

# वृषसानसंग्रहः

*The Vṛṣasārasaṅgraha, a text of the Śivadharma corpus*

A Critical Edition

Volume 1

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

THE ŚIVADHARMA PROJECT

*Studies on the History of Śaivism*  
X??

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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

### On the Śivadharma corpus

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

### Title

The title *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*<sup>5</sup> can be translated as: ‘A Compendium on the Essence of the Bull [of Dharma].’ The last two elements (*sāra-saṃgraha*) need little explanation: this work is a ‘compendium’ on, a ‘collection’ or ‘summary’ of (*saṃgraha*) the ‘essence’ (*sāra*), of its topic. The words ‘compendium’ and ‘collection’ reflect the composite nature of the *Vṛṣasāra-saṃgraha* well; see sections on the structure of the text and on its possible sources on pp. xv and pp. xviff. 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. 4ff.

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

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

<sup>6</sup> There is no trace of Nandi/Nandin as identified with the bull in the *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 dharmah*) and 8.16a: *vṛṣo hi bhagavān dharmā*.<sup>7</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Introduction

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

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

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

<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* ‘*smīn mānavā mūḍhacetasaḥ* | *catuṣpādo bhaved dharmāḥ śuklo* ‘*yaṁ mama vāhanaḥ* ||

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

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

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

## *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

(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 1.63–76, a list of so-called *vedavyāsa*s, transmitters of Purāṇas, from Brahmā, to Vyāsa Dvaipāyana, Romaharṣa and his son. Why should a text include in its first chapter such a list other than to imply that it describes its own origins?

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

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

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 *Mahā-*

<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

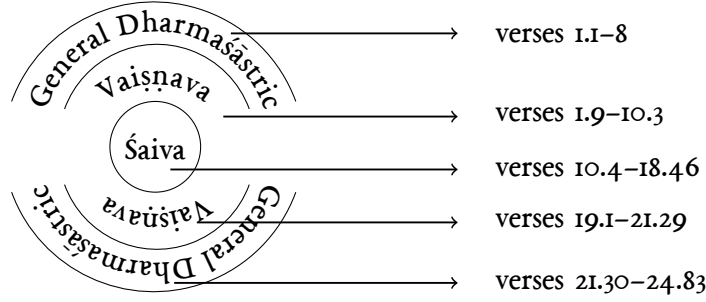


Figure 1: The structure of the VSS (reproduced from Kiss 2021, 188)

*bhārata* 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 Dharmi[c 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 be-

<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*?

tween Vigatarāga, who is Viṣṇu in disguise, and Anarthayajña, the ascetic; the Śaiva layer is a dialogue between Śiva and Devī, as related by Nandikeśvara.

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

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

CHECKMARKS !

## Connection to other texts

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

a dialogue between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana, echoing the setting of the frame story of the *Mahābhārata*. Janamejaya is the king at whose snake-sacrifice Vaiśampāyana recited the whole *Mahābhārata* for the first time.



Introduction

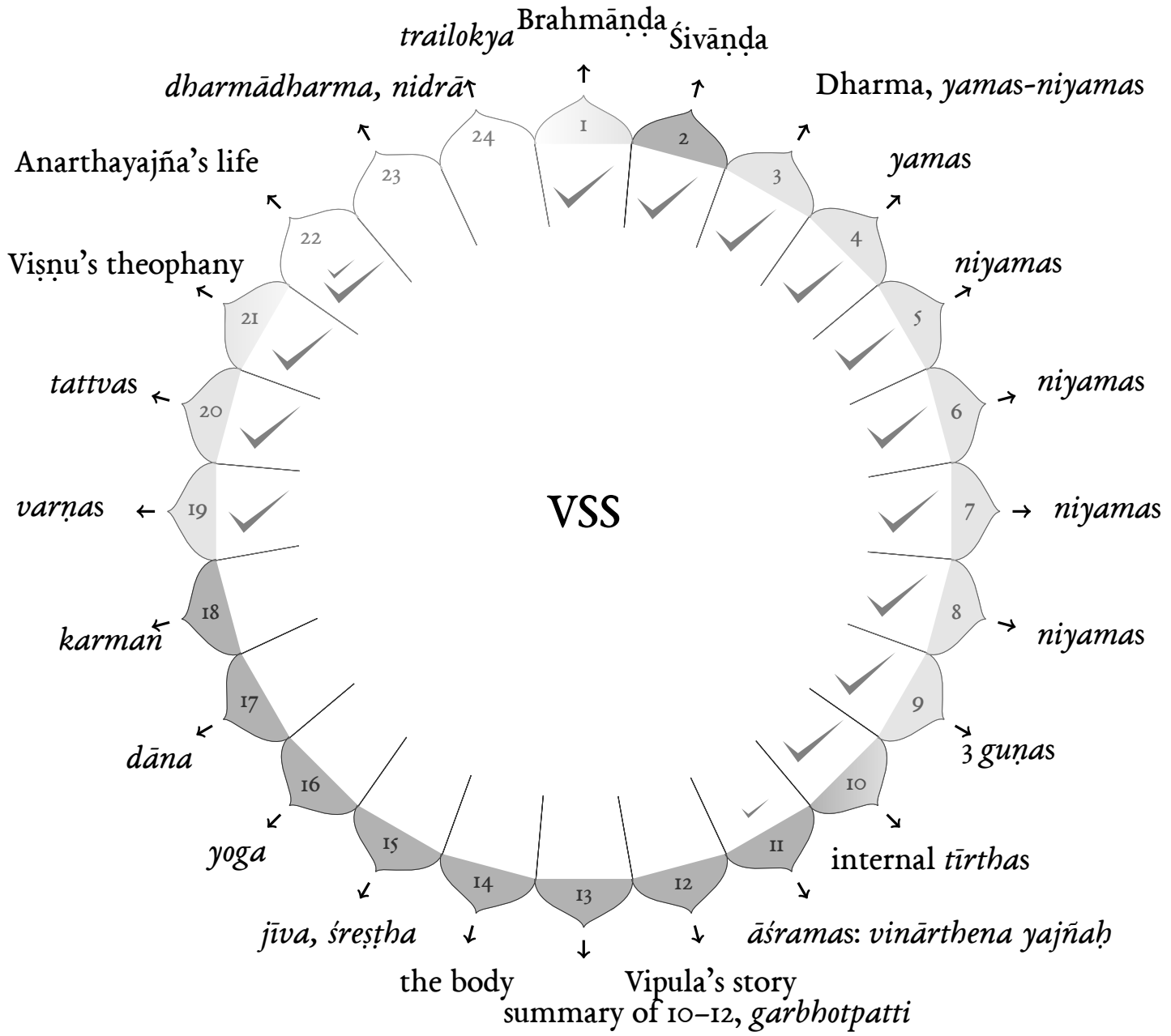


Figure 2: The structure and topics of the VSS

### *Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṃgraha*

This important moment is where the frame story of the *Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṃgraha* 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 Anarthayañña, an ascetic.

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

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

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

Śivadharmā texts:

Embryology

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

Compare, borrowings

Bṛhatkāḷottara,

### 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>18</sup> or a ‘relatively obscure period,’<sup>19</sup> i.e. the period ‘[b]etween the Licchavis, who last appear in epigraphical record in 737[CE], and the Malla kings, who ruled from 1200–1768’,<sup>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 names and individuals mentioned in the text, and a possible influence of any local language on the style and grammar of the text.

<sup>18</sup> Petech 1984, 31

<sup>19</sup> Sanderson 2009, 77

<sup>20</sup> Sanderson 2009, *ibid.*

## Introduction

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

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

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

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-līṅga, which is in the southern outskirts of Bhaktapur in Nepal, at the confluence of two rivers (according to Acharya 1992, 37–38 and 298):

*kiṃciddūre saṅgamasya yajñabhūmiṃ manoharām |*  
*vidhāya munibhir sārddham vājapeyam athākarot ||*  
*yajñam samāpya vālmīkir navanāḍimayam girim |*  
*āruroha dvijaśreṣṭho munibhir munisattamaḥ ||*  
*kaṭake tasya śailasya nānānirjharasobhite |*  
*līṅgam saṃsthāpayām āsa vālmikīśvarasaṃjñitam ||*  
*sthāpayitvā mahālīṅgam vālmīkir munisattamaḥ |*  
*svāśrame tamasātīre yayau munigaṇair vṛtaḥ ||*  
*vālmikīśvaram ālokya vāgvibhūtiḥ prajāyate |*  
*ato vāgīśvaram līṅga pravadanti maṇiṣiṇaḥ ||*

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 *līṅga* called Vālmikīśvara. Having installed that great *līṅga*, 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 Vālmikīśvara [*līṅga*], one will have the power of speech (*vāg-vibhūti*). That is why the wise call it the Vāgīśvara-līṅga.

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

The only toponym left from the list with which we started this section is Suradrāha.<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 nadīsu ca |*  
*anāśanas tapaśśreṣṭhas tīrthaśreṣṭhaḥ suradrāhaḥ || 18.15*

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

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

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

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

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This suggests that the location of Suradraha could potentially give us a hint on the geographic centre of the community in which the VSS was commissioned or composed. Unfortunately, at the moment I have no useful information on Suradraha. Nevertheless, I suppose that it should be a sacred place in the Kathmandu valley. The word *draha* is attested in Monier-Williams’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary as a variant of *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. xxiii. The impression one gets is clearly a north-Indian or Nepalese focus.

Chapter twelve also contains toponyms that could refine or contradict what we have seen so far. The narrative of this chapter starts in Kusumanagara at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Gaṇḍakī rivers, which is Pātali-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 Mr̥gendraśikhara, where Anarthayajña’s *āśrama* is situated, ‘on the southern slopes of the Himalayas.’<sup>36</sup> This name comes up several times in the *Nepālamā-*

<sup>33</sup> The references given are the Jaina *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti* 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 idam kṛtam | karavīrapuram nāma rāṣṭram caiva niveṣitam || pure ’smin nṛpatih kṛṣṇa vāsudevo mahāyaśāḥ | srgāla iti vikhyāto nityam paramakopanaḥ ||*; and also *Padmapurāṇa* 6.106.3: *āsīt sahyādriviṣaye karavīrapure purā | brāhmaṇo dharmavit kaścid dharmadatto ’tviśrutah ||*.

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

<sup>36</sup> See VSS 22.4–5: *vaiśampāyana uvāca | śṛṇu rājann avahito yogendrasya mahāt-*

*hātmya* and thus features on the map in Acharya 1992 (Figure 4). Mṛgendrasīkhara is a mountain situated north of Kathmandu. Today the area is called Śivapurī. See details on the identification and on legends connected to Mṛgendrasīkhara 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 Siṃhajata and queen Kekayī, rulers of Nara- or Karavīrapura in the narrative of chapter twelve. Unfortunately, so far I have not been able to link these names to any historical or legendary persons. The name of the hero of the same chapter, Vipula, may be familiar from MBh 13.40.16–13.43.16.:

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

*manah | āśramaṃ varṇajātīnāṃ vakṣyāmy eva narādhipa || himavaddakṣiṇe pārśve mṛgendrasīkhare nrpa | mahendrapathagānāmanadīre narādhipa ||*. ‘Vaiśampāyana spoke: Listen, O King, attentively. I shall tell you about the *āśrama*, the *varṇa* and the *jāti* of the great and noble yogin, O king. In the southern region of the Himālaya, on the Mṛgendra peak, O king, on the banks of the river Mahendrapathaga, O King[, was his *āśrama*].’

<sup>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

presses 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. xxvii 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 Idā, is silent on Piṅgalā, which is a situation similar to that in the 6–7-century *Niśvāsa naya*<sup>43</sup> (see details at the analysis of chapter

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

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

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10 on pp. xxxix and in the notes to the translation). Similarly, 11.23a (*nivṛtyādi caturvedaś*) mentions four Śaiva *kalās*, instead of the expected and somewhat later, and in character tantric, five, namely *nivṛtti*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *vidyā*, *śānti*, and *śāntiyatīta*. 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 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

<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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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. xv ff. above). Even the title is not unambiguously Śaiva, as we have seen (see pp. xi above). Can we still say that this text is Śaiva? Does it aim at a sort of balance of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva teachings? Does this duality reflect the religiopolitical reality of the era?

MORE...

## Pāśupatas in the VSS

### Tantric influence?

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

## Buddhism in the VSS

### Misc

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

## Language

### Newar influence?

The language of the VSS goes beyond the idiosyncrasies of epic Sanskrit. It exhibits strong similarities to Śaiva Aśa Sanskrit,<sup>46</sup> and it applies particu-

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

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lar 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 1.16ab:

*rātryāgame praliyante jagat sarvaṃ carācaram*

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

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

<sup>47</sup> See pp. xviii 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’].’

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*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 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.

<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.

<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.).

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

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  
saṃrddhasyo jalasaṃnikṛṣṭaḥ |  
sa yāti lokam amarādhīpasya  
vimānāyānena 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 sasyasaṃrddha-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 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>

<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.

<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.’

## Introduction

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 1.63cd–64ab and 10.2d:

*brahmaṇā kathitaṃ pūrṇaṃ mātariśvā yathātatham  
vāyunā pāda saṃkṣipya 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 ’smy aham*

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

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 ’smy* 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:

<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.

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

*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 an active construction with a transitive verb simply imitates an ergative structure: *viṣṇunā... papraccha* (1.8), *sa[!] hovāca pathīkena* (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 *lakṣaṇaṃ* or *svabhāvaṃ* (‘the characteristics/essence [of X]’) is missing. 1.38ab is similar:

*brahmāṇḍānāṃ prasaṃkhyātum mayā śakyaṃ kathaṃ 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 *khaṃ* ‘thing, 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

<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 Aśa. See, e.g., *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 18.23: *pūjayet ... mantriṇā* (Törzsök 1999, 42).

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



## Introduction

### 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 maṇiṣibhiḥ*

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 Aśa 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:

- 1.64a: *vāyunā pāda saṃkṣipya (pādam)*
- 1.64c: *tenāpi pāda saṃkṣipya (pādam)*
- 2.25c: *bhogam akṣaya tatraiva (akṣayam)*
- 2.26d: *iśānānām smṛtālayaḥ (smṛta ālayaḥ)*
- 4.19f: *prasahyasteya pañcamam (°steyam)*
- 4.72a: *caturdhyānādhunā (°dhyānam adhunā)*
- 4.77a: *pramādashāna pañcaiva (°sthānam or °sthānāni)*
- 6.5c: *vedādhyayana kartavyam (vedādhyayanam)*
- 6.14a: *dvitīyam tattva puruṣam (tattvam)*

<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.

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

*Vocabulary*

Special vocabulary/language: karhacit, hṛdi as nominative 10.27cd, tiryā,  
me as mayā, āhūtaplavāna  
generate list from index  
Modern Nepali: singular after numerals.  
Kölver

*Metre*

As regards metrical licences, perhaps the most striking feature is the generous use of the poetic licence sometimes labelled ‘muta cum liquida,’<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 *Vṛttaratnākara* (here given together with Sulhaṇa’s *Sukavihṛdayanandinī* commentary):<sup>72</sup>

*padādāv iha varṇasya saṃyogaḥ kramasaṃjñikah |*  
*purahsthitena tena syāl laghutā ’pi kvacid guroḥ || 1.10 ||*

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 jñeyaḥ | tena kramena purovartinā prāk-padānte vartamānasya prāptagurubhāvasyāpi laghutā syāt | kvacil lakṣānurodhena | nanu ka eṣaḥ kramo nāma saṃyoga ucyate | pūrvacāryāṇāṃ piṅgalanā-*

<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  $\cup\cup-\cup-$

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

<sup>72</sup> Patel 2020.

## Introduction

*gaprabhṛtinām kālīdāsādīnām ca kavīnām samayaḥ parigrhītaḥ | saṃyogaḥ kra-*  
*masaṃyogaḥ || 10 || tatra gra-saṃyogena yathā | idam asyodāharaṇam |*

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 Kālīdāsa 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:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*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(brahmā)ibhir āsamagraṇi (upajāti)*

4.67c: *prajñābodha(śr)uṭim smṛtim ca labhate mānaṃ ca nityaṃ labhed*  
*(śārdūlavikṛīḍita)*

4.89a: *iti yama(pravibhāgaḥ) kīrtito ’yaṃ dvijendra (mālini)*

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

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

- 5.5cd: *parastrīpara*(*dr*)*avyeṣu śaucam kāyikam ucyaṭe* (*pathyā*)  
 5.9cd: *vānaprasthasya* (*tr*)*iguṇaṃ yatīnāṃ tu caturguṇam* (*na-vipulā*)  
 5.15ab: *haṃsasārasacakraḥvakukkuṭān śuka*(*śy*)*enakān* (*pathyā*)  
 8.33a: *tasmān mauna*(*vr*)*atam sadaiva sudṛḍham kurvīta yo niścitam* (*śārdūla-vikrīḍita*)  
 10.31b: *īśānenābhijūṣṭam hr̥di* (*hr*)*ada vimalam nādaśītāmbupūrṇam* (*srag-dharā*)  
 11.9ab: *manahśuddhis tu* (*pr*)*athamam dravyaśuddhir atah 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 ahimsakajanah prāpnoti niḥsaṃsayah* (*śārdūla-vikrīḍita*)  
 4.5a: *na narmayu*(*ka*)*m anṛtam hinasti* (*upajāti*)<sup>75</sup>  
 4.39c: *aśeṣaya*(*jña*)*tapadānapuṇyam* (*upajāti*)  
 4.59c: *viññānadha*(*rma*)*kulakīrtināśa* (*upajāti*)  
 4.59d: *bhavanti vi*(*pra*)*damayā vihīnāḥ* (*upajāti*)  
 5.20a: *śaucāśaucavidhijña mānava ya*(*di*)*kālakṣaye niścayah* (*śārdūlavikrīḍita*)  
 6.18b: *jijñāsyantām dvijen*(*dra*)*bhavadhanakarah prārthanākalpavṛkṣah* (*sragdharā*)  
 7.13b: *saubhā*(*gya*)*m atulam labheta sa naro rūpam tathā śobhanam* (*śārdūlavikrīḍita*)  
 8.44d: *na bhavati punaja*(*nma*)*kalpakotyaṃyute 'pi* (*mālinī*)  
 11.42b: *saṃsāroddhara*(*na*)*m anityahara*(*na*)*m ajñānanirmūlanam* (*śārdūlavikrīḍita*)  
 11.42c: *prajñāvṛddhika*(*ra*)*m amoghakaraṇam kleśārṇavottāraṇam* (*śārdūlavikrīḍita*)  
 11.42d: *janmavyādhika*(*ra*)*m akarmadahanaṃ sevet sa dharmottamam* (*śārdūlavikrīḍita*)

<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 vacanam* (see the apparatus at veres 4.5 in the edition).

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12.150c: *nityaṃ rogādhivāṣaṃ aniyatavapuṣaṃ trāhi māṃ kālapāśāt (srag-dharā)*

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

*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*, 1.18–31), which leads to a teaching on numbers, from one up to two hundred quadrillion (*para*, 1.32–36). Verses 1.37–40 introduce a list of the rulers of the eight regions of the Brahmanḍa (1.41–49). In addition, Viṣṇu features as the ruler of the centre of the Brahmanḍa (1.50), reconfirming the general Vaiṣṇava character of this layer. 1.51–58 give the number of subordinates to each ruler mentioned above. 1.59–62 teaches the measurements of the Brahmanḍa. Finally, verses 1.63–76 list the redactors and transmitters of the Purāṇas, from Brahmā to Vyāsa Dvaipāyana, Romaharṣa, and Romaharṣa’s son Amitabuddhi.

Keywords: Brahmā, Brahman

### *Adhyāya 2*

2. śivāṇḍasaṃkhyā 3. ahimsāpraśaṃsā 4. yamavibhāga 5. śaucācāraavidhi 6. yajñavidhi (also lokāḥ) 7. dānapraśaṃsā 8. niyamapraśaṃsā (p. 603: types of svādhyāyana: śaiva, sāṃkhya, purāṇa, smārta, bhārata) 9. traiguṇyav-

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

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iśeṣaṇīya 10. kāyatīrthavivarṇana 11. caturāśramadharmavidhāna 12. vipu-  
lopākhyāna (narrative) 13. garbhotpatti (on conception) 14. praśnavyākaraṇa  
(why people are tall/short etc.) 15. jīvanirṇaya 16. adhyātmanirṇaya (yoga)  
17. dānadharma 18. pūrvakarmavipāka 19. dānayajñaviśeṣa 20. pañcaviṃśati-  
tattvanirṇaya 21. kalpanirṇaya 22. varṇagotrāśrama 23. nidrotpatti 24. śās-  
travarṇana

*Adhyāya 3*

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

*Adhyāya 4*

*Adhyāya 5*

*Adhyāya 6*

*Adhyāya 7*

*Adhyāya 8*

*Adhyāya 9*

*Adhyāya 10*

*Adhyāya 11*

*Adhyāya 12*

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

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 than 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: *sahasrādhyāyār uttamam* for *sahasrādhyāyam uttamam* (1.2b), *nāradasaṃhitām* for *bhāratasaṃhitām* (1.2d), *śaṅkha* for *śaṅkuḥ* (1.34b), omissions in 1.34cd–35, etc.

<sup>79</sup> He must have worked from paper manuscripts, see p. 10.

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



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times each manuscript or each chapter, *horribile dictu*, each verse, requires a slightly different approach, and these approaches keep changing during the editorial process. For example, the idea that there could be a connection between the linguistic oddities of the VSS’s language and classical 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.

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

## Introduction

### 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>

In recently published and forthcoming critical editions of and articles on the Śivadharmā 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

<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 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).

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candidates for the task but later were dismissed.

*The Cambridge manuscripts*

(N)C<sub>94</sub> Cambridge University Library, Add. 1694.1. This MS has been fully collated for chapters 1–12 of the critical edition in this volume. See a detailed description of this manuscript in the CUDL online catalogue.<sup>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) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 6) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 7) *Dharmaputrikā*, 8) *Śivopaniṣad*.

The VSS occupies 45 folios: it starts on f. 193v. The recto side, online image no. 381, is an empty folio side. The text ends on f. 239r (online image no. 473). The text of the VSS is transmitted fully, without any folios or major sections of the text missing. The leaves transmitting the VSS are 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 < trayodaśīyāṃ*,’ which converts to July 10/11 Monday/Tuesday, 1139 CE.<sup>89</sup> The script

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

<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 trayodaśīyāṃ* (retrived 8 Dec 2021). The element *dvādaśīpyaḍi* could be read as *dvādaśīyā di*, perhaps a mistake for *dvādaśīyāṃ 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* mean-

## Introduction

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 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

ing ‘the day of the twelfth.’ Another faint *kākapada* is perhaps to be seen under *daśi*, therefore it is possible that the scribe’s intention was to delete *dvādaśi* and correct it to *trayodaśyām*, and then the date becomes 11th of July. Kengo Harimoto has suggested that the unclear element (*yādi/pyādi*) is in fact *ghaṭi*, and after comparing these two syllables to other instances of *gha* and *ṭa*, one cannot but agree. In this case this should be an indication of the exact time (Skt. *ghaṭi/ghaṭikā*, Newar *ghaṭi*) the scribe finished copying the text. It is still not clear if we should take *dvādaśi* or *trayodaśyām* as the date. For help on the conversion of the date and for a detailed discussion on the colophon I am indebted to Kengo Harimoto.

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

<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 nṛpāḥ*.

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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 Śivadharma 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>

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 on-line 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 (*[ahimsā 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 *carmatās ca divi-jasundariṣu*, 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 *°ṇeṣu 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 *vṛṣasārasaṃgraha samāpta iti*. This folio also contains the beginning of

<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 below.

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

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the *Dharmaputrikā*, 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.

### *Palm-leaf manuscripts from Kathmandu*

(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 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 × 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

<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 *Dharmaputrikā* in this MS: *navottarāsītiyute sate bde āsāḍhaśuklasya tithau tṛtiye*, 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.

<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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continues on the lower leaf and then on the upper leaf on exp. 43 (going backwards, so to say) up to 1.62 (*viṃśakoṭīṣu gulmeṣu ūrdhva*<sup>o</sup>). Verses 1.62cd–2.22 seem to be missing. The lower leaf on exp. 43 contains verses 2.23–2.39. The single leaf in exp. 42 contains verses 2.40–3.16a. Exp. 41 contains a single leaf of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, ending in a colophon for its chapter twenty-two, and still going backwards, the preceding folios continue transmitting the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. Exploring the presence of the VSS in this manuscript further, one should look at the expositions after no. 44. Exp. 45 contains the end of the *Śivopaniṣad*. The single leaf on exp. 46 is almost illegible but most probably contains a fragment of the *Gautamadharmasūtra*. The second line just above the string hole on the left reads ... *vīrud 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 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

<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)



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

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

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

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.

## Paper manuscripts from Kathmandu

(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>7</sub> below). This MS contains two texts: *Śivadharmasamgraha* (ff. 91r–135v) and *Vṛṣasārasamgraha* (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>7</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>7</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 □ read *bhāratasamhitām*, or a slightly corrupt form of the same, in 1.2cd, while the two paper MSS K<sub>41</sub>, and

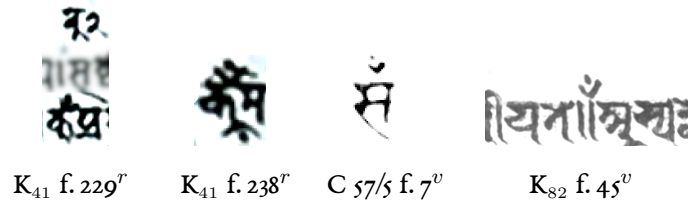
<sup>102</sup> [http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A\\_11-3\\_Śivadharmottara](http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A_11-3_Śivadharmottara)



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K<sub>7</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>7</sub>, and E (and ) read *vaktum arhasi*. In some instances, the paper MSS K<sub>41</sub> and K<sub>7</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>103</sup> while K<sub>41</sub>, K<sub>7</sub>, and E give a similarly imperfect *vijñeyā ca manīṣibhiḥ*.<sup>104</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>7</sub>, and E give *bhagavān uvāca* against all other witnesses’ *maheśvara uvāca*. After 12.30d (*vipulaḥ punar abravīt*), K<sub>41</sub>, K<sub>7</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>7</sub>, and some of the oddities in his edition originate in fact in actual readings rather than misreadings or 20th-century alterations.<sup>105</sup>

Another fascinating phenomenon in K<sub>41</sub> 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<sub>41</sub> on top of a *ku*, indicating that the syllable *ru*, given in the top margin, should be inserted there (left image below); doubled on in the same MS to indicate a larger omission (image left of centre); in MS NGMPP C 57/5, another paper Śivadharmā corpus multiple-text MS, to indicate a alternative reading (right of centre); and in the much older palm-leaf MS, K<sub>82</sub>, to indicate a missing passage, which is in fact to be found in at least two paper MSS (K<sub>41</sub> and K<sub>7</sub>) and in Naraharinath’s edition:



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

<sup>103</sup> One would expect the vocative *dvijottama*.

<sup>104</sup> The correct sandhi would be *vijñeyās ca*.

<sup>105</sup> Compare this with Bisschop, Kafle, & 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).’

## Introduction

frequently seen. Two instances of such a *kākapada* in in that book occur as found in two NGMPP *Viṣṇudharmaśāstra* MSS from 1661 and 1713 CE,<sup>106</sup> one in the above mentioned MS NGMPP C 57/5 from 1826 CE,<sup>107</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>108</sup>

It is difficult to ignore 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<sub>82</sub> of two *anuṣṭubh* verses on heavens after VSS 24.72 (see image on the right above). As hinted at above, these verses, which may be later insertions, occur in the paper MSS K<sub>41</sub> and K<sub>7</sub>, and in Naraharinath. To spot this, our anonymous editor had to carefully compare the old palm-leaf MS with the 17th-century paper MS.<sup>109</sup>

These observations also shed some light on the origin of the first folio of C<sub>02</sub>, which is in a hand that looks later than the rest of that MS.<sup>110</sup> Most old palm-leaf MSS at VSS 1.14ab start with *karmahetuḥ śarīrasya* etc., while the two paper MSS K<sub>41</sub> and K<sub>7</sub>, and Naraharinath read *anarthayañña uvāca* || *karmahetuḥ śarīrasya*. The only palm-leaf MS that reads with the paper MSS is C<sub>02</sub>, on its only folio that is written in a later hand. This at least tells us that the supplied first folio in C<sub>02</sub> 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.

**(N)K<sub>7</sub>** 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>111</sup> Folios 1–88 are missing. These must have contained the *Śivadharmasāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*.<sup>112</sup> The MS thus contains only six texts: 1) *Śivadharmaśamgraha* ff. 89r–


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

<sup>107</sup> MS NGMPP C57/5, Einicke 2009, 164 and 328.

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

<sup>109</sup> More on this in volume two.

<sup>110</sup> See p. 6.

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

<sup>112</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: || *asyānukra-*

*Vṛṣasārasaṅgraha*

133v, 2) *Umāmaheśvarasaṁvāda* ff. 134r–163v, 3) *Śivopaniṣad* ff. 164r–181r, 4) *Uttarottaramahāsaṁvāda* ff. 182r–206v, 5) *Vṛṣasārasaṅgraha* ff. 207r–251v, 6) *Dharmaputrikā* ff. 252r–262v.

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**

*The Munich manuscript*

**M** This MS is preserved at the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich, Germany.<sup>113</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 caturviṃśatimo dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ | samvat 192 māghakṛṣṇadivāpāñcamyām || 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.

*maḥ || prathama śivadharmo nāma.*

<sup>113</sup> Harimoto 2022, 596. See more detail in that paper.

## Introduction

### *The Paris manuscript*

**(N)P<sub>57</sub>** This is a multiple-text palm-leaf manuscript written in Nepālākṣara script and preserved in the Collection Sylvain Lévi at the Institut d’études indiennes, Collège de France as MS Skt 57-B 23. I have collated the readings of this MS for VSS chapters three and eight. It contains 249 palm leaves. Folios 214 and 216 are missing from the part of the manuscript that transmits the VSS, thus we don’t have verses 1.60d–2.21ab, as well as 3.14–42 and 4.1–7. Foliation appears on the verso side: in the left-hand margin in Newari alphabetical numerals and in the right-hand margin in arabic numerals by a second hand. The portion that contains the VSS is fairly well-preserved and the text is written in a clear hand. Although it is an undated manuscript, it could be dated to the 11th century CE on palaeographical grounds. It contains the following text in the order they are presented in the manuscript: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasamgraha*, 4) *Umāmahēśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*. The VSS appears on ff. 212–252. This source gives reliable readings and contains relatively few scribal mistakes.<sup>114</sup>

### *The Oxford manuscript*

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

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

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

*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

*The Kolkata manuscripts*

**(N)Ko<sub>77</sub>** MS G4077 in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Kolkata.<sup>115</sup> This is a palm leaf MS, transmitting the VSS in 52 folios. The MS is dated to July 6, 1036 CE (Nepāla Samvat 156; see De Simini 2017, 542), which makes it ‘the oldest known dated attestation of the corpus’ (De Simini 2016b, 250–251). In spite of this, after collating this MS for 1.1–12 and 8.1–8, I abandoned it because its readings seemed rather useless.<sup>116</sup>

**(N)Ko<sub>76</sub>** MS G 4076 in the collection of The Asiatic Society, Kolkata.<sup>117</sup> Shastri 1928 (716–718) gives a detailed description of this manuscript along with the text of VSS 1.1–16. According to Shastri, the dimensions of the MS are 22½ × 2 inches (57.15 × 5.08 cm), the text is complete and the script is of the twelfth century CE.

This manuscript may appear as a rare instance of the VSS being transmitted independently, and not in a multiple-text manuscript, but it seems very likely that it was originally part of Ko<sub>76</sub> (MS G 3852), a Śivadharmā corpus MS in the same collection lacking the VSS; see note 82 on page 3.

*The Tübingen manuscript*

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

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

<sup>116</sup> See, e.g., 8.1–8, as transmitted in this MS: *pañcasvādhyāyanam ihāmutra sukhārthinā | saivasāṅkhyā purāṇaṁ ca smārtabhāratasaṃhitā* ||8.1|| *saivatatvaṁ vicintata saivāpāsūpatadvaye | atra vistarata prokta tatvasārasamucaye* ||8.2|| *saṃkhyātatvaṁ tu saṃkhyeṣu bodhavya tatvacintakaiḥ | pañcatattvavibhāgena kīrtitāni maharṣibhiḥ* ||8.3|| *purāṇeṣu mahikoṣa vistareṇa prakīrtita | ājyōś 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 sṛṇuyāvambhito dvija | striyo vā garhitaḥ svargaḥ svayaṇmuktiś ca kīrtiyate | svapnāpaghātāṃ viprendra divāsvapnaṃ ca pañcamah* ||8:7|| *agamyastri divārsyase dharmapatnī ca vā bhavet | virud-dhastri na bhaveta varṇṇavarṇṇabhraṣṭādhikāma ca* ||8.8||

<sup>117</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

### The London manuscript

(N)L<sub>16</sub> This is a paper manuscript in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine under shelf number WI δ 16 (I–VIII). It contains 406 folios and the following texts: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra*, 2) *Śivadharmottara*, 3) *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 5) *Śivopaniṣad*, 6) *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7) *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, 8) *Dharmaputrikā*. This MS is described in Wujastyk 1985.

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*]tikāṃśram [= °kāṃbaram] eva ca | daśayogāsanāsīno

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*.

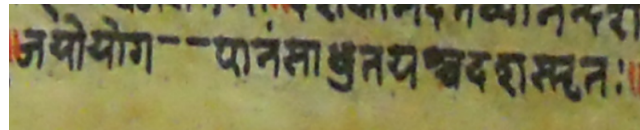
Here K<sub>82</sub> (f. 39v) reads:



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

with *dhyā* and *svā* damaged;

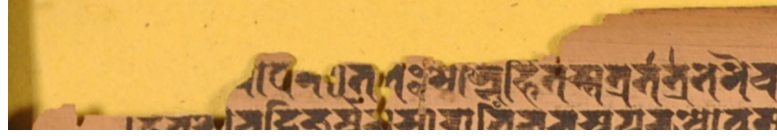
L<sub>16</sub> (f. 38ir) cannot read the bit that is completely lost, and it misreads the damaged *dhyānaṃ* as *dhānaṃ*, *svādhyā* as *sādhū*:



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

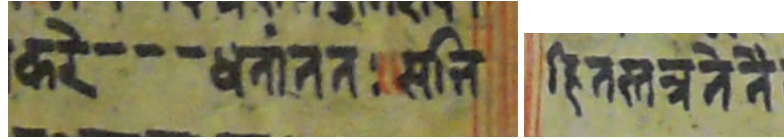
*Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*

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



[*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–I2.

*Naraharinath's edition*

**(N)E** Much has been said of Yogi Naraharinath's pioneering but problematic edition (the *editio princeps*) of the Śivadharma corpus (Naraharinath 1998).<sup>118</sup> My impression of the text of the VSS in Naraharinath's edition is that its quality is considerably inferior to those of the other texts of the corpus. It may or may not be Naraharinath's fault; others must have been involved in the process of transcription, and the number and nature of the innumerable mistakes all over the text may also suggest a general problem with the typesetting process. 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 from them. See the description of K<sub>41</sub> and K<sub>7</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. Therefor I have recorded the readings found in his publication for all twelve chapters given in my critical edition.

<sup>118</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

SDh MSS from Nepal  
stemma...

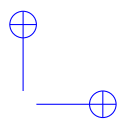
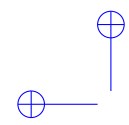




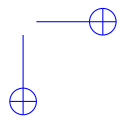
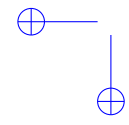
*Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṁgraha*

*An Annotated Translation*

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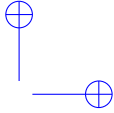
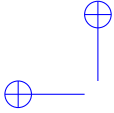


*Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṁgraha*

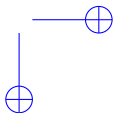
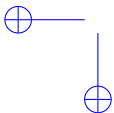


*Appendices*

passegges from part two



*Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṁgraha*



## *Symbols and Abbreviations*

### Symbols

≈

cf.

=

### Abbreviations

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

**f.**

**ff.**

**MGMCP**

**MGMPP**

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

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

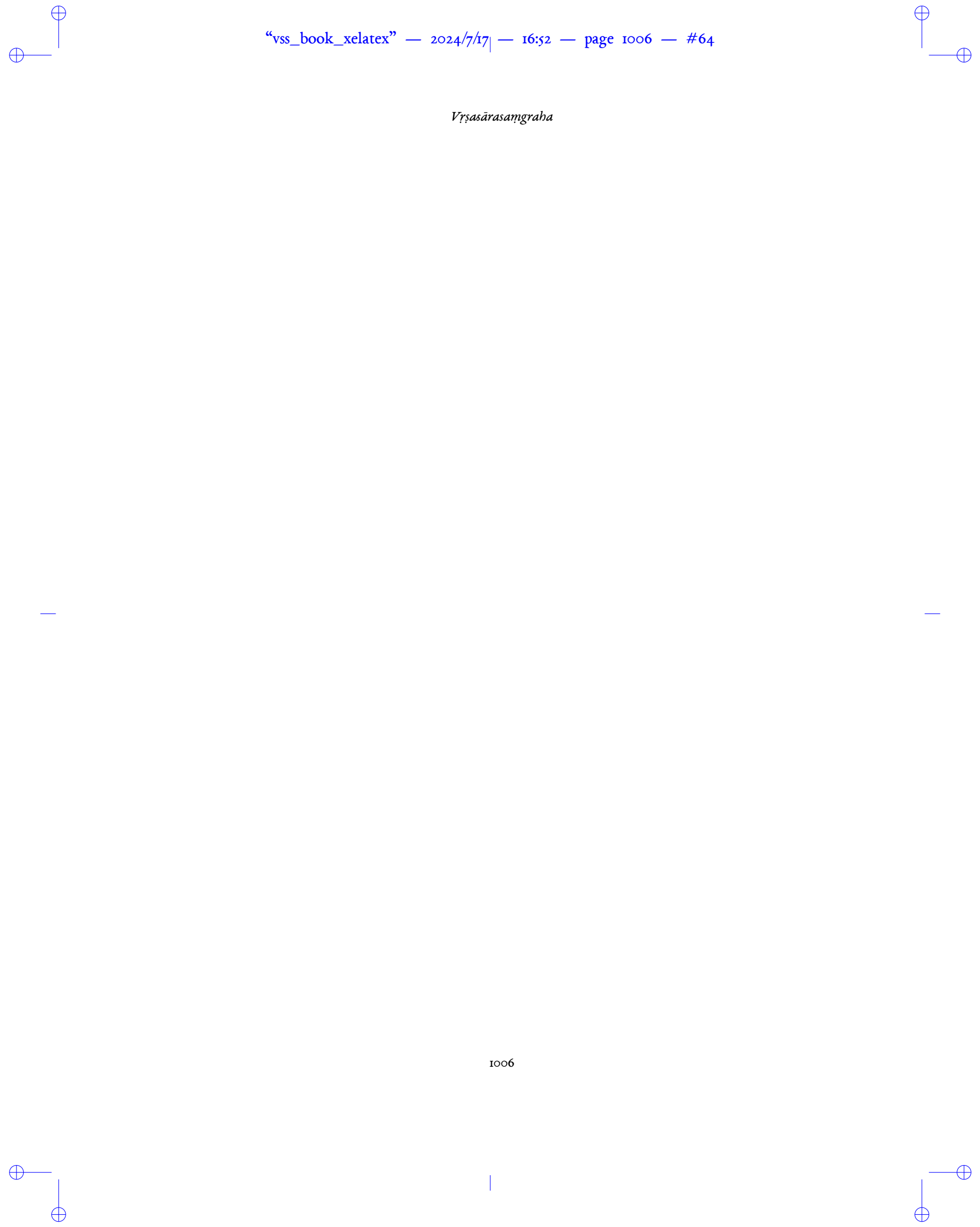
**ŚDhŚ** = *Śivadharmaśāstra*

**ŚDhU** = *Śivadharmottara*

**VSS** = asdfadfasdfadsa

TO BE SUPPLIED

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



*Vṛ̥ṣasārasaṁgraha*



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- 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**  
*Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*: see **CHECK**  
*Bhagavadgītā*: see Sukthankar & al. 1927–1966 **CHECK**  
*Manu*: see Dave 1972  
*Mahābhārata*: see Sukthankar & al. 1927–1966  
*Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha*: see Sternbach 1974–2007  
*Mātaṅgalīlā*: see Śāstri 1910  
YS: see **CHECK**  
*Raghuvamśa*: see  
*Vāgmatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsā*:  
*Vājasaneyisaṃhitā*: see Weber 1972  
*Viṣṇudharmottara*:  
*Viṣṇudharma*: see Grünendahl 1983  
*Viṣṇupurāṇa*: see Pathak 1997–1999  
OTHER PURANAS  
CHANGE repeated authornames with —————

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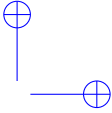
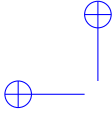
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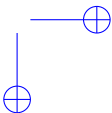
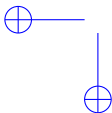
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