

# वृषसानसंग्रहः

*The Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, a text of the Śivadharmā corpus*

A Critical Edition

Volume I

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

THE ŚIVADHARMA PROJECT

*Studies on the History of Śaivism*  
X??

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XX??

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A Critical Edition

Volume I

Csaba Kiss



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**CHECK REVISE!!!**

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## Preface

### Aims and problems

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Introduction

### Śivadharmā corpus

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

### Title

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

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

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

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

<sup>6</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

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

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

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

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

Or putting it more bluntly:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Introduction

To laud the bull (*vṛṣa*) would be surprising if the intended meaning were the bull that is Śiva’s mount, but not if the word is intended in its figurative meaning, namely *dharmah*, or *sukṛtam* ‘the virtuous actions [prescribed by the Veda].’ For this meaning of *vṛṣah* see, for example, Amarasimha, *Nāmalingānuśāsana* 1.4.25b (*sukṛtam vṛṣah*), 3.3.220 (*sukṛte vṛṣabhe vṛṣah*); Halāyudha, *Abhidhānaratnamālā* 1.125cd (*dharmah puṇyaṃ vṛṣah śreyah sukṛtaṃ ca samaṃ smṛtam*); *Manu* 8[.]16a (*vṛṣo hi bhagavān dharmas...*); and the Gwalior Museum Stone Inscription of Pataṅgaśambhu (Mirashi 1962), l. 15, *vṛṣaikaniṣṭho* ‘*pi jitasmaro*’ *pi yah śaṅkaro* ‘*bhūd bhuvi ko*’ *py apūrvvah*, concerning the Śaiva ascetic Vyomaśambhu: ‘He was in the world an extraordinary new Śiva, since he too was *vṛṣaikaniṣṭhaḥ* (‘devoted solely to pious observance’; in Śiva’s case ‘riding only on the Bull’) and he too was *jitasmarah* (‘one who had defeated sensual urges’; in Śiva’s case ‘the defeater of the Love god Kāmadeva’). This is also the meaning of *vṛṣah* in the title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, one of the works of the Śivadharmā corpus (see, e.g., Sanderson 2014, p. 2), i.e., ‘Summary of the Essentials of the [Śiva]dharma’.

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

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

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

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

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

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

## *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

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

## Genre

Is the VSS a Purāṇa? There are at least two reasons to think so. One is the section VSS 1.62–75, a list of so-called *vedavyāsa*s, transmitters of Purāṇas, from Brahmā, to Vyāsa Dvaipāyana, Romaharṣa and his son. Why should a text include in its first chapter such a list other than to imply that it describes its own origins?

Another argument is that the topics dealt with in the VSS are exactly what we expect from a Purāṇa. The famous *purāṇapañcalakṣaṇa* includes, following Wilson’s translation (in Rocher 1986, 26), the following: (1) primary creation, cosmogony and chronology (*sarga*); (2) creation, destruction of the world (*pratisarga*); (3) genealogies (*vaṃśa*); (4) Manu eras (*manvantaras*); (5) history (*vaṃśānucarita*).<sup>15</sup> Arguably all these are present in the VSS, most of them already in chapter one, and later in twenty-one and twenty-four, plus narratives of the deeds of gods (e.g. in chapter twenty-three), and much more. It is possible that some parts of the VSS were originally intended to form a *purāṇa*. The part in question could be the outermost layer of the text. This leads us to the examination of the structure of the VSS.

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

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

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



## Introduction

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

F. 251v of K<sub>41</sub> contains a scribal addition that gives a richer and somewhat more nuanced definition of the genre of the VSS, paraphrasing *Mahābhārata* 1.56.21:<sup>16</sup>

*pādam ādyam*<sup>17</sup> *idaṃ śāstram yo 'dhīyāta jitendriyaḥ |*  
*tenādhītaṃ sarvvadharmam iti nāsty atra saṃśayaḥ ||*  
*arthaśāstram idaṃ puṇyaṃ dharmasāstram idaṃ param |*  
*mokṣasāstram idaṃ proktaṃ śivenāmitatejasā |*

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

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

## Structure

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

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

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

<sup>16</sup> *Mahābhārata* 1.56.21 reads: *arthaśāstram idaṃ puṇyaṃ dharmasāstram idaṃ param | mokṣasāstram idaṃ proktaṃ vyāsenāmitabuddhinā ||*. The parallel between the scribal verses in K<sub>41</sub> and the *Mahābhārata* has already been noted in De Simini 2016b, 253 n. 51.

<sup>17</sup> Understand *pādamātram*?

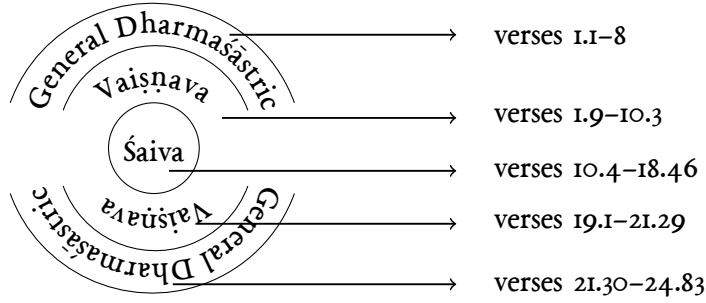


Figure 1: The structure of the VSS (reproduced from Kiss 2021, 188)

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

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

## Connection to other texts

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

a dialogue between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana, echoing the setting of the frame story of the *Mahābhārata*. Janamejaya is the king at whose snake-

Introduction

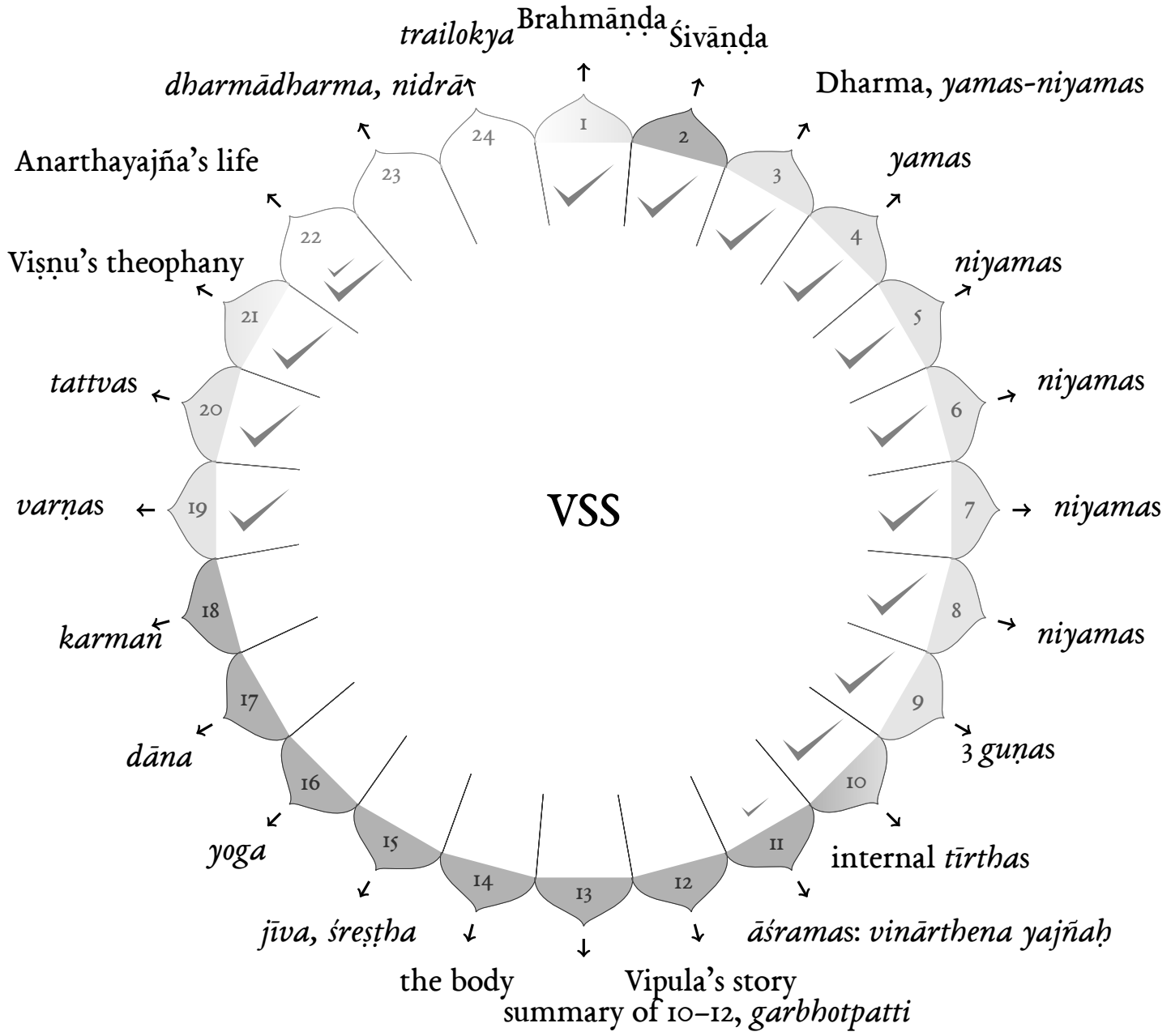


Figure 2: The structure and topics of the VSS

## *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

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

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

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

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

Śivadharmā texts:

Embryology

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

Compare, borrowings

Bṛhatkāṇṭika,

## Dating and provenance

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

To make assumptions about the place of composition of the VSS, we can consider the following: the location of the manuscript evidence, place

<sup>18</sup> Kiss 2021, 187

<sup>19</sup> Petech 1984, 31

<sup>20</sup> Sanderson 2009, 77

## Introduction

names and individuals mentioned in the text, and a possible influence of any local language on the style and grammar of the text.

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

The geographical locations mentioned in the VSS include the *tīrthas* mentioned in chapter ten: Himavat (the Himālayas), Kurukṣetra, Prayāga, Vārāṇasī, Yamunā, Gaṅgā, Agnitīrtha, Somatīrtha, Sūryatīrtha, Puṣkara, Mānasa, Naimiṣa, Bindusāra (= Bindusaras), Setubandha, Suradraha or Surahrada, Ghaṇṭikeśvara, and Vāgīśa. These may hint at the area where the VSS was composed by giving more significance to locations nearby and by being more specific when mentioning local sacred places. Some names on the list above are easy to indentify and at the same time probably too often included in lists such as this one to be indicative enough: Himavat, Kurukṣetra,<sup>22</sup> Prayāga, Vārāṇasī, Yamunā, Gaṅgā, Puṣkara (modern Pushkar), and Naimiṣa.<sup>23</sup> All these are locations in modern North India, or in the case of Himavat, for our purposes and more precisely North India and Nepal. Agnitīrtha, Somatīrtha and Sūryatīrtha could also be locations in North India, although they are more obscure than the ones above. For Agnitīrtha, see, e.g., *Padmapurāṇa* 3.45.27ab: *agnitīrtham iti khyātam yamunādakṣiṇe taṭe*; and *Padmapurāṇa* 6.139.1ab: *sābhramatyuttare kūle agnitīrtham iti śrutam*; therefore Agnitīrtha may be placed at the souther banks of the Yamunā or at the northern banks of the Sābhramatī river (modern Sabarati) in the area of Ahmedabad. Somatīrtha is also sometimes placed on the banks of the Sabarmati, see, e.g., *Padmapurāṇa* 6.161.1ab: *somatīrtham tato gacched guptaṁ sābhramatītaṭe*. Sūryatīrtha is sometimes placed in Kurukṣetra.<sup>24</sup> Going further in the list, Mānasa is generally thought to be ‘[a] lake on the peak of the Himālayas’,<sup>25</sup> modern Manasarovar.<sup>26</sup> Bindusāra, which most probably stands for Bindusaras, can be a sacred place north of Mount Kailāsa,<sup>27</sup> two miles south of Gaṅgotri,<sup>28</sup>

<sup>21</sup> See, e.g., De Simini & Mirnig 2017, 589.

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

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

<sup>24</sup> See Mani 1975, s.v. ‘sūryatīrtha’.

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

<sup>26</sup> Dey 1899, 57.

<sup>27</sup> Mani 1975, s.v. ‘bindusaras’.

<sup>28</sup> Dey 1899, 11.

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

or alternatively Sitpur in Gujarat, north-west of Ahmedabad.<sup>29</sup>

In contrast with these, Setubandha is the traditional name for the ridge of rocks between South India and Śrī Laṅkā, and Ghaṇṭikeśvara could be a sacred place in Orissa.<sup>30</sup> Vāgīśa seems difficult to locate, but it is most probably a sacred place east of Kathmandu. The name comes up in *Nepālamāhātmya* 3.21–25 as a location south of and not far from the Hanumadiśvara-linga, which is in the southern outskirts of Bhaktapur in Nepal, at the confluence of two rivers (according to Acharya 1992, 37–38 and 298):

*kiṃciddūre saṅgamasya yajñabhūmiṃ manoharām |*  
*vidhāya munibhir sārddhaṃ vājapeyam athākarot ||*  
*yajñam samāpya vālmīkir navanāḍimayaṃ girim |*  
*āruroha dvijaśreṣṭho munibhir munisattamaḥ ||*  
*kaṭake tasya śailasya nānānirjharasobhite |*  
*liṅgaṃ saṃsthāpayām āsa vālmīkiśvarasaṃjñitam ||*  
*sthāpayitvā mahāliṅgaṃ vālmīkir munisattamaḥ |*  
*svāśrame tamasātīre yajau munigaṇair vṛtaḥ ||*  
*vālmīkiśvaram ālokya vāgvibhūtiḥ prajāyate |*  
*ato vāgīśvaram liṅga pravadanti manīṣiṇaḥ ||*

Not far from the confluence [Vālmīki] prepared a nice sacrificial ground together with the sages, and performed the Vājapeya sacrifice. After having completed the sacrifice, Vālmīki, the best of the twice-born, the truest of sages, climbed the mountain on which fresh grass was growing(?)<sup>31</sup> together with the sages. In a valley of the mountain which was embellished with various waterfalls, he installed a *liṅga* called Vālmīkiśvara. Having installed that great *liṅga*, Vālmīki, the truest of sages, surrounded by groups of sages, returned to his own *āśrama* on the banks of the river Tamasā. If one sees the Vālmīkiśvara [*liṅga*], one will have the power of speech (*vāg-vibhūti*). That is why the wise call it the Vāgīśvara-linga.

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

The only toponym left from the list with which we started this section is Suradraha.<sup>32</sup> This sacred place is mentioned as the most important one in VSS 18.15, in a chapter that lists personal names, placenames, rivers, deities, etc., that are considered the best (*śreṣṭha*) of all others in the same category:

*devatānām hariḥ śreṣṭhaḥ śreṣṭhā gaṅgā nadīṣu ca |*  
*anāśanas tapaśśreṣṭhas tirthaśreṣṭhaḥ suradrahaḥ || 18.15*

<sup>29</sup> Dey 1899, *ibid.*.

<sup>30</sup> Sanderson 2009, II3 n. 241.

<sup>31</sup> *navanāḍimayaṃ*. Emend to *navanadīmayam* (‘having nine rivers’)?

<sup>32</sup> Always spelt *surahrada* in Naraharinath’s edition.

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

This suggests that the location of Suradaha could potentially give us a hint on the geographic centre of the community in which the VSS was commissioned or composed. Unfortunately, at the moment I have no useful information on Suradaha. Nevertheless, I suppose that it should be a sacred place in the Kathmandu valley. The word *draha* is attested in Monier-Williams’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary as a variant of *brada* (‘pond’). In classical Newar the corresponding form is *daha* (Malla 2000, 218). Suradaha may stand for Sūradaha, that is Sūryadaha, which is a ‘pond situated in Devakuru’ according to Mehta & Chandra 1972, 850.<sup>33</sup> In fact, Sūryahrada, that is, Sūradaha, is one of the so-called *yamaka*-lakes in Devakuru in the North in Jaina cosmography (see Kirfel 1920, 235–236).

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

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

Perhaps the most telling of all toponyms found in the VSS is Mr̥gen-

<sup>33</sup> The references given are the Jaina *Jambūdvīpaprājñapti* and *Sthānāṅgasūtra*.

<sup>34</sup> The city we are looking for is clearly in the South, therefore Karavīrapura as ‘the Piṭha of the North’ in Kashmir is not a good candidate (see, e.g., Sanderson 2007, 261). Rather, as Dey (1899, 35) puts it: ‘A town situated on the north of the Western Ghāts near Jooner [Junnar?], on the bank of the Venā [Venna], a branch of the Krishnā, where Krishna met Parasurāma and killed its king named Srigāla (*Harivansa*).’ See *Harivaṃśa* App. I. 18.352–355: *pūrvajais tava govinda pūrvam puram idaṃ kṛtam | karavīrapuram nāma rāṣṭram caiva niveṣitam || pure ’smin nṛpatiḥ kṛṣṇa vāsudevo mahāyaśāḥ | sṛgāla iti vikhyāto nityam paramakopanaḥ ||*; and also *Padmapurāṇa* 6.106.3: *āsīt sahyādriviṣaye karavīrapure purā | brāhmaṇo dharmavit kaścid dharmadatto ’tīvīrutah ||*.

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

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

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

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

Devaśarman asks his disciple, Vipula, to protect his wife, Ruci, primarily from Indra’s amorous advances, while he is away from home. Vipula decides that the only way he can protect Ruci is from within, i.e., by entering her body by yogic powers. Vipula succeeds in protecting Ruci’s reputation and departs to practise extreme austerities. Later he encounters several people (in fact, as we learn later, Day and Night, and the six seasons) who mention ‘Vipula’s path to the other world’ (*vipulasya pare loka yā gatis*, MBh 13.42.27cd) as something horrible. He wonders what sins he may have committed that could yield such unfortunate consequences. He realizes that by not telling Devaśarman that he actually entered Ruci’s body, he lied and thus may have committed a horrible sin. When Devaśarman learns about this, he praises Vipula for his services instead, and all three, Devaśarman, his wife, and Vipula, go to heaven.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, ironically, while the Vipula of the MBh is famous for protecting

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

<sup>37</sup> See fn. 36.

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

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



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

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## Introduction

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

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

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

As for the dating of the VSS, the *terminus ante quem* for its composition/redaction the obvious date is the earliest MSS that transmits it. The earliest dated MS that contains the VSS is Ko<sub>77</sub>. It is dated to Nepal Samvat 156, i.e., 1035–36 CE.<sup>40</sup> In a multiple-text MS<sup>41</sup> that is potentially earlier than Ko<sub>77</sub>, the VSS is written in a hand that seems later than that used for some of the other texts within the MS.<sup>42</sup> The final colophon of the VSS (and the DharmP) in this MS (f. 50r) is followed by the date [Nepāla] ‘samvat 192,’ i.e., 1071–1072 CE.

The above mentioned two MSS make it impossible to date the VSS later than to the first half of the 11th century CE, and parts of the text could be considerably older than that period. Archaic features that may indicate that the VSS or parts of it were composed much earlier than the early 11th century include the following. Chapter ten, while it teaches the yogic tubes (*nāḍī*) Suṣumnā and Iḍā, is silent on Piṅgalā, which is a situation similar to

<sup>40</sup> See Shastri 1928, 721 and De Simini & Mirnig 2017, 591. The date is clearly visible as ‘samvat 156’ in the last line of the penultimate folio side of Ko<sub>77</sub>/8.

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

<sup>42</sup> Harimoto 2022, 597–598: ‘This Śivadharma ms consists of two major parts, easily distinguishable by different hands: one that appears to be produced in 9th-c. Nepal [...], and another seemingly from a century or so later [...] The next set of folios making up this Śivadharma ms consists of three titles: the *Uttaromāmaheśvarasaṃvāda\** (24 folios), the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (50 folios), and the *Dharmaputrikā* (11 folios). We do not know the original order of these three works because each section starts with folio 1. Moreover, even though these three titles appear to be written by the same hand (probably somewhat later than the first part), there is no certainty that these folios were produced to complement the first part.’

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

that in the 6-7-century *Niśvāsa naya*<sup>43</sup> (see details at the analysis of chapter 10 on pp. xli and in the notes to the translation). Similarly, 11.23a (*nivṛtṭyādi caturvedas*) mentions four Śaiva *kalās*, instead of the expected and somewhat later, and in character tantric, five, namely *nivṛtti*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *vidyā*, *śānti*, and *śāntyatīta*. In the same chapter, the order in which the *āśramas* are taught (*grhastha*, *brahmacārin*, *vānaprastha*, *parivrājaka*) is reminiscent of *Āpastambadharmasūtra* 2.9.21.1, and is relatively rare, as opposed to the traditional order (*brahmacārin*, *grhastha*, *vānaprastha*, *parivrājaka*) found, e.g., in Manu. (See Kiss 2021, 195–196.) Another feature that might point towards a date considerably earlier than the 11th century is the system of *tattvas* in chapter 20: the *mahābhūtas* of classical Sāṅkhya are called *dhātus* here, the *tanmātras* of classical Sāṅkhya are called *guṇas*,<sup>44</sup> the *buddhi* of classical Sāṅkhya is called *mati*, and the highest *tattva* is singular unlike the multiple *puruṣas* of classical Sāṅkhya. These may well be archaisms included in the VSS consciously, but they could also indicate that the time of composition of the VSS is much closer to pre-classical Sāṅkhya than what the MS evidence suggests.<sup>45</sup>

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

## Authors, redactors and target audience

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

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

The *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*’s role in the Śivadharmas corpus is then twofold: it

<sup>43</sup> Goodall, Sanderson, & Isaacson 2015, 33–35.

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

<sup>45</sup> There are also numerous borrowings in VSS 20 from the Śāntiparvan of the MBh. See more details at the analysis of VSS chapter 20 in volume two.

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

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

MORE...

## Pāśupatas in the VSS

### Tantric influence?

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

## Buddhism in the VSS

### Misc

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

## Language

### *Newar influence?*

The language of the VSS goes beyond the idiosyncrasies of epic Sanskrit. It exhibits strong similarities to Śaiva Aīśa Sanskrit,<sup>46</sup> and it applies particular metrical licences and uses a special vocabulary, morphology and syntax. The analysis of this language, ideally, would help us confirm the identity of the author(s) or redactor(s) of the text, and our views on its place of composition. In fact, to feed a working hypothesis, I will mention parallelisms between the language of the VSS and early classical Newar—since the VSS was most probably produced in the Kathmandu valley<sup>47</sup>—whenever possible. Of course, the assumable date of the composition of the VSS, which is without much doubt early 11th century or before, does not allow much direct comparison with contemporary Newar language texts.<sup>48</sup> Therefore I have to project a much later Newar grammar onto an earlier and less well-known state of the language, which is not without risks.

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

### *Number and gender*

One of the most evident deviation from Pāṇinian grammar in the text of the VSS is a general disregard of grammatical concord as to number and gender.<sup>49</sup> See, e.g., a plural verb (*metri causa?*) with a singular subject in VSS 1.25ab:

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

<sup>47</sup> See pp. xx ff.

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

<sup>49</sup> Compare Kölver’s introductory remarks in his investigation of ‘Newarized Sanskrit’ (Kölver 1999, 202) in the *Svayambhūpurāṇa* thus (ibid. 192):

‘Number is often ignored

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

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

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

## Introduction

*rātryāgame praliyante jagat sarvaṃ carācaram*

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

See a neuter plural participle picking up a neuter singular and a feminine singular noun in 1.61ab:

*pramāṇaṃ nāma saṃkhyā ca kīrtitāni samāsataḥ*

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

This confusion, or often metrically forced disregard of standard Sanskrit grammar, when dealing with number and gender, becomes almost predictable when the noun phrase involves numerals.<sup>50</sup> See, e.g., verse 1.2cd:

*parva cāsya śataṃ pūrṇaṃ śrutvā bhāratasaṃhitām*

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

Here one would expect either a plural genitive (*parvāṇāṃ śataṃ*), a compound (*śataparvāṇi*), or a plural accusative (*parvāṇi śataṃ*). Similarly, *gatiś ca pañca vijñeyāḥ* in 3.5a stands for *gatayaś ca pañca vijñeyāḥ* (‘and the paths are to be known as five’), partly metri causa; and an interrogative quantifier (*kati*, ‘how many?’) can trigger the same: *gatis tasya kati smṛtāḥ* (3.1d; ‘how many are its path[s]?’). It is not without interest that classical Newar rarely applies any plural marker in noun phrases with numerals.<sup>51</sup> Moreover in Newar, ‘nouns denoting inanimate objects are indifferent as to number.’<sup>52</sup> A further clear example is verse 3.6cd:

*tasya patnī mahābhāgā trayodaśa sumadhyamāḥ*

He has thirteen beautiful wives with nice waists.

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

<sup>50</sup> I am thankful to Judit Törzsök, who first pointed out to me the regular nature of the phenomenon itself as seen in the VSS, and who later drew my attention to the similar Newar grammatical rule (personal communication, Nov 29, 2023), which led me to an investigation of a possible link between the Sanskrit of the VSS and classical Newar.

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

<sup>52</sup> Jørgensen 1941, 5 and 17.

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

what we often see in Newar.<sup>53</sup> A good example of total number-blindness is 5.17cd:

*kīrtitāni viśeṣeṇa śaucācāram aśeṣataḥ*

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

Note that there would have been little problem in composing the same line in standard Sanskrit, e.g., beginning with *kīrtitaṃ ca...* Instead, this line gives away something about the author’s indifference towards grammatical concord.<sup>54</sup> Also, the participle *kīrtitāni* might function here as a finite verb in the plural: ‘they teach [the practice of purity].’ In this case there is some sense of number but coupled with a totally blurred boundary between finite verbs and participles.

In general, gender confusion is not unusual in epic Sanskrit and in Aśā.<sup>55</sup> It is its extent in the VSS that suggests a very strong external influence, supposedly of classical Newar.

*Case and syntax*

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

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

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

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

<sup>53</sup> ‘Any case [...] and/or plural markers [...], as well as postpositions [...], are added to the last constituent of the N[oun] P[hrase].’ (Otter 2020, 11–12.) E.g.: in the Newar phrase *thwo khum-na khañ-ā rājā-pani* (‘these kings seen by the thief’), the only indication that multiple kings are involved is the plural marker *-pani* at the end (ibid.).

<sup>54</sup> Compare Kölver’s remark on the phrase *āgataḥ sarve nāgāḥ* in *Svayambhūpurāṇa* (on p. 459 in Shastri 1894): ‘this is a remarkable lack of sensitivity as to the category of number’ (Kölver 1999, 195).

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



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

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

*indreṇāsmi phalaṃ dattaṃ sa phalaṃ datta me bhavān*

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

Again, this is the translation that seems to fit the context. Here the skeleton of *pāda* c is a well-constructed passive: *indreṇa phalaṃ dattaṃ*, but then, instead of adding a dative or genitive (e.g., *indreṇa me phalaṃ dattaṃ*), the author chooses a finite verb (*asmi*). In *pāda* d, after seemingly treating *phalaṃ* as a masculine noun, and leaving *datta* in stem form metri causa, and using *me* for *mayā*,<sup>58</sup> this time ends the phrase with a noun in the nominative (*bhavān*) instead of the dative or genitive. Why not try to write *dattaṃ tad eva te mayā*,<sup>59</sup> or *dattaṃ tava tad eva ca*? Constructions with *datta/kathita* plus an expected dative are especially prone to confusion. See, e.g., VSS 1.62cd–63ab and 10.2d:

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

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

*bravīmi vaḥ purāvṛttaṃ nandinā kathito 'smi aham*

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

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

<sup>57</sup> Most of them are addressed in the footnotes to the translation.

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

<sup>59</sup> Although this solution carries the metric fault of being iambic.

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

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

*eṣa garbhasamutpattiḥ kathito 'smi varānane*

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

*āgneyadhātum somaṃ ca kathito 'smi varānane*

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

*kathito 'smi samāsenā kim anyac chrotum icchasi*

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

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

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

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

*caturmaunasya vakṣyāmi śṛṇuṣvāvahito bhava*

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

One could say that *pāda* a is simply elliptical and that a verb like *lakṣaṇam* or *svabhāvam* (‘the characteristics/essence [of X]’) is missing. 1.37ab is similar:

*brahmāṇḍānāṃ prasamkhyātum mayā śakyaṃ katham dvija*

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

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

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

<sup>61</sup> This happens also in Aiśa. See, e.g., *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 18.23: *pūjayet ... mantriṇā* (Törzsök 1999, 42).

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

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

yajec cakre ca vidhivad yoginīsiddhim icchatā 21.12cd

### Cardinal and ordinal numbers

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

*caturviṃśati yat tattvaṃ prakṛtiṃ viddhi niścayam*  
*dvāviṃśati ahaṃkāras tattvaṃ uktaṃ maṇiśibhiḥ*

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

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

### Stem form nouns

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

<sup>62</sup> Edgerton 1953, vol. 1, §7.65, p. 47.

<sup>63</sup> See Oberlies 2003, §5.2.2, pp. 127–128.

<sup>64</sup> See Jørgensen 1941, 42 and Otter 2020, 57.

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

<sup>66</sup> Jørgensen 1941, 18 and 21, and Otter 2020, 16.

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- 1.63a: *vāyunā pāda saṃkṣīpya* (*pādam*)
- 1.63c: *tenāpi pāda saṃkṣīpya* (*pādam*)
- 2.25c: *bhogam akṣaya tatraiva* (*akṣayaṃ*)
- 2.26d: *īśānānāṃ smṛtālayaḥ* (*smṛta ālayaḥ*)
- 4.19f: *prasahyasteya pañcamam* (*°steyaṃ*)
- 4.72a: *caturdhyānādhunā* (*°dhyānam adhunā*)
- 4.77a: *pramādashāna pañcaiva* (*°sthānam* or *°sthānāni*)
- 6.5c: *vedādhyaṇa kartavyaṃ* (*vedādhyaṇam*)
- 6.14a: *dvitīyaṃ tattva puruṣaṃ* (*tattvaṃ*)

*Vocabulary*

Special vocabulary/language: karhacit, hr̥di as nominative 10.27cd, tīrya, me as mayā, āhūtaplavana

generate list from index

Modern Nepali: singular after numerals.

Kölver

No short-long

*Metre*

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

For context, it is perhaps not useless to briefly show what a well-known author on prosody, Kedārabhaṭṭa (11th or 12th century),<sup>71</sup> who is frequently quoted by Mallinātha, has to say on this phenomenon in his *Vṛttarat-*

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

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

<sup>69</sup> See, e.g., Apte 1890, Appendix A p. 1.

<sup>70</sup> See, e.g., the cadence of 5.15b: *śukaśyenakān* for U U- U-

<sup>71</sup> Ollett 2013, 333.

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*nākara* (here given together with Sulhaṇa’s *Sukavihṛdayanandinī* commentary):<sup>72</sup>

*padādāv iha varṇasya saṃyogaḥ kramasaṃjñikah |*  
*puraḥsthitena tena syāl laghutā ’pi kvacid guroḥ || I.10 ||*

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

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

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

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

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

The example verse given above (I.11) is in *āryā*, and the metric pattern of the second half-verse is, strictly speaking, the following:

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

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

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

<sup>72</sup> Patel 2020.

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

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

*padādāv iti kim | anyatra mā bhūt |*

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

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

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

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

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

- 3.42d: *etatpunyapha*(*la*)*m ahimsakajanaḥ prāpnoti niḥsaṃśayaḥ (śārdūla-*  
*vikrīḍita)*  
 4.5a: *na narmayu*(*ktā*)*m anṛtaṃ hinasti (upajāti)*<sup>75</sup>  
 4.39c: *aśeṣaya*(*jñā*)*tapadānapuṇyaṃ (upajāti)*

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

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

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- 4.59c: vijñānadha(rma)kulakīrtināśa (upajāti)  
4.59d: bhavanti vi(pra)damayā vihīnāḥ (upajāti)  
5.20a: śaucāśaucavidhiṇa mānava ya(di) kālakṣaye niścayaḥ (śārdūlavikrīḍita)  
6.18b: jijnāsyantām dvijen(dra) bhavadahanakaraḥ prārthanākalpavṛkṣaḥ (sragdharā)  
7.13b: saubhā(gya)m atulaṃ labheta sa nara rūpaṃ tathā śobhanam (śārdūlavikrīḍita)  
8.44d: na bhavati punaja(nma) kalpakotyaṅyute 'pi (mālinī)  
11.42b: saṃsāroddhara(na)m anityahara(na)m ajñānanirmūlanam (śārdūlavikrīḍita)  
11.42c: prajñāvṛddhika(ra)m amoghakaraṇam kleśārṇavottāraṇam (śārdūlavikrīḍita)  
11.42d: janmavyādhiha(ra)m akarmadahanam sevet sa dharmottamam (śārdūlavikrīḍita)  
12.150c: nityaṃ rogādhivā(sa)m aniyatavapuṣaṃ trāhi māṃ kālāpāśāt (sragdharā)

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

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

## Contents and analysis of chapters 1–12

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

### *Adhyāya 1*

After a *maṅgala*-verse that addresses a deity whose identity is obscure (is it Śiva or the impersonal Brahman?; verse 1.1), we enter the first layer of the text, which comprises a dialogue between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana and could be labelled Dharmaśāstric. Janamejaya wishes to hear the essence, the ultimate Dharmic teaching, of the *Mahābhārata*. In response, Vaiśampāyana starts relating a dialogue during which Viṣṇu, disguised as a Brahmin, tests an ascetic called Anarthayajña, reknown for performing non-material sacrifice (*anarthayajña*, the topic of *adhyāya* eleven), and a devotee of Viṣṇu (which becomes clear in *adhyāya* twenty-one). This is the beginning of the layer one could label Vaiṣṇava. The first topic they discuss is *brahmavidyā* (1.9–10), and ambiguous definition of the impersonal Brahman and/or the syllable *om*. The next topic is *kāla* (‘death, time’), the origin of the body, karma (1.11–17), and the divisions of time (from *truṭi*, *nimeṣa* up to *kalpas*, 1.18–30), which leads to a teaching on numbers, from one up to two hundred quadrillion (*para*, 1.31–35). Verses 1.36–39 introduce a list of the rulers of the eight regions of the Brahmāṇḍa (1.40–48). In addition, Viṣṇu features as the ruler of the centre of the Brahmāṇḍa (1.49), reconfirming the general Vaiṣṇava character of this layer. 1.50–57 give the number of subordinates to each ruler mentioned above. 1.58–61 teaches the measurements of the Brahmāṇḍa. Finally, verses 1.62–75 list the redactors and transmitters of the Purāṇas, from Brahmā to Vyāsa Dvaipāyana, Romaharṣa, and Romaharṣa’s son Amitabuddhi.

Keywords: Brahmā, Brahman

### *Adhyāya 2*

Perhaps a later, tantric, insertion?

2. śivāṇḍasaṃkhyā

<sup>76</sup> See a Sanskrit summary of the contents of the VSS, based on Naraharinath’s edition, in Acharya 2014, 61–72 **CHECK**.



*Introduction*

*Adhyāya 3*

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

*Adhyāya 4*

*Adhyāya 5*

*Adhyāya 6*

*Adhyāya 7*

*Adhyāya 8*

*Adhyāya 9*

*Adhyāya 10*

*Adhyāya 11*

*Adhyāya 12*

3. ahimsāpraśaṃsā 4. yamavibhāga 5. śaucācāraavidhi 6. yajñavidhi (also lokāḥ)  
7. dānapraśaṃsā 8. niyamaśaṃsā (p. 603: types of svādhyāyana: śaiva, sāmkhya,  
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. jī-  
vanirṇaya 16. adhyātmanirṇaya (yoga) 17. dānadharma 18. pūrvakarmavipāka  
19. dānayajñaviśeṣa 20. pañcaviṃśatitattvanirṇaya 21. kalpanirṇaya 22. varṇagotrāśrama  
23. nidrotpatti 24. śāstravarṇana  
everybody is donating to everybody,  
the final donor is Brahmā  
lot of testing going on in the frame story and also  
in chapter 12  
also the disguise thing is recurring: 12.37 and ch 1 and  
when Viṣṇu reveals his identity

Topics in chapters 13–24

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

### Introduction to the Critical Edition

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>79</sup> He must have worked from paper manuscripts, see p. 9.

<sup>80</sup> Hanneder 2009, 5.

## *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

times each manuscript or each chapter, *horribile dictu*, each verse, requires a slightly different approach, and these approaches keep changing during the editorial process. For example, the idea that there could be a connection between the linguistic oddities of the VSS’s language and classical Newar<sup>81</sup> arose relatively late, and it did change my views on some textual problems and some of the solutions thereof, and led me to change some of my previously proposed emendations. Thus editing is always subjective in the sense that the method applied is influenced by the editor’s knowledge of the text, the genre, the milieu, etc., or in the case of this edition, the collective knowledge of all my colleagues who took part in VSS reading and brain-storming sessions throughout the years.

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

## Witnesses

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

<sup>81</sup> See p. xxx.

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

<sup>83</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

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

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

### Cambridge manuscripts

**(N)C<sub>94</sub>** Cambridge University Library, Add. 1694.1. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a detailed description of this manuscript in the CUDL online catalogue.<sup>87</sup> According to this catalogue, the date of creation of this manuscript is the 12th century, and its dimensions are 5 × ca. 53.5 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 258 folios and transmitting eight texts: 1) *Śivadharmaśāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasamgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*, 5) *Uttarottaramahāsamvāda*, 6) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha*, 7) *Dharmaputrikā*, 8) *Śivopaniṣad*.

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

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

<sup>84</sup> Bisschop 2018, Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, and Bisschop, Kafle, & Kiss forthcoming.

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

<sup>86</sup> I have not used NGMCP B 219/3 NAK 4/2537 (paper, Maithilī script), and L<sub>16</sub> (paper, Devanāgarī script, see below).

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

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well-preserved. Some folio sides are faded and most folios are somewhat damaged on the right side, sometimes at other parts, and it seems from the images that some opaque-looking tape has been applied to protect these damaged sections. In my critical edition the broken off, completely lost, *akṣaras* are represented by ---, the illegible *akṣaras* under the tape by ✖ (‘illegible’). The quality of the readings of this manuscript is one of the best among the available witnesses, comparable only to K<sub>82</sub> and P<sub>57</sub>, making it one of the most important sources for the VSS.

(N)C<sub>45</sub> Cambridge University Library, Add. 1645. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a detailed description of this manuscript in the CUDL online catalogue.<sup>88</sup> According to this catalogue, its dimensions are 4.4 × 61.7 cm. The manuscript is dated to (Nepāla) ‘*saṃvat 259 śrāvaṇa śukla dvādaśīyā di < trayodaśyām,*’ which converts to July 10/11 Monday/Tuesday, 1139 CE.<sup>89</sup> The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 247 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, 4) *Śivopaniṣad*, 5) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *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<sub>82</sub> remarkably closely while transmitting the *Śivadharmottara* (as observed by De Simini and Harimoto).<sup>90</sup> This is more difficult to see in the case of the VSS, but

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

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

<sup>90</sup> Personal communication, 1 Dec 2021.

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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>91</sup> According to this catalogue, the date of creation is the 12th century, and the dimensions of the manuscript are 4.8 × ca. 52.5 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 96 folios. Six texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmottara*, 2) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, 3) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 4) *Śivopaniṣad*, 5) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 6) *Dharmaputrikā* (only f. 322v). Note that the *Śivadharmottara* starts on f. 51r, thus the part that most probably contained the *Śivadharmasāstra* is lost.

The VSS starts on f. 267r line 1 (online image no. 181). The online description labels this image as f. 237r. This first folio in fact has no visible foliation. The previous text, the *Śivopaniṣad*, ended on f. 236v, with pāda b of verse 7.122,<sup>92</sup> which is not the end of the *Śivopaniṣad*: about eighteen verses, probably transmitted in one single folio, are lost. This means that, if the foliation and the order of the folios are presented correctly, and if the portion containing the VSS indeed belongs to the same manuscript, folios 237–266, i.e. thirty folios, are missing. They must have transmitted the *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, which takes up twenty-three folios in C<sub>94</sub>, and twenty folios in C<sub>45</sub>. Thus this MS did most probably transmit all eight texts of the Śivadharm corpus.<sup>93</sup>

This first folio of the VSS is in a hand which is different from the rest of the manuscript, but the hand changes back in the next folio.<sup>94</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the apparatus, the siglum C<sub>Σ</sub> signifies all three Cambridge MSS described above.

*Kathmandu palm-leaf 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>96</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>97</sup> The script is Nepālākṣara. It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 274 folios. Eight texts are

below.

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

<sup>96</sup> [https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp\\_ngmcpdocument\\_00098499](https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00098499)

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



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

As for each text in this collection, the foliation for the VSS restarts from f. iv (f. ir is a cover) and the text spans ff. iv–46r. This is a beautifully written and well-preserved manuscript which gives very useful readings and has proved to be essential for the reconstruction of the VSS.<sup>98</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>99</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 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 1.60 (*viṃśakoṭīṣu gulmeṣu ūrdhva*<sup>o</sup>). Verses 1.60d–2.22 seem to be missing. The lower leaf on exp. 43 contains verses 2.23–2.39. The single leaf in exp. 42 contains verses 2.40–3.16a. Exp. 41 contains a single leaf of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, ending in a colophon for its chapter twenty-two, and still going backwards, the preceding folios continue transmitting the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. Exploring the presence of the VSS in this manuscript further, one should look at the expositions after no. 44. Exp. 45 contains the end of the *Śivopaniṣad*. The single leaf on exp. 46 is almost illegible but most probably contains a fragment of the *Gautamadharmasūtra*. The second line just above the string hole on the left reads ... *vīrud vanaspatīnāṃ ca puṣpāṇi svavad ādadīte*..., which is a fragment of *Gautamadharmasūtra* 2.3.25 (12.28). The remaining parts of the VSS are to be found on exp. 47ff. The upper leaf on exp. 47 continues with VSS 3.16b–36ab, while the lower leaf contains a text that I have not been able to identify. The lower leaf in exp. 48 transmits 3.36cd–4.11ab, the upper one 4.11b–30a. The lower leaf in exp. 49 contains 4.30ab–47ab, the upper one 47d–68a, and so on so forth. Thus when reading the text from these images, after exp. 48, one has to start with the lower leaf and

<sup>98</sup> See a similar evaluation in Bisschop 2018, 56.

<sup>99</sup> [https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp\\_ngmcpdocument\\_00085264](https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00085264)



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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>100</sup> According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 58 × 6 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara. Dated to Nepāla Samvat 290 (1169–70 CE). It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 289 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *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>101</sup> According to this catalogue, the dimensions of the manuscript are 58.5 × 5.5 cm. The script is Nepālākṣara and the MS is dated to Nepāla Samvat 321 (1200–01 CE). It is a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript containing 215 folios. Eight texts are transmitted in this manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (only a few folios are extant, e.g. ff. 124 and 143), 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*.

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

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

NGMPP A 11/3, NAK 5-738<sup>102</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.

<sup>100</sup> [https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp\\_ngmcpdocument\\_00062373](https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_ngmcpdocument_00062373)

<sup>101</sup> [http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A\\_3-3\\_Śivadharmasāstra](http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A_3-3_Śivadharmasāstra)

<sup>102</sup> [http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A\\_11-3\\_Śivadharmottara](http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A_11-3_Śivadharmottara)

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### *Kathmandu paper manuscripts*

(N)K<sub>41</sub> NGMCP A 1341/6, NAK 4–93. Paper, 82 folios, probably from the 17th century (see the description of K<sub>107</sub> below). This MS contains two texts: *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (ff. 91r–135v) and *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (ff. 204r–243v). Collated only for chapter eight in this volume. As already seen from the folio numbers, this multiple-text manuscript must have contained more than two texts originally, most probably of the Śivadharm corpus. The script of this MS seems extremely similar to that of K<sub>107</sub>, a MS dated to 1688 CE (see below). Thus it seems probable that this MS is also from the 17th century.

K<sub>41</sub> is a good example to see how relatively late witnesses, a paper MS, can be important. Its readings are relatively independent of most palm-leaf MSS, and seem to shed some light on what source(s) Naraharinath may have used because there are a great number of instances where E and K<sub>41</sub> (and K<sub>107</sub>, see below) read together against most other witnesses. E.g., C<sub>94</sub>, C<sub>45</sub>, C<sub>02</sub>, K<sub>82</sub>, K<sub>10</sub>, K<sub>7</sub>, K<sub>3</sub>, and M read *bhāratasaṃhitām*, or a slightly corrupt form of the same, in 1.2cd, while the two paper MSS K<sub>41</sub>, and K<sub>107</sub>, and Naraharinath’s E read (a clearly wrong) *nāradasaṃhitām*. Similarly, in 1.17cd most witnesses read *vettum arhasi*, while K<sub>41</sub>, K<sub>107</sub>, and E (and M!) read *vaktum arhasi*. In 1.44b, K<sub>41</sub> and E read *mṛddhe*<sup>103</sup> instead of *śṛṇu* and *śṛṅge* in all other witnesses. In some instances, the paper MSS K<sub>41</sub> and K<sub>107</sub> give readings that might be old or ‘original.’ E.g., 20.40d is missing in a great number of MSS (C<sub>94</sub>, C<sub>45</sub>, K<sub>82</sub>, K<sub>10</sub>), K<sub>7</sub> gives (improvises?) a less than perfect *tān nibodha dvijottamaḥ*,<sup>104</sup> while K<sub>41</sub>, K<sub>107</sub>, and E give a similarly imperfect *viññeyā ca manīṣibhiḥ*.<sup>105</sup> Sometimes these two paper MSS either alter the text, or again, preserve older readings. E.g., in 16.34 K<sub>41</sub>, K<sub>107</sub>, and E give *bhagavān uvāca* against all other witnesses’ *maheśvara uvāca*. After 12.30d (*vipulaḥ punar abravīt*), K<sub>41</sub>, K<sub>107</sub>, and again E, insert a somewhat unnecessary *vipula uvāca*. These and many other examples could prove that Naraharinath used manuscripts that were close to K<sub>41</sub> and K<sub>107</sub>, and some of the oddities in his edition originate in fact in actual readings rather than misreadings or 20th-century alterations.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>103</sup> K<sub>107</sub> reads a similar *grdbhe*.

<sup>104</sup> One would expect the vocative *dvijottama*.

<sup>105</sup> The correct sandhi would be *viññeyās ca*.

<sup>106</sup> Compare this with Bisschop, Kifle, & Lubin 2021, 58–59, especially the following piece of information: ‘According to the information kindly provided by Diwakar Acharya (personal communication), it may have been based on a Devanāgarī manuscript from the time of Raṇa Bahādur Shah (1775–1806).’

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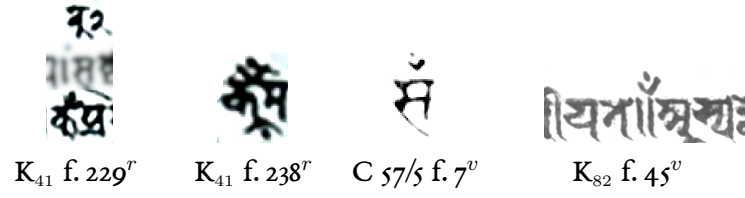


Figure 5: *Kākapadas*

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

Consulting Einicke 2009, a rich catalogue of editorial marks, one gets the impression that this type of *kākapada*, which has a dot in it, is not frequently seen. Two instances of such a *kākapada* occur in two NGMPP *Viṣṇudharmaśāstra* MSS from 1661 and 1713 CE,<sup>107</sup> one in the above mentioned Śivadharma MS NGMPP C 57/5 from 1826 CE,<sup>108</sup> and in a *Kālacakratantra* MS written in old Bengali script from 1446 CE, which has (most probably much later) corrections in Nepālākṣara script.<sup>109</sup>

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

<sup>107</sup> MSS G 18/2 and B 218/2, Einicke 2009, 161–162 and 236.

<sup>108</sup> Einicke 2009, 164 and 328.

<sup>109</sup> Einicke 2009, 65–66 and 328. On p. 66, Einicke remarks: ‘Besonderheiten: Korrekturen einzelner Zeichen in späterer Newārī-Schrift am Rand’.

Introduction

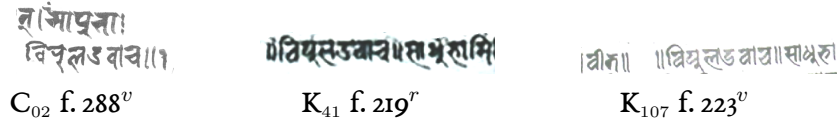


Figure 6: Insertion of *vipula uvāca* in  $C_{02}$


To spot this, our anonymous editor had to carefully compare the old palm-leaf MS with the 17th-century paper MS.<sup>110</sup>

These observations also shed some light on the origin of the first folio of  $C_{02}$ , which is in a hand that looks later than that in the rest of that MS.<sup>111</sup> Most old palm-leaf MSS start with *karmahetuḥ śarīrasya* etc. at VSS 1.14ab, while the two paper MSS  $K_{41}$  and  $K_{107}$ , and Naraharinath read *anarthayajña uvāca* || *karmahetuḥ śarīrasya*. The only palm-leaf MS that reads with the paper MSS is  $C_{02}$ , on its only folio that is written in a later hand. This at least tells us that the supplied first folio in  $C_{02}$  comes from a source that is closer to the paper MSS than to the old palm-leaf MSS, and it could also be another piece of evidence for editorial activity by someone who carefully examined these sources, and in addition, introduced fresh contamination. For this kind of easy-to-spot contamination, a good example is the insertion of the somewhat unnecessary *vipula uvāca* in palm-leaf NS  $C_{02}$  after 12.30, inspired by paper MS  $K_{41}$ , and/or  $K_{107}$  (see Figure 6). Note the tiny *kākapada* with the dot on the palm-leaf on the left and the insertion in a different hand in the margin below. It seems probable that our anonymous editor went through some paper MSS and noted differences in the palm-leaf MS  $C_{02}$  (and in  $K_{82}$ , see Figure 5).

(N) $K_{107}$  NGMCP C107/7, NAK 9/537. Paper. Size: 37.1 × 10.8 cm. 174 folios. This MS is dated to NS 809 (1688–89 CE),<sup>112</sup> Folios 1–88 are missing. These must have contained the *Śivadharmasāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*.<sup>113</sup> The MS thus contains only six texts: 1) *Śivadharmasamgraha* ff. 89r–133v, 2) *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda* ff. 134r–163v, 3) *Śivopaniṣad* ff. 164r–181r, 4) *Uttarottaramahāsamvāda* ff. 182r–206v, 5) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha* ff. 207r–251v, 6) *Dharmaputrikā* ff. 252r–262v.

<sup>110</sup> More on this in volume two.

<sup>111</sup> See p. 5.

<sup>112</sup>  (f. 262v). De Simini reads NS 803 (2016b, 253 n. 51). I prefer reading NS 809.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. De Simini 2016b, 252 n. 48. See also an unfinished table of contents on f. 262r, which confirms that at least the *Śivadharmasāstra* was part of this bundle: || *asyānukramah* || *prathama śivadharmo nāma*.

### *Vṛṣasārasaṅgraha*

The script of this 17th-century MS seems extremely similar to that of K<sub>41</sub>, therefore the latter can also be dated to the 17th century. USE IT? **CHECK**

#### *Munich manuscript*

**M** This MS is preserved at the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich, Germany.<sup>114</sup> It has no access number. I have collated the readings of this MS only for VSS chapters one and five as a test. I received the digital images of this MS from Kengo Harimoto shortly after he had taken pictures of it in Munich on Nov 16, 2021. This MS contains the following texts: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Umāmaheśvarasaṁvāda*, 4) *Śivopaniṣad*, 5) *Vṛṣasārasaṅgraha*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṁvāda*, 7) *Dharmaputrikā*. The section that must have contained the *Śivadharmasaṅgraha*, ff. 82–121, is lost. The portion that contains the VSS and the *Dharmaputrikā* is dated (f. 50r line 5): || *iti vṛṣasārasaṅgrāhe caturviṃśatimodhyāyah samāptah | samvat 192 māghakṛṣṇadivāpañcamyām || postakalikhitam 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.

#### *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

<sup>114</sup> Harimoto 2022, 596. See more detail in that paper.

## Introduction

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 1.58d–2.21ab, as well as 3.14–42 and 4.1–7. Foliation appears on the verso side: in the left-hand margin in Newari alphabetical numerals and in the right-hand margin in arabic numerals by a second hand. The portion that contains the VSS is fairly well-preserved and the text is written in a clear hand. Although it is an undated manuscript, it could be dated to the 11th century CE on palaeographical grounds. It contains the following text in the order they are presented in the manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasamgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasamgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*. The VSS appears on ff. 212–252. This source gives reliable readings and contains relatively few scribal mistakes.<sup>115</sup>

### Oxford manuscript

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

### Kolkata manuscripts

**(N)Ko<sub>77</sub>** MS G4077 in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Kolkata.<sup>116</sup> This is a palm leaf MS, transmitting the VSS in 52 folios. The MS is dated to July 6, 1036 CE (Nepāla Samvat 156; see De Simini 2017, 542), which makes it

<sup>115</sup> This description had as its starting point a shorter description written and kindly shared with me by Nirajan Kafle.

<sup>116</sup> I am grateful to Daniella Cappello and Marco Francheschini for managing to obtain digital copies of most of the folios of this MS.

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

‘the oldest known dated attestation of the corpus’ (De Simini 2016b, 250–251). In spite of this, after collating this MS for 1.1–12 and 8.1–8, I abandoned it because its readings seemed rather useless.<sup>117</sup>

**(N)Ko<sub>76</sub>** MS G 4076 in the collection of The Asiatic Society, Kolkata.<sup>118</sup> Shastri 1928 (716–718) gives a detailed description of this manuscript along with the text of VSS 1.1–16. According to Shastri, the dimensions of the MS are 22½ × 2 inches (57.15 × 5.08 cm), the text is complete and the script is of the twelfth century CE.

This manuscript may appear as a rare instance of the VSS being transmitted independently, and not in a multiple-text manuscript, but it seems very likely that it was originally part of Ko<sub>76</sub> (MS G 3852), a Śivadharma corpus MS in the same collection lacking the VSS; see note 82 on page 2.

*Tübingen manuscript*

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

*London manuscript*

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

<sup>117</sup> See, e.g., 8.1–8, as transmitted in this MS: *pañcasvādhyāyanam ihāmutra sukhārthinā | saivasāṅkhyā purāṇāṇ ca smārtabhāratasaṃhitā* ||8.1|| *saivatatvaṃ vicin-tata saivāpāsūpatadvaye | atra vistarata prokta tatvasārasamucaye* ||8.2|| *saṃkhyātatvaṃ tu saṃkhyeṣu bodhavya tatvacintakāḥ | pañcatattvavibhāgena kīrtitāni maharṣibhiḥ* ||8.3|| *purāṇeṣu mahikoṣa vistareṇa prakīrtita | āyoyas ca tiryāṇ ca yatnataḥ samaveśayet* ||8.4|| *smārta varṇṇasamācāra dharmāṇyāyapravarttakam | śiṣṭācāro vikalpena grāhya tatva asahitaḥ* ||8.5|| *itihāsam adhīyānaḥ sarvajñaḥ sa naro bhavet | dharmārthakā-mamokṣeṣu saṃśayas tena chidyate* ||8.6|| *pañcoprasthavinigraha sṃnyāvamhito dvija | striyo vā garhitaḥ svargaḥ svayammuktis ca kīrtiyate | svapnopaghātaṃ viprendra di-vāsvapnaṃ ca pañcamah* ||8.7|| *agamyastri divārsyase dharmapatni ca vā bhavet | virud-dhastri na bhaveta varṇṇavarṇṇabhraṣṭādhikāma ca* ||8.8||

<sup>118</sup> I am grateful to Sushmita Das for attempting to get a copy of this MS in March 2020, and to Daniella Cappello and Marco Francheschini, who managed to do so.



## Introduction

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

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

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



[*spha*]ṭikāṃśam [= *°kāṃbaram*] *eva ca* | *daśayogāsanāsino*

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



*sphaṭikāṃsatam eva ca* || *devayogāsanāsīto*

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

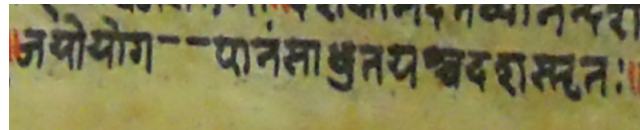
Here K<sub>82</sub> (f. 39v) reads:



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

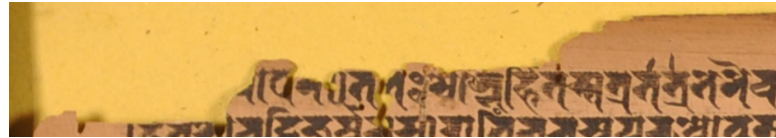
with *dhyā* and *svā* damaged;

L<sub>16</sub> (f. 38ir) cannot read the bit that is completely lost, and it misreads the damaged *dhyānaṃ* as *dhānaṃ*, *svādhyā* as *sādhu*:



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

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

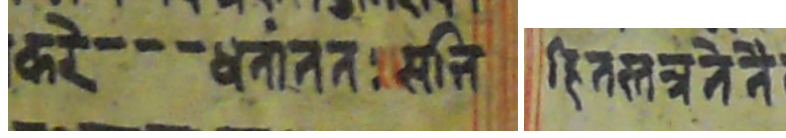




*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

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

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



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

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

*Naraharinath's edition*

**(N)E** Much has been said of Yogi Naraharinath's pioneering but problematic edition (the *editio princeps*) of the Śivadharma corpus (Naraharinath 1998).<sup>119</sup> My impression of the text of the VSS in Naraharinath's edition (pp. 580–678) is that its quality is considerably inferior to those of the other texts of the corpus. It may or may not be Naraharinath's fault; others must have been involved in the process of transcription, and the number and nature of the innumerable mistakes all over the text may also suggest a general problem with the typesetting process. In addition to this, it is clearer and clearer that Naraharinath must have used late paper MSS, and some of the oddities in his text and some of the alterations that are difficult to explain come in fact therefrom. See the description of K<sub>41</sub> and K<sub>107</sub> above. In spite of all the noise in Naraharinath's edition, it was useful to have his text as a starting point, and it is sometimes useful to consider his readings. Therefore I have recorded the readings found in his publication for all twelve chapters given in my critical edition.

<sup>119</sup> See, e.g., De Simini 2016a, 66, n. 190; 2017, 542, Bisschop 2018, 58–59, and Bisschop, Kafle, & Lubin 2021, 55.

## *Introduction*

### Editorial policies

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

SDh MSS from Nepal

stemma...

# वृषसारसंग्रहः

[ तृतीयो ऽध्यायः ]

[धर्मप्रवचनम्]

विगतराग उवाच ।

किमर्थं धर्ममित्याहुः कतिमूर्तिश्च कीर्त्यते ।

कतिपादवृषो ज्ञेयो गतिस्तस्य कति स्मृताः ॥ ३ : १ ॥

कौतूहलं ममोत्पन्नं संशयं छिन्धि तत्त्वतः ।

कस्य पुत्रो मुनिश्रेष्ठ प्रजास्तस्य कति स्मृताः ॥ ३ : २ ॥

अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच ।

धृतिरित्येष धातुर्वै पर्यायः परिकीर्तितः ।

आधारणान्महत्त्वाच्च धर्म इत्यभिधीयते ॥ ३ : ३ ॥

✧

3cd cf. LinP 1.10.12cd–13ab : धारणार्थं महान्दोष धर्मशब्दः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ आधारणे ऽमहत्त्वे च अधर्म इति चोच्यते । 3 cf. BrahmanḍaP 1.32.29 : धारणार्थं धृतिश्चैव धातुः शब्दे प्रकीर्तितः । आधारणामहत्त्वे च अधर्म इति चोच्यते ॥; cf. VāyuP 1.59.28 : धारणा धृतिरित्यर्थाद्धारणोऽधर्मः प्रकीर्तितः । आधारणे ऽमहत्त्वे च अधर्म इति चोच्यते ॥; ≈ MatsP 14.5.27 : धर्मेति धारणे धातुर्महत्त्वे चैव उच्यते । आधारणे महत्त्वे वा धर्मः स तु निरुच्यते ।

Witnesses used for this chapter : P<sub>57</sub> exp. 215r–215v (breaks off after 3.14d and resumes at 4.8a), C<sub>94</sub> ff. 197r–198v, C<sub>45</sub> ff. 204v–206r, C<sub>02</sub> ff. 273r–273v (broke off at 2.21 and resumes at 3.30b), K<sub>82</sub> ff. 4v–6r, K<sub>10</sub> exp. 42, 47 (upper), 48 (lower), K<sub>7</sub> ff. 213r–214v, E pp. 588–591; C<sub>Σ</sub> = C<sub>94</sub> + C<sub>45</sub> + C<sub>02</sub>

✧

(1a) आहुः ] P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, आहु E (1d) स्मृताः ] P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, स्मृता C<sub>45</sub>, स्मृतः E (2a) कौतूहलं ] P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, कौतूहल E • ममोत्पन्नं ] P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>E, समोत्पन्नं K<sub>7</sub> (2b) संशयं ] P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, संशयं C<sub>94</sub> (3c) आधारणान्म० ] P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>10</sub>, आधारणात्प० C<sub>45</sub>, आधारणात्म० K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, आधारणे म० E (3d) इत्यभिधीयते ] C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, इत्यभिधीयते P<sub>57</sub>, इत्यविधीयते C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>10</sub>

वृषसारसंग्रहे

श्रुतिस्मृतिद्वयोर्मूर्तिश्चतुष्पादवृषः स्थितः ।  
चतुराश्रम यो धर्मः कीर्तितानि मनीषिभिः ॥ ३:४ ॥  
गतिश्च पञ्च विज्ञेयाः शृणु धर्मस्य भो द्विज ।  
देवमानुषतिर्यं च नरकस्थावरादयः ॥ ३:५ ॥  
ब्रह्मणो हृदयं भित्त्वा जातो धर्मः सनातनः ।  
तस्य पत्नी महाभागा त्रयोदश सुमध्यमाः ॥ ३:६ ॥  
दक्षकन्या विशालाक्षी श्रद्धाद्याः सुमनोहराः ।  
तस्य पुत्राश्च पौत्राश्च अनेकाश्च बभूव ह ।  
एष धर्मनिसर्गो ऽयं किं भूयः श्रोतुमिच्छसि ॥ ३:७ ॥  
विगतराग उवाच ।  
धर्मपत्नी विशेषेण पुत्रस्ताभ्यः पृथक्पृथक् ।  
श्रोतुमिच्छामि तत्त्वेन कथयस्व तपोधन ॥ ३:८ ॥

✧

4 cf. 4.74 below : चतुष्पादः स्मृतो धर्मश्चतुराश्रममाश्रितः । गृहस्थो ब्रह्मचारी च वानप्रस्थो ऽथ भैक्षुकः ॥ 6ab cf. DevīP 4.59cd : ब्रह्मणो हृदयाज्जातः पुत्रो धर्म इति स्मृतः • cf. also MBh 1.60.40ab : ब्रह्मणो हृदयं भित्त्वा निःसृतो भगवान्भृगुः

5ab C<sub>45</sub> reads here गतिश्च पौत्राश्च अनेकाश्च बभूव ह, skipping to 3.7cd, omitting 3.5–7ab.

✧

(4ab) ०स्मृतिद्वयोर्मूर्तिश्च० ] C<sub>94</sub>, ०स्मृतिद्वयो मूर्तिश्च० P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>10</sub>, ०स्मृतिद्वयो मूर्ति च० K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, ०स्मृतिद्वयो मूर्तिश्च E (4b) ०वृषः ] P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>E, ०वृष K<sub>7</sub>  
(4c) चतुरा० ] P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>E, चातुरा० C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>7</sub> (5a) विज्ञेयाः ] em., विज्ञेयः P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, om. C<sub>45</sub> (5c) ०मानुष० ] P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, ०मानुषि० P<sub>57</sub>  
(6a) ब्रह्मणो ] P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, om. C<sub>45</sub>, ब्राह्मणो E • भित्त्वा ] P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, वित्त्वा K<sub>10</sub> (6b) धर्मः ] P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, धर्म K<sub>10</sub> (6d) ०मध्यमाः ] P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, om. C<sub>45</sub> (7a) ०आक्षी ] P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, om. C<sub>45</sub>, ०आक्षि E (7b) ०आद्याः ] em., ०आद्या P<sub>57</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, ०आढ्या C<sub>94</sub>, om. C<sub>45</sub>, ०आढ्याः K<sub>82</sub> • ०हराः ] K<sub>10</sub>E, ०हरा P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, om. C<sub>45</sub>, ०माः K<sub>82</sub> (7cd) तस्य पुत्राश्च पौत्राश्च अनेकाश्च बभूव ह ] P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>10</sub>, गतिश्च पौत्राश्च अनेकाश्च बभूव ह (eyeskip to 3.5a) C<sub>45</sub>, तस्य पुत्राश्च योत्राश्च अनेकाश्च बभूव ह K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, तस्य पुत्रा अनेकाश्च तथा पौत्रा बभूवहः E (8) विगतराग उवाच ] C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, विगतराग उ P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>10</sub>, om. K<sub>82</sub><sup>ac</sup> (8b) ताभ्यः ] em., तेभ्यः C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E

तृतीयोऽध्यायः

अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच ।

श्रद्धा लक्ष्मीर्धृतिस्तुष्टिः पुष्टिर्मेधा क्रिया लज्जा ।

बुद्धिः शान्तिर्वपुः कीर्तिः सिद्धिः प्रसूतिसम्भवाः ॥ ३:९ ॥

श्रद्धा कामः सुतो जातो दर्पो लक्ष्मीसुतः स्मृतः ।

धृत्यास्तु नियमः पुत्रः संतोषस्तुष्टिजः स्मृतः ॥ ३:१० ॥

पुष्ट्या लाभः सुतो जातो मेधापुत्रः श्रुतस्तथा ।

क्रियायास्त्वभवत्पुत्रो दण्डः समय एव च ॥ ३:११ ॥

लज्जाया विनयः पुत्रो बुद्ध्या बोधः सुतः स्मृतः ।

लज्जायाः सुधियः पुत्र अप्रमादश्च तावुभौ ॥ ३:१२ ॥

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10 For 3.10–13, see a rather similar passage e.g. in KūrmP 1.8.20 ff.: श्रद्धाया आत्मजः कामो दर्पो लक्ष्मीसुतः स्मृतः । धृत्यास्तु नियमः पुत्रस्तुष्ट्याः संतोष उच्यते ॥ पुष्ट्या लाभः सुतश्चापि मेधापुत्रः श्रुतस्तथा । क्रियायाश्चाभवत्पुत्रो दण्डः समय एव च ॥ बुद्ध्या बोधः सुतस्तद्वदप्रमादो व्यजायत । लज्जाया विनयः पुत्रो वपुषो व्यवसायकः ॥ क्षेमः शान्तिसुतश्चापि सुखं सिद्धिरजायत । यशः कीर्तिसुतस्तद्वदित्येते धर्मसूनवः ॥ कामस्य हर्षः पुत्रोऽभूद्देवानन्दो व्यजायत । इत्येष वै सुखोदकः सर्गो धर्मस्य कीर्तितः ॥ 11cd ≈ LinP 1.70.295ab: क्रियायामभवत्पुत्रो दण्डः समय एव च; ≈ KūrmP 1.8.22cd: क्रियायाश्चाभवत्पुत्रो दण्डः समय एव च; cf. LinP 1.5.37: धर्मस्य वै क्रियायां तु दण्डः समय एव च

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9a लक्ष्मीर्धृतिस्तुष्टिः ] C<sub>94</sub>, लक्ष्मीर्धृतिस्तुष्टिः C<sub>45</sub>, लक्ष्मीर्धृतिर्धृतिस्तुष्टिः K<sub>82</sub><sup>ac</sup>, लक्ष्मीर्धृतिस्तुष्टिः K<sub>82</sub><sup>pc</sup>, लक्ष्मीर्धृतिस्तुष्टिः K<sub>10</sub>, लक्ष्मीर्धृतिस्तुष्टिः P<sub>57</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, लक्ष्मीर्धृतिस्तुष्टिः E 9b पुष्टिर्मेधा ] P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, पुष्टिर्मेधा E • लज्जा ] P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, लज्जा K<sub>82</sub> 9c बुद्धिः ] P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, बुद्धिः C<sub>94</sub> 9d सिद्धिः प्रसूतिसम्भवाः ] conj., सिद्धिश्चाभूतिसम्भवाः P<sub>57</sub>, सिद्धिश्चाभूतिसम्भवा C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, सिद्धिश्चाभूतिसम्भवा C<sub>45</sub>, सिद्धिश्चाभूतिसम्भवा E 10a कामः ] K<sub>82</sub>, कामः P<sub>57</sub>C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, धर्मः E 11a लाभः ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, लाभः K<sub>82</sub>E 11b पुत्रः ] em., पुत्रः C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E • श्रुतः ] C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, श्रुतः C<sub>45</sub> 11c त्वभवत्पुत्रो ] em., त्वभयः पुत्रो C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, त्वभयः पुत्रो E 11d दण्डः ] corr., दण्डः C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub><sup>ac</sup>, दण्डो C<sub>45</sub>, दण्डः K<sub>82</sub><sup>pc</sup>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E • च ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, तु E 12a लज्जाया विनयः ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, लज्जायाः विनयः E 12b सुतः स्मृतः ] K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, सुतः ≈ C<sub>94</sub>, सुतःस्तथा C<sub>45</sub> 12c सुधियः ] E, सुधियः C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub> • पुत्रः ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, पुत्रः E 12d अप्रमादः ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, अप्रमादाः K<sub>82</sub>

वृषसारसंग्रहे

क्षेमः शान्तिसुतो विन्धाद्यवसायो वपोः सुतः ।  
यशः कीर्तिसुतो ज्ञेयः सुखं सिद्धेर्व्यजायत ।  
स्वायम्भुवे ऽन्तरे त्वासन्कीर्तिता धर्मसूनवः ॥ ३:१३ ॥

विगतराग उवाच ।  
मूर्तिद्वयं कथं धर्मं कथयस्व तपोधन ।  
कौतूहलमतीव मे कर्तव्यं ज्ञानसंशयम् ॥ ३:१४ ॥

अनर्थयज्ञ उवाच ।  
श्रुतिस्मृतिद्वयोर्मूर्तिधर्मस्य परिकीर्तिता ।  
दाराग्निहोत्रसम्बन्धमिज्या श्रौतस्य लक्षणम् ।  
स्मार्तो वर्णाश्रमाचारो यमैश्च नियमैर्युतः ॥ ३:१५ ॥

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15cd cf. Manu 3.171ab: दाराग्निहोत्रसंयोगं कुरुते यो ऽग्रजे स्थिते; and also MatsP 142.41: दाराग्निहोत्रसम्बन्धमृग्यजुःसामसंहिताः । इत्यादिबहुलं श्रौतं धर्मं सप्तर्षयो ऽब्रुवन् ॥ 15c-f ≈ MBh Indices 1.36.10: दानाग्निहोत्रमिज्या च श्रौतस्यैतद्धि लक्षणम् । स्मार्तो वर्णाश्रमाचारो यमैश्च नियमैर्युतः ॥ ≈ MatsP 145.30cd-31ab: दाराग्निहोत्रसम्बन्धमिज्या श्रौतस्य लक्षणम् । स्मार्तो वर्णाश्रमाचारो यमैश्च नियमैर्युतः ॥ ≈ BrahmanḍaP 1.32.33cd-34ab: दाराग्निहोत्रसम्बन्धाद् द्विधा श्रौतस्य लक्षणम् । स्मार्तो वर्णाश्रमाचारैर्यमैः स नियमैः स्मृतः ॥

14c In P<sub>57</sub>, folio 215v ends with कौतूहलमती and the next available folio side (217r) starts with त्यमिष्टगतिः प्रोक्तं in 4.8a. Thus one folio (f. 216), containing 3.14d-4.7, is missing.

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(13b) वपोः ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, वपो K<sub>82</sub> (13d) सिद्धे० ] C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>, सिद्धि C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E • व्यजायत ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>, व्यजायते K<sub>10</sub>E, व्यजायतः K<sub>7</sub> (13e) स्वायम्भुवे ] C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, स्वायम्भुवो C<sub>45</sub>, स्वयम्भुवे K<sub>10</sub>E • ऽन्तरे त्वासन् ] conj., ऽन्तरे त्वासि C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>, ऽन्तरे त्वासीत् K<sub>10</sub>, ऽन्तरे त्वासं K<sub>7</sub>, ऽन्तरेवासि E (14a) धर्म ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>, धर्म K<sub>7</sub>, धर्मः E (14c) कौतूहल० ] C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, कौतूहल० C<sub>45</sub> • ऽतीव मे ] C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, ऽतीव मे C<sub>45</sub> (14d) कर्तव्य ] em., कीर्तय C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E • ऽसंशयम् ] C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, ऽसंशयः C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>10</sub> (15a) श्रुति० ] C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, श्रुतिः C<sub>45</sub>E (15ab) ऽद्वयोर्मूर्तिध० ] C<sub>94</sub>, ऽद्वयो मूर्ति ध० C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>, ऽद्वयी मूर्ति ध० K<sub>7</sub>, ऽद्वयोर्मूर्ति ध० E (15b) ऽकीर्तिता ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>E, ऽकीर्तितः K<sub>10</sub>, कीर्त्तिताः K<sub>7</sub> (15cd) ऽबन्धमि० ] em., ऽबद्ध इ० C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, ऽबन्ध इ० K<sub>10</sub>E (15d) श्रौतस्य ] em., श्रौतस्य C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, श्रौत्रस्य K<sub>82</sub>, स्त्रोत्रस्य K<sub>10</sub>, श्रुतस्य E (15e) स्मार्तो ] em., स्मार्त C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E

तृतीयोऽध्यायः

[यमनियमभेदः]

यमश्च नियमश्चैव द्वयोर्भेदमतः शृणु ।  
अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयमानृशंस्यं दमो घृणा ।  
धन्याप्रमादो माधुर्यमार्जवं च यमा दश ॥ ३:१६ ॥  
एकैकस्य पुनः पञ्चभेदमाहुर्मनीषिणः ।  
अहिंसादि प्रवक्ष्यामि शृणुष्वावहितो द्विज ॥ ३:१७ ॥

[यमेष्वहिंसा (१)]

[पञ्चविधा हिंसा]

त्रासनं ताडनं बन्धो मारणं वृत्तिनाशनम् ।  
हिंसां पञ्चविधामाहुर्मुनयस्तत्त्वदर्शिनः ॥ ३:१८ ॥  
काष्ठलोष्टकशाद्यैस्तु ताडयन्तीह निर्दयाः ।  
तत्प्रहारविभिन्नाङ्गो मृतवध्यमवाप्नुयात् ॥ ३:१९ ॥  
बद्धा पादौ भुजोरश्च शिरोरुक्कण्ठपाशिताः ।  
अनाहता म्रियन्त्येवं वधो बन्धनजः स्मृतः ॥ ३:२० ॥

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16cd ≈ MBh 12.8.17ab: अहिंसा सत्यवचनमानृशंस्यं दमो घृणा 16 ≈ VDhU 3.233.203:  
आनृशंस्यं क्षमा सत्यमहिंसा च दमः स्पृहा । ध्यानं प्रसादो माधुर्यं चार्जवं च यमा दश ॥

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(16a) नियम० ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, नियमै० K<sub>82</sub> (16d) ०मानृशंस्यं ] em., ०म-  
नृशंस्यो C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>E, ०मानृशंस्या K<sub>7</sub> (16e) धन्या० ] E, धन्यः C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>10</sub>  
K<sub>7</sub>, धन्यं K<sub>82</sub> • माधुर्य० ] E, माधुर्यं C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub> (16f) आर्जवं च ]  
C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, आर्जवश्च E (17b) ०माहुर्म० ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>E, ०माहु म० K<sub>7</sub>  
(17d) शृणुष्वा० ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, शृणुष्व० K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub> (18a) बन्धो ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>,  
बद्धो K<sub>10</sub>, बन्ध E (18c) हिंसां ] C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, हिंसा C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>10</sub>E • ०विधामाहु० ] C<sub>45</sub>  
K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, ०विधमाहु० C<sub>94</sub>, ०विधान्याहु० K<sub>10</sub>, ०विध प्राहु० E (19a) काष्ठलोष्ट० ] C<sub>94</sub>  
C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, काष्ठ --- K<sub>10</sub> (19b) निर्दयाः ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, निर्दया E (19c)  
०भिन्नाङ्गो ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, ०भिन्नाङ्गा E (19d) ०वध्यमवा० ] C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E,  
०वध्यववा० C<sub>94</sub> (20a) भुजोरश्च ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, भुजौरश्च K<sub>82</sub>E (20b) शिरोरु-  
क्कण्ठ० ] em., शिरोरुक्कण्ठ० C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, शिरोरुः कण्ठ० E (20c) अनाहता  
म्रियन्त्येवं ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, अनाहत म्रियन्त्येष K<sub>10</sub> (20d) वधो बन्धनजः स्मृतः ]  
conj., ०नजाः स्मृताः C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>, ०नजाः स्मृता K<sub>7</sub>, ०नज स्मृतः E

वृषसारसंग्रहे

शत्रुचौरभयैघोरैः सिंहव्याघ्रगजोरगैः ।  
 त्रासनाद्वधमाप्नोति अन्यैर्वापि सुदुःसहैः ॥ ३:२१ ॥  
 यस्य यस्य हरेद्वित्तं तस्य तस्य वधः स्मृतः ।  
 वृत्तिजीवाभिभूतानां तद्वारा निहतः स्मृतः ॥ ३:२२ ॥  
 विषवह्निशरशस्त्रैर्मायायोगबलेन वा ।  
 हिंसकान्याहु विप्रेन्द्र मुनयस्तत्त्वदर्शिनः ॥ ३:२३ ॥  
 [अहिंसाप्रशंसा]  
 अहिंसा परमं धर्मं यस्त्यजेत्स दुरात्मवान् ।  
 क्लेशायासविनिर्मुक्तं सर्वधर्मफलप्रदम् ॥ ३:२४ ॥  
 नातः परतरो मूर्खो नातः परतरं तमः ।  
 नातः परतरं दुःखं नातः परतरो ऽयशः ॥ ३:२५ ॥  
 नातः परतरं पापं नातः परतरं विषम् ।  
 नातः परतराविद्या नातः परं तपोधन ॥ ३:२६ ॥  
 यो हिनस्ति न भूतानि उद्भिज्जादि चतुर्विधम् ।  
 स भवेत्पुरुषः श्रेष्ठः सर्वभूतदयान्वितः ॥ ३:२७ ॥

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(21a) °चौरभयैघोरैः ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, °चौरभयै घोरै K<sub>10</sub> (21d) अन्यैर्वापि ]  
 C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>E, अन्ये चापि K<sub>7</sub> (22a) हरेद्वि° ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, हरे वि° K<sub>10</sub>  
 (22b) वधः ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, वध E (22c) °भिभूतानां ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E,  
 °विभूतानां K<sub>10</sub> (22d) तद्वारा नि° ] conj., तद्वारान्नि° C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, तद्वारान्नि° E  
 (23ab) °शस्त्रैर्माया° ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>, °शस्त्रै मा° K<sub>7</sub>, °शस्त्रैर्मया°  
 E (23c) हिंसकान्याहु वि° ] C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, हिंसकान्याहुर्वि° C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub> (unmetr.), हिं-  
 सकेत्याहु वि° E (24a) परमं धर्मं ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>E, परमं धर्म K<sub>10</sub>, परमो धर्म K<sub>7</sub>  
 (24b) त्यजेत्स दुरात्मवान् ] C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, त्यजेच्छ दुरात्म° C<sub>94</sub>, त्यजेत्सुदुरात्मवान्  
 K<sub>82</sub>, त्यजेत्स दुरात्मनम् K<sub>10</sub> (25b) °तरं ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub><sup>pc</sup>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, °तन् C<sub>45</sub><sup>ac</sup>E (26d)  
 परं तपोधन ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, पर तपोधमाः E (27a) यो हिनस्ति न ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>  
 K<sub>7</sub>, यो न हिन्सन्ति K<sub>10</sub>, यो हि नास्ति न E (27b) उद्भिज्जादि ] em., उद्भिज्जादि  
 C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, उद्भिज्जानि K<sub>82</sub> • °विधम् ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>E, °विधि K<sub>7</sub> (27c)  
 पुरुषः ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, पुरुष° E



तृतीयो ऽध्यायः

सर्वभूतदयां नित्यं यः करोति स पण्डितः ।  
 स यज्वा स तपस्वी च स दाता स दृढव्रतः ॥ ३:२८ ॥  
 अहिंसा परमं तीर्थमहिंसा परमं तपः ।  
 अहिंसा परमं दानमहिंसा परमं सुखम् ॥ ३:२९ ॥  
 अहिंसा परमो यज्ञः अहिंसा परमं व्रतम् ।  
 अहिंसा परमं ज्ञानमहिंसा परमा क्रिया ॥ ३:३० ॥  
 अहिंसा परमं शौचमहिंसा परमो दमः ।  
 अहिंसा परमो लाभः अहिंसा परमं यशः ॥ ३:३१ ॥  
 अहिंसा परमो धर्मः अहिंसा परमा गतिः ।  
 अहिंसा परमं ब्रह्म अहिंसा परमः शिवः ॥ ३:३२ ॥

[मांसाहारः]

मांसाशनान्निवर्तेत मनसापि न काङ्क्षयेत् ।  
 स महत्फलमाप्नोति यस्तु मांसं विवर्जयेत् ॥ ३:३३ ॥

✧

29 This and the following verses are similar to MBh 13.117.37–38

29d C<sub>02</sub> resumes here in exp. 189, f. 273r (sic!) with रमं सुखम् After pādas cd, E inserts this: अहिंसा परमा कीर्ति अहिंसा परमो दमः, which is not to be found in C<sub>Σ</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>

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(28a) °दयां नित्यं] C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>E, °दया नित्यं C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>10</sub>, °दया नित्य K<sub>7</sub> (28c) य-  
 ज्वा] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, यज्या K<sub>10</sub> (29a) परमं ती°] C<sub>94</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, परन्ती° C<sub>45</sub>  
 (30a) यज्ञः] C<sub>45</sub>C<sub>02</sub>K<sub>10</sub>E, यज्ञर् C<sub>94</sub>, यज्ञ K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub> (30c) परमं] C<sub>Σ</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>,  
 परमो E (30d) परमा] C<sub>Σ</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, परमां K<sub>10</sub> (31ab) (अहिंसा... दमः)] C<sub>Σ</sub>  
 K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, om. E (31c) लाभः] K<sub>7</sub>, लाभ C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>E, लाभो C<sub>02</sub> (31d)  
 परमं] C<sub>Σ</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, परमा K<sub>82</sub> (32a) धर्मः] K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, धर्म C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>E, धर्मो C<sub>02</sub>,  
 ध--- K<sub>10</sub> (32b) अहिंसा परमा गतिः] C<sub>Σ</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, --- K<sub>10</sub>, अहिंसा परमो गतिः  
 E (32c) ] C<sub>Σ</sub>K<sub>82</sub>E, अहिंसा परमं ब्रह्म K<sub>10</sub>, अहिंसा परमं ब्रह्म K<sub>7</sub> (33a)  
 मांसाशनान्नि°] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>E, मान्साशन नि° C<sub>02</sub>, मांसाशनान्नि° K<sub>82</sub>, मन्सासनान्नि°  
 K<sub>10</sub>, मांसशानान्नि° K<sub>7</sub> (33d) मांसं] C<sub>Σ</sub>K<sub>82</sub>, मांस K<sub>10</sub>E, मांस K<sub>7</sub>

### वृषसारसंग्रहे

स्वमांसं परमांसेन यो वर्धयितुमिच्छति ।  
 अनभ्यर्च्य पितृन्देवान्न ततो ऽन्यो ऽस्ति पापकृत् ॥ ३:३४ ॥  
 मधुपर्के च यज्ञे च पितृदैवतकर्मणि ।  
 अत्रैव पशवो हिंस्या नान्यत्र मनुरब्रवीत् ॥ ३:३५ ॥  
 क्रीत्वा स्वयं वाप्युत्पाद्य परोपहतमेव वा ।  
 देवान्पितृश्चार्चयित्वा खादन्मांसं न दोषभाक् ॥ ३:३६ ॥  
 वेदयज्ञतपस्तीर्थदानशीलक्रियाव्रतैः ।  
 मांसाहारनिवृत्तानां षोडशांशं न पूर्यते ॥ ३:३७ ॥  
 मृगाः पर्णतृणाहारादजमेषगवादिभिः ।  
 सुखिनो बलवन्तश्च विचरन्ति महीतले ॥ ३:३८ ॥  
 वानराः फलमाहारा राक्षसा रुधिरप्रियाः ।

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34ab = MBh 13.116.14ab and 13.116.34ab ≈ UUMS 2.48cd : स्वमांसं परमांसेन यो देहे वृद्धिमिच्छति 34 ≈ Manu 5.52 35 ≈ Manu 5.41 : मधुपर्के च यज्ञे च पितृदैवतकर्मणि । अत्रैव पशवो हिंस्या नान्यत्रेत्यब्रवीन्मनुः ॥ 36 = Manu 5.32 (in Olivelle's critical edition ; other editions read परोपकृतं in pāda b)

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(34a) ०मांसेन ] C<sub>Σ</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>E, ०मासेन K<sub>7</sub> (34b) वर्धयितुं ] C<sub>Σ</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, वर्द्धयति K<sub>10</sub> (34c) पितृन् ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, पितृन् C<sub>02</sub>E, पितृन् K<sub>10</sub> (34d) ततो ऽन्यो ] C<sub>Σ</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, तदन्यो E (35b) ०दैवतं ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, ०देवतं C<sub>02</sub>K<sub>10</sub> (35c) अत्रैव पशवो हिंस्या ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>02</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, अत्रैव पशवो हिंसा C<sub>45</sub>, अत्रैव पशवो हिंस्यान् K<sub>82</sub>, --- K<sub>10</sub> (35d) नान्यत्र मनुरब्रवीत् ] C<sub>Σ</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, --- त्र मनुरब्रवीत् K<sub>10</sub> (36a) क्रीत्वा ] C<sub>Σ</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, कृत्वा E • ०प्युत्पाद्य ] C<sub>Σ</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, ०प्युत्पाद्यां E (36b) ०हतं ] C<sub>Σ</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, ०हितं E • वा ] C<sub>Σ</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, च E (36c) पितृश्चार्चयित्वा ] C<sub>Σ</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, पितृश्चार्चयित्वा K<sub>10</sub>, पितृश्चार्पयित्वा E (36d) मांसं ] C<sub>Σ</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>E, मांसं K<sub>7</sub> (37b) ०शीलं ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, ०शलं C<sub>02</sub> • ०व्रतैः ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>02</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, ०व्रतः C<sub>45</sub> (37c) ०वृत्तानां ] C<sub>Σ</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, ०वृत्ताना K<sub>10</sub>, ०वृत्तीनां E (37d) न ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>02</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, त C<sub>45</sub> (38a) पर्णं ] C<sub>Σ</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>, पण्णं K<sub>82</sub>, पर्णां E (38ab) ०हारादं ] C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>02</sub>K<sub>10</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E, ०हारा अं C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>, ०हादं K<sub>10</sub><sup>ac</sup> (39ab) ०हारा रां ] C<sub>45</sub>K<sub>82</sub>K<sub>10</sub>, ०हाराद्रां C<sub>94</sub>C<sub>02</sub>K<sub>7</sub>E

तृतीयो ऽध्यायः

निहता राक्षसाः सर्वे वानरैः फलभोजिभिः ॥ ३:३९ ॥

तस्मान्मांसं न हीहेत बलकामेन भो द्विज ।  
बलेन च गुणाकर्षात्परतो भयभीरुणा ॥ ३:४० ॥

अहिंसकसमो नास्ति दानयज्ञसमीहया ।  
इह लोके यशः कीर्तिः परत्र च परा गतिः ॥ ३:४१ ॥

त्रैलोक्यं मणिरत्नपूर्णमखिलं दत्त्वोत्तमे ब्राह्मणे  
कोटीयज्ञसहस्रपद्मयुतं दत्त्वा महीं दक्षिणाम् ।  
तीर्थानां च सहस्रकोटिनियुतं स्नात्वा सकृन्मानव  
एतत्पुण्यफलमहिंसकजनः प्राप्नोति निःसंशयः ॥ ३:४२ ॥

॥ इति वृषसारसंग्रहे अहिंसाप्रशंसा नामाध्यायस्तृतीयः ॥

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(39d) °भोजिभिः ]  $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$ , °भोगिभिः E (40a) मांसं ]  $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}E$ , मासं  $K_7$  (40b) हीहेत ]  $C_{\Sigma}K_7E$ , हीयेत  $K_{82}K_{10}$  (40c) गुणाकर्षा° ] conj. TÖRZSÖK, गुणाकाशा°  $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$ , गुणा कुर्या° E (41b) °यज्ञसमीहया ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}$ , °धर्मसमीहया  $C_{02}$ , °यज्ञसमीहयाः  $K_7$ , °धर्मसमीहय E (41c) यशः ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$ , यशं  $C_{02}$  (41d) परा गतिः ]  $C_{02}K_{82}K_7$ , परा गतिः  $C_{94}$ , पराङ्ग-  
तिम्  $C_{45}K_{10}$ , परां गतिः E (42a) त्रैलोक्यं ]  $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_7E$ , त्रैलोक्य  $K_{10}$  • अखिलं  
दत्त्वोत्तमे ब्राह्मणे ]  $C_{45}C_{02}K_{10}K_7E$ , अखिलं  $C_{94}$ , अखिलं दत्तोत्तमे ब्रा-  
ह्मणे  $K_{82}$  (42b) कोटीयज्ञसहस्रपद्मम् ]  $C_{45}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$ ,  $C_{94}$  • महीं ]  $C_{94}C_{45}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$ , मही  $C_{02}$  (42c) °कोटि° ]  $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$ , °कोटी°  
E (unmetr.) • स्नात्वा ]  $C_{94}C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7E$ , स्ना  $S C_{45}$  (42d) °फलमहिंस° ]  $C_{\Sigma}$   
 $K_{82}K_{10}E$ , °फलं त्वहिंस°  $K_7$  • निःसंशयः ]  $C_{02}K_{82}K_{10}K_7$ , निःसंशय  $C_{94}$ , निःसंशय  
 $C_{45}$ , निःसंशय E (Colophon) नामाध्यायस्तृतीयः ]  $C_{\Sigma}K_{82}K_{10}$ , नामाध्यायस्तृ-  
तीय  $K_7$ , नामस्तृतीयो ऽध्यायः E

*An Annotated Translation*

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[ tṛtīyo ’dhyāyaḥ ]  
[ Chapter Three ]

[ *dharmappravacanam* —  
Exposition of Dharma ]

*vigatarāga uvāca* |  
*kimarthaṃ dharmam ity āhuḥ katimūrtiś ca kīrtyate* |  
*katipādavr̥ṣo jñeyo gatis tasya kati smṛtāḥ* || 3:1 ||

Vigatarāga spoke: Why do they call it Dharma? And how many embodiments (*mūrti*) is he known to have? He is known as a bull: how many legs does it have? How many are his paths?

*kautūhalaṃ mamotpannam saṃśayaṃ chindhi tattvataḥ* |  
*kasya putro munīśreṣṭha prajāś tasya kati smṛtāḥ* || 3:2 ||

I have become curious [about these questions]. Put an end to my doubts for good. Whose son is [Dharma], O best of sages? How many children does he have?

*anarthayajña uvāca* |  
*dhṛtir ity eṣa dhātur vai paryāyaḥ parikīrtitaḥ* |  
*ādhāraṇān mahattvāc ca dharma ity abhidhīyate* || 3:3 ||

Anarthayajña spoke: Well, *dhṛti* (“firmness”) is [of the same] verbal root [as *dharma*], and is said to be [its] synonym. It is called *dharma* because it

3.1 For the correct interpretation of *pāda* a, namely to decide whether these questions focus on the bull of Dharma or Dharma itself/himself, see the end of the previous chapter, where *dharma* was mentioned (2.40b), and to which the present verse is a reaction; see also MBh 12.110.10–11:

*prabhāvārthāya bhūtānāṃ dharmappravacanam kṛtam* | *yat syād ahimsāsamyuk-  
taṃ sa dharma iti niścayaḥ* || *dhāraṇād dharma ity āhur dharmeṇa vidhṛtāḥ prajāḥ* |  
*yat syād dhāraṇasamyuktaṃ sa dharma iti niścayaḥ* ||

Note the similarities of MBh this passage with this chapter: the phrase *dharma ity āhur*, the fact that the present chapter from verse 18 on is actually a chapter on *ahimsā*, and that the etimological explanation involves the word [ā]*dhāraṇa* in both cases. These lead me to think that in *pādas* ab of this verse in the VSS, it is Dharma that is the focus of the inquiry and not the bull.

Understand *pāda* d as *gatayas tasya kati smṛtāḥ*. I have accepted *smṛtāḥ* because this plural signals that *gatis* is meant to be plural, similarly to what happens in 3.6cd (*tasya patnī... mahābhāgāḥ*). The use of the singular in a context of numbers and quantities is one of the hallmarks of the language of the VSS, see p. **CHECK**.

On Dharma as a bull, see Introduction, pp. **CHECK**.

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supports (*āDHĀraṇa*) and because it is great (*MAhattva*).

*śrutismṛtidvayor mūrtiś catuṣpādavṛṣaḥ sthitaḥ |*  
*caturāśrama yo dharmāḥ kīrtitāni manīṣibhiḥ || 3:4 ||*

The four-legged Bull is the embodiment of both Śruti and Smṛti. It is Dharma, as made up of the four *āśramas*.

*gatiś ca pañca vijñeyāḥ śṛṇu dharmasya bho dvija |*  
*devamānuṣatiryam ca narakasthāvarādayaḥ || 3:5 ||*

And the paths of Dharma are five. Listen, O Brahmin: [existence as] gods, men, animals, [existence in] hell and [as] immovable things [such as plants and rocks] etc.

*brahmaṇo hṛdayam bhittvā jāto dharmāḥ sanātanaḥ |*  
*tasya patnī mahābhāgā trayodaśa sumadhyamāḥ || 3:6 ||*

3.3 For similar Purāṇic passages on the etymology of *dharmā*, see the apparatus to this verse.

The insertion in my translation ‘[of the same]’ solves the problem of a noun (*dhṛti*) seemingly being considered a verbal root (*dhātu*) here. I owe thanks to Judit Törzsök for this interpretation. For similar passages with nominal stems apparently being treated as *dhātus*, see e.g. VāyuP 3.17cd: *bhāvya ity eṣa dhātur vai bhāvye kāle vibhāvvyate*; VāyuP 3.19cd (= BrahmāṇḍaP 1.38.21ab): *nātha ity eṣa dhātur vai dhātujñaiḥ pālāne smṛtaḥ*; LiṅP 2.9.19: *bhaja ity eṣa dhātur vai sevāyām parikirtitaḥ*.

3.4 A similar image of the legs of the Bull of Dharma being the four (and not three, at least according to ? , 55 and Ganguli 1883–1896, Śāntiparvan CCLXX) *āśramas* is hinted at MBh 12.262.19–21:

*dharmam ekaṁ catuṣpādam āśritās te naraṛṣabhāḥ | taṁ santo vidhivat prāpya*  
*gacchanti paramām gatim || grhebhya eva niṣkramya vanam anye samāśritāḥ | grham*  
*evābhisamśritya tato ’nye brahmacāriṇaḥ || dharmam etaṁ catuṣpādam āśramam brāh-*  
*maṇā viduḥ | ānantyaṁ brahmaṇaḥ sthānaṁ brāhmaṇā nāma niścayaḥ ||*

On the more frequently quoted interpretation of the four legs, see ? , 235, a translation of Manu 1.81–82: ‘Dharma and truth possess all four feet and are whole during the Kṛta yuga, and people did not obtain anything unrighteously (*adharmeṇa*). By obtaining, however, *dharmā* has lost one foot during each of the other *yugas* and righteousness (*dharmā*) likewise has diminished by one quarter due to theft, falsehood, and deceit. (MDh 1.81–82).’

Understand *pādas* c and d as *catvāri āśramāṇi kīrtitāni dharmo manīṣibhiḥ* or *yo dharmāḥ kīrtitaś caturāśramāṇi manīṣibhiḥ* or *yo dharmas caturāśramaḥ kīrtito manīṣibhiḥ*. Judit Törzsök suggested that *caturāśrama* and *dharmāḥ* may be interpreted as a compound here.

3.5 Note the use of the singular next to numbers in *pāda* a, as in 3.1d, and that *vijñeyāḥ* is an emendation from *vijñeyaḥ* following the logic of 3.1d. *tirya* seems to be an acceptable nominal stem in this text for *tiryañc*. See, e.g., 4.6a: *devamānuṣatiryēṣu*. °*ādayaḥ* in *pāda* d seems superfluous.

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

Eternal Dharma was born after splitting Brahmā’s heart. He has beautiful wives, thirteen in number, with nice waists.

*dakṣakanyā viśālākṣī śraddhādyāḥ sumanoharāḥ |*  
*tasya putrāś ca pautrāś ca anekāś ca babhūva ha |*  
*eṣa dharmānisargo ’yaṃ kiṃ bhūyaḥ śrotum icchasi || 3:7 ||*

They are Dakṣa’s daughters, [called] Śraddhā and so on. They have huge eyes and they are beautiful. Numerous sons and grandsons were born to him. This is the nature of Dharma. What more do you wish to hear?

*vigatarāga uvāca |*  
*dharmapatnī viśeṣeṇa putras tābhyaḥ pṛthak pṛthak |*  
*śrotum icchāmi tattvena kathayasva tapodhana || 3:8 ||*

Vigatarāga spoke: I would like to hear about Dharma’s wives truly and about each one of the sons born to them. Teach me, O great ascetic.

*anarthayajña uvāca |*  
*śraddhā lakṣmī dhṛti tuṣṭiḥ puṣṭir medhā kriyā lajjā |*  
*buddhiḥ śāntir vapuḥ kīrtiḥ siddhiḥ prasūtisambhavāḥ || 3:9 ||*

Anarthayajña spoke: [Dharma’s wives are] [1] Śraddhā (‘Faith’), [2] Lakṣmī (‘Prosperity’), [3] Dhṛti (‘Resolution’), [4] Tuṣṭi (‘Satisfaction’), [5] Puṣṭi (‘Growth’), [6] Medhā (‘Wisdom’), [7] Kriyā (‘Labour’), [8] Lajjā (‘Modesty’), [9] Buddhi (‘Intelligence’), [10] Śānti (‘Tranquillity’), [11] Vapuḥ (‘Beauty’), [12] Kīrti (‘Fame’), [13] Siddhi (‘Success’), [all] born to Prasūti [Dakṣa’s wife].

3.6 Note the use of the singular in *pādas* cd. I have left *sumadhyamāḥ* as the manuscripts transmit it: it signals the presence of the plural. And consider correcting *mahābhāgā* to *mahābhāgās*. In sum, understand *tasya patnyo mahābhāgās trayodaśa sumadhyamāḥ*.

3.7 *śraddhādyāḥ* in *pāda* b is an attractive lectio difficilior (‘they were rich in faith/devotion’), but I have finally decided to accept the easier and better-attested *śraddhādyāḥ*. Again, I have chosen/applied the plural forms *adyāḥ* and *sumanoharāḥ* in *pāda* b to hint at the fact that the presence of the plural is to be preferred here; thus only *viśālākṣī* is problematic. As *patnī* in the previous verse, it should be treated as a plural. Note the use of the singular for the plural also in *pādas* cd, especially *babhūva ha* for *babhūvuh* (*babhūva ha* perhaps being a phonetic and metrically ‘adjusted’ equivalent, so to say, of *babhūvuh*).

3.8 I have emended *tebhyaḥ* to the correct feminine form *tābhyaḥ* because I suspect that it is only the result of some early confusion brought about by *putras*, although *tebhyaḥ* might be original. Note again the use of the singular (nominative) for the plural (accusative) in *pādas* ab. Alternatively, emend *dharmapatnī* to *dharmapatnīr* (plural accusative) and *putras* to *putrān* to make them work with *śrotum icchāmi*.

3.9 Note how *lajjā* in *pāda* b makes the line unmetrical.



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*śraddhā kāmāḥ suto jāto darpo lakṣmīsutaḥ smṛtaḥ |  
dhṛtyās tu niyamaḥ putraḥ saṁtoṣas tuṣṭijāḥ smṛtaḥ || 3:10 ||*

Śraddhā’s son is Kāma (‘Desire’). Darpa (‘Pride’) is said to be Lakṣmī’s son.  
Dhṛti’s son is Niyama (‘Rule’). Saṁtoṣa (‘Satisfaction’) is Tuṣṭi’s son.

*puṣṭyā lābhaḥ suto jāto medhāputraḥ śrutas tathā |  
kriyāyās tv abhavat putro daṇḍaḥ samaya eva ca || 3:11 ||*

To Puṣṭi was born a son [called] Lābha (‘Profit’). Medhā’s son is Śruta (‘Sacred Knowledge’). Kriyā’s sons are Daṇḍa (‘Punishment’) and Samaya (‘Law’).

*lajjāyā vinayaḥ putro buddhyā bodhaḥ sutaḥ smṛtaḥ |  
lajjāyāḥ sudhiyaḥ putra apramādaś ca tāv ubhau || 3:12 ||*

For Dharma’s thirteen wives and their sons, see, e.g., LiñP 1.5.34–37 (note the similarity between the first line and VSS 3.6cd–7ab above):

*dharmasya patnyaḥ śraddhādyāḥ kīrtitā vai trayodaśa | tāsu dharmaprajāṃ vakṣye  
yathākramam anuttamam || kāmo darpo ’tha niyamaḥ saṁtoṣo lobha eva ca | śrutas tu  
daṇḍaḥ samayo bodhaś caiva mahādyutiḥ || apramādaś ca vinayo vyavasāyo dvijottamāḥ |  
kṣemaṃ sukhaṃ yaśaś caiva dharmaputrāś ca tāsu vai || dharmasya vai kriyāyāṃ tu  
daṇḍaḥ samaya eva ca | apramādas tathā bodho buddher dharmasya tau sutaḥ ||*

*prasūtisambhavāḥ* in *pāda d* is a rather bold conjecture that can be supported by two facts: firstly, the readings of the manuscripts are difficult to make sense of and thus are probably corrupt; secondly, a corruption from the name Prasūti, traditionally the name of Dakṣa’s wife, to *ābhūti* is relatively easily to explain, *sū* and *bhū* being close enough in some scripts (e.g. in C<sub>9.4</sub>) to cause confusion. Another option would be to accept *Ābhūti* as the name of Dakṣa’s wife.

For Prasūti being Dakṣa’s wife in other sources, see, e.g., LiñP 1.5.20–21 (but also note the presence of the name Sambhūti): *prasūtiḥ suśuve dakṣāc caturviṃśatikanyakāḥ |  
śraddhāṃ lakṣmīm dhṛtiṃ puṣṭiṃ tuṣṭiṃ medhāṃ kriyāṃ tathā || buddhi lajjāṃ vapuḥ  
śāntiṃ siddhiṃ kīrtiṃ mahātapāḥ | khyātiṃ śāntiś ca saṃbhūtiṃ smṛtiṃ pritiṃ kṣamāṃ  
tathā ||*

3.10 Understand *śraddhā* as a stem form noun for *śraddhāyāḥ* (gen./abl., cf. 3.11a). Alternatively, take *śraddhā* and *suto* as elements of a split compound, and understand *śraddhāsuto jātaḥ kāmāḥ*.

3.11 I have emended *abhayaḥ* to *abhavat* in *pāda c*, following the relevant line in the KūrmP cited above (*kriyāyāś cābhavat putro daṇḍaḥ samaya eva ca*) and also LiñP 1.5.37 quoted in the apparatus to this verse, allotting only two sons to Kriyā. Thus I don’t think that Kriyā is supposed to have a son called Abhaya (‘Freedom from danger’; BhāḡP 4.1.50ab claims that Dayā had a son called Abhaya: *śraddhāsūta śubhaṃ maitrī prasādam abhayaṃ dayā*). Nevertheless, in a number of sources Kriyā actually has three sons, see, e.g., ViṣṇuP 1.7.26ab, where they are named as Daṇḍa, Naya and Vinaya: *medhā śrutaṃ kriyā daṇḍam nayaṃ vinayaṃ eva ca*. Perhaps read *kriyāyās tu nayaḥ putro* in *pāda c*? Compare VāyuP 1.10.34cd (*kriyāyās tu nayaḥ prokto daṇḍaḥ samaya eva ca*) with BrahmanāḍaP 1.9.60ab (*kriyāyās tanayau proktau damaś ca śama eva ca*).

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

Lajjā’s son is Vinaya (‘Discipline’), Buddhi’s son is Bodha (‘Intelligence’). Lajjā has two [more] sons: Sudhiya[*Sudhī*] (‘Wise’) and Apramāda (‘Cautiousness’).

*kṣemaḥ śāntisuto vindyād vyavasāyo vapoh sutaḥ |*  
*yaśaḥ kīrtisuto jñeyaḥ sukhaṃ siddher vyajāyata |*  
*svāyambhuve ’ntare tv āsan kīrtitā dharmasūnavaḥ || 3:13 ||*

Kṣema (‘Peace’) is to be known as Śānti’s son, Vyavasāya (‘Resolution’) is Vapus’ son. Yaśas (‘Fame’) is Kīrti’s son, Sukha (‘Joy’) was born to Siddhi. [This is how] the sons of Dharma in the [*manvantara*] era of Svāyambhuva [Manu] were known.

*vigatarāga uvāca |*  
*mūrtidvayaṃ katham dharmam kathayasva tapodhana |*  
*kautūhalaṃ atīvaṃ me kartaya jñānasamśayam || 3:14 ||*

Vigatarāga spoke: How come Dharma has two embodiments? Tell me, O great ascetic. I am extremely intrigued. Cut my doubts concerning [this] knowledge.

*anarthayajña uvāca |*  
*śrutismṛtidvayor mūrtir dharmasya parikīrtitā |*  
*dārāgnihotrasambandham ijjā śrautasya lakṣaṇam |*  
*smārto varṇāśramācāro yamaiś ca niyamair yutaḥ || 3:15 ||*

Anarthayajña spoke: Dharma’s embodiment is said to consist of Śruti and Smṛti. The characteristics of the Śrauta [tradition] are an association with a

3.12 In a very similar passages in KūrmP 1.8.20 ff., Apramāda is Buddhi’s son and Lajjā has only one son, Vinaya. In the above verse (VSS 3.12), *sudhiyaḥ* (for *sudhīḥ*) may only be qualifying *apramāda*, thus Lajjā may have two sons: Vinaya and the wise Apramāda. Alternatively, *pādas* cd might be a extra line inserted accidentally.

3.13 Note that *sukhaṃ* in *pāda* d is probably meant to be masculine (*sukhaḥ*), but e.g. in the KūrmP passage quoted above it is also neuter. For the emendation in *pāda* e, see MatsP 9.2cd: *yāmā nāma purā devā āsan svāyambhuvāntare*, and BhāgP 6.4.1: *devāsuranṛṇām sargo nāgānām mṛgapakṣiṇām | sāmāsikas tvayā prokto yas tu svāyambhuve ’ntare ||*.

3.14 Note *dharmā* as a neuter noun and the form *atīvaṃ* for *atīva* metri causa. My emendation from *kīrtaya* (‘declare’) to *kartaya* (‘cut’) was influenced by the combination of *chindhi* and *saṃśaya*, often with *kautūhala*, elsewhere in the VSS: 3.2ab: *kautūhalaṃ mamotpannam saṃśayaṃ chindhi tattvataḥ*; 10.10cd: *kautūhalaṃ mahaj jātaṃ chindhi saṃśayakāraṇam*; 15.2ab: *etat kautūhalaṃ chindhi saṃśayaṃ parameśvara*. The reading *kīrtaya* may have been the result of the influence of *kīrtitā* in 3.13b above (De Simini’s observation).

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wife [i.e. marriage] and with the fire ritual, and sacrifice. The Smārta [tradition] [focuses on] the conduct (*ācāra*) of the classes (*varṇa*) and life-stages (*āśrama*) which is connected to rules and regulations (*yama-niyama*).

[*yamaniyamabhedah* —

Yama and Niyama rules ]

*yamaś ca niyamaś caiva dvayor bhedam ataḥ śṛṇu |*  
*ahiṃsā satyam asteyam ānṛśaṃsyam damo ghrṇā |*  
*dhanyāpramādo mādhyam ārjayaṃ ca yamā daśa || 3:16 ||*

Now hear the classification of both the *yama* and *niyama* rules. Non-violence, truthfulness, not stealing, absence of hostility, self-restraint, taboos, virtue, carefulness, charm, honesty: these are the ten *yamas*.

*ekaikasya punaḥ pañcabhedam āhur manīṣiṇaḥ |*  
*ahiṃsādi pravakṣyāmi śṛṇuṣvāvahito dviḥ || 3:17 ||*

The wise say that there are five subclasses to each. I shall teach you about non-violence and the other [*yama*-rules]. Listen carefully, O twice-born.

[*yameṣv ahiṃsā* (1) —

First Yama-rule: non-violence ]

3.15 The reading °*dvayī* in K<sub>7</sub> in *pāda* a is attractive, but as Judit Törzsök has pointed out to me, it is more likely that the slightly less convincing but widespread variant °*dvayor* is original.

As for Dharma being based on *śruti* and *smṛti*, see, e.g., Manu 2.10: *śrutis tu vedo vijñeyo dharmasāstraṃ tu vai smṛtiḥ | te sarvārtheṣv amimāṃsyē tābhyāṃ dharmo hi nirbabhau* ||. In Olivelle’s translation (? , 94): “Scripture” should be recognized as “Veda,” and “tradition” as “Law Treatise.” These two should never be called into question in any matter, for it is from them that the Law shines forth.’

There may be a hiatus-filler in *pādas* cd: °*sambandha-m-ijyā* for °*sambandha ijyā*.

To state that the Smārta tradition is connected to *yamas* and *niyamas* and the *āśramas* and then to discuss these at length (principally in chapters 3–8 and 11) can be seen as a clear self-identification with the Smārta tradition.

3.16 *Pāda* a should be understood as *yamaniyamayoś caiva*, but the author of this line may have tried to avoid the metrical fault of having two short syllables in second and third position. Note that this is the beginning of a long section in our text that describes the *yama-niyama* rules, reaching up to the end of chapter eight. The title given in the colophon of the next chapter, chapter four, namely *yamavibhāga*, would fit this locus better than the beginning of that chapter, which commences with a discussion on the second of the *yamas*, *satya*. Note how all witnesses read *mādhūrya* in *pāda* e instead of *mādhurya*. The former may have been acceptable originally in this text. *Pāda* e is a *ma-vipulā*.

3.17 In *pāda* a, *pañca* and *bheda* may be typeset as two separate words since the use of the singular after numbers is one of the hallmarks of the text (see **CHECK**).

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

[*pañcavidhā hiṃsā* —  
Five types of violence]

*trāsanam tāḍanam bandho māraṇam vṛttināśanam |*  
*hiṃsām pañcavidhām āhur munayas tattvadarśinaḥ || 3:18 ||*

Frightening and beating [other people], tying [someone] up, killing and the destruction of [other people’s] livelihood: violence is said by the wise who see the truth to be of [these] five types.

*kāṣṭhaloṣṭakaśādyais tu tāḍayantiha nirdayāḥ |*  
*tatprahāravibhinnāṅgo mṛtavadhyam avāpnuyāt || 3:19 ||*

Cruel people beat [other people] with sticks, clods of earth [understand: they stone them], with whips and other [objects] in the everyday world. Their bodies broken by the same blows, they receive the capital punishment.

*baddhvā pādau bhujoraś ca śirorukkanṭhapāśitāḥ |*  
*anāhatā mriyanty evaṃ vadho bandhanajaḥ smṛtaḥ || 3:20 ||*

[Others,] tie up [people] at their feet and their arms and chests. [These,] hung by their hair and neck, die in this way without being wounded. This is the capital punishment for tying up [other people].

*śatrucaurabhayair ghoraiḥ śimhavyāghragajoragaiḥ |*  
*trāsanād vadham āpnoti anyair vāpi suduḥsahaiḥ || 3:21 ||*

He who frightens [other people] with the terrible danger of enemies and thieves, with lions, tigers, elephants or snakes, or by other horrors, will be executed.

*yasya yasya hared vittam tasya tasya vadhaḥ smṛtaḥ |*  
*vṛttijīvābhibhūtānām taddvārā nihataḥ smṛtaḥ || 3:22 ||*

He who robs somebody’s money is to be punished by the same person. He is [to be] struck down by those whose livelihood got damaged by him.

3.19 Note the use of the singular (*āṅgo... avāpnuyāt*) in *pādas* cd referring back to the agents of the previous sentence. Most probably, *°vadhyam* is to be understood as *°vadham* and the form *vadhyam* serves only to avoid two *laghu* syllables in *pāda* d.

3.20 Understand *bhujoraś ca* in *pāda* a as *bhuje, urasi ca*, in this case with an instance of double sandhi, and in stem form: *bhuje urasi ca* → *bhuja urasi ca* → *bhujorasi ca* → *bhujoraś ca*. Alternatively, understand it as a compound (*bhujorasi*). In *pāda* b, my emendation is only one of the possible interpretations. We might accept *śiroru°* as consisting of *śira* + *ūru* (‘head and thigh’), or emend it to *śiroraḥ°* for *śira* + *urah* (‘head and chest’). Also note my conjecture in *pāda* d, without which this *pāda* is difficult to interpret.

3.22 Understand *vadhaḥ* in *pāda* b as *vadhyah* metri causa. My translation of the second line of this verse reflects a conjecture (*taddvārā*) understood as connected to both *pāda* c and *niyataḥ* in *pāda* d.

Translation of chapter 3

*viṣavahniśaraśastrair māyāyogabalena vā |*  
*hiṃsakāny āhu viprendra munayas tattvadarśinaḥ || 3:23 ||*

[Those who kill other people] with poison, fire, arrows, swords, or by the force of magic or yoga, are called murderers by the sages who see the truth, O great Brahmin.

[ *ahiṃsāpraśamsā* —  
 Praise of non-violence ]

*ahiṃsā paramaṃ dharmaṃ yas tyajet sa durātmavān |*  
*kleśāyāsavinirmuktaṃ sarvadharmaphalapradam || 3:24 ||*

Non-violence is the highest Dharma. He who abandons it is a wicked person. It is free of pain and trouble, it yields the fruits of all [other] Dharmic teachings [in itself].

*nātaḥ parataro mūrkhō nātaḥ parataram tamaḥ |*  
*nātaḥ parataram duḥkham nātaḥ parataro 'yaśaḥ || 3:25 ||*

There isn't a bigger fool than he [who abandons it]. There is no bigger mental darkness [than the abandonment of non-violence]. There is no greater suffering or greater infamy.

*nātaḥ parataram pāpaṃ nātaḥ parataram viṣam |*  
*nātaḥ paratarāvidyā nātaḥ paraṃ tapodhana || 3:26 ||*

There is no greater sin or a more effective poison. There is no greater ignorance, there is nothing worse, O great ascetic.

*yo hinasti na bhūtāni udbhijjādi caturvidham |*  
*sa bhavet puruṣaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ sarvabhūtadayānvitaḥ || 3:27 ||*

He who does not harm the four types of living beings beginning with plants is the best person, having compassion for all creatures.

3.23 *Pāda* a is a *sa-vipulā* with two *laghus*. Note how elliptical this verse is and that *hiṃsakāni* is neuter although it refers to people, perhaps implying *bhūtāni*. Alternatively, take *y* in *hiṃsakāny* as a rather unusual sandhi-bridge (*hiṃsakān-y-āhu*), or simply delete this *y*. Note also that *āhu* stands for *āhur* metri causa.

3.24 Note *dharma* as a neuter noun in *pāda* a and that °*vinirmuktaṃ* and °*pradam* are neuter accordingly.

3.25 Note that *parataro* is masculine in *pāda* d, picking up a neuter *'yaśaḥ*. This phenomenon is probably the result of *'yaśaḥ* resembling a masculine noun ending in *-aḥ* and also of the metrical problem with a grammatically correct *nātaḥ parataram ayaśaḥ*.

3.26 *Pāda* d (*nātaḥ paraṃ tapodhana*) is slightly suspect. The vocative *tapodhana* usually refers to Anarthayajña in these passages, and not to Vigatārāga, as here. The text may have read *nātaḥ paratamo 'dhanah* (“There is no bigger loss of wealth”) or possibly something starting with *nātaḥ paraṃ tapo* ... (“There is no greater... of austerity”).

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

*sarvabhūtagaṃ nityaṃ yaḥ karoti sa paṇḍitaḥ |*  
*sa yajvā sa tapasvī ca sa dātā sa dṛḍhavrataḥ || 3:28 ||*

He who always has compassion for all creatures is the [true] Pandit. He is the [true] sacrificer, the [true] ascetic, he is the donor, the one with a firm vow.

*ahiṃsā paramaṃ tīrthaṃ ahiṃsā paramaṃ tapaḥ |*  
*ahiṃsā paramaṃ dānam ahiṃsā paramaṃ sukhaṃ || 3:29 ||*

Non-violence is the supreme pilgrimage place. Non-violence is the highest austerity. Non-violence is the highest donation. Non-violence is the highest joy.

*ahiṃsā paramo yajñāḥ ahiṃsā paramaṃ vrataṃ |*  
*ahiṃsā paramaṃ jñānam ahiṃsā paramā kriyā || 3:30 ||*

Non-violence is the supreme sacrifice. Non-violence is the supreme religious observance. Non-violence is supreme knowledge. Non-violence is the supreme ritual.

*ahiṃsā paramaṃ śaucam ahiṃsā paramo damaḥ |*  
*ahiṃsā paramo lābhaḥ ahiṃsā paramaṃ yaśaḥ || 3:31 ||*

Non-violence is the highest purity. Non-violence is the highest self-restraint. Non-violence is the highest profit. Non-violence is the greatest fame.

*ahiṃsā paramo dharmāḥ ahiṃsā paramā gatiḥ |*  
*ahiṃsā paramaṃ brahma ahiṃsā paramaḥ śivaḥ || 3:32 ||*

Non-violence is the supreme Dharma. Non-violence is the supreme path. Non-violence is the supreme Brahman. Non-violence is supreme Śiva.

[ *māṃsāhāraḥ* —

On meat-consumption ]

*māṃsāśanān nivarteta manasāpi na kāṅkṣayet |*  
*sa mahat phalam āpnoti yas tu māṃsam vivarjayet || 3:33 ||*

One should refrain from meat-consumption. One should not even desire it mentally. He who abandons meat will receive a great reward.

*svamāṃsam paramāṃsena yo vardhayitum icchati |*  
*anabhyarcya pitṛn devān na tato 'nyo 'sti pāpakṛt || 3:34 ||*

He who wishes to nourish his own flesh with the flesh of other [beings], outside of worshipping the ancestors and the gods, is the biggest sinner of all.

3:34 See UUMS chapter two for a similar section on meat-consumption.

Translation of chapter 3

*madhuparke ca yajñe ca pitṛdaivatakarmaṇi |*  
*atraiva paśavo hiṃsyā nānyatra manur abravīt || 3:35 ||*

During the *madhuparka* offering and during a sacrifice, during rituals for the ancestors and the gods: only in these cases are animals to be slaughtered and not in any other case. [This is what] Manu taught.

*krītvā svayaṃ vāpy utpādya paropahṛtam eva vā |*  
*devān pitṛṃś cārcayitvā khādan māṃsaṃ na doṣabhāk || 3:36 ||*

Should he buy it or procure it himself or should it be offered by others, if he eats meat, he will not sin if he first worships the gods and the ancestors.

*vedayajñatapastīrthadānaśīlakriyāvrataiḥ |*  
*māṃsahāranivṛttānāṃ śoḍaśāṃsaṃ na pūryate || 3:37 ||*

[People who perform] Vedic sacrifices and austerities, and [visit] sacred places, donate, [those who are of] good conduct, [perform] rituals and [keep] religious vows, [but eat meat] will not [be able to] enjoy even a tiny portion of [such rewards that] [those] people [receive] who have given up meat.

*mṛgāḥ parṇatrṇāhārād ajameṣagavādibhiḥ |*  
*sukhino balavantaś ca vicaranti mahītale || 3:38 ||*

Deer and goats, sheep, cows and other [animals] wander in the world happily and in great strength [just] from eating leaves and grass.

*vānarāḥ phala-m-āhārā rākṣasā rudhirapriyāḥ |*  
*nihatā rākṣasāḥ sarve vānaraiḥ phalabhōjibhiḥ || 3:39 ||*

Monkeys eat fruits, Rākṣasas prefer blood. The fruit-eating monkeys defeated all the Rākṣasas.

*tasmān māṃsaṃ na hiheta balakāmena bho dvija |*  
*balena ca guṇākarṣāt parato bhayabhīrunā || 3:40 ||*

3.35 This verse is a variant of Manu 5.41.

3.37 As for *pāda* d, see a similarly phrased comparison in Manu 2.86:

*ye pākayajñās catvāro vidhiyajñasamanvitāḥ | sarve te japayajñasya kalām nārhanṭi śoḍaśīm ||*

3.39 Understand *phalam āhārā* as *phalāhārā* (-m- is a sandhi-bridge). This verse clearly refers to the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.



*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

Therefore one should not crave meat in the hope of gaining strength, O Brahmin, in order to be able to draw a bow with force, or out of fear of the danger coming from the enemy.

*ahiṃsakasamo nāsti dānayaajñasamīhayā |*  
*iha loke yaśaḥ kīrtiḥ paratra ca parā gatiḥ || 3:41 ||*

By wishing to make donations and perform sacrifices no one will become comparable to someone who refrains from violence. [He will have] fame and glory in this world and the supreme path in the other.

*trailokyam maṇiratnapūrṇam akhilaṃ dattvottame brāhmaṇe*  
*koṭiyajñasahasrapadmam ayutaṃ dattvā mahīm dakṣiṇām |*  
*tīrthānām ca sahasrakoṭinīyutam snātvā sakṛn mānava*  
*etatpunyaphalam ahiṃsakajanah prāpnoti niḥsaṃśayah || 3:42 ||*

A person who refrains from violence will gain, no doubt about it, the [same] meritorious rewards that others would get by donating the three worlds filled with jewels and gems in their entirety to an excellent Brahmin, by [performing] a thousand [times] ten trillion (*padma*) [times] ten thousand (*ayuta*) *koṭiyajña* sacrifices, by donating the earth [to a priest] as sacrificial fee, and by bathing [at] a thousand times ten million times a million (*niyuta*) sacred places at once.

3.40 *guṇākāśāt* in pāda c is difficult to interpret and *guṇākāśāt* is a conjecture by Judit Törzsök which fits the context well, although the polysemy of *guṇa* may allow for other solutions.

Verses 3.40–42 may be echoing BrahmāṇḍaP 216.64–66:

*māṃsān miṣṭataram nāsti bhakṣyabhojyādikeṣu ca | tasmān māṃsam na bhuñjita*  
*nāsti miṣṭaiḥ sukhodayaḥ || gosahasram tu yo dadyād yas tu māṃsam na bhakṣayet |*  
*samāv etau purā prāha brahmā vedavidāṃ varaḥ || sarvatīrtheṣu yat puṇyam sarvaya-*  
*jñeṣu yat phalam | amāṃsabhakṣaṇe viprās tac ca tac ca ca tatsamam ||*

3.41 Pādas ab are reminiscent of ŚDhŚ 11.92:

*ahiṃsaikā paro dharmah śaktānām parikīrtitam | aśaktānām ayaṃ dharmo dā-*  
*nayajñādīpūrvakah ||*. On this verse see also ? , 15–16.

Note the variant °*dharmā*° in both C<sub>02</sub> and E in pāda b.

3.42 Metre: *śārdūlavikrīḍita*. On *padma* meaning ‘ten trillion’, and on other words for numbers, see 1.31–35. *koṭiyajña* in pāda d may refer to a special kind of sacrifice, mostly known as *koṭihoma* in the Purāṇas and in inscriptions (see, e.g., ? , and 2013). It involves a hundred fire-pits and a hundred times one thousand Brahmins (hence the name ‘the ten-million sacrifice’). See, e.g., BhavP *uttaraparvan* 4.142.54–58: *śatānāno daśamukho*  
*dvimukhaikamukhas tathā | caturvidho mahārāja koṭihomo vidhiyate || kāryasya gu-*  
*rutām jñātvā naiva kuryād aparvaṇi | yathā samkṣepataḥ kāryaḥ koṭihomas tathā śṛṇu ||*  
*kṛtvā kuṇḍaśatam divyaṃ yathoktam hastasaṃmitam | ekaikasmīṃs tataḥ kuṇḍe śatam*  
*viprān niyojayet || sadyaḥ pakṣe tu viprānām sahasram parikīrtitam | ekasthānapraṇīte*  
*’gnau sarvataḥ paribhāvite || homam kuryur dvijāḥ sarve kuṇḍe kuṇḍe yathoditam | yathā*



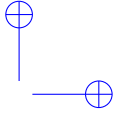
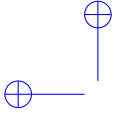
*Translation of chapter 3*

|| *iti vṛṣasārasaṃgrāhe ahimsāpraśaṃsā nāmādhyāyas tṛtīyaḥ* ||

Here ends the third chapter in the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgrāha* called the Praise of Non-violence.

*kuṇḍabāhutve 'pi rājasūye mahākratau* ||.

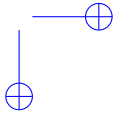
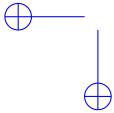
Note that the second syllable of *phalam* in *pāda* d is treated as long; this happens often at word-boundaries in this text; and note how  $K_7$  aims to restore the metre by inserting *tv* after its *phalam*.



*Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṅgraha*

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*Appendices*

passeges from part two

*Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṅgraha*

## *Symbols and Abbreviations*

### Symbols

≈

cf.

=

### Abbreviations

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

**f.**

**ff.**

**MGMCP**

**MGMPP**

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

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

**ŚDhŚ** = *Śivadharmaśāstra*

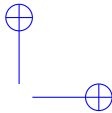
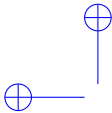
**ŚDhU** = *Śivadharmottara*

**VSS** = asdfadfasdfadsa

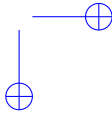
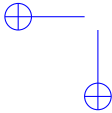
TO BE SUPPLIED

– Balogh 2018? ON THE SAME TOPIC

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



*Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṅgraha*



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- Arthaśāstra*: see Kangle 1969  
*Uttarottara*: see **CHECK**  
*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*: see **CHECK**  
*Rgveda-khila*: see Scheftelowitz 1906  
*Kūrmapurāṇa*: see Mukhopādhyāya 1890  
*Padmapurāṇa*: see **CHECK**  
*Buddhacarita*: see **CHECK**  
*Bodhisattvabhūmi*: see **CHECK**  
*Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa*: see **CHECK**  
*Bhagavadgītā*: see Sukthankar & al. 1927–1966 **CHECK**  
*Manu*: see Dave 1972  
*Mahābhārata*: see Sukthankar & al. 1927–1966  
*Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha*: see Sternbach 1974–2007  
*Mātāṅgalīlā*: see Śāstri 1910  
YS: see **CHECK**  
*Raghuvamśa*: see  
*Vāgmatīmāhātmyaprasaṃsā*:  
*Vājasaneyisaṃhitā*: see Weber 1972  
*Viṣṇudharmottara*:  
*Viṣṇudharma*: see Grünendahl 1983  
*Viṣṇupurāṇa*: see Pathak 1997–1999  
OTHER PURANAS  
CHANGE repeated authornames with —————

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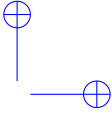
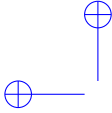
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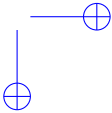
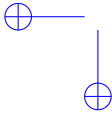
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