# On what became of the *Carakasaṃhitā* after Drdhabala's revision\*

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Ever since the early days of Indology it is well-known that the oldest classical Āyurveda work in Sanskrit, the *Carakasaṃhitā* (between about 100 B.C.E. and C.E. 200, according to *HIML* IA/114), contains two accounts of its own early textual history. In Siddhisthāna 12.36cd-12.38a, according to Trikamji's third,

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authoritative edition (Trikamji 1941), Dṛḍhabala (ca. fifth century C.E., according to *HIML* IA: 141), who is generally regarded as the final redactor of the *Carakasaṃhitā*<sup>2</sup> (from hereon CS) states that:

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vistārayati leśoktaṃ saṃkṣipaty ativistaram || saṃskartā kurute tantraṃ purāṇaṃ ca punarnavam | atas tantrottamam idaṃ carakeṇātibuddhinā || saṃskṛtaṃ.
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A redactor expands what was stated [too] briefly, abbreviates what is too extensive and [thereby] makes an ancient corpus of knowledge (*tantra*) new again. Therefore Caraka, who was exceedingly intelligent, revised this highest corpus of knowledge.

Here we read that a redactor named Caraka revised an ancient work in order to renew it. The name of the revised work is not stated explicitly here, but according to CS Cikitsāsthāna 30.289 cd (on which cf. below) and according to the *sthāna*-colophons throughout the CS, Dṛḍhabala refers to the corpus of knowledge composed by Agniveśa, i.e. the *Agniveśatantra*.

Dṛḍhabala's account of the revision of the original *Agniveśatantra* by Caraka provides some information on Dṛḍhabala's own attitude towards the textual tradition of Āyurveda. Dṛḍhabala tells us that the older work was in need of revision. The reason for this, however, is not some deficiency in content. According to Dṛḍhabala, Caraka was unsatisfied with the way in which knowledge was imparted to the reader; the redaction is therefore merely motivated by a concern about style, and not about content. The fact that Dṛḍhabala does not refer to a qualitative change of medical knowledge in time is not surprising at all if we remember the traditional account of how Āyurveda came to be known to mankind. According to CS Sūtrasthāna 1.3-5, it was the sage Bhāradvāja who received the knowledge of Āyurveda from the god Indra.<sup>3</sup> Āyurveda, accordingly,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>See Cordier 1903: 328.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Cf. HIML, vol. 1 A: 132-135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>CS Sūtrasthāna 1.1.3-5: dīrgham jīvitam anvicchan bharadvāja upāgamat | indram ugratapā buddhvā śaranyam amareśvaram || 3 || brahmaṇā hi yathāproktam āyurvedaṃ prajāpatiḥ | jagrāha nikhilenādāv aśvinau tu punas tataḥ || 4 || aśvibhyāṃ bhagavāñ chakraḥ pratipede ha kevalam | ṛṣiprokto bharadvājas tasmāc chakram upāgamat || 5 || Bharadvāja, possessing fierce ascetic power and desirous of a long life span, approached Indra after he had perceived that the lord of (immortal) gods was his refuge. Since in the beginning

is said not to be of human origin. And even the gods, among whom Brahmā was the first to possess this knowledge, neither developed nor invented Āyurveda, since according to the commentator Cakrapāṇidatta, Āyurveda came to the mind of the all-knowing god Brahmā all by itself.<sup>4</sup> Āyurveda, in consequence, is without a beginning and perfect, and it is, according to this traditional view, in itself beyond any need of future improvement.<sup>5</sup> This is not true, however, for the literary works of Āyurveda.

Dṛḍhabala addresses the issue of the quality of the CS in the passage immediately following my first citation (Siddhisthāna 12.38- 12.40b):

... tat tv asaṃpūrṇaṃ tribhāgenopalakṣyate |
tac chaṅkaraṃ bhūtapatiṃ saṃprasādya samāpayat ||
akhaṇḍārthaṃ dṛḍhabalo jātaḥ pañcanade pure |
kṛtvā bahubhyas tantrebhyo viśeṣoñchaśiloccayam ||
saptadaśauṣadhādhyāyasiddhikalpair apūrayat |

It was, however, observed that this [corpus of knowledge] was incomplete by one third. So Dṛḍhabala, who was born in the town Pañcanada, propitiated Śiva, the lord of beings, and finished [this *tantra*] with perfect sense. After having performed collections of picking up grains and gleaning ears of special subjects from many *tantras*, he filled it with seventeen chapters [of the book] on medical substances, the Siddhi- and the Kalpa[sthāna].<sup>6</sup>

This information accords with the other account of the *Carakasaṃhitā*'s textual history, which occurs in Cikitsāsthāna 30.289-290:

Prajāpati completely mastered Āyurveda as it was explained by Brahmā; and the two Aśvins learned it again from him; [and] the venerable Indra received it completely from the Aśvins; therefore Bharadvāja, who had been addresses by the seers, approached Indra.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Āyurvedadīpikā on CS Sūtrasthāna 1.1.4 (5a36-38): brahmaņas tu paramaguror vidita-sakalavedasya ... āyurvedajñānaṃ svataḥ siddham eveti na gurvantarāpekṣā. "But for Brahmā, who is the highest teacher [and] who knows all knowledge ... comprehension of Āyurveda is obtained completely by itself; thus [his knowledge] does not depend upon another teacher". This account of the origin of Āyurveda agrees logically with CS Sūtrasthāna 30.27, 1f., according to which Āyurveda is eternal (śāśvata).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Already Pollock (1985: 512 ff.) observed that virtually all Sanskritic *śāstras* do not aspire to improve their content by "the discovery of what has never been known before", but strive after a "recovery of what was known in full in the past".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>For a different translation cf. HIML vol. 1 A: 130.

asmin saptadaśādhyāyāḥ kalpāḥ siddhaya eva ca | nāsādyante 'gniveśasya tantre carakasaṃskṛte || tān etān kāpilabaliḥ śeṣān dṛḍhabalo 'karot | tantrasyāsya mahārthasya pūranārtham yathātatham ||

In this corpus of knowledge [composed] by Agniveśa, which was revised by Caraka, seventeen chapters as well as the Kalpa- and the Siddhi[sthāna-chapters] were found to be missing. These remaining [chapters] of that important corpus of knowledge were properly composed by Dṛḍhabala, son of Kapilabala, in order to complete it.<sup>7</sup>

Dṛḍhabala relates that he found the CS to be incomplete by a third of its text, and that he added two books, i.e. the Kalpa- and the Siddhisthāna, as well as "seventeen chapters on medical substances". Without additional information, the final part of this statement could naturally be taken as a reference to the final seventeen chapters of the Cikitsāsthāna.

Since the sequence of chapters varies in different versions of the Cikitsāsthāna – as well as in different versions of the "table of contents" towards the end of the Sūtrasthāna<sup>8</sup> – it is difficult to determine which chapters Dṛḍhabala added to the CS and which belong to the older stock of text. This problem was addressed in the early history of Indology by Cordier (1903) and Hoernle (1908).

Hoernle (1908:1000) presented two sequences of chapters in a table (cf. table no. 1, below) derived from the editions of Gaṅgādhara (1868) and Jīvānanda (1896).

He explained that the sequence of chapters in Jīvānanda's edition is supported by the "table of contents" towards the end of the CS Sūtrasthāna in manuscripts  $C5^b$  and (partly)  $L1^{d,10}$  The sequence of chapters in Gaṅgādhara's edition, according to Hoernle, is backed by the "table of contents" in manuscripts  $L1^d$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>For a slightly different translation cf. *HIML* vol. 1 A: 130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>The portions of text containing the two different text versions are: śoṣe 'rśasām atīsāre vīsarpe ca madātyaye || dvivraṇīye tathonmāde syād apasmāra eva ca | kṣataśoṣo{read tho]dare caiva grahaṇīpāṇḍurogayoḥ || hikkāśvāse ca kāse ca chardis tṛṣṇāviṣeṣu ca | (Jīvānanda 213.16-19) and śoṣonmāde 'py apasmāre kṣataśothodarārśasām || 59 || grahaṇīpāṇḍurogāṇāṃ śvāsakāsātisāriṇām | chardivīsarpatṛṣṇānāṃ viṣamadyavikārayoḥ || 60 || dvivraṇīyaṃ ... (Sū 30.59cd-61a according to Trikamji); cf. Cordier 1903: 329.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>For a survey of printed editions of the CS see http://www.istb.univie.ac.at/caraka/Materials/120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>For manuscript sigla see the "Sigla of available manuscripts" at the end of the present paper, p. 15f.

No.	Gaṅgādhara	Jīvānanda	No.	Gaṅgādhara	Jīvānanda
9.	unmāda	arśas	18.	kāsa	udara
10.	apasmāra	atīsāra	19.	atīsāra	grahaṇī
11.	kṣatakṣīṇa	vīsarpa	20.	chardi	pāṇḍu
12.	śotha	madātyaya	21.	vīsarpa	hikkāśvāsa
13.	udara	dvivraņīya	22.	tṛṣṇā	kāsa
14.	arśas	unmāda	23.	viṣa	chardi
15.	grahaṇī	apasmāra	24.	madātyaya	tṛṣṇā
16.	pāṇḍu	kṣatakṣīṇa	25.	dvivraņīya	viṣa
17.	hikkāśvāsa	śotha			

Table no. 1: chapter numbers and titles of Cikitsāsthāna chapters in the editions of Jīvānanda and Gaṅgādhara; cf. Hoernle 1908: 1000 and Cordier 1903: 328.

(partly),  $P3^d$ ,  $T1^d$ , and  $T2^d$ , as well as by the actual sequence of Cikitsāsthāna chapters in manuscripts  $L1^d$ ,  $P3^d$ ,  $T1^d$ , and  $T2^d$ . It also agrees with the actual sequence in the manuscript IO 359, which is today preserved in the British Library, London. Hoernle argued that the sequence of chapters in Gaṅgādhara's edition is the original one and that, accordingly, chapters nine to thirteen of this edition were composed by Caraka.

More recently, Meulenbeld discussed the question of which Cikitsāsthāna chapters go back to Caraka's revision of the *Agniveśatantra* and which were added by Dṛḍhabala. He based his discussion on references to the authorship of individual chapters by the commentator Jajjaṭa (ca. seventh century C.E., according to *HIML* 1A: 194) and by mediaeval Indian commentators – one of them being the famous Cakrapāṇidatta (towards the end of the eleventh century C.E., according to *HIML* IIA: 93) – as well as on the basis of the colophons to the Cikitsāsthāna chapters in Trikamji's edition. Meulenbeld concludes "with certainty" that Caraka composed the four chapters on *arśas*, *atīsāra*, *vīsarpa* and *madātyaya*. He is less confident with regard to the authorship of the chapter entitled *dvivraṇīya*, which he regards as Caraka's composition only on the basis of "the relative weight of the evidence, ... because the chapter colophons, being latter additions, cannot be relied upon; this is confirmed by Jejjaṭa, who ascribes chapter twenty five [i.e. *dvivraṇīya*] unhesitatingly to the ācārya, i.e., Caraka" (*HIML* IA: 131).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>The name of this ancient commentator on the CS is spelled differently in different sources. I prefer the spelling adopted in Zysk 2009, which is based on the evidence of the oldest reconstructable version of chapter colophons in the *Nirantarapadavyākhyā*, i.e. Jajjaṭa's commentary on the CS.

According to the chapter colophons in Trikamji's edition, the chapters composed by Caraka are chapters fourteen (arśa), nineteen  $(atis\bar{a}ra)$ , twenty-one (visarpa), twenty-three (visa), and twenty-four  $(mad\bar{a}tyaya)$ . Non of the manuscripts  $Ap1^d$ ,  $Ba1^d$ ,  $J2^d$  and  $Jp1^d$ , which due to their respective stemmatical positions (see below, p. 9) may be taken to preserve readings of the oldest reconstructable version (i.e. the archetype), wherever they share a common reading, has chapter colophons in the Cikitsāsthāna that refer to Dṛḍhabala's authorship. The information that certain chapters were composed by Dṛḍhabala apparently was neither contained in the archetype nor in any of the comparatively old reconstructable witnesses, which became starting points of the main lines of transmission. Therefore it is highly probable that Dṛḍhabala himself did not indicate the chapters he added.

Meulenbeld apparently overlooked that Cakrapāṇidatta, at least according to the version of the *Āyurvedadīpikā* in Trikamji's edition (which Meulenbeld cites himself in *HIML* IB: 220, n. 301), also took the *dviraṇīya* chapter to be the work of Caraka. Accordingly, there is no reason to seriously doubt that it was Caraka who also composed this chapter.

The commentators starting with Jajaṭṭa regard the five chapters <code>arśas</code>, <code>atīsāra</code>, <code>vīsarpa</code>, <code>madātyaya</code> and <code>dvivraṇīya</code> as part of the older stratum of the work. Exactly these chapters occur in Jīvānanda's version, one after the other, as chapters number nine to thirteen, whereas they are dispersed in Gaṅgādhara's version in the latter half of the Cikitsāsthāna as chapters number fourteen, nineteen, twenty-one, twenty-four and twenty-five.

Meulenbeld (*HIML* IA:131 f.) remarks correctly that settling the question of which chapters belong to the oldest stratum of the CS Cikitsāsthāna does not solve the problem of the original sequence of chapters. He ends his discussion of this topic by stating that "[m]ost scholars regard Jīvānanda's arrangement as a secondary development. This view is supported by the table of contents in chapter thirty of the Sūtrasthāna, the order of chapters in the Nidānasthāna, and

<sup>12</sup> saptadaśādhyāyā iti cikitsāsthāne saptadaśādhyāyāḥ; te ca carakasaṃskṛtān yakṣma-cikitsitān tān aṣṭāv adhyāyān, tathā'rśo'tīsāravisarpadvivraṇīyamadātayayoktān vihāya jñeyāḥ (Āyurvedadīpikā ad CS "Cikitsāsthāna 30.289-290 (645b28-30)). "Seventeen chapters" means "seventeen chapters of the Cikitsāsthāna". And these are [all chapters] with the exception of those revised by Caraka, i.e. the [first] eight chapters [up to the one entitled] Yakṣmacikitsita [and] likewise [the chapters] entitled Arśas, Atīsāra, Visarpa, Dvivraṇīya and Madātyaya". Cakrapāṇi lists the same five chapters in a slightly different sequence as arśas, atīsāra, vīsarpa, madātyaya and dvivranīya in his commentary on Ci 9,1 (see Trikamji 1941: 467b,19) and states expressively that these chapter are the five chapters revised by Caraka (pañcādhyāyī carakasamskrtā).

the commentaries of Jejjata and Cakrapanidatta".

The evidence mentioned by Meulenbeld in support of the thesis that the sequence of chapters as found in Jīvānanda's edition is secondary in comparison with the arrangement of chapters in Gaṅgādhara's edition is, however, inconclusive. The commentators Jajjaṭa and Cakrapāṇidatta lived, of course, comparatively early, i.e. before the manuscripts could have been written, from which the printed editions of Jīvānanda and Gaṅgādhara were finally produced. Jajjaṭa lived ca. 200 years after Dṛḍhabala, and Cakrapāṇidatta even ca. 600 years. The sequence of chapters in Jajjaṭa's commentary therefore indicates that already at an early date the same sequence as in Gaṅgādhara's printed edition was current. Whether this sequence is the original one, or whether it is the result of an early revision, cannot, however, be determined without additional information.

The sequence of chapters in the Nidānasthāna (which deals with symptoms of diseases) could provide this information only under the condition that an obvious similarity to either of the two conflicting chapter sequences in the Cikitsāsthāna (which deals with the treatment of diseases) were discernable. As far as I can see, this is not the case. Admittedly, the sequence of Nidānasthāna chapters six (śoṣa, wasting diseases), seven (unmāda, insanity), and eight (apasmāra, epilepsy) reminds slightly of the sequence of chapters eight (rājayakṣman, consumption), nine (unmāda, insanity), and ten (apasmāra, epilepsy) in Gaṅgādhara's version, since rājayakṣaman is one of the consumptive diseases. However, this resemblance alone does not justify the conclusion that Gaṅgādhara's sequence is the original one. In Jīvānanda's sequence unmāda and apasmāra also follow immediately one after the other (as topics fourteen and fifteen).

Finally, as we have seen above (p. 4), two different versions of the table of contents at the end of the Sūtrasthāna are transmitted, each of which corresponds to one of the two different sequences of chapters in the Cikitsāsthāna. Accordingly, neither of the two tables provides evidence for the originality of the one or other sequence of chapters.

The question of which sequence of Cikitsāsthāna chapters in the CS is the original one definitely deserves a more comprehensive treatment than the one I can offer here. For my present purpose it is, however, sufficient to highlight that the existence of two different sequences, which are both reflected in two different metrical tables of contents, indicates that the CS may have been revised thoroughly at least once after the supposedly final redaction of Dṛḍhabala had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Cf. the critical edition of chapter colophons of Jajjaṭa's commentary on the Cikitsāsthāna in Zysk 2009: 92.

taken place. One may therefore ask, what happened to the CS after Dṛḍhabala's revision? An important source of information is, of course, the degree of textual difference between the CS as we know it today and the version which Dṛḍhabala produced ca. 1,500 years ago.

The two consecutive research projects "Philosophy and Medicine in Early Classical India I and II" under the direction of Karin Preisendanz of the University of Vienna, Austria, are devoted to preparing a critical edition of the third book of the CS, the Vimānasthāna (from hereon Vi). In the course of these projects, copies of fifty-four manuscripts have become available. All of these manuscripts originate from the northern part of India, with the exception of a quite modern paper manuscript from Mysore (siglum  $M^k$ ).

With regard to scripts, the manuscripts fall into four groups: Besides the already mentioned manuscript in Kannada script, we have forty-three manuscripts written in Devanāgarī, nine in Bengali script and one single manuscript written in Śāradā.

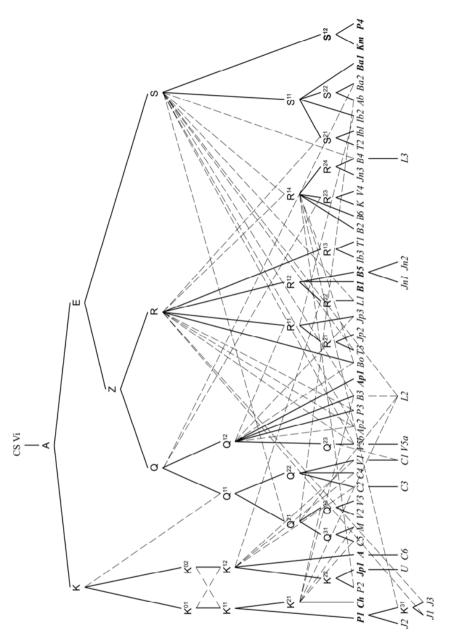
Fifteen of these manuscripts can be dated from the information provided in scribal colophons. The oldest was written in 1592 ( $Ap1^d$ ), the youngest in 1875 ( $V3^b$ ) C.E., and the average date of all dated manuscripts is 1750.

For the last few years, I have been working upon the final section of the CS Vi, i.e. Vi 8.67-157. This passage has 4,112 words and word stems in compounds, more than 98% of which have at least one variant in one or more manuscripts.

Based on the assumption that each copyist changes the text version he finds in his exemplar, the theory of textual criticism as formulated by Paul Maas and others provides a tool to create a genealogical tree (a stemma) of all available versions of the work in question by identifying variants that are characteristic for the different lines of transmission (cf. P. Maas 1958 and West 1973).

In practise, however, a number of severe impediments tend to hinder the successful application of stemmatic analysis. The most serious problem is, without doubt, textual contamination. Textual contamination occurs when two (or more) versions of a text are merged into one. A scribe, while preparing a new copy, might use not only one single exemplar, but – much like some modern editors of ancient texts – compare different specimens. As a result of this comparison, he corrects apparent mistakes in his main version, which he could not have done had he not been aware of the text version in the secondary exemplar. The use of different versions thus results in another new version with characteristic variants that are not in accordance with its stemmatic position. The new version appears closer to the archetype than it really is, because it has fewer mistakes than it could have if it were just a plain copy of its exemplar.

In spite of these difficulties, it has been possible to create a rather reliable



hypothetical stemma for the transmission of the passage under investigation. Figure 1: A hypothetical stemma of CS Vi  $8.67-157^{14}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Continuous lines show direct dependence. Broken lines indicate contamination. Variants of manuscripts with sigla printed in bold are decisive for the construction of the stemma (cf. Maas 2009b: 32f.). This stemma supersedes the stemma in Maas 2009a: 166, which

The methods I used to create the stemma do not have to concern us here, since they are the subject of Maas 2009b. Very briefly stated, my analysis of variants integrated two complementary approaches: A computer-based cladistic analysis (i.e. a quantitative approach) and a philological discussion of variant readings (i.e. a qualitative approach).

In the following part of the present paper I shall present an outline of the development of the CS Vi after Dṛḍhabala's revision with a special focus on the two different branches of transmission that lead from archetype A to the two hyparchetypes K and E, and from there further on to the individual manuscripts of the families K and Q. This description will be supplemented by a discussion of selected variant readings.

The time span between Dṛḍhabala's revision, which appears at the very top of the stemma and the copying of the oldest reconstructable version, i.e. archetype A, was rather short. This is to be inferred from the low number of only fifteen mistakes that were found in our reconstruction of the archetype in Vi 8 67-157.

One of these few errors occurs at Vi 8.108,1 in a passage describing how a patient's strength (*bala*) is to be determined.<sup>15</sup> Here Caraka prescribes that the physician should examine the patient with regard to the eight supreme constituents of the body (*sāra*). These constituents then provide the basis for a typology of patients. The depiction of each type of patient consists of two parts. The first part names features of the patient's body that indicate the existence of certain qualities, and the second part lists these qualities. Patients having marrow (*majan*) as the supreme body constituent are characterized as *mṛdvangā balavantaḥ snigdhavarṇasvarāḥ* "having tender limbs, strength and an agreeable complexion and voice". But the occurrence of *balavantaḥ* in all available versions within this list of bodily features must be a mistake. "Having strength" is one of the special qualities listed in the second part of the description, and from there the word *balavantaḥ* was apparently miscopied into the list of bodily features. This error, like all other mistakes in the archetype, is clearly caused by a simple scribal slip.

Below archetype A, the transmission is split into two lines which lead to the two hyparchetypes K and E, respectively. K is the oldest witness of the Kashmiri version. As early as 1903 Cordier remarked that the textual quality of the Kashmiri version was superior to that of the vulgate version in printed editions (Cordier 1903: 329). The basis for this observation was Cordier's reading of the Śāradā manuscript preserved at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,

was constructed on the basis of an initial cladistic analysis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Chapter-, section- and line numbers refer to Trikamji's third, authoritative edition of the CS.

Pune (i.e. our  $Pl^s$ ). Cordier's judgement, however, cannot be wholly endorsed today, because it is neither quite true with regard to the version transmitted in  $Pl^s$ , nor for that of hyparchetype K.

The most obvious characteristic of version K is its brevity. For example, in CS Vi 8.83,1 is has dvividhā parīkṣa jñānavatām as against dvividhā tu khalu jñānavatām. In 84,1 version K reads daśavidhaṃ parīkṣaṃ ... as against daśavidhaṃ tu parīkṣaṃ ..., and in 84,4 K reads anubandha āyuḥ versus anubandha tu khalv āyuḥ.

The relative conciseness of version K is not only confined to the use of emphatic particles and conjuncts. In contrast to all other versions it quite frequently does not have a redundant copula in connection with a predicative noun. For example, in 84,7f. we read  $k\bar{a}ran\bar{a}d\bar{n}i$  ...  $samdar\acute{s}it\bar{a}ni$  in K as against  $k\bar{a}ran\bar{a}d\bar{n}i$  ...  $samdar\acute{s}it\bar{a}ni$  bhavanti; and in 8.86.5–6 K has bhiṣak ... samarthah as against bhiṣak ... samarthah as against bhiṣak ... samarthah bhavati.

In judging the temporal relationship of these variants, three hypotheses present themselves, namely that the Kashmiri version is an abbreviated version of the original, or that version E has been extended in course of the transmission, or, finally, that version K as well as version E are both individual revisions of the archetype.

Version K is also remarkable for the fact that it retains original readings which are lost in other parts of the transmission, while in other places its text is quite heavily corrupted. A single example may prove the latter point.

In Vi 8.68 Caraka lists ten short definitions of topics (*prakaraṇa*) that a physician has to know in order to reach his aim without too much effort. One of these topics is the "starting point of what hat to be effected" (*kāryayoni*). In 84,3f. Caraka defines this topic as *kāryayonir dhātuvaiṣamyam* "The starting point of what has to be effected is the unsuitable ratio of bodily constituents". Due to a simple writing error, the second *akṣara* of the first word *kārya*- is missing in version K. Accordingly, the definition appears in K as the meaningless question: *kā yonir dhātuvaiṣamyam*.<sup>16</sup>

The fact that version K as well as version E both contain original readings as well as errors provides necessary (and sufficient) evidence to determine the position of these versions in the stemma. Both must go back directly to the archetype, though by an unknown number of intermediate copies. With regard to version K it is remarkable that many obvious errors were never corrected

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>The reason for this error was presumably a kind of haplography of two similar *akṣaras*, viz. *rya* and *yo*. If this is true, the error must have occurred at a time of the transmission, when the CS Vi was not (yet?) written in Śāradā script, in which the *akṣaras rya* and *yo* are quite dissimilar (cf. Slaje 1993: 34 and 57).

in the course of transmission. Bühler in 1877 reported that manuscripts from Kashmir are frequently "cooked,' i.e. that lacunae and defects in the original are filled according to the fancy of the Pandit who corrects them" (Bühler 1877: 33). Such a procedure is, however, not to be observed in case of the Kashmiri CS Vi. The Kashmiri copyists for the most part preserved the CS as they found it in their respective exemplars and copied it to the best of their ability. They neither invented missing passages nor did they use secondary exemplars from outside Kashmir to contaminate their lines of transmission. Only at a comparatively late date, when  $K^{31}$ , the common exemplar of  $JI^d$  and  $J3^d$ , was prepared, did a scribe consult a Bengali version in order to correct mistakes in his main exemplar. The basic attitude of this scribe, however, still was conservative. He retained a large number of Kashmiri peculiarities in orthography, and wherever the Kashmiri as well as the Bengali version both have an acceptable text, the scribe of K31 either stuck to his main Kashmiri exemplar or combined both versions. In the subsequent course of transmission, further instances of contamination occurred in  $J1^d$ , in  $J3^d$  and in  $P2^d$ . In all three versions the source of contamination stems from the eastern part of India.

A completely different attitude towards the received text can be inferred from the variant readings that were introduced in the line of transmission leading from hyparchetype E to the inferred witness Q. Among the approximately 100 changes that occurred in the latter half of Vi 8, there are quite a number of minor syntactical changes. In 86,5f., for example, Caraka states that a physician should question his own capability to accomplish his goal. The physician should ask himself *kaccid aham asya kāryasyābhinirvartane samarthaḥ*, *na*? "Hopefully I am able to produce this result, or not?" The final *na* puts the preceding statement slightly into question, but on the whole the speaker, as far as I can see, is quite confident of his own capability to succeed.

The case is different in version Q, where the disjunction  $v\bar{a}$  is inserted at the end of the sentence: aham asya  $k\bar{a}$ ryasy $\bar{a}$ bhinirvartane samarthah, na  $v\bar{a}$ ? "Am I able to produce this result or not?" In this reading, failure and success of the physician are equally possible, and the speaker's implicit self-confidence of the original version thus seems to be lost.

Other slight textual changes in version Q occur for example in Vi 8.89,6 with *prabodhanam* instead of *pratibodhanam* "waking up", in Vi 8.89,8f. ( $c\bar{a}vy\bar{a}pattih$  instead of  $c\bar{a}vy\bar{a}pattir$  iti), in 97,1 (*drutam* for *dravam* "liquid"), and in 98,10, where the word *loma*- "hair of the body" has been inserted right after *keśaśmaśru* "hair of the head and the beard".

Version Q not only contained a comparatively high number of redactorial changes, but also shows a considerable number of obvious transmissional errors, i.e. involuntary mistakes that must have occurred during the transmission

from Z. The poor state of preservation of the CS Vi in Q's exemplar also explains why the scribe felt obliged to change the text so frequently.

The fact that the Kashmir version is in parts superior to other versions was noticed by the scribes in group Q already at the comparatively early point of time when  $Q^{11}$  was copied. This can be concluded from the particular way in which a transmission error in Q was corrected in  $Q^{11}$ . From Vi 67 onwards  $Ap1^d$  has a long lacuna which extends from hy akaluṣāh 67,6 to -bhedenānyena  $v\bar{a}$  in 81,6f. This gap in the text was caused by a missing leaf. A passage of almost identical size is transposed in  $Q^{22}$  to a wrong position. The most plausible explanation for this phenomenon is to assume that the missing text of  $Ap1^d$  was already lost in Q. Later, the scribe of  $Q^{11}$  noticed the lacuna and copied the missing text from a secondary exemplar either in the margin of his manuscript or onto a new folio. His correction was not properly understood when  $Q^{22}$  was prepared, and, as a result, the text passage was misplaced.

It is possible to identify the source from which the passage was inserted into  $Q^{11}$  from a connective error which occurs in Vi 8.71. This passage, again, briefly defines the material cause of medical treatment:  $k\bar{a}ryayonis\ tu\ s\bar{a}\ y\bar{a}\ vikriyam\bar{a}n\bar{a}\ k\bar{a}ryatvam\ \bar{a}padyate$  "What turns into what has to be effected when it is changed, is the source of what has to be effected". The present participle  $vikriyam\bar{a}n\bar{a}$  was corrupted to  $vikrayam\bar{a}n\bar{a}$  already in K, and it is this reading that also occurs in  $Q^{22}$ . Since it is very unlikely that the same writing error occurred independently in K and in  $Q^{22}$ , a manuscript of the K family must almost necessarily have been the source of this reading in  $Q^{22}$ , and also in  $Q^{11}$ , since the whole passage that was missing in Q was introduced *en block*.

To sum up: The attitude of the copyists of the K family towards their received text differs considerably from that of the copyists of family Q. The Kashmiri copyists until relatively recent times used to copy version K exclusively without taking reference to other versions. Emendations and other deliberate textual changes are comparatively rare in all Kashmir witnesses with the notable exception of  $J1^d$ ,  $J3^d$  and  $P2^d$ .

In family Q, however, the received text was treated differently. The scribes tried to improve the received text from a relatively early date onwards by emending it and by comparing different versions. A critical distance towards the received text apparently prevailed in this line of the transmission.

There is, nevertheless, one thing both attitudes have in common: They aim at a preservation of the CS Vi, although by different means. New ideas in the field of Āyurveda, like pulse-diagnosis, the use of new substances in pharmacology etc. which became current in post classical Āyurveda were not introduced into the CS Vi at any stage of its transmission after Dṛḍhabala's revision had taken place.

How does this result of research into the transmission of the CS Vimānasthāna fit to the conclusion – reached above on p. 6 – that the CS as a whole was probably revised at least once after Dṛḍhabala had redacted the complete work? When, or at which point of the transmission, was this new revision executed?

Already Cordier noticed that the text of Jīvānanda's edition of the CS is similar to the version transmitted in manuscript  $Pl^s$ . From this similarity and from two references in the Madhukośa to Kashmiri readings ( $k\bar{a}śm\bar{i}rap\bar{a}tha$ ) of the CS, he inferred that  $Pl^s$  contains with all probability *the* Kashmir recension of the CS (Cordier 1903: 329).

Our research in the transmission of the CS Vi confirms Cordier's conclusion in so far as  $Pl^s$  does indeed belong to a group of closely related manuscripts which share as a common ancestor hyparchetype K exclusively as against the rest of the transmission. All of these manuscripts contain the complete set of eight  $sth\bar{a}na$ s that make up the complete work, and all of them have the same sequence of Cikitsāsthāna chapters as Jīvānanda's printed edition; both in the table of contents towards the end of the Sūtrasthāna as well as in the actual sequence of chapters. In contrast to this, all manuscripts containing a Vimānasthāna derived from hyparchetype E – i.e. manuscripts  $Ll^d$ ,  $P3^d$ ,  $Tl^d$ , and  $T2^d$ , according to Hoernle (cf. p. 4 above), as well as  $Ap1^d$ ,  $Jp2^d$  and  $Ba1^d$ , according to my own research – have their Cikitsāsthāna chapters arranged in the same sequence as Gaṅgādhara's printed edition. I take this to indicate that the stemmatic hypothesis developed on the basis of CS Vi 8.67-157 at least in its broad outline is applicable not only to the complete Vimānasthāna, but also at least to parts of the Sūtra- and the Cikitsāsthāna, if not even to the complete work.

Nevertheless, the stemmatical hypothesis cannot help in answering the question of which of the two conflicting sequence of chapters in the Cikitsāsthāna is the original one. Since the two sequences are transmitted in two hyparchetypes, either version (or none) may be original (cf. P. Maas 1958, § 8.e, p. 6). Accordingly, the question concerning the relative chronology of the two versions of the CS is insoluble at the present time.

# Sigla of available manuscripts

Scripts	b Bengali	<sup>d</sup> Devanāgarī	k Kannada	∮ Śāradā
ocripis.	Dengan	Devanagan	Ixammada	Saraua

- A<sup>d</sup> Alwar, RORI 2498, n[ot] d[ated]
- Ab<sup>d</sup> Ahmedabad, B.J. Institute of Learning and Research 758, n.d.
- Ap1<sup>d</sup> Alipur, Bhogilal Leherchand Institute of Indology 5283, d[ated] 1592 C.E.
- Ap2<sup>d</sup> Alipur, Bhogilal Leherchand Institute of Indology 5527, n.d.
- *B1*<sup>d</sup> Bikaner, RORI 1566, d. 1797 C.E.
- Bikaner, Anup Sanskrit Lib. 3985, n.d.
- B3<sup>d</sup> Bikaner, Anup Sanskrit Lib. 3986, d. 1653 C.E.
- Bikaner, Anup Sanskrit Lib. 3995, d. 1649 C.E.
- Bikaner, Anup Sanskrit Lib. 3996, n.d.
- Bikaner, Anup Sanskrit Lib. 3997, n.d.
- Ba1<sup>d</sup> Vadodara, Oriental Institute OI 12489, n.d.
- Ba2<sup>d</sup> Vadodara, Oriental Institute 25034, n.d.
- *Bo<sup>d</sup>* Mumbai, Asiatic Society 172, d. 1864 C.E.
- C1<sup>b</sup> Kolkata, National Lib. RDS 101, n.d.
- C2<sup>b</sup> Kolkata, Calcutta Sanskrit College 23, n.d.
- C3<sup>b</sup> Kolkata, Calcutta Sanskrit College 24, n.d.
- C4<sup>b</sup> Kolkata, Asiatic Soc. G 4474/3, n.d.
- C5<sup>b</sup> Kolkata, Asiatic Soc. G 2503/1, n.d.
- C6<sup>d</sup> Kolkata, Asiatic Soc. G 4391, n.d.
- *Cab* Cambridge, Trinity College Lib. R 15.85, n.d.
- *Ch*<sup>d</sup> Chandigarh, Lal Chand Research Lib. 2315, n.d.
- *Ib1*<sup>d</sup> Ilāhābad, G. Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha 25398, n.d.
- *Ib2*<sup>d</sup> Ilāhābad, G. Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha 8783/87, d. 1860 C.E.
- *Ib3*<sup>d</sup> Ilāhābad, G. Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha 37089, n.d.
- J1<sup>d</sup> Jammu, Raghunath Temple Lib. 3266, n.d.
- *J2<sup>d</sup>* Jammu, Raghunath Temple Lib. 3209, n.d.
- *J3<sup>d</sup>* Jammu, Raghunath Temple Lib. 3330, n.d.
- Jn1<sup>d</sup> Jamnagar, Gujarat Ayurved University Lib. GAS 103, n.d.
- Jn2<sup>d</sup> Jamnagar, Gujarat Ayurved University Lib. GAS 118, n.d.
- *Jn3*<sup>d</sup> Jamnagar, Gujarat Ayurved University Lib. GAS 96/2, d. 1868 C.E.
- *Jp1*<sup>d</sup> Jaipur, Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II (MSMS) Museum 2068, dateable to before 1690 C.E.
- *Jp2*<sup>d</sup> Jaipur, MSMS Museum 2069, d. 1757 C.E.
- *Jp3*<sup>d</sup> Jaipur, MSMS Museum 2561, d. 1633/34 C.E.
- Kota, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute (RORI) 1563, n.d.
- *Km*<sup>d</sup> Kathmandu, N-GMPP E-40553, d. 1832 C.E.

London, India Office Lib. (IOL) Skt. ms. 335, n.d.			
London, IOL Skt. ms. 881, n.d.			
London, IOL Skt. ms. 1445b, n.d.			
Mysore, Oriental Research Institute 902, n.d.			
Pune, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (BORI) 555 of 1875-76,			
d. 1688 C.E.			
Pune, BORI 534 of 1892-95, n.d.			
Pune, BORI 925 of 1891-95, n.d.			
Pune, Ānandāśrama 1546, d. 1799 C.E.			
Tübingen, Universitäts Bib. (UB) I.458, n.d.			

- Tübingen, UB I.459, n.d.
- *T*3<sup>d</sup> Tübingen, UB I.460 + I.474, n.d.
- Udaipur, RORI 1474, n.d.
- Varanasi, Sarasvati Bhavan 44842, d. 1698 C.E.
  V2b Varanasi, Sarasvati Bhavan 108824, d. 1838/39 C.E.
  V3b Varanasi, Sarasvati Bhavan 108685, d. 1875 C.E.
  V4d Varanasi, Benares Hindu University C3688, n.d.
  V5ad Varanasi, Sarasvati Bhavan 44870, n.d.
- $V3a^{4}$  Varanasi, Sarasvati Bhavan 44870, n.d. Vsb<sup>d</sup> Varanasi, Sarasvati Bhavan 44870, n.d.

# Signs, group sigla and abbreviations used in the Appendix

- .. illegible akşara.
- . illegible part of an akṣara.
- missing aksara indicated by the scribe.
- blank space in a line of text with the breadth of ca. one aksara.
- + aksara illegible due to damage of the manuscript.
- \* halantacihna (virāma).
- danda.
- † Witness does not transmit the variant under discussion due to a lacuna.
- [xy] Text in square brackets was deleted in the manuscript.
- <xy> Text in pointed brackets was added in the margin of the manuscript or elsewhere.
- $\langle xy \rangle^2$  text added by a second hand.
- $\{xy\}$  illegible text in  $A^d$ , reconstructed on the basis of the reading preserved in  $C6^d$
- ac ante correctionem.
- om. omitted.
- *pc post correctionem.* The superscript figure 2 indicates that the correction was made by a second hand.
- rp. repetition. Text was mistakenly copied a second time.
- *tp.* transposed. Text is omitted here, but occurs at a different position.
- vl. varia lectio within a repeated passage.
- A all manuscripts derived from the archetype.
- $A A^d A^d C6^d$ .
- B4  $B4^d$  and  $L3^d$ .
- B5  $B5^d$ ,  $Jn1^d$  and  $Jn2^d$ .
- C2  $C2^b$  and  $C3^b$ .
- E all manuscripts derived from hyparchetype E.
- Jp1  $Jp1^d$  and  $U^d$ .
- K all manuscripts derived from hyparchetype K, i.e.  $A^d$ ,  $C6^d$ ,  $Ch^d$ ,  $J1^d$ ,  $J2^d$ ,  $J3^d$ ,  $Jp1^d$ ,  $P1^s$ ,  $P2^d$ ,  $U^l$ .
- $K^{11}$   $Ch^d$ ,  $J1^d$ ,  $J2^d$ ,  $J3^d$ ,  $P1^s$ .
- $K^{12}$   $A^d$ ,  $C6^d$ ,  $Jp1^d$ ,  $P2^d$ ,  $U^d$ .
- $K^{22}$   $Jp1^d$ ,  $P2^d$ ,  $U^d$ .
- $K^{31}$   $J1^d$ ,  $J3^d$ .
- P1  $P1^{s}$ ,  $J1^{d}$ ,  $J2^{d}$  and  $J3^{d}$ .
- Q all manuscripts derived from the inferred witness Q, i.e.  $Ap1^d$ ,  $Ap2^d$ ,  $B3^d$ ,  $C1^b$ ,  $C2^b$ ,  $C3^b$ ,  $C4^b$ ,  $C5^b$ ,  $L2^d$ ,  $M^k$ ,  $P3^d$ ,  $V1^b$ ,  $V2^b$ ,  $V3^b$ ,  $V5a^d$ ,  $V5b^d$ .
- $Q^{11}$   $C1^b$ , C2b,  $C3^b$ ,  $C4^b$ ,  $C5^b$ ,  $M^k$ ,  $V1^b$ ,  $V2^b$ ,  $V3^b$ ,  $V5a^d$ ,  $V5b^d$ .
- $Q^{12}$   $Ap1^d, Ap2^d, B3^d, L2^d, P3^d, V5a^d, V5b^d.$
- $Q^{21}$   $C5^b, M^k, V2^b, V3^b$ .

- $Q^{31}$   $C5^b, M^k$ .
- $Q^{32}$   $V2^b$ ,  $V3^b$ .
- R all manuscripts derived from the inferred witness R, i.e. *B1<sup>d</sup>*, *B2<sup>d</sup>*, *B4<sup>d</sup>*, *B5<sup>d</sup>*, *B6<sup>d</sup>*, *B0<sup>d</sup>*, *Ib3<sup>d</sup>*, *Jn1<sup>d</sup>*, *Jn2<sup>d</sup>*, *Jn3<sup>d</sup>*, *Jp2<sup>d</sup>*, *Jp3<sup>d</sup>*, *K<sup>d</sup>*, *L1<sup>d</sup>*, *L3<sup>d</sup>*, *T1<sup>d</sup>*, *T3<sup>d</sup>*, *V4<sup>d</sup>*.
- $R^{11}$   $Jp2^d$ ,  $Jp3^d$ ,  $T1^d$ .
- $R^{12}$   $B1^d$ ,  $B5^d$ ,  $L1^d$ ,  $Jn1^d$ ,  $Jn2^d$ .
- $R^{13}$   $Ib3^d, T3^d$ .
- $R^{14}$   $B2^d$ ,  $B4^d$ ,  $B6^d$ ,  $Jn3^d$ ,  $K^d$ ,  $L3^d$ ,  $V4^d$ .
- S *Ab*<sup>d</sup>, *Ba1*<sup>d</sup>, *Ba2*<sup>d</sup>, *Km*<sup>d</sup>, *P4*<sup>d</sup>, *Ib1*<sup>d</sup>, *Ib2*<sup>d</sup>, *T2*<sup>d</sup>.
- $S^{11}$   $Ab^d$ ,  $Ba1^d$ ,  $Ba2^d$ ,  $Ib1^d$ ,  $Ib2^d$ ,  $T2^d$ .
- $S^{12}$   $Km^d$ ,  $P4^d$ .
- V1  $V1^b$  and  $C1^b$ .
- V5  $V5a^d$  and  $V5b^d$ .
- Z all manuscripts stemming from the common exemplar of the inferred witnesses Q and R.

# Appendix: Variant readings

The Appendix lists all variant readings of CS Vi 8 discussed in the present paper. Section and line numbers at the beginning of each entry refer to the text as edited in Trikamji 1941, which serves as our reference text. Variant readings of the manuscripts are recorded in a completely positive apparatus, which is organized with lemmata. These lemmata cite the reference text and end with a square bracket. Next, all textual witnesses in support of the main text are listed (for sigla etc., cf. "Signs, group sigla and abbreviations used in the appendix", on. p. 17, above). A minus sign heading a list of manuscripts within round brackets immediately following a group siglum indicates that the listed witnesses are not included in their group. A semicolon separates the list of witnesses from the first variant, which in turn is followed by the sigla of witnesses that share this reading etc. Witnesses that do not transmit the variant under discussion due to a lacuna are listed at the end of each entry with a preceding dagger (†).

- 67,6-81,8f. hetumanto hy akaluṣāḥ ... parīkṣāvidhibhedenānyena vā vidhibhedaprakrtyantarena
  - hetumanto ...  $v\bar{a}$ ] A ( $Q^{22}$   $Jn3^d$ ); tp.  $Q^{22}$ ;  $\dagger$   $Jn3^d$  hy ...  $v\bar{a}$ ] A ( $Ap1^d$   $Jn3^d$ ); om.  $Ap1^d$ ;  $\dagger$   $Jn3^d$
- kāryayonis tu sā yā vikriyamāṇā kāryatvam āpadyate.
  vikriyamāṇā] K³¹ Q²¹ (C5b) R¹¹ B6d Cab Pl (pc Pls) L2d P2d; vikriyamānā B3d P3d;
  vikryamāṇā A Ub; vikrayamāṇā K (K³¹ A J2d P2d Ub; ac Pls) Q²² (C1b); vikramamānā
  C1b; dhikriyamāṇā E (Q¹¹ R¹¹ Ap ld B3d B6d Cab L1d L2d P3d V5); dhikriyamāṇāt L1d;
  dhikri† V5; † Ap ld C5b
- 83,1 dvividhā tu khalu parīkṣā jñānavatām. tu khalu] E ( $Q^{31}$   $R^{13}$   $B2^d$   $Bo^d$   $V4^d$ ); tu [..] khalu  $V4^d$ ; tuṃ khalu  $R^{13}$ ; tu khalu punaḥ  $K^{31}$ ; tu  $B2^d$ ; khalu  $Bo^d$ ; om. K ( $K^{31}$ )  $Q^{31}$
- daśavidhaṃ tu parīkṣyam. daśavidhaṃ tu B5; daśavidha tu B5; daśavidhaṃ B5; daśavidhaṃ tu B5; daśavidha ta B5; daśavidha tu B5; daśavidhaṃ tu B5; daśavidhyaṃ B5; daśavidhyaṃ B5; daśavidhyaṃ B5; daśavidhaṃ tu B5; daśavidhyaṃ tu B5; daśavidhyam tu
- 84,4 anubandhaḥ khalv āyuḥ. khalv] tu khalv E (Q³¹  $B3^d$   $P4^d$   $V5a^d$ ; pc  $V5b^d$ ); tu khaly  $P4^d$ , tu khālv  $V5b^d$  (ac), tu khālv  $V5a^d$ ; om. K Q³¹  $B3^d$
- 84,7f. iti kāraṇādīni daśa daśasu bhiṣagādiṣu saṃsārya saṃdarśitāni. -darśitāni] K (K³¹) Q³¹  $B3^d$   $L2^d$ ; darśitāni bhavaṃti K³¹ E (Q³¹  $B3^d$   $Ib3^d$   $K^d$   $L2^d$ ); saṃdarśitāni bhavati  $Ib3^d$ ; + + + + bhavaṃti  $K^d$
- 84,3f. kāryayonir dhātuvaisamyam.

- kārya-]  $K^{31}$  E ( $Ib2^d$   $Jn3^d$   $V1^b$ )  $Ch^d$  (pc)  $P2^d$ ; kāryaṃ  $Ib2^d$ ; kāryā  $V1^b$ ; kāyar  $Jn3^d$ ; kā K ( $K^{31}$   $P2^d$ ; ac  $Ch^d$ )
- 86,5f. kaccid aham asya kāryasyābhinirvartane samartho na veti?

  na veti] K<sup>31</sup> Q (*B3<sup>d</sup> L2<sup>d</sup> V5*); na ceti R<sup>11</sup> (<sup>2</sup>pc *T3<sup>d</sup>*); na cemi *T3<sup>d</sup>* (*ac*); naiceti *Bo<sup>d</sup>*; veti *L1<sup>d</sup> T1<sup>d</sup>* (<sup>2</sup>pc); †veti *V5*; ceti *Ch<sup>d</sup>*; neti A (K<sup>31</sup> Q<sup>11</sup> R<sup>11</sup> Ap1<sup>d</sup> Ap2<sup>d</sup> B2<sup>d</sup> B5 Bo<sup>d</sup> Ch<sup>d</sup> L1<sup>d</sup> *P3<sup>d</sup> V5*; *ac T1<sup>d</sup>*); nati *B2<sup>d</sup>*; †neti *B5* (*Jn1<sup>d</sup>*); †iti *Jn1<sup>d</sup>*
- 86,5f. bhiṣag dhātusāmyābhinirvartane samartho bhavati. bhavati]  $K^{31}$  (pc  $J1^d$ ) E ( $S^{12}$   $Bo^d$   $C5^b$ ); bhavatiti  $Km^d$ ; bhavaviti  $P4^d$ ; bhaveti  $Bo^d$ ; om. K ( $K^{31}$ )  $C5^b$ ; †  $J1^d$  (ac)
- 89,6 sukhena ca prabodhanam prabodhanam Q ( $Q^{31}$   $Ap2^d$   $B3^d$   $L2^d$  V5); pratibodhanam A ( $Q^{22}$   $Q^{32}$   $Ap1^d$   $P3^d$   $U^t$ ); pratibodhana  $U^d$
- 89,7f. sarvākārair manobuddhīndriyāṇāṃ cāvyāpattir iti iti] A (Q<sup>22</sup> Q<sup>32</sup> Ap1<sup>d</sup> Ap2<sup>d</sup> Bo<sup>d</sup> P3<sup>d</sup> V5); om. Q (Q<sup>31</sup> B3<sup>d</sup> L2<sup>d</sup>); † Bo<sup>d</sup>
- 97,1 pittam uṣṇaṃ tīkṣṇaṃ dravaṃ visram amlaṃ kaṭukaṃ ca. dravaṃ] A ( $Q^{22}$   $Q^{32}$   $Ap1^d$   $B1^d$   $Jp2^d$   $K^d$   $Km^d$   $P3^d$   $T3^d$  V5); davaṃ  $Km^d$ ; drutaṃ Q ( $Ap2^d$   $B3^d$   $L2^d$   $M^k$  V5); druta  $Jp2^d$ ; drumaṃ  $B1^d$ ; bhavati  $T3^d$ ; + +  $K^d$ ; † V5
- 98,10 pāruṣyāt paruṣakeśaśmaśruromanakhadaśanavadanapāṇipādāḥ.
  -roma-]  $M^k$ ; loma K³¹ Q ( $L2^d M^k V5$ ); lomā  $V5 (pc V5b^d)$ ; lomāṃ  $V5b^d (ac)$ ; om. A (K³¹ Q¹¹  $Ap1^d Ap2^d B3^d P3^d V5$ )
- 108,1f. mṛdvaṅgā balavantaḥ snigdhavarṇasvarāḥ sthūladīrghavṛttasandhayaś ca majjasārāḥ. balavantaḥ]  $A \ Ch^d \ J3^d \ M^k \ P2^d$ ; valavalavantaḥ  $B3^d$ ; balavantaś ca E (S¹²  $B3^d \ C2 \ Jp3^d \ K^d \ M^k \ V4^d \ V5a^d$ ; v $l \ T3^d$ ; pc  $B1^d \ Jn1^d$ ); balavantaś cala  $J1^d$ ; balavaṃtaṃś ca  $B1^d \ (ac) \ Jn1^d \ (ac)$ ; balavata ca  $Jp3^d$ ; baladvantāś ca  $T3^d$ ; vataś  $V5a^d$ ; † S¹²  $P1 \ (K³¹) \ C2 \ Jp1 \ K^d \ V4^d$

# Literature and abbreviations

### Bühler 1877

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CS Carakasamhitā. See Trikamji 1941.

# Gaṅgādhara 1868

Atharvvavedopanga Āyurvvede Carakasamhitā. maharṣimunivaraCarakaviracit. asyāḥ Sūtrasthānanāma prathamasthānam. śrīmadGangādharakavirājakaviratnaviracitayā Jalpakalpatarusamākhyayā vyākhyayā sahitam tenaiva saṃśodhitam. KalikātāyāmśriyutBhuvanacandravasākamahodayasyaprārthanayātaddvāraivasaṃ Saṃvādajñānaratnākarākhyayantre 1925 saṃvatsare mudritārabdham.

HIML Gerit Jan Meulenbeld, A History of Indian Medical Literature. 3 vols (in 5 parts). [Groningen Oriental Studies 15]. Groningen: Forsten, 1999-2002.

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Jajjaṭa maharṣiPunarvasuśiṣyeṇa ṛṣivareṇa Agniveśena praṇīṭā mahāmuninā Carakeṇa Kāpilabalena Dṛḍhabalena ca pratisaṃskṛtā Carakasaṃhitā, mahāmahopādhyāy aCarakacaturānanaśrīCakrapāṇidattaviracitayā Āyurvedadīpikāvyākhyayā (tathā cikitsāsthānataḥ siddhisthānaṃ yāvat) śrīVāgbhaṭaśiṣyā"cāryavaraJajjaṭaviracitayā Nirantarapadavyākhyayā ca saṃvalitā. āyurvedācāryeṇa paṃ. śrīHaridattaŚāstriṇā saṃśodhitā, pūritaJajjaṭaṭīkātruṭitāṃśabhāgā ca. (dvitīyāṛttiḥ) ..., lavapūriyapañjā basaṃskṛtapustakālayādhyakṣaiḥ śrīmotīlāl banārasīdās ity etaiḥ svakīye "mumbaī saṃskṛta" ity ākhye mudraṇālaye mudrāpayitvā prakāśitā. [saṃvat 1997, san 1940].

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