIA, AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO

The Śivadharma Project

Studies on the History of Śaivism XX??

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

Volume 1

Csaba Kiss







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The present publication is a result of the project dharma 'The Domestication of "Hindu"



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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', 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 21th 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.

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> McGann 1991, ??.

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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 Śivadharma 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 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 Śivadharma corpus. But even without this ideal to fully understand the purpose and function of the *Vṛṣasāra-saṃgraha*, to make a pre-eleventh-century Sanskrit text easily available in the twenty-first century is, I believe, a noble aspiration.







The Śivadharma corpus In general...

# Reading the Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

The title

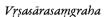
The title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* can be translated as: 'A Compendium on the Essence of the Bull [of Dharma].' The last two elements (sāra-saṃgraha) need little explanation: this work is a 'compendium' on, a 'collection' or 'summary' of (saṃgraha) the 'essence' (sāra) of its topic. The words 'compendium' 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.<sup>3</sup>

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

kṛte catuṣpāt sakalo nirvyājopādhivarjitaḥ |
vṛṣaḥ pratiṣṭhito dharmo manuṣyeṣv abhavat purā || 10 ||
adharmapādaviddhas tu tribhir aṃśaiḥ pratiṣṭhitaḥ |
tretāyāṃ dvāpare 'rdhena vyāmiśro dharma ucyate || 11 ||
tribhir aṃśair adharmas tu lokān ākramya tiṣṭhati |
caturthāṃśena dharmas tu manuṣyān upatiṣṭhati || 12 ||

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 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 considered a bull, see Bhattacharya 1977 and Goodall, Rout, Sathyanarayanan *et al* 2005, 100–108 and 171–172.





āyur vīryam atho buddhir balam tejas ca pāndava manuṣyāṇām anuyugam hrasatīti nibodha me || 13 ||

Śiva got his bull, MBh: 13076027a vṛṣabhaṃ ca dadau tasmai saha tābhiḥ 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 paśupatiḥ kṛtaḥ 13076029c īśvaraḥ sa gavāṃ madhye vṛṣāṅka iti cocyate

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

"Justice or Virtue personified as a bull or as"Siva's bull Mn. viii, 16 Pur. Kāvyād.; just or virtuous act, virtue, moral merit "Siś. 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 balam vṛṣaḥ kāmo vṛṣalo vṛṣa ucyate || 1.48

The SDhU also mentions the 'Dharma bull':

īśvarāyatanasyādhaḥ śrīmān dharmavṛṣaḥ sthitaḥ | yatra vīravṛṣas tatra kṣityāṃ gomātaraḥ sthitā || 12.87

visnusmrdn:ViS 86.15a/vṛṣo hi bhagavān dharmaś catuṣ-pādaḥ prakīrtitah /

Śivapurāṇa 2.3.40.54-55:

śuddhasphaţikasaṃkāśo vṛṣabhaḥ sarvasundaraḥ |
yo dharma ucyate vedaiḥ śāstraiḥ siddhamaharṣibhiḥ ||
tam ārūḍho mahādevo vṛṣabhaṃ dharmavatsalaḥ |
śuśubhe 'tīva devarṣisevitaḥ sakalair vrajan ||

smrti/dharma/krtyaratnaakara.dn: !!! dharmo 'yaṃ vṛṣarūpeṇa nāmnā nandīśavaro vibhuḥ | dharmān māheśvarān vakṣyaty ataḥ prabhṛti nārada|| tak2015/AtmapujaT55Muktabodha.dn: dharmas tatra vṛṣākāro jñānaḥ siṃhasvarūpakaḥ | 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 *dharmaḥ*, or *sukṛṭam* 'the virtuous actions [prescribed by the Veda].' For

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this meaning of vṛṣaḥ see, for example, Amarasimha, Nāmalingānuśāsana 1.4.25b (sukṛtam vṛṣaḥ), 3.3.220 (sukṛte vṛṣaḥbe vṛṣaḥ); Halāyudha, Abhidhānaratnamālā 1.125cd (dharmaḥ puṇyaṃ vṛṣaḥ śreyaḥ sukṛtaṃ ca samaṃ smṛtam); Manu 8[.]16a (vṛṣo hi bhagavān dharmas...); and the Gwalior Museum Stone Inscription of Pataṅgaśambhu (Mirashi 1962), l. 15, vṛṣaikaniṣṭho 'pi jitasmaro 'pi yaḥ śaṅkaro 'bhūd bhuvi ko 'py apūrvvaḥ, concerning the Śaiva ascetic Vyomaśambhu: 'He was in the world an extraordinary new Śiva, since he too was vṛṣaikaniṣṭhaḥ ('devoted solely to pious observance'; in Śiva's case 'riding only on the Bull') and he too was jitasmaraḥ ('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 Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, one of the works of the Śivadharma corpus (see, e.g., Sanderson 2014, p. 2), i.e., 'Summary of the Essentials of the [Śiva]dharma'.

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

Uttarottara: īśvara uvāca|! na jānanti ca loke 'smin mānavā mūḍhacetasah|! catuspādo bhaved dharmah śuklo 'yam mama vāhanah||

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 *Mahāb-hārata*? NOOOO He comes to the conclusion (Bhattacharya 1977, 1555)

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





#### Vṛṣasārasamgraha

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

Vṛṣadeva's commission? As a fanciful experiment, and if one supposes that the VSS originated in Nepal, one could wonder if the title Vrsasārasamgraha has anything to do with the Licchavi king Vṛṣadeva. Sanderson (2009, 74) mentions that Vrsadeva is 'described in an inscription of his eighth-century descendant Jayadeva as having inclined towards Buddhism;' (Vajrācārya 1973, 148, l. 9: sugataśāsanapakṣapātī) 'a view confirmed by a local chronicle, which attributes to him the establishing of Buddhist images,' and that this king established 'the Caitya of the Sīnagu-vihāra (the Svayambhūnāth Caitya).' More importantly, Sanderson summarises the information to be found in the Changu Narayana Pillar Inscription (east shaft),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). This would place the reign of Vrsadeva around 400 CE. The early fifth century may look too early for the date of composition of the Vṛṣasārasamgraha, 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 = Vṛṣasārasaṅgraha

Pańcāvaraṇastava 71: pratyag āśāsthitaṃ vande vṛṣaṃ ca vṛṣabhākṛtim| sākṣād dharmaṃ sitaṃ tryakṣaṃ 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 *vedavyāsas*, transmitters of Purāṇas, from Brahmā, to Vyāsa Dvaipāyana, Romaharṣa and his son. Why should a text include in its first chapter such a list if the implication is not that it is about its own origin?

Another argument is that the topics dealt with in the VSS are exactly what we expect from a Purāṇa. The famous *purāṇapañcalakṣaṇa* includes, following Wilson's translation (in Rocher 1986, 26), the following: (1) primary creation, cosmogony and chronology (*sarga*); (2) creation, destruc-

- <sup>5</sup> See Rocher 1986, 199.
- 6 Gnoli etc. and https://siddham.network/inscription/in02001/
- <sup>7</sup> Vṛṣadeva was succeeded by Śaṅkaradeva and Dharmadeva.

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tion of the world (pratisarga); (3) geneologies (vaṃśa); (4) Manu eras (manvantaras); (5) history (vaṃśanucarita).<sup>8</sup> Arguably all these are present in the VSS, most of them already in chapter one, and later in twenty-one and twenty-four, plus narratives of the deeds of gods (e.g. in chapter twenty-three), and much more that one normally sees in Purānas.

Hazra. CHECK Brahmandapurana is similar CHECK

Niśvāsa book p.44I: 'Note that these sentences have been rephrased, in order to obviate the (metrical) need for prātipadikas in the Svacchanda (DI:DIII). 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 Svacchanda (DI:DICC).'

search ibid for prātipadika,

The structure of the VSS
- Matryoshka - dialogues - affiliations - lotus diagramme - ch. 2

 $<sup>^8</sup>$  See, e.g., SivP 7.1.41: sargas ca pratisargas ca vaṃso manvantarāṇi ca | vaṃsānucaritaṃ caiva purāṇaṃ paṃcalakṣaṇam  $\parallel$ 





Contents of chapters 1-12

9

Adhyāya 1 After a mangala-verse that addresses a deity whose identity is obscure (is it Siva or the impersonal Brahman?, verse 1.1), we enter the first layer of the text, which comprises a dialogue between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana and could be labelled Dharmaśāstric. Janamejaya wishes to hear the essence, the ultimate Dharmic teaching, of the Mahābhārata. In response, Vaiśampāyana starts relating a dialogue in which Viṣṇu, diguised 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 twentyone). This is the beginning of the layer one could label Vaisnava. The first topic they discuss is *brahmavidyā* (1.9–10), and ambiguous definition of the impersonal Brahman and/or the syllable om. The next topic is kāla ('death, time'), the origin of the body, karma (1.11-17), and the divisions of time (from truți, nimeșa 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 Brahmanda (1.41-49). In addition, Visnu features as the ruler of the centre of the Brahmanda (1.50), reconfirming the general Vaisnava character of this layer. 1.51-58 give the number of subordinates to each ruler mentioned above. 1.59-62 teaches the measurments of the Brahmanda. Finally, verses 1.63-76 list the redactors and transmitters of the Puranas, from Brahma to Vyasa Dvaipāyana, Romaharsa, and Romaharsa's son Amitabuddhi.

Adhyāya 2 . śivāṇḍasaṃkhyā 3. ahiṃsāpraśaṃsā 4. yamavibhāga 5. śaucācāravidhi 6. yajñavidhi (also lokāḥ) 7. dānapraśaṃsā 8. niyamapraśaṃsā (p. 603: types of svādhyāyana: śaiva, sāṃkhya, purāṇa, smārta, bhārata) 9. traiguṇyaviśeṣaṇīya 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. pañcaviṃśatitattvanirṇaya 21. kalpanirṇaya 22. varṇagotrāśrama 23. nidrotpatti 24. śāstravarṇana

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

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



### 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)
- -Lakṣmīkāmadeva (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 Pingalā), Śaiva
- order of āśramas, cf. Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, 23, Chapter 11, Śaiva
- 11.23a: 4 kalās (nivṛttyādi caturvedas), instead of the later 5, Śaiva
- the tattvas (no tanmātras), Chapter 20, Vaisnava
- varņas and the Lingapurāņa
- 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 *Vṛṣasāra-saṃgraha*, we can consider the following: the location of the manuscript evidence, place names and individuals mentioned in the text... + 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

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

- in the narrative in chapter 12:
  - Mṛgendraśikhara (on the southern slopes of the Himalayas; 22.5ab: himavaddakṣiṇe pārśve mṛgendraśikhare)
  - Mahendrapathaga(?, the name of a river near Mrgendrasikhara)
  - Kusuma (i.e., Pāṭaliputra)

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> 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.





#### Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

- the Gāṇgā and the Gaṇḍakī River
- Naravīrapura (in the south, see 12.60)
- the Sahya mountain (12.93)
- tīrthas mentioned in ch. 10:
  - Himavat (the Himalayas)
  - Kurukșetra
  - Prayāga
  - Vārāṇasī
  - Yamunā
  - Gaṅgā
  - Agnitīrtha
  - Somatīrtha
  - Sūryatīrtha
  - Puskara
  - Mānasa
  - Naimișa
  - Bindusāra (= Bindusaras)
  - Setubandha
  - Suradraha
  - Ghantikeśvara
  - Vāgīśa

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—



### 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 Sivadharma corpus

- general ideas
  - is this text really Saiva? why in this collection?
  - 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 Niśvāsatattvasamhitā 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 gārhasthyam ācāryakulam maunam vānaprasthyam iti| Quoted by Śankara 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: parivrāt, parivrājaka(!), bhikṣu, muni, yati. See Olivelle, Patrick. The Āśrama System. The

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#### Vṛṣasārasamgraha

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.

- Gṛhastha. 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/sivadharmacorpus/pasupatimatam4/% in Naraharinātha's Paśupatimatam pp. 580ff % 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 ¤s 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, xīi AitBr. "Sānkhir. 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; Sanderson 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 Biscchop 2018:58-59.





- 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/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/mss\_florinda/newari/ngmpp/palm\_leaf\_ 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 Devasarman 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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#### Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

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

- other Why is this mentioned at http://cudllib.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. śivasaṃkalpa in pp 319 ff. (Śivasaṃkalpopaniṣat) Bonazzoli, Giorgio, "Introducing Śivadharma 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 Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda 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 Niśvāsakārikā

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# "vss\_book\_xelatex" — 2023/11/39 — 18:22 — page xxiii — #23



Introduction

Pāśupatas in the VSS Buddhism in the VSS

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#### Vṛṣasārasamgraha

Notes on the language

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

#### Metre

As regards metrical licences, the first striking feature is the generous use of the poetic licence sometimes labelled 'muta cum liquida,'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.<sup>13</sup> In the VSS, tra, vra, śra, pra, and also śya, śva, sva, dva, all involving conjunct consonants with a liquid sounds or semi-vowels in second position, and possibly also rpa,CHECK! seem additional ones.

The well-known author on prosody, Kedārabhaṭṭa (II-12th centuries), <sup>14</sup> frequently quoted by Mallinātha, gives the following definition in his *Vṛt-taratnākara* (here given together with Sulhaṇa's *Sukavihṛdayanandinī* commentary):

padādāv iha varņasya saṃyogaḥ kramasaṃjñikaḥ |
puraḥsthitena tena syāl laghutā 'pi kvacid guroḥ || 1.10 ||
vibhaktyantaṃ padaṃ tasya padasyādau vartamāno yo
varṇas tasya saṃyogaḥ | sa iha śāstre kramasaṃjño jñeyaḥ
| tena krameṇa purovartinā prākpadānte vartamānasya
prāptagurubhāvasyāpi laghutā syāt | kvacil lakṣānurodhena | nanu ka eṣaḥ kramo nāma saṃyoga ucyate | pūrvācāryāṇāṃ
piṅgalanāgaprabhṛtīnāṃ kālidāsādīnāṃ ca kavīnāṃ samayaḥ
parigṛhītaḥ | saṃyogaḥ kramasaṃyogaḥ || 10 || tatra grasaṃyogena yathā | idam asyodāharaṇam |

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<sup>11</sup> See Goodall, Törzsök, Hatley, Kiss, Meyr?

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> See e.g. Apte' XXX Dictionary Appendix A p. 1. ADD real life examples.

<sup>14</sup> SOURCE



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

#### TRANSLATE the whole passage!

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

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

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

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

nidravyo hriyam eti hrīparigatah prabhrasyate tejasah

In this line, the last syllable of eti should count as short, in spite of the fact that the beginning of the next word  $(hr\bar{\imath}^{\circ})$  would normally turn it long.

The VSS abounds in this phenomenon of 'muta cum liquida'. EXAM-PLES from the VSS and from my emendations. CHECK

- only beginning of words in the VSS?
- final -am etc. counts as long (reverse of muta cum liquida)
- In Kannada and Telugu prosody, under the name of sithila-dvitva, the exception is that sometimes in a consonant cluster of the form [consonant + "r"], the "r" (repha) can be ignored, so that it is not a conjunct consonant anymore.
- The exception is not accepted by purists: Shatavadhani Ganesh says that the Sanskrit masters like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha, Śrīharṣa, and 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

XXV





#### Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

 Reference: see comments by Dr. Ganesh and Nityananda Misra in this thread started by Vishvas Vasuki: %https://groups.google.com/forum/#!topic/bvparishat/yaicGLuhci4/d poetic licences

### Vocabulary

- Special vocabulary/language: karhacit, hṛdi as nominative 10.27cd, tirya, 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 chii

#### **Syntax**

 Special structures: caturmaunasya vakṣyāmi indreṇāsmi phalam dattam

kathito 'smi as if not proofread

#### Stem form nouns

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

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**D** 

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).

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Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha









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

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

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



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





#### Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

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

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

#### The Cambridge manuscripts

(N)C<sub>94</sub> Cambridge University Library, Add. 1694.I. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a detailed description of this manuscript in the CUDL online catalogue. 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) Śivadharmasaṃgraha, 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.'

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

<sup>17</sup> https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01694-0001/382



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  $\times$ , the illegible *akṣaras* under the tape by CHECK ('illegible'). The quality of the readings of this manuscript is one of the best among the available witnesses, comparable only to  $K_{82}$  and  $P_{57}$ , making it one of the most important sources for the VSS.

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

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

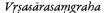
5



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

<sup>19</sup> F. 247r line 6. The CUDL website transcribes this colophon as: saṃvat 259 śrāvaṇaśukladvādaśi[pyaḍi 8 trayodaśyāṃ (retrived 8 Dec 2021). The element dvādaśipyaḍi might be read as dvādaśiyā di, perhaps a mistake for dvādaśyāṃ di (di for a misplaced diva/divā?), and the symbol that does look like a figure '8' of a slightly later period than the manuscript itself (resembling the mathematical symbol <) might also be a kākapada. Another faint kākapada is perhaps to be seen under daśi, therefore it is possible that the scribe's intention was to delete dvādaśiº 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 (ghaṭikā) the scribe finished copying the text. It is still not clear if we should take dvādaśi or trayodaśyām as the date. For help on the conversion of the date and for a detailed discussion on the colophon I am indebted to Kengo Harimoto.





and Harimoto).<sup>20</sup> This is more difficult to see in the case of the VSS, but indeed, they seem closely related.

(N)C<sub>02</sub> Cambridge University Library, Add. 2102. All available folios of this MS have been collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a detailed description of this manuscript in the CUDL online catalogue.<sup>21</sup> According to this catalogue, the date of creation is the 12th century, and the dimensions of the manuscript are 4.8 × ca. 52.5 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 96 folios. Six texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) Śivadharmottara, 2) Śivadharmasaṃgraha, 3) Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda, 4) Śivopaniṣad, 5) Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, 6) Dharmaputrikā (only f. 322v). Note that the Śivadharmottara starts on f. 51r, thus the part that most probably contained the Śivadharmaśāstra is lost.

The Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha starts on f. 267r line I (online image no. 181). The online description labels this image as f. 237r. This first folio in fact has no visible foliation. The previous text, the Śivopaniṣad, ended on f. 236v, with pāda b of verse 7.122,  $^{22}$  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  $C_{94}$ , and twenty folios in  $C_{45}$ . Thus this MS did most probably transmit all eight texts of the Śivadharma 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.<sup>24</sup>

- <sup>20</sup> Personal communication, 1 Dec 2021.
- 21 https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02102/181
- <sup>22</sup> Image no. 180, Śivopaniṣad 7.122: yauvanasthā grhasthāś ca [prāsā]dasthāś ca ye nṛpāḥ.
- <sup>23</sup> Compare with the claim of the online catalogue: "The present manuscript probably contained seven texts."
- <sup>24</sup> Cf. the metadata on the CUDL site: 'I folio of the same dimensions is a modern supply for the beginning of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*.' A hardly readable note in pencil to the same effect is visible at the top of the first folio side (f. 267r, 'mode..... supply beg of Vṛṣasāra-saṃgr.'). I am not sure how 'modern' this supplement is, but it seems indeed likely that a lost first folio was supplemented with a later copy. To match the end of this new copy with the beginning of the next, older, folio, a scribe more or less erased the beginning of the first line in the old folio, rather than the last line of the younger folio. This slightly illogical decision may mean that the younger copy was not tailor-made for the old portion, but rather that it was taken from a younger manuscript which was perhaps



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

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

In the apparatus, the siglum  $C^{\Sigma}$  signifies all three Cambridge MSS described above.

#### The Kathmandu manuscripts

(N)K<sub>82</sub> NGMPP A 1082/3, NAK 3/393. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a brief description of this MS in the NGMCP online catalogue.<sup>26</sup> According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 55.6 × 5.5 cm. It is dated to Nepāla Samvat 189 (1068–69 CE).<sup>27</sup> The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 274 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) Śivadharmaśāstra, 2) Śivadharmottara, 3) Śiva-

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

- <sup>25</sup> Of course, my verse numbering in chapters 13–24 may change slightly during the editing process.
  - https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp\_ngmcpdocument\_00098499
- <sup>27</sup> See f. 12r line 2 of the *Dharmaputrikā* in this MS: *navottarāsītiyute 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.

7





#### Vṛṣasārasamgraha

dharmasamgraha, 4) Umāmaheśvarasamvāda, 5) Śivopaniṣad, 6) Vṛṣasā-rasamgraha, 7) Dharmaputrikā, 8) Uttarottaramahāsamvāda.

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 *Vṛṣasārasaṃgra-ha.*<sup>28</sup>

(N)K<sub>10</sub> NGMPP A 10/5, NAK 1/1261. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a brief description of this MS in the NGMCP online catalogue.<sup>29</sup> According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 55 x 5.5 cm. It is an undated palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 74 folios. Four texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) Śivadharmottara, 2) Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda, 3) Śivopaniṣad, 4) Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha.

Some folios feature monochrome drawings. A great number of the leaves that transmit the VSS are damaged and, at least judging from the microfilm images, faded and slightly disordered. The folio numbers are rarely visible. The VSS starts on exp. 44 (upper leaf, no folio number is visible here). The text continues on the lower leaf and then on the upper leaf on exp. 43 (going backwards, so to say) up to 1.62 (vimśakotisu gulmesu 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 Sivopanisad. The single leaf on exp. 46 is almost illegible but most probably contains a fragment of the Gautamadharmasūtra. The second line just above the string hole on the left reads ... vīrud vanaspatīnām ca puṣpāṇi svavad ādadīte..., which is a fragment of Gautamadharmasūtra 2.3.25 (12.28). The remaining parts of the VSS are to be found on exp. 47ff. The upper leaf on exp. 47 continues with VSS 3.16b-36ab, while the lower leaf contains a text that I have not been able to identify. The lower leaf in exp. 48 transmits 3.36cd-4.11ab, the upper one 4.11b-30a. The lower leaf in exp. 49 contains 4.30ab-47ab, the upper one 47d-68a, and so on so forth. Thus when reading the text from these images, after exp. 48, one has to start with the lower

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> See a similar evaluation in Bisschop 2018, 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp\_ngmcpdocument\_00085264



leaf and continue with the upper one.

(N)K<sub>7</sub> NGMPP B 7/3 = A 1082/2, NAK 1/1075. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a brief description of this MS in the NGMCP online catalogue.<sup>30</sup> According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 58 × 6 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara. Dated to Nepāla Samvat 290 (1169–70 CE). It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 289 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) Śivadharmaśāstra, 2) Śivadharmottara, 3) Śivadharmasaṃgraha, 4) Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda, 5) Śivopaniṣad, 6) Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, 7) Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda, 8) Dharmaputrikā. Ff. 209v-264v contain the VSS.

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

(N)K<sub>3</sub> NGMPP A 3/3 (= A 1081/5), NAK 5-737. I have collated this MS only for verses 1.1–15ab to test it. See a brief description of this MS in the NGMCP online catalogue.<sup>31</sup> According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 58.5 x 5.5 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara and the MS is dated to Nepāla Samvat 321 (1200–01 CE). It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 215 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) Śivadharmaśāstra, 2) Śivadharmottara, 3) Śivadharmasaṃgraha (only a few folios are extant, e.g. ff. 124 and 143), 4) Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda, 5) Śivapaniṣad, 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:

NAK 5-738 (NGMPP A II/3)<sup>32</sup>—the microfilm images of the folios containing the VSS are often blurred to an extent that makes them difficult to use

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

Paper MSS? hid-den

https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp\_ngmcpdocument\_00062373

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 31}$  http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A\_3-3\_Sivadharma

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A\_11- 3\_Śivadharmottara





#### Vṛṣasārasamgraha

#### The Munich manuscript

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

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

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

#### The Paris manuscript

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



#### Introduction

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

#### The Oxford manuscript

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

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

#### The Kolkata manuscripts

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

(N)Ko<sub>76</sub> MS G 4076 in the collection of The Asiatic Society, Kolkata.<sup>34</sup> Shastri 1928 (716–718) gives a detailed description of this manuscript along with the text of VSS 1.1–16. According to Shastri, the dimensions of the MS are  $22\frac{1}{2} \times 2$  inches (57.15 × 5.08 cm), the text is complete and the script is of the twelfth century CE.

This manuscript may appear as a rare instance of the VSS being transmitted independently, and not in a multiple-text manuscript, but it seems very likely that it was originally part of  $Ko_{52}$  (MS G 3852), a Sivadharma corpus MS in the same collection lacking the VSS; see note 15 on page 3.

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

II



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> This description had as its starting point a shorter description written and kindly shared with me by Nirajan Kafle.

 $<sup>^{34}</sup>$  I am grateful to our colleague Sushmita Das for attempting to get a copy of this MS in March 2020.



#### Vṛṣasārasamgraha

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

#### The Tübingen manuscript

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

#### The London manuscript

(N) $L_{16}$  This is a paper manuscript in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine under shelf number WI  $\delta$  16 (I–VIII). It contains 406 folios and the following texts: 1) Śivadharmaśāstra, 2) Śivadharmottara, 3) Śivadharmasaṃgraha, 4) Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda, 5) Śivadharmaṣaṃgraha, 6) Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda, 7) Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, 8) Dharmaputrikā. This MS is described in Wujastyk 1985.

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

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



[spha]tikām×ram [= °kāmbaram] eva ca | daśayogāsanāsīno

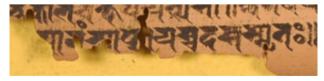
 $L_{16}$  (f. 381v) gives:



sphațikāmsatam eva ca || devayogāsanāsīto

supplying sa for the lost syllable and misreading the damaged da as de and the  $\dot{s}a$  as va.

Here  $K_{82}$  (f. 39v) reads:

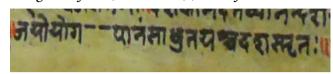




[japo yogas tapo] dhyānam svādhyāyas ca dasa smṛtaḥ with dhyā and svā damaged;

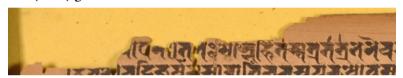
 $L_{16}$  (f. 381r) cannot read the bit that is completely lost, and it misreads the damaged *dhyānaṃ* as *dhānaṃ*, *svādhyā* as *sādhu*:

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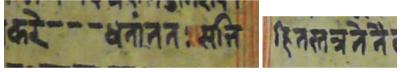
In the next example, the text is supposed to read kare grhya tapod-hanam | tatah so 'ntarhitas tatra tenaiva.

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



[kare] x x x x x x dhana tatah so 'ntar\hitas tatra tenaiva

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



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

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

#### Naraharinath's edition

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



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Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

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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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.  $a+a=\bar{a}$ ) - 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

[ सप्तदशमो ऽध्यायः ]

### [दानधर्मविशेषः]

देव्युवाच । पृथग्दानस्य इच्छामि श्रोतुं मां दातुमर्हसि । अन्नवस्त्रहिरण्यानां गोभूमिकनकस्य च ॥१७:१॥

[ अन्नप्रदानम् ]

भगवानुवाच । सुसंस्कृतमन्नमितप्रदद्याद् घृतप्रभूतमवदंशयुक्तम् । घृतप्रपक्वं सुकृतं च पूपं सितेन खण्डेन गुडेन युक्तम् ॥१७:२॥

मार्गं खगं चोदकजङ्गलं च दद्याद्वटं नागरवंशमूलम् । शाकं फलं चाम्ल मधूरतिक्तं पानं पयः शीतसुगन्धतोयम् ॥१७:३॥

द्धि प्रद्द्याद्गुडमिश्रितं च मृणाल शालूक च नालका च । सद्क्षिणालेपपवित्रपुष्पं श्रद्धान्वितः सत्कृतया प्रणम्य ॥१७:४॥

प्रयान्ति लोकं जगदीश्वरस्य विमानयानैः सहितो ऽप्सरोभिः ।

Testimonia for this chapter— $C_{94}$ : f. 222r line 2 – f. 224r line 4;  $C_{45}$ : f. 225r line 3 – f. 226v line 6;  $C_{02}$ : f.;  $K_{82}$ : f.; M: f.;  $K_{41}^{(paper)}$ :; E: pp. 646–649 (it breaks down after 17.38)

1b ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$ ; माहात्म्यं वक्तुमर्हसि E 1c °वस्त्र ]  $C_{94}C_{45}E$ ; °वस्त्रं  $K_{82}$  2b °भूत° ]  $C_{94}C_{45}E$ ; °सूत°  $K_{82}$  2c सुकृतं च पूपं ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}^{pc}$ ; सुकृतं पूपं  $K_{82}^{ec}$ , सुकृतम्मपूपं E 3a मार्गं ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$ ; मार्गं ° E (unmetr.) • खगं चो ° ]  $C_{45}K_{82}$ ; खञ्चो ° $C_{94}$ , खगश्चो ° E • °जङ्गलं च ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$ ; °जङ्गमश्च E 3b वटं ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$ ; वट E (unmetr.) 4b °शालूक च ] conj.; °शालूक व  $C_{94}K_{82}E$ , °क व  $C_{45}$  4d सत्कृतया ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$ ; सक्ततया E 5a प्रयान्ति ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$ ; प्रयाति E

#### वृषसारसंग्रहे

एकैकसिक्थस्य सहस्रवर्षम् अन्नप्रदो मोदति देवलोके ॥१७:५॥

च्युतश्च मर्त्ये स भवेद्धनाढ्यः कुलोद्गतः सर्वगुणोपपन्नः । यशः श्रियं सर्वकलाज्ञता च भवेत्स भोगी सकलत्रपुत्रः ॥१७:६॥

दद्याद्दिरद्रः कृपणार्तदीना कालागतत्वातुरमागतानाम् । तृष्णाबुभुक्षागतिकागतानाम् दत्त्वा स धर्मफलमाश्रयेत ॥१७:७॥

देशे च काले च तथा च पात्रे दानादिधर्मस्य फलं कनिष्टम् । वाणिज्यधर्मा हि फलाश्रितानां धर्मो हि तस्य न च निर्मलो ऽस्ति ॥१७:८॥

तोयं च दद्याल्लघुपूर्णकुम्भं शीतं सुगन्धं परिवासितं च । स याति लोकं सलिलेश्वरस्य न सप्तजन्मानि तृषाभिभूतः ॥१७:९॥

[ वस्त्रादिप्रदानम् ]

उपानहं यो ददित द्विजाय सुशोभनं तैलसुदीपितं च । ते यान्ति लोकममराधिपस्य यमालयं कष्टपथा न यान्ति ॥१७:१०॥

8ab missing in E

•‡

5c °सिक्थस्य ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$ ; °सिष्टस्य E 6c °कला° ] em.; °कल°  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}E$  6d °कलत्रपुत्रः ]  $C_{94}K_{82}E$ ; °कलत्रः  $C_{45}$  7a °रिद्रः ]  $C_{94}E$ ; °रिद्र  $C_{45}K_{82}$  • °दीना ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$ ; °दीनो E 7b कालागतत्वा° ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$ ; वालाग दत्वा° E 7c तृष्णा° ]  $K_{82}E$ ; तृष्णां  $C_{94}C_{45}$  • बुभुक्षा° ]  $C_{45}K_{82}E$ ; भुभुक्ता°  $C_{94}$  7d °श्रयेत ]  $C_{94}K_{82}E$ ; °श्रयेत्  $C_{45}$  8a पात्रे ]  $C_{94}C_{45}$ ; यात्रे  $K_{82}$  8b दानादि° ]  $C_{94}K_{82}$ ; दानानि  $C_{45}$  8c वाणिज्य° ]  $C_{94}C_{45}E$ ; वाणि  $K_{82}^{ac}$ , विणज्यं  $K_{82}^{pc}$  • °धर्मा हि° ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$ ; °धर्मादि E 8d हि ]  $C_{94}C_{45}E$ ; िस्त  $K_{82}$  9d सप्त° ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$ ; तस्य E 10a यो ]  $C_{94}K_{82}E$ ; ये  $C_{45}$  10b °दीपितं च ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}^{pc}$ ; °दीपितं  $K_{82}^{ac}$ , °दीसुरिपतञ्च E (hypermetr.) 10c लोकममरा° ]  $C_{94}C_{45}E$ ; लोकं समरा°  $K_{82}$ 

#### सप्तदशमो ऽध्यायः

प्रक्षीणपुण्यः पुनरत्र लोके जातो भवेद्दिव्यकुलोपपन्नः । धनैः समृद्धो ऽधिपतित्वतां च रथाश्वनागासनगा भवन्ति ॥१७:१९॥

वस्त्रप्रदानेन भवन्ति देवि रूपोत्तमाः सर्वकलाज्ञताश्च । समृद्धिसौभाग्यगुणान्विताश्च स्वर्गच्युतास्ते पुरुषा भवन्ति ॥१७:१२॥

वस्त्रप्रदानाभिरतस्य पुंसः अन्यां प्रवक्ष्यामि ततः प्रशंसाम् । वस्त्रं तु लोकेष्वभिपूजनीयं वस्त्रं नराणां त्वतिमाननीयम् ॥१७:१३॥

वस्त्रं तु भूयो न च मानलाभः पराभवश्चातिजुगुप्सनं च । तस्माद्धि वस्त्रं सततं प्रदेयं यशः श्रियः स्वर्गमनन्तलाभम् ॥१७:१४॥

यावन्ति सूत्राणि भवन्ति वस्त्रे तावद्युगं गच्छति सोमलोकम् । पुण्यक्षयाज्ञायति मर्त्यलोके वस्त्रप्रभूते धनधान्यकीर्णे ॥१७:१५॥

सुरूपसौभाग्ययशशिवनश्च विद्याधरो लोकप्रभुत्वताश्च ॥१७:१६॥

द्विजेभ्यच्छत्रं सुकृतं प्रदद्यात् वर्षातपत्रं दृढशोभनं च ।

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11a °पुण्यः]  $C_{94}$ ; om.  $K_{82}^{ac}$ , °पुण्य  $K_{82}^{pc}$ , °पुण्या  $E \bullet$ पुनरत्र लोके]  $C_{94}K_{82}E$ ; पुनरभ्युपेति  $C_{45}$  11c °पितत्वतां च ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$ ; °पितत्वताश्च E 11d ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$ ; रथाश्च नागा प्रभविन्त तस्य E 12b °त्तमाः]  $C_{94}K_{82}$ ; °त्तमा  $C_{45}$ , °त्तम ° $E \bullet$  °कलाज्ञता च ] em.; °कलज्ञताश्च  $C_{94}K_{82}$ ; °कलज्ञता च  $C_{45}$ , °कलज्ञताश्च E 13b अन्यां प्र °]  $C_{94}K_{82}$ ; अन्यत्प्र ° $C_{45}E \bullet$  °शंसाम्]  $C_{94}K_{82}$ ; °शंसाम्  $C_{45}$ , °शंसतां E 13c °भिपूज °]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$ ; °तिपूज °E 14b °जुगुप्सनं च ]  $C_{94}C_{45}$ ; °जुप्सितं च  $K_{82}$ , जुगुप्सनश्च E 14d श्रियः]  $C_{94}C_{45}E$ ; श्रियं:  $K_{82} \bullet$  स्वर्गमनन्त °]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$ ; °स्वर्गसमन्तआभं E 15b तावद्य °]  $C_{94}K_{82}E$ ; ताव यु °  $C_{45} \bullet$  गच्छित ]  $C_{94}^{pc}C_{45}K_{82}E$ ; गित  $C_{94}^{ac}$  15c मर्त्य °]  $C_{94}C_{45}$ ; मार्त्य ° $K_{82}$ , मृत्यु °E 15d °कीर्णे]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}$ ; °कीर्णो E

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अङ्गारवर्षत्रषु खङ्गमाद्यम् असंशयं त्रायति याम्यमार्गे ॥१७:१७॥

स्वर्गं च यान्ति ग्रहनायकश्च स वर्षकोट्यायुतमन्तकाले । जायन्ति ते मानुषमर्त्यलोके गृहोत्तमे भोगपतिर्भवन्ति ॥१७:१८॥

कृत्वा मठं शोभनविप्रदाता द्रव्येण शुद्धेन तु पूजियत्वा । स याति देवेन्द्रसदं यथेष्टम् सवर्षकोटिशतदिव्यसंख्यैः ॥१७:१९॥

तदन्तकाले यदि मानुषत्वम् जायन्ति ते सप्तमहीप्रभोक्ता । स सप्तरथ्यत्रयसम्प्रयुक्ता बलाधिको यज्ञसहस्रकर्ता ॥१७:२०॥

[भूमिप्रदानम् ]

भूमिप्रदाता द्विजहीनदीनम् संमृद्धसस्यो जलसंनिकृष्त । स याति लोकममराधिपस्य ! विमानयानेन मनोहरेण ॥१७:२१॥

मन्वन्तरं यावदभुक्तभोगान् तदन्तकाले च्युतमर्त्यलोके । स जवमुखण्डाधिपतिर्भवेत् वीर्यान्वितो राजसहस्रनाथः ॥१७:२२॥

स चैलघण्टां कनकाग्रशृङ्गाम् दोग्धीं सवत्सां पयसां द्विजानाम् । दत्त्वा द्विजेभ्यः समलङ्कृतानाम् प्रयान्ति लोकं सुरभीसुतानाम् ॥१७:२३॥

यावन्ति रोमाणि भवन्ति गावः तावद्युगानामनुभूयभोगान् । तस्माच्च्युता मर्त्यमहीभुजास्ते सहस्रराजानुगतो महात्मा ॥१७:२४॥

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24a यावन्ति ] E; प्रयान्ति  $C_{94}$ 

#### सप्तदशमो ऽध्यायः

सुवर्णकांस्यायसरौप्यदाता ताम्रप्रवालामणिमौक्तिकाद्यान् । दत्त्वा द्विजेभ्यो वसुसाध्यलोके प्राप्नोति वर्षं दशपञ्चकोट्यो ! ॥१७:२५॥

भुक्त्वा यथेष्टं क्रमदेवलोकान् च्युतं च मर्त्ये स भवेन्नरेन्द्रः । सुदुर्जयः शक्रसहस्रजेता सुदीर्घमायुश्च पराक्रमश्च ॥१७:२६॥

यत्प्रेक्षणं दर्शयितुं प्रदाता सुरूपसौभाग्य फलं लभेत । तृणाशनामूलफलाशनेन लभेत राज्यानि कण्टकानि ॥१७:२७॥

लभेत पर्णाशनस्वर्गवासम् पयः प्रयोगेन च देवलोके । शुश्रूषणो यो गुरवे च नित्यम् विद्याधरो जायति मर्त्यलोके ॥१७:२८॥

दद्याद्भवां धासतृणस्य मुष्टिः गवाढ्यतां जायति मर्त्यलोके । श्राद्धं च दत्त्वा प्रयतो द्विजाय समृद्धसन्तान भवेद्युगान्ते ॥१७:२९॥

अहिंसको जायित दीर्घमायुः कुलोत्तमं जायित दीक्षितेन । कालत्रयं स्नानकृतेन राज्यं पीत्वा च वायुस्त्रिदशाधिपत्वम् ॥१७:३०॥

अनश्रतायाः फलमीशलोके तृप्तिर्भवेत्तोयप्रदानशीलः । अन्नप्रदाता पुरुषः समृद्धः स सर्वकामा लभतीह लोके ॥१७:३१॥

श्रद्धामितर्यः प्रविशेद्धुतासनं ! स याति लोकं प्रिपतामहस्य । सत्यं वदेद्यो ऽपि च धर्मशीलो मोदत्यसौ देवि सहाप्सरोभिः ॥१७:३२॥

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रसास्तु षड्यो परिवर्जयन्ति
अतीव सौभाग्य लभेत साध्वी ।
दानेन भोगानतुल्यं लभेत
चिरायुतां याति हि ब्रह्मचर्यात् ॥१७:३३॥
धनाढ्यतां यान्ति हि पुण्यकर्मान्
मौनेन - आज्ञा लभते अलङ्ख्याम् ।
प्राप्नोति कामं तपसः सुतप्तं
कीर्तिर्यशः स्वर्गमनन्तभोगम् ।
आयुः श्रियारोग्यधनप्रभुत्वं
ज्ञानादिलाभं तपसा लभेत ॥१७:३४॥
त्रैलोक्याधिपतित्वशक्रमगमत्कृत्वा तपो दुष्करम्
यक्षेशो ऽपि तपः प्रभावगुरुणा गुह्याधिपत्वं महत् ।
रक्षेशो ऽपि विभीषणस्त्वमरतां प्राप्तस्तपस्यैव तु
रुद्राराधनतत्परास्तपफलात् नन्दीगणत्वं गतः ॥१७:३५॥

ज्ञानं द्विजान्तपसो आह विष्णुः क्षत्रं तपो रक्षणमाह सूर्य । वैश्यं तपश्चाञ्चनमाह वायुः शूद्रं हि शिल्पं तप आह इन्द्रः ॥१७:३६॥ रणोत्सहं क्षत्रिययज्ञमिष्टं वैश्यं हविर्यज्ञमुदाहरन्ति । शूद्रस्य यज्ञः परिचर्यमिष्टं

[स्वमांसरुधिरदानम् ]

यज्ञं द्विजानां जपमुक्तमोक्षम् ॥१७:३७॥

देव्युवाच । स्वमांसरुधिरं दानं दानं पुत्रकलत्रयोः । किं प्रशस्यं महादेव तत्त्वं वक्तुमिहार्हिस ॥१७:३८॥ महेश्वर उवाच । स्वमांसरुधिरं दानं प्रशंसन्ति मनीषिणः । श्रूयतां पूर्ववृत्तानि संक्षिप्य कथयाम्यहम् ॥१७:३९॥ उशीनरस्तु राजर्षिः कयो ?तार्थे स्वकान्तन्तु? ।

38 E breaks down after 17.38, and resumes only at 18.16c.

#### सप्तदशमो ऽध्यायः

त्यक्त्वा स्वर्गमनुप्राप्तः परार्थे परतत्परः ॥१७:४०॥ पुत्रमांसं स्वयं छित्वा अग्निदत्तं पुरानघे । तेन दानप्रभावेन अलर्कस्त्रिदिवं गतः ॥१७:४१॥ स्वदानदानेन मुदा स पुत्र अपुत्रभूतस्य च पुत्र जातः । स्वर्गे स्वयं चोक्वय भोगलाभं प्राप्तो महद्दानय?ल प्रभावात् ॥१७:४२॥ यादवश् चार्जनो देवि दत्त्वा खण्डवभाजनम् ॥१७:४२॥ तपनस्य प्रसादेन सप्तद्वीपेश्वरो भवेत् । हरिणा च शिरो भित्वा दत्तं मे रुधिरं पुरा ॥१७:४३॥ प्रतीच्छितं कपालेन ब्रह्मसम्भवजेन मे । दिव्यवर्षसहस्राणि धारा तस्य न छिद्यते ॥१७:४४॥ परितुष्टो ऽस्मि तेनाहं कर्मणानेन सुन्दरि । वरं दत्तं मया देवि पुराणपुरुषो ऽव्ययः ॥१७:४५॥ अक्षयं वलमूर्जं च अजरामरमेव च । ममाधिकं भवेद्विष्णूर्माम यित्वम् विजेष्यसि ॥१७:४६॥ एवमादीन्यनेकानि मयोक्तानि जनार्दने । निष्कम्प निश्चलमनः स्थाणुभूत इव स्थितः ॥१७:४७॥ द?चिः स्वतनुं दत्त्वा विबुधानां वरानने । भुक्त्वा लोकान् क्रमात्सर्वान् शिवलोके प्रतिष्ठितः ॥१७:४८॥ जामद्ग्रिर्महीं दत्त्वा काश्यपाय महात्मने । इहैव स यालं भोक्ता देवराज्यमवाप्स्यति ॥१७:४९॥ दत्त्वा गो सकलं देवि व्यासस्यामिततेजसः । युधिष्ठिर महीयास देहस्त्रिदिवद्भतः ॥१७:५०॥ सत्यनामः ? (भीमः?) स्वकं भर्ता दत्त्वा नारादसत्कृतम् । दानस्यास्य प्रभावेन अक्षयं त्रिदिवद्भतः ? ॥१७:५१॥ चतुःषष्ठिसहस्ताणि गवां दत्त्वा द्विजन्मने । दुर्योधनमहीया?ओ गतः स्वर्गमनन्तकम् ॥१७:५२॥ वासुकिस्सर्पराजेन्द्रो दत्त्वा विप्रसुसंस्कृतम् ।



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रत्कारुश्च ? साभान्या सर्वे नागविमोक्षिताः ॥१७:५३॥
गोभूमिकनकादीनां दानं कन्यसमुच्यते ।
भृत्यपुत्रकलत्राणां दानं मध्यममुच्यते ॥१७:५४॥
स्वदेहं पिसितादीनां दानमृत्तममुच्यते ।
एतत्सर्वं यदा दानं तद्दानमृत्तमोत्तमम् ॥१७:५५॥
जावज्जन्मसहस्राणि भोक्ता भवति कन्यसः ।
शतजन्मसहस्राणि भोक्ता भवति मध्यमः ॥१७:५६॥
उत्तमः पलभोक्ता (फल?) वि ? जन्मकोटिशतत्रयम् ।
परार्धद्वयजन्मानां भोक्ता वै चोत्तमोत्तमः ॥१७:५७॥
भूतानामनुकम्पया यदि धनं दाता सदान्वर्षिने ।
दीनान्वकृयणेष्वनाथमिलनेश्वानादिनि?? च ॥१७:५८॥
यद्येव कुरुते सदार्तिहरणं श्रद्धान्वितौ भिक्तमान् ।
तस्यानन्तयालं वदन्ति विबुधांस् स यस्य सन्दर्शनात् ॥१७:५९॥

॥ इति वृषसारसंग्रहे दानधर्मविशेषं नाम सप्तादशमो ऽध्यायः ॥

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55d °ओत्तमम् ]  $C_{94}^{pc}$ ; °ओत्त  $C_{94}^{ac}$ 



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Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha









## An Annotated Translation







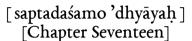
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[ dānadharmaviśeṣaḥ — The particulars of the Dharma of donation ]

devy uvāca | pṛthag dānasya icchāmi śrotuṃ māṃ dātum arhasi | annavastrahiraṇyānāṃ gobhūmikanakasya ca || 17:1 ||

I wish to hear about [the types of] donation one by one: please donate [this knowledge] to me [of] [donating] food, clothes, gold, cows and gold[?!].

[ annapradānam — Donation of food ]

bhagavān uvāca |
susaṃskṛtam annam atipradadyād
ghṛtaprabhūtam avadaṃśayuktam |
ghṛtaprapakvaṃ sukṛtaṃ ca pūpaṃ
sitena khaṇḍena guḍena yuktam || 17:2 ||

The Lord spoke: One should donate as much as one can food that is well-prepared, rich in ghee and contains pungent ingredients, wellprepared bread baked with ghee, white sugar and molasses.

mārgaṃ khagaṃ codakajaṅgalaṃ ca dadyād vaṭaṃ nāgaravaṃśamūlam | śākaṃ phalaṃ cāmla madhūratiktaṃ pānaṃ payaḥ śītasugandhatoyam || 17:3 ||

One should give [animals] that roam paths, the sky and the waters, and [the fruits of the] Banyan-tree, dried ginger (nāgara), sugarcane, and roots, vegetables, fruits, sweet and pungent tamarind, and for drinks, milk, and cold and perfumed water.

dadhi pradadyād guḍamiśritaṃ ca mṛṇāla śālūka ca nālakā ca | sadakṣiṇālepapavitrapuṣpaṃ śraddhānvitaḥ satkṛtayā praṇamya || 17:4 ||

17.3 Understand  $p\bar{a}da$  a as  $m\bar{a}rgagam$  khagam udakajangamam ca. For  $n\bar{a}gara$  as 'dried ginger' (in  $p\bar{a}da$  b), see Meulenbeld 1974, 567. Note 'madhūra' for 'madhura' in  $p\bar{a}da$  c metri causa; or read 'madhūka' (Madhuca latifolia).

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#### Translation of chapter 17

One should give coagulated milk mixed with molasses, lotus-fibre, lotus-roots, lotus-stalks, ointments accompanied by gifts, ritually pure flowers, with faith and respect, bowing.

prayānti lokaṃ jagadīśvarasya vimānayānaiḥ sahito 'psarobhiḥ | ekaikasikthasya sahasravarṣam

They go to the world of Jagadiśvara with ærial vehicles, together with Apsarases. He who donates food will have fun in the world of gods for a thousand years for each lump of boiled rice.

cyutaś ca martye sa bhaved dhanāḍhyaḥ kulodgataḥ sarvaguṇopapannaḥ | yaśaḥ śriyaṃ sarvakalājñatā ca bhavet sa bhogī sakalatraputraḥ || 17:6 ||

annaprado modati devaloke || 17:5 ||

Descending to the human world, he will become a rich man. He will be born in a noble family and will possess all possible virtues, fame, beauty, and knowledge of all the arts. He will be rich and will have a wife and sons.

dadyād daridraḥ kṛpaṇārtadīnā kālāgatatvāturam āgatānām | tṛṣṇābubhukṣāgatikāgatānām dattvā sa dharmaphalam āśrayeta || 17:7 ||

One should donate to the poor, the miserable, the oppressed, the wretched, the dying, the suffering, to those whose share is thirst, hunger, and unsuccessfulness. By donating, one will be connected to the fruits of Dharma.

deśe ca kāle ca tathā ca pātre dānādidharmasya phalaṃ kaniṣṭam | vāṇijyadharmā hi phalāśritānāṃ dharmo hi tasya na ca nirmalo 'sti || 17:8 ||

[When done] in the right place, right time, and for the right recipient, the fruit of the Dharma of donation etc. is the smallest.[?] He whose Dharma is trade ... does not have a spotless Dharma.[?]

toyam ca dadyāl laghupūrṇakumbham śītam sugandham parivāsitam ca | sa yāti lokam salileśvarasya na saptajanmāni tṛṣābhibhūtaḥ || 17:9 ||



#### Vṛṣasārasamgraha

He should give cool, nice-smelling and scented water [in] a light waterpot fill to the brim. He will go to the world of Salileśvara [i.e. Varuṇa] and will not be overcome by thist thoroughout seven births.

[vastrādipradānam — Donation of clothes etc.]

upānaham yo dadati dvijāya

suśobhanam tailasudīpitam ca |

te yānti lokam amarādhipasya

yamālayam kaṣṭapathā na yānti || 17:10 ||

He who donates a beautiful pair of sandals, polished with oil, to a Brahmin will go to the world of the King of the Immortal Ones [i.e. Indra], and will not approach Yama's abode through a difficult path.

prakṣīṇapuṇyaḥ punar atra loke

jāto bhaved divyakulopapannaḥ |

dhanaih samrddho 'dhipatitvatām ca

rathāśvanāgāsanagā bhavanti || 17:11 ||

When his merits fade away, he will be born again in this world into a divine family. He will be rich with wealth, will be a king, riding on a chariot, on horses and elephants, sitting on a throne.

vastrapradānena bhavanti devi

rūpottamāḥ sarvakalājñatāś ca |

samṛddhisaubhāgyaguṇānvitāś ca

svargacyutās te puruṣā bhavanti | 17:12 ||

By donating clothes, O Devī, they will become most beautiful people with knowledge of all the arts, endowed with riches, happiness and virtues, when they descend from heaven.

vastrapradānābhiratasya puṃsaḥ

anyām pravakṣyāmi tataḥ praśamṣām |

vastram tu lokeşv abhipūjanīyam

vastram narānām tv atimānanīyam | 17:13 ||

I shall then praise the man further who engages in the donation of clothes. Clothes are honoured in the worlds, clothes are held in extremely high esteem by people.

vastram tu bhūyo na ca mānalābhah

parābhavas cātijugupsanam ca |

tasmād dhi vastram satatam pradeyam

yaśaḥ śriyaḥ svargam anantalābham || 17:14 ||

#### Translation of chapter 17

Furthermore, [if there are] no clothes, there is no respect,[?] but [only] defeat and extreme disgust. Therefore clothes should always be donated, [and by this] fame, fortune, heaven, and endless profit.

yāvanti sūtrāṇi bhavanti vastre tāvad yugaṃ gacchati somalokam | puṇyakṣayāj jāyati martyaloke vastraprabhūte dhanadhānyakīrṇe || 17:15 ||

He will stay in Somaloka for as many æons as there are threads in a piece of clothes. Because his merits fade away, he is reborn in the human world, with an abundance of clothes and having a lot of riches and corn.

surūpasaubhāgyayaśaśivanaś ca vidyādharo lokaprabhutvatāś ca || 17:16 || dvijebhyac chatram sukrtam pradadyāt varṣātapatram dṛḍhaśobhanam ca | angāravarşatraşu khadgamādyam asaṃśayaṃ trāyati yāmyamārge || 17:17 || svargam ca yānti grahanāyakas ca sa varşakotyāyutam antakāle | jāyanti te mānusamartyaloke grhottame bhogapatir bhavanti || 17:18 || kṛtvā maṭham śobhanavipradātā dravyena śuddhena tu pūjayitvā | sa yāti devendrasadam yathestam savarşakoţiśatadivyasamkhyaiḥ || 17:19 || tadantakāle yadi mānuşatvam jāyanti te saptamahīprabhoktā | sa saptarathyatrayasamprayuktā balādhiko yajñasahasrakartā || 17:20 || [ bhūmipradānam — Donation of land ] bhūmipradātā dvijahīnadīnam sammrddhasasyo jalasamnikṛṣta | sa yāti lokam amarādhipasya! vimānayānena manohareņa || 17:21 || manvantaram yāvad abhuktabhogān

tadantakāle cyutamartyaloke |



#### Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

sa javamukhandadhipatir bhavet vīryānvito rājasahasranāthaḥ || 17:22 || sa cailaghantām kanakāgraśrngām dogdhīm savatsām payasām dvijānām | dattvā dvijebhyah samalankṛtānām prayanti lokam surabhīsutanam | 17:23 || yāvanti romāņi bhavanti gāvaḥ tāvad yugānām anubhūyabhogān | tasmāc cyutā martyamahībhujās te sahasrarājānugato mahātmā || 17:24 || suvarņakāmsyāyasaraupyadātā tāmrapravālāmaņimauktikādyān | dattvā dvijebhyo vasusādhyaloke prāpnoti varsam dasapancakotyo! | 17:25 || bhuktvā yathestam kramadevalokān cyutam ca martye sa bhaven narendrah | sudurjayaḥ śakrasahasrajetā sudīrgham āyuś ca parākramaś ca || 17:26 || yat prekşanam darsayitum pradata surūpasaubhāgya phalam labheta | tṛṇāśanāmūlaphalāśanena labheta rājyāni kantakāni | 17:27 || labheta parṇāśanasvargavāsam payah prayogena ca devaloke | śuśrūșano yo gurave ca nityam vidyādharo jāyati martyaloke | 17:28 || dadyād gavām dhāsatrņasya muṣṭiḥ gavādhyatām jāyati martyaloke | śrāddham ca dattvā prayato dvijāya samṛddhasantāna bhaved yugānte | 17:29 || ahimsako jāyati dīrgham āyuh kulottamam jāyati dīksitena | kālatrayam snānakrtena rājyam pītvā ca vāyus tridaśādhipatvam || 17:30 || anaśnatāyāh phalam īśaloke trptir bhavet toyapradānasīlah | annapradātā puruşah samrddhah sa sarvakāmā labhatīha loke || 17:31 ||

#### Translation of chapter 17

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śraddhāmatir yaḥ praviśed dhutāsanam!
    sa yāti lokam prapitāmahasya |
satyam vaded yo 'pi ca dharmaśīlo
    modaty asau devi sahāpsarobhiḥ || 17:32 ||
rasās tu şadyo parivarjayanti
    atīva saubhāgya labheta sādhvī |
dānena bhogān atulyam labheta
    cirāyutām yāti hi brahmacaryāt | 17:33 ||
dhanādhyatām yānti hi punyakarmān
    maunena - ājñā labhate alanghyām |
prāpnoti kāmam tapasah sutaptam
    kīrtir yaśaḥ svargam anantabhogam |
āyuḥ śriyārogyadhanaprabhutvam
    jñānādilābham tapasā labheta || 17:34 ||
trailokyādhipatitvaśakram agamat kṛtvā tapo duṣkaram
    yakṣeśo 'pi tapaḥ prabhāvaguruṇā guhyādhipatvaṃ mahat |
rakseśo 'pi bibhīşaņas tv amaratām prāptas tapasyaiva tu
    rudrārādhanatatparās tapaphalāt nandīgaņatvam gataļ | 17:35 ||
jñānam dvijān tapaso āha visnuh
    kṣatram tapo rakṣaṇam āha sūrya |
vaiśyam tapaś cāńjanam āha vāyuḥ
    śūdram hi śilpam tapa āha indrah | 17:36 ||
raņotsaham kṣatriyayajñam iṣṭam
    vaiśyam havir yajñam udāharanti |
śūdrasya yajñaḥ paricaryam iṣṭaṃ
    yajñam dvijānām japamuktamoksam || 17:37 ||
                    [svamāṃsarudhiradānam —
               Donation of one's own flesh and blood ]
devy uvāca |
svamāmsarudhiram dānam dānam putrakalatrayoh |
kim praśasyam mahādeva tattvam vaktum ihārhasi | 17:38 ||
   Devī spoke: Why are one's own flesh and blood and one's son and
   wife praised as donation, O Mahādeva? Tell me the truth please.
maheśvara uvāca |
svamāmsarudhiram dānam praśamsanti manīṣiṇaḥ |
śrūyatām pūrvavṛttāni samkṣipya kathayāmy aham | 17:39 ||
   Maheśvara spoke: The wise praise one's own flesh and blood as do-
   nation. Let's hear the old legends, I shall tell you briefly.")
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#### Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

uśīnaras tu rājarṣiḥ kayo ?tārthe svakāntantu? | tyaktvā svargam anuprāptah parārthe paratatparah | 17:40 | putramāmsam svayam chitvā agnidattam purānaghe | tena dānaprabhāvena alarkas tridivam gataḥ || 17:41 || svadānadānena mudā sa putra aputrabhūtasya ca putra jātaḥ | svarge svayam cokvaya bhogalābham prāpto mahaddānay?la prabhāvāt || 17:42 || yādavas cārjano devi dattvā khandavabhājanam || 17:43 || tapanasya prasādena saptadvīpeśvaro bhavet | hariṇā ca śiro bhitvā dattaṃ me rudhiraṃ purā || 17:44 || pratīcchitam kapālena brahmasambhavajena me | divyavarşasahasrāṇi dhārā tasya na chidyate || 17:45 || paritușțo 'smi tenāham karmaņānena sundari | varam dattam mayā devi purāņapuruso 'vyayaḥ | 17:46 || akṣayam valamūrjam ca ajarāmaram eva ca | mamādhikam bhaved viṣṇur māma yitvam vijeṣyasi || 17:47 || evamādīny anekāni mayoktāni janārdane | niskampa niścalamanah sthānubhūta iva sthitah || 17:48 || da?cih svatanum dattvā vibudhānām varānane | bhuktvā lokān kramāt sarvān śivaloke pratisthitah || 17:49 || jāmadagnir mahīm dattvā kāśyapāya mahātmane | ihaiva sa yālam bhoktā devarājyam avāpsyati | 17:50 || dattvā go sakalam devi vyāsasyāmitatejasah | yudhisthira mahīyāsa dehas tridivadbhatah | 17:51 || satyanāmaḥ? (bhīmaḥ?) svakam bhartā dattvā nārādasatkṛtam | dānasyāsya prabhāvena akṣayam tridivadbhataḥ? || 17:52 || catuḥṣaṣṭhisahastāṇi gavām dattvā dvijanmane | duryodhanamahīyā?o gataḥ svargam anantakam || 17:53 || vāsukis sarparājendro dattvā viprasusamskṛtam | ratkāruś ca? sābhānyā sarve nāgavimokṣitāḥ || 17:54 || gobhūmikanakādīnām dānam kanyasam ucyate | bhṛtyaputrakalatrāṇāṃ dānaṃ madhyamam ucyate | 17:55 || svadeham pisitādīnām dānam uttamam ucyate | etat sarvam yadā dānam tad dānam uttamottamam | 17:56 || jāvaj janmasahasrāņi bhoktā bhavati kanyasaḥ | śatajanmasahasrāṇi bhoktā bhavati madhyamaḥ || 17:57 || uttamaḥ palabhoktā (phala?) vi ? janmakoţiśatatrayam |



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Translation of chapter 17

parārdhadvayajanmānām bhoktā vai cottamottamaḥ || 17:58 || bhūtānām anukampayā yadi dhanam dātā sadānvarṣine | dīnānvakṛyaṇeṣv anāthamalineśvānādini?? ca || 17:59 || yady eva kurute sadārtiharaṇam śraddhānvitau bhaktimān | tasyānantayālam vadanti vibudhāms sa yasya sandarśanāt || 17:60 || || iti vṛṣasārasaṃgrahe dānadharmaviśeṣaṃ nāma saptādaśamo 'dhyāyaḥ ||





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Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha

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## Appendices

passeges from part two



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Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha









### Symbols and Abbreviations

#### **Symbols**

 $\approx$ 

cf.

=

#### **Abbreviations**

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

f.

ff.

#### **MGMCP**

#### **MGMPP**

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

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

**ŚDhŚ** = Śivadharmaśāstra

**ŚDhU** = Śivadharmottara

**VSS** = asdfadfasdfadsa

#### TO BE SUPPLIED

- Balogh 2018? ON THE SAME TOPIC
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Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha







### **Primary Sources**

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Uttarottara: see CHECK

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

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

Bhagavadgītā: see Sukthankar & al. 1927–1966 CHECK

Manu: see Dave 1972

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

Mātangalīlā: see Śāstri 1910

YS: see CHECK Raghuvaṃśa: see

Vāgmatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsā:

Vājasaneyisamhitā: see Weber 1972

Vișnudharmottara:

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

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CHANGE repeated authornames with —

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