

On the Textual History of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (1): A Study of Three Nepalese Manuscripts¹

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Introduction

In this article I will present first results of my study of three Nepalese manuscripts of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. After a critical survey of the research that has already been done on these manuscripts, I will provide their detailed descriptions. This will be followed by a first and still preliminary glimpse at what I

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call the *Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (SS) focusing on its structure, selected structural elements and a few selected elements of content.

The designation “Nepalese” points not only to the place where these manuscripts were initially discovered, but also to the most probable area of their production (see Section 2 below). As I see it, these manuscripts attest to a peculiar line of transmission of the text or, in terms of stemmatic analysis, they appear to share a common ancestor (hyparchetype) or a group of ancestors. On this basis, I propose to speak of the *Nepalese version of the SS in the same way, for example, that Adriaensen et al. (1998) speak of the Nepalese recension of the *Skandapurāṇa* or Maas (2013) speaks of Bengali and Kashmir groups of manuscripts of the *Carakasamhitā* (CS).

This hypothesis is based on the systematic comparison of the above-mentioned Nepalese manuscripts with several printed editions of the text and with the readings (*pāṭha*-s) discussed in the commentaries (studied mainly on the basis of commonly available printed editions).² With regard to this reference group (that is, to the compared textual sources of the SS), the Nepalese manuscripts agree in all cases of “major” divergences from this material (when the variant readings clearly affect or change the meaning of the text); in most cases of “normal” divergences (such as, for example, the use of different semantically similar words, changes in the word and verse order, etc.); and even in the case of “minor” divergences (such as orthographical alterations, etc.).³ It is important to stress, however, that no other manuscripts of the text, either from the same area or from other parts of South Asia, have been systematically included in the collation process so far.⁴

In this way, the claim for the existence of a Nepalese version remains speculative, and therefore the expression “*Nepalese version” is always marked with an asterisk in this article. Nonetheless, it will be shown that the text transmitted in these manuscripts, whether specific to them or not, widely differs from the known printed versions, bears several distinct features, and is of vast importance to the study of the textual history of the SS as well as the history of Āyurveda in general. It is my hope that the findings presented here

² See the list of printed editions of the SS and its commentaries in the bibliography below.

³ This gradation of variants does not claim to be complete. It is used here merely to provide a relative characterization of the types of variants observed in the particular case.

⁴ In the preparation of this article, I have occasionally examined several further manuscripts of the SS and its commentaries. All of these are listed in a separate section of the bibliography at the end of this article.

may encourage other scholars or, in fact, myself to study further the textual transmission of the *SS* and associated texts.

1. A Survey of Research

In what follows, I briefly review several major publications that deal with the manuscripts under discussion in this article, critically examining some of the observations and conclusions presented in these studies.

1.1. Hemarāja Śarman on a Sauśrutācārya

The existence of one of the manuscripts from the Nepalese group, the youngest available to us, **H** (see Section 2.3 below), was first brought to light by Nepālarājaguru Hemarāja Śarman, who referred to it in Śarmā (1938).⁵ There, Hemarāja raised the question of a possible redactor, or redactorial process, subsequent to Suśruta's compilation of Dhanvantari's teaching.⁶ Although the identity of these redactors (*pratisaṃskartṛ*) is unambiguously stated in the *Kāśyapasaṃhitā* and the *Carakasamhitā* (*CS*), no mention is made of them in the *SS*.⁷ Hemarāja thus presented his own arguments for a probable redaction and augmentation of the text.⁸ He observed that in the colophon to the first part (*pūrvabhāga*) of a certain medieval manuscript of the *SS* dated to Nepal Samvat (NS) 633 and available at his disposal,⁹ the work is referred to with

⁵ The relevant passage is quoted in full in the introduction (pp. 18–19) of Jādvajī Trikamjī & 'Kāvyatīrtha' (1938 [2004]), an edition of the *SS* (see Section 1.2).

⁶ According to Hemarāja's summary in Śarmā (1938, p. 104), and in agreement with the traditional view on the subject, the doctrines propounded by the sages of old (such as Dhanvantari, Ātreya or Kaśyapa), orally or in the form of extensive works (*saṃhitā*-s), were collected and systematized into a new generation of texts (*tantra*-s) by their disciples (such as Suśruta, Agniveśa or Vṛddhajīvaka, respectively). These *tantra*-s were later edited by a younger generation of scholars (such as Caraka and Dṛḍhabala in the case of the *CS* or Vyāsa in the case of the *Kāśyapasaṃhitā*).

⁷ Śarmā (1938, p. 104).

⁸ Note that in Śarmā (1938, pp. 111–112), Hemarāja rejects the identification of this editor with Nāgārjuna proposed by Ḍalhaṇa in his *NiSaṃ* at *SS* 1.1.2.

⁹ That is "our" manuscript **H**. On the issue of dating, the reader is referred to Section 2.3 below.

the words *suśrute śalyatanetre*.¹⁰ Yet the corresponding colophon to the Ut, the final sixth section of the SS, and one appended to the subsequent *Sauśrutaniḥaṇṭu* (*SauNi*) have *iti sauśrute mahottaratantre* [!] and *sauśrutyaṃ saṃhitāyāṃ mahottarāyāṃ* [sic]” respectively.¹¹ By juxtaposing these two colophons, Hemarāja conjectured that Suśruta himself composed only the first five sections of the text, while the Uttaratanttra and the *Nighaṇṭu* were added by a Sauśrutācārya belonging to Suśruta’s lineage or tradition; the same

¹⁰ Śarmā (1938, p. 112). These words can be translated in two ways (admittedly, without any substantial bearing on its meaning) by supplying different words as (1) “in the surgical treatise [composed by] Suśruta” (for something like **suśruta*[*viracite*] *śalyatanetre*) or (2) “in the surgical treatise [called] Suśruta[*saṃhitā*]” (for **suśruta*[*saṃhitākhye*] *śalyatanetre*). Both usages – that is, (1) and (2) – can be justified by a general principle referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya* (for example at Vārttika 3 on *Aṣṭādhyāyī* [A] 1.1.45) and often cited in the commentatorial literature on poetry as *padaikadeśa*[*grahaṇam*] (that is, reference to a composite word by one of its parts). Note, furthermore, that references to both the SS and the CS with the expressions *suśrute* (“in Suśruta”) or *carake* (“in Caraka”) are rather commonly found in the āyurvedic literature. For an example of such usage see Section 3.2.2 below. Outside of the medical literature, this usage is attested, for example, in the twelfth-century Sanskrit poem *Naiṣadhīyacarita* (ch. 4, vs. 116 or 117, depending on the recension of the text). Here the commentator Cāṇḍīpaṇḍita (fl. ca. 13th c.) glosses the word *suśruta* with *āyurvedaḥ* (“a treatise on Āyurveda”), and Nārāyaṇa (fl. ca. 16th c.) explains it with *suśrutākhyavaidyakaḥ* (“a medical treatise called Suśruta”).

¹¹ Śarmā (1938, p. 112) admitted the possibility to understand the nominal base *sauśruta-* (*suśruta-* + *aṇ*) as “[a treatise] of Suśruta” (in accordance with A 4.3.120: *tasyedam*; it is, perhaps, even more appropriate to recall two other meanings of *aṇ* described in A 4.3.101: *tena proktam*, and A 4.3.116: *kṛte granthe*). However, the scholar argued that this interpretation could not be accepted because presumably a single author of the colophons to all sections of the SS would not use different grammatical constructions to express a single meaning. In this way, two different formulations – that is, *suśrute śalyatanetre* and *sauśrute mahottaratantre* (along with the related *sauśrutyaṃ saṃhitāyāṃ mahottarāyāṃ*) – should be interpreted differently as “the surgical treatise [composed by] Suśruta” and “the great Uttaratanttra [composed by] Sauśruta”, respectively. The concerned nominal base should be, therefore, understood as referring to a descendent of Suśruta, in accordance, e.g., with the general rule in A 4.1.92: *ta-syāpatyam* (*idamarthapratyayāntena sauśrutaśabdena suśrutagranthasyāpi grahaṇam sambhavati, paraṃ purvāparabhāḡayor ekanibanddhābhāva ekenaiva rūpeṇollekhasya samucitatayā* [...] *pūrvabhāḡaḡ suśrutācāryasya, uttarabhāḡas tadvaṃśyasya sauśrutācāryasyeti buddhāv ārohayati*).

author must also have revised Suśruta's original composition (*tena suśrutasya vaṃśyena sāmpradāyikena vā sauśrutācāryeṇa suśrutasya pūrvatantram saṃskṛtam, uttaratantram niḥaṇṭubhāgaś ca yojite ity anumīyate*).¹²

The following points may be made about Hemarāja's study:

(1) In order to arrive at the above conjecture, Hemarāja must have accounted for the first colophon (... *śuśrute śalyatanetre* ...) to conclude all five initial sections of the work. One would thus expect to find it at the end of the Kalpasthāna (Ka), the fifth section of the SS. Nevertheless, a close examination of the actual colophons in manuscript **H** inspected by the Nepalese scholar provides a different picture. Namely, the reference *śuśrute śalyatanetre* is found at the end of the Sūtrasthāna (Sū), the very first section of the SS. The colophons to the Nidānasthāna (Ni) and to Śārīrasthāna (Śā), the second and the third sections of the SS, end with a generic statement: *samāptam nidāna[etc.]sthānam* ("The section on etiology, etc., is concluded.") The fourth section of the work, the Cikitsāsthāna (Ci), ends with a slightly extended variant of the same formula: *yad uktaṃ catvāriṃśac cikitsitānīti tat sarvaṃ samāptam iti* ("What was referred to [in the third chapter of the Sū] by saying '[There are] 40 chapters of the Cikitsāsthāna,' this all is concluded now."). Moreover, the fifth section of the work, the Ka, actually ends with *sauśrute śalyatanetre kalpasthānaṃ samāptam* ("The Kalpasthāna in the surgical treatise composed by Suśruta is concluded," see note 11 for Hemarāja's interpretation).

If one were strictly to follow Hemarāja's initial line of reasoning on the basis of the above observations, one would need to postulate the secondary character of not only the Ut and the *SauNi* (as summarized above),¹³ but of the Ka as well: colophons of all three sections in manuscript **H** use the secondary derivation *sauśruta*- with the reference to the author of the text. This assumption, though not entirely improbable, would go far beyond Hemarāja's initial proposal and would require further evidence, which can be provided only on the basis of a thorough study of the textual history of the SS.

(2) Moving beyond the *Nepalese version to consider other available manuscript material, we encounter a situation even less favorable to Hemarāja's arguments. The majority of the (sub-)colophons to other available manuscripts of the SS without a commentary use the formula *sauśrute*

¹² Śarmā (1938, p. 112). Cf. also HIML IA, pp. 340–341.

¹³ It should also be noted that the colophon found at the end of the *SauNi* in the manuscript discussed by Hemarāja occurs verbatim (and at the same place) in manuscript **K** (see Section 2.1), that is, in the oldest Nepalese manuscript of the SS. It must, therefore, reflect upon a considerably old reading of a supposed hyparchetype.

nidāna[etc.].*sthāne* in concluding the chapters or respective sections, regardless of the part of the text to which these colophons belong. Most of the sub-colophons in the manuscripts of Gayadāsa's *Nyāyacandrikā* (NC), although not without variations, refer to the text as *sauśrutam śalyatantram*, whereas the manuscripts of the *Suśrutapāṭhaśuddhi* mostly use the designation *sauśrutam āyurvedaśāstram*.

While it may be too early for a broad statement about possible reasons for and impacts of this state of affairs, it seems certain that Hemarāja's argumentation, genuine as it was in its time, can no longer be maintained.

(3) To conclude, it must be added that a careful examination of the colophons to the Ut as well as the SauNi in both the available old Nepalese manuscripts shows that what Hemarāja transcribed as *mahottaratantra*- should be read as *sahottaratantra*- a fact already recognized by Jāḍavjī Trikamjī¹⁴ in his quote of Hemarāja's discussion (see note 5), the improved reading of the syllable *sa* is added in parentheses.

1.2. Two Editions of the Main Body of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*

Fortunately, Hemarāja's (re-)discovery did not remain unnoticed. Two editions of the SS that appeared in the same year and in the year following the publication discussed above, and which were co-authored by the same editor, made use of H. The first, Jāḍavjī Trikamjī & 'Kāvyatīrtha' (1938 [2004]) (E), was the third in a series of revisions of the original edited by Jāḍavjī Trikamjī (1915) (based on three manuscripts), which was followed by his 1931 edition (based on additional nine manuscripts). This time the edition was enhanced by Gayadāsa's NC on the Ni as well as by a collation of three further manuscripts of the SS (among these the Nepalese manuscript H). The variant readings thus detected were occasionally mentioned in the footnotes.¹⁵

¹⁴ In the list of references below, the first part of the name of this influential scholar-physician (cf. Preisendanz 2018, p. 192) is variously spelled as Jāḍavjī, Jāḍavji and Yadavaji, and the second part — actually, the name of his father — as Trikamjī, Trikamji, or Trikumji. The Sanskrit title pages of the respective publications, however, invariably identify him as Ācāryopāhva Trivikramātmaja Yādavaśarman. In order to avoid confusion, throughout this article I follow the English spelling of the name introduced in Jāḍavjī Trikamjī & 'Kāvyatīrtha' (1938 [2004]), the publication that I cite the most often.

¹⁵ For a brief outline of the history of editions of the SS, see Wujastyk (2013, pp. 141–143).

According to the introductory remarks to the second publication, by Jāḍavjī Trikamjī and Nandakishor (1939 [2001]), which is mainly an edition of Cakrapāṇidatta's *Bhānumatī* on the *Sū* of the *SS*, the editors examined two manuscripts (in addition to several printed sources): the Nepalese manuscript **H** as well as a manuscript of the *Bhānumatī* from the India Office, London. Having no access to the latter, and without the critical apparatus in the published text, one cannot be certain about the extent to which the editors made use of **H**. It is, however, certain that readings supported by the *Nepalese version are occasionally found in the text proposed by Jāḍavjī Trikamjī and Nandakishor (1939 [2001]).

In spite of the importance of both editions for all subsequent studies of the *SS*, it must be noted that they share two basic shortcomings. First, they fail to distinguish between the text of the *SS* (constituted according to its own manuscripts) and the text presupposed (that is, the text commented upon) by the edited commentaries. This often leads to an incongruity between the printed basic text of the *SS* proper and the text of the commentary thereupon (see, for example, Klebanov 2010, p. 86ff.). Second, and more importantly, they do not conform to the basic requirement of a critical edition: namely, they do not accurately present the evidence on the basis of which the proposed text is constituted, that is, the readings of the manuscripts and, if applicable, parallels and other testimonia. The later circumstance in particular significantly limits the usability of these editions with regard to a text-historical study of the *SS*.

1.3. The *Sauśrutaniḥaṇṭu*: A Historical Note and a Recent Edition

It is most probable that Jāḍavjī Trikamjī, the individual behind a number of widely used vulgate editions of āyurvedic classics, upheld personal contact with Hemarāja Śarman. Roughly half a century later, however, another eminent scholar of Āyurveda, Priya Vrat Sharma, relied on the above mentioned note alone when writing about the almost legendary existence of a *Sauśrutaniḥaṇṭu* in the introductory remarks to his widely used introduction to āyurvedic pharmacology.¹⁶

Strangely enough, this text still retains its legendary status among āyurvedic scholars even after the publication of an edition by Suvedī and Tivārī (2000). The authors of this publication made use of both of the available manuscripts of the *SauNi*, that is, **H** as well as **K** (the oldest so far known

¹⁶ Sharma (1976, p. 95f.): "It is said that in one of the manuscripts of the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* there was appended a *nighaṇṭu* (Hemarāja Sharma: Introduction, *Kāśyapa Saṃhitā*, p. 57)."

manuscript of the *SS*, see Section 2.1), and furnished the text with extensive introductory and explanatory notes. These include, among other things, a detailed study of the text, a tabular representation of parallel material, and a thorough study of the utilized manuscripts. The negative apparatus to the text of the edition reports all (or certainly most) of the variant readings of the manuscripts, and it provides the reader with parallels from other known medical *nighaṇṭu*-s. I shall refer to this book at several occasions later in this article.

1.4. Historical Literature

A number of publications on the history of Nepal should be mentioned in connection with the study of **K** (see Section 2.1). The most influential ones are Regmi (1983) and Petech (1984).¹⁷ The colophon of the manuscript (see Section 2.1.3.3) is usually cited as evidence for the existence of the late Licchavi king Mānadeva and his tentative date.¹⁸

1.5. Three Recent Research Articles

A recently published article by Dominik Wujastyk (2013) was in fact the initial trigger for my work on the study presented here.¹⁹ After a historical note on the *SS* and its editions, Wujastyk points towards an abundance of textual problems detected already by medieval commentators on the *SS*. Wujastyk emphasizes the importance of the newly re-discovered old manuscript of the text (**K**), the evaluation of which is the means “to attempt to clarify the textual history of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*” (p. 147). The author also mentions the existence of other Nepalese manuscripts and outlines a roadmap for further text-historical research on the *SS*. Following the initial submission of the present article (in 2013), Prof. Wujastyk has continued his scholarly engagement with this material. In April 2020, he initiated a four-year project at the University of Alberta (Edmonton, Canada) with the aim of editing, translating and studying the *Nepalese version of the *SS*.²⁰

¹⁷ Another two important publications are Vajracharya (1973) and Malla (2005).

¹⁸ Cf., for example, Petech (1984, p. 29).

¹⁹ An earlier version of the same study was published as Wujastyk (2009).

²⁰ The project “The Textual and Cultural History of Medicine in South Asia Based on Newly-Discovered Manuscript Evidence” is financially supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (grant no. 435-2020-1077) and the Singhmar Chair fund at the University of Alberta.

Further, two important articles were written by Kengo Harimoto (2011, 2014), to whom I owe much of the description of the manuscripts in the following section. The earlier one of the two publications focuses on the study of several old manuscripts preserved and catalogued by the Nepal–German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) and the Nepalese–German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP), respectively (see below). Among these, **K** is mentioned as the “oldest verifiably dated manuscript” of the collection (Harimoto 2011, pp. 87–88) on account of its colophon, which is quoted and discussed. Later in the article (pp. 101–104), when discussing an example from the forth chapter of *Suśruta*’s *Ka* (on the classification of earthly snakes), Harimoto convincingly demonstrates how “[u]sing the Nepalese manuscripts, we can obtain a coherent classification of snakes,” and thus how “[t]he ancient manuscripts from Nepal help us recover a state of the text that it once was [in] when it was more internally consistent and coherent” (p. 104).

Harimoto’s study published in 2014 deals specifically with the three Nepalese manuscripts examined in the present article. It arrives at a number of seminal philological observations and in this way has a direct bearing on several issues discussed here. On p. 1089 (25), for example, Harimoto analyzes the relationship between the concerned manuscripts and establishes that “none of the Nepalese manuscripts directly derive from another.” Similarly, on pp. 1090–1091 (26–27), he demonstrates that, despite its antiquity, already the earliest Nepalese manuscripts (**K**) bears “signs of a long history of transmission,” which, among other things, “indicate the antiquity of the text.”

2. Description of the Manuscripts

In the following descriptions, two reference numbers are provided for each manuscript. The first one consists of an abbreviated name of the library in Nepal where the manuscript is kept and its accession number in the same library. The second number, starting with the abbreviation NGMCP, refers to the serial number (reel number and number on the reel) of the associated microfilm according to the catalogue of the NGMCP and its forerunner, the NGMPP. All three manuscripts were made available to me by the NGMCP in the form of digital scans of their black-and-white microfilms. In the case of NGMCP C80/7, however, an additional set of recent high-resolution digital colour photos was my main source of reference. During the final stage of preparation of this article I also had the opportunity to visit Nepal and briefly examine directly manuscripts **K** (see Section 2.1) and **H** (see Section 2.3).

2.1. KL 699 (NGMCP C80/7), Siglum K²¹



Figure 1: KL 699, fragment of fol. 14v (Sū 14).



Figure 2: KL 699, fragment of 69v.

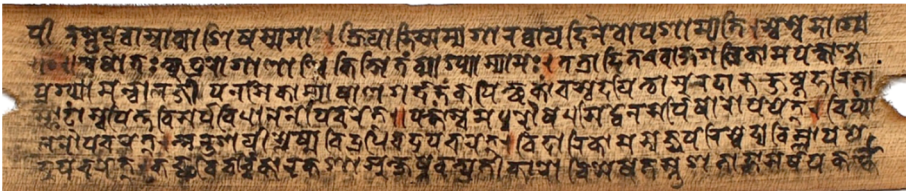


Figure 3: KL 699, fragment of 12v: Ci 19 (?).

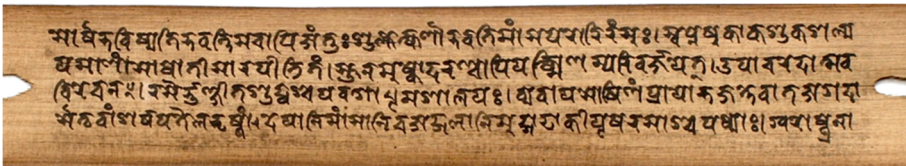


Figure 4: L 699, fragment of 91v.

²¹ A catalogue entry of the NGMCP can be found here: http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/C_80-7_Suśrutasaṃhitā (accessed January 12, 2021). It should be noted that thanks to the efforts of both the NGMCP teams in Kathmandu and Hamburg, this manuscript has been recently included in the “Memory of the World” register of the UNESCO. See <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-8/susrutamhita-sahottartantra-manuscript/> (accessed on January 12, 2021) for further details.

2.1.1. Physical Description

This is an incomplete and partly damaged palm-leaf manuscript written in the so-called transitional Gupta script, comprising 152 folios. The size of the folios is 53.5 x 4.4 cm, and each folio has two string holes. The text on each folio extends over six to eight lines. Letter numerals are found on the left margin of each verso leaf.

2.1.2. General Description

This manuscript belongs to the Kaiser Shamsheer library (KL), Kathmandu²² and, as noted in Sections 1.2.4–5, was already referred to by a number of scholars. KL 699 (see Figures 1 to 4) comprises no less than four different codicological units.²³ All of these can be distinguished from each other on the basis of text-external features, such as the shape and size of the letters (*akṣaras*), number and arrangement of lines on a folio, and the style of foliation (for example, horizontal foliation as in Figure 2 versus vertical foliation as displayed in Figure 1).²⁴

All codicological units, separately and together, are fragmentary. They cover parts of the *Sū* (≈ 1–31),²⁵ a fragment of *Ni* 16, portions of the *Ci* (≈ part of *Ci* 2 and from *Ci* 19 onwards), contain almost the complete text of *Ka* and *Ut*, and include one of the highlights of the *Nepalese version of the *SS*, namely, the text of the *SauNi*, of which one folio is missing. The codicological unit shown in Figure 3 is extant in only two folios and comprises the text roughly identifiable as part of *Ci* 19–24. At present, no text-overlap between different units has been observed.²⁶ One might wonder whether at some point this bundle was deliberately compiled (possibly by the curators of the KL collection or by a student of the *SS*) from the remains of several manuscripts, or whether it was initially copied by several scribes each in his own style.

²² On Kaiser Shamsheer and his library, see Dimitrov & Tamot (2007).

²³ For a succinct definition of the term “codicological unit” often used in the present article, the reader is referred to Friedrich & Schwanke (2016, p. 8), who also provide further bibliographical references. A fuller treatment of the same concept with a focus on South Asian manuscripts is given in Formigatti (2011, p. 29ff.).

²⁴ By means of an examination of the ornate symbols used in the manuscripts Bhattarai (2019) has confirmed the hypothesized number of codicological units.

²⁵ All references to passages of the *SS* in this article follow *E* unless otherwise stated.

²⁶ There is, however, an overlap in the folio numbers between the unit represented in Figure 1 and the one in Figure 2.

2.1.3. Auspicious Scribal Phrases, Colophon and Dating Issues

2.1.3.1. Auspicious Scribal Phrases

The scribe's *maṅgala* (auspicious phrase, usually an invocation of a deity)²⁷ found in the beginning of folio 1v of **K** reads: [SIDDHAM]²⁸ *namaḥ kama-lahastāya*, “[SIDDHAM] Obeisance to Kamalahasta.”

Even if the name Kamalahasta, that is, “[the deity holding a] Lotus in the Hand,” can be attributed to both Buddhist and non-Buddhist deities,²⁹ it seems most natural, in the context of medieval Nepal, to interpret it as a synonym of the more common Padmapāṇi, a widespread byname of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.³⁰

The text of the SauNi is preceded by [SIDDHAM] *namaḥ sarvajñāyānut-taravaidyārājāya* “[SIDDHAM] Obeisance to the Omniscient One, the Unsurpassed King of Doctors.” Here too, the attribute of the invoked deity (“omniscient”) as well as its imagery as the “Unsurpassed King of Doctors” clearly point towards a Buddhist affiliation of the scribe.³¹

2.1.3.2. Colophon and Dating³²

Notably, the final colophon of the manuscript (209v ll. 5–7), which records the date and the circumstances of its production, is found not at the end of the whole manuscript (that is, after the text of the SauNi), but at the end of what the scribe, or one of his predecessors, may have thought the main body of the text was — namely the Ut, the sixth and the last section of the SS. Nonetheless,

²⁷ Cf. Minkowski (2008).

²⁸ This is my transliteration (in following Harimoto 2014) of the so-called Siddham sign, an auspicious symbol often found in Buddhist manuscripts and in manuscripts from Nepal in general (see, for example, Roth 1986 and Sander 1986).

²⁹ Cf. several occurrences of this name in Śaiva Tantric and Purāṇic contexts in the text databases of GRETEL (<http://gretel.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretel.html>, accessed September 26, 2020) and Muktabodha (https://etexts.muktabodha.org/digital_library.htm, accessed September 26, 2020).

³⁰ Cf., for example, Hodgson (1829), La Vallée Poussin (1917), etc.

³¹ For a discussion of the use of medical metaphors in Buddhist literature in general and in connection with the bynames of the Buddha in particular, see Klebanov (2010, p. 4ff.).

³² I want to thank Prof. Diwakar Nath Acharya (abbreviated as DA in the apparatus), the participants of the conference section in Copenhagen mentioned in note 1 above, and the editors of this volume for their invaluable help in reading and interpreting the colophon.

the concluding colophon of the Ut (and, in fact, of the whole SS) that immediately precedes the scribe's final colophon makes an explicit reference to the following text of SauNi: *samāptaṃ caidaṃ sahottaratantram ity ato nighaṇṭur bhaviṣyati*, “And this treatise together with the Uttara[tantra] is concluded. Hereafter will come the Nighaṇṭu.”

In contrast to common practice, in the following I give an edited text of the colophon rather than its transcription. This should facilitate the discussion of its meaning as well as highlight the differences between readings of the same text proposed in several publications.³³

2.1.3.3. Colophon of KL 699 (fol. 209v)

*rājñi*³⁴ *śrīmā*³⁵ *nadeve prthusitayaśasi prodyadinduprakāśe*
*kāle puṇyārjanasya sakala*³⁶ *janamanohlādiramye*³⁷ *vasante*³⁸ |
*varṣe caikottare*³⁹ *’smiṃs tritayaśatagate mādhave māsi śukle*
*saptamyaṃ puṣya-ṛkṣe daśaśata*⁴⁰ *kiraṇe vāsare siddhayoge* || 1 ||⁴¹
*utpattyādyambuvelākulavividharuja*⁴² *grahajusṭā*⁴³ *tiraudre*
samsāre sāgare ’smiṃ jagad idam akhilaṃ glāninam sampravṛkṣya |

³³ In the following critical apparatus, Petech stands for Petech (1984, p. 29), Suvedī & Tivārī for Suvedī & Tivārī (2000, pp. 12–13), and Vajracharya for Vajracharya (1973, p. 599). For a short list of other symbols and abbreviations used in the text-critical notes, the reader is referred to the tabular listing at the end of this article. The abbreviation “conj. DA” refers to conjectures suggested to me by Prof. Diwakar Nath Acharya in an email message of December 17, 2012.

³⁴ *rājñi*] **K**^{PC} Petech, Suvedī & Tivārī, Vajracharya; *śrījñi* **K**^{AC} (<śrī> has been deleted and <rā> written instead. One can, however, still recognize the shape of the originally written *akṣara*.).

³⁵ *°mā*°] Petech, Suvedī & Tivārī, Vajracharya; damaged in **K**.

³⁶ *sakala*°] Petech, Suvedī & Tivārī, Vajracharya; *sakala*° **K**^{PC} (<la> is added in the lower margin, perhaps by the first hand); *saka*° **K**^{AC}.

³⁷ *°hlādiramye*] **K** Suvedī & Tivārī, Vajracharya; *abhiramye* Petech.

³⁸ *vasante*] Petech, Suvedī & Tivārī, Vajracharya; partly damaged in **K**.

³⁹ *caikottare*] **K** Petech, Suvedī & Tivārī; *caikottara*° Vajracharya.

⁴⁰ *daśaśata*°] **K**^{PC} (<śa> added in the lower margin); *daśata*° **K**^{AC}.

⁴¹ The transcription in Petech (1984) ends here.

⁴² *°ruja*°] **K**; *°rujā*° Suvedī & Tivārī, Vajracharya.

⁴³ *°jusṭā*°] **K** Suvedī & Tivārī; lacuna in Vajracharya.

*tasmāc chrīharṣacandro nirati*⁴⁴ *śayaghrṇābhāvito*⁴⁵ *moktu*⁴⁶ *kāmah*
prītyā cai[°] – ॐ – ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ *°tam prālikhat*⁴⁷ *suśrutākhyam* || 2 ||⁴⁸
*śrīgaṇadevadevakuladūnī*⁴⁹ *gvalakanivāsino vaidyavasuvarmaṇaḥ pusta-*
*kam idaṃ pathitvārtham avagamya sarvasattvānām upadeśaṃ vidhātum*⁵⁰
*pratipāditam, atas tad ādhi*⁵¹ *krayābhyāṃ tadgotrajena kenacin na*⁵²
*kañcid*⁵³ *dātavyam* | *yadā nopakriyate tadāsmān eva*⁵⁴ *pratyarpanīyam iti* ||

When Śrī Mānadeva, with his extensive and bright fame brilliant like the rising moon, was the king,⁵⁵ at the time of bestowing merits, in spring, pleasing the minds of all the people and being delightful [to them], in the year 301 in the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha, on [its] seventh day, in the constellation of Puṣya, on a Sunday, in the Siddhi yoga, after seeing this whole world exhausted in this ocean that is worldly existence, extremely violent with its waters agitated by the tides that are birth, etc. (that

⁴⁴ *°ndro nirati*[°] conj.; *°ndro nnirati*[°] **K** *°ndrān nirati*[°] Suvedī & Tivārī, Vajracharya.

⁴⁵ *°bhāvito* **K** Vajracharya; *°bhāvino* Suvedī & Tivārī.

⁴⁶ *moktu*[°] **K** Vajracharya; *mokṣa*[°] Suvedī & Tivārī.

⁴⁷ *prālikhat* conj., Vajracharya; *prālikhaṃ* Suvedī & Tivārī; *prākhilat* **K**.

⁴⁸ The metre is *sragdharā*.

⁴⁹ *°dūnī*[°] **K**; *°dūrī*[°] Suvedī & Tivārī, Vajracharya.

⁵⁰ The transcription in Vajracharya (1973) ends here.

⁵¹ *ādhi*[°] **K**; *adhi*[°] Suvedī & Tivārī.

⁵² *tadgotrajena kenacin na* conj. DA; *tadgotrajena cin na* **K**; lacuna Suvedī & Tivārī.

⁵³ *kañcid* conj. DA; *kaścid* **K** Suvedī & Tivārī.

⁵⁴ *tadāsmān eva* conj. DA; *tadāsmad eva* **K**; lacuna Suvedī & Tivārī.

⁵⁵ This translation of the absolute construction in the first quarter of the verse was suggested to me by the participants of the conference section “The Transmission of Sanskrit Medical Literature in India” (see note **Fout! Bladwijzer niet gedefinieerd.**). It involves the addition of an omitted present participle *sat*, “being,” or a similar word (that is, *mānadeve rājñi* [*sati*]). This is necessary because according to A 2.3.37 (*yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam*), a rule that describes this construction, the locative endings are added “after a stem whose implied action characterizes another action” (Sharma 1995, p. 142). The only other action found in the concerned verse quarter is expressed by the present participle *pra-ud-yat-*, the first member of the *bahuvrīhi* compound *prodyadinduprakāṣe*. An alternative absolute construction related to this activity could therefore be translated as “When the brilliance of King Mānadeva, whose fame was extensive and bright, was rising like the [brilliance of the] moon” (or, more literally: “when [...] Mānadeva [...] was such, whose brilliance was rising like [...] the moon”).

is, the life cycle), and being inhabited by different sea-monsters that are the diseases, Śrī Harṣacandra, therefore filled with unsurpassed compassion and wishing to liberate [living beings] with great joy [...] copied [this book] that is called *Suśruta[samhitā]*.




This manuscript of Vaidya Vasuvarman, who lives in [the area of] the temple⁵⁶ [constructed for (?)] Śrī Gaṇadeva, was given [to him] to distribute the teaching to all living beings after [he] has studied and understood its meaning. Hence, it should not be given to anyone else by anyone belonging to his family either as a pawn or for sale. When it is not used anymore, then it should be returned to me.

The date mentioned in the first *sragdharā* verse is verified for Sunday, April 13, AD 878 and, in the words of Harimoto (2011, p. 88), “[t]here are controversies regarding the origin of the era, but there is an agreement as to which date this points to, thanks to the mention of Sunday in this colophon.”

Due to the lacuna caused by damage to the palm-leaf at the end of the second verse, as well as several linguistic and codicological difficulties in reading the colophon, the exact circumstances of this manuscript's production and the roles of the individuals mentioned in it remain unclear to me.

Suvedī and Tivārī (2000, pp. 13–14) suggest that the name of the scribe was written in the damaged part of the manuscript and is now therefore lost. This explanation goes along with their reading of the crucial second half of the second verse: Instead of the nominative construction in the third quarter, *chrīharṣacandro nniratiśayaghrṇābhāvito* they read an ablative construction *chrīharṣacandrān niratiśayaghrṇābhāvino* (cf. notes 44 and 45), and instead of the imperfect third person singular form *prālikhat* in the last quarter, they read *prālikham*, which is the first person singular form of the same verb (cf. note 47). To begin with, the characters *ta* and *na*, found here at the end of the attributive compound beginning with *niratiśaya-*, can hardly be distinguished in the given script. The reading of the ligature *ndro* as *ndrā*,⁵⁷ on the other hand, must have been proposed by the two scholars in order to explain the doubling of *n* at the beginning of the following word *nniratiśaya-*. Adopting

⁵⁶ Here Diwakar Nath Acharya (personal communication by email of December 2012) noted that from the context of other uses, we know that the non-Sanskritic *gvala* always denotes some kind of temple. It is not clear, however, what the meaning of *dūnī* may be.

⁵⁷ Compare the ligature under consideration  (209v6) with a *ndro*  (5v3) and a *ndrā*  (6r4) of most probably the same codicological unit.

an alternative line of reasoning, I take the gemination of *n* as a wrong application of sandhi rules. The readings of both *prālikhat* and *prālikham* are, furthermore, conjectured from *prākhilat* found in the manuscript. In my view, a simple metathesis from *likhat* to *khilat* is more probable to have taken place than a more complex scenario involving the corruption of *likham* into *khilat*. Unfortunately, the editors do not furnish us with any theory concerning the role of Śrī Harṣacandra in the preparation of the manuscript. An ablative construction could be understood, however, as “on command of Śrī Harṣacandra.”

I believe, following my translation above, that the situation could hypothetically be established as follows: Śrī Harṣacandra either sponsored the copying enterprise or wrote the manuscript himself (see below). He donated it to Vaidya Vasuvarman on the condition that he (Vasuvarman) would study the text and explain it to others. The second condition was that the manuscript should remain in the family and not be given away either for sale or as a pawn. If the manuscript sat unused, it should be returned to Śrī Harṣacandra.⁵⁸

The abundance of scribal errors in the otherwise sophisticated colophon seems, furthermore, to suggest a scenario in which a third person (a pandit different from the scribe) was commissioned to compose it. The scribe subsequently added this person’s words (possibly dictated to him) at the end of the manuscript and in the course of this introduced several textual corruptions. The involvement of a third person, as author of the elaborated verse colophon, makes the following proposition of Diwakar Nath Acharya seem rather plausible to me.⁵⁹ According to his suggestion, the verbal form *prālikhat* should be contextually understood as *simplex pro causativo* (as in the English expression “king so-and-so built this palace”).⁶⁰ It seems that such a construction can be justified with reference to an important or wealthy person acting either as

⁵⁸ With respect to Vaidya Vasuvarman, Suvedī and Tivārī (2000, p. 13) write that it can not be established with any certainty whether he was the writer or merely the owner of the manuscript.

⁵⁹ Personal communication in December 2012.

⁶⁰ In Pāṇinian terminology, this is called *antarbhāvitanyartha-* (see, for example, *Kāśikā* on A 1.3.84 and 3.2.95) or *antarbhūtañijartha-* (*Vākyapadīya* 3.7.73). Roodbergen (2008, p. 33) translates the former term as “having causative meaning which is implied / caused to be inside.” One of the examples given in the *Mahābhāṣya* (Kielhorn 1983, p. 33) as well as in *Vākyapadīya* 3.12.24 is *pañcabhir halaiḥ kṛṣati* (“he plows with five ploughs”), which amounts to *pañcabhir halaiḥ karṣayati* (“he makes [five people] plow with five ploughs”).

a sponsor or patronizing the production of the manuscript in any other way.⁶¹ Alternatively, it is still possible to understand the verbal form *prālikhat* in the straightforward sense as “he wrote,” and thus consider Śrī Harṣacandra as the scribe of the manuscript.

2.2. NAK 1/1079 (NGMCP A 45/5(1) = A 1267/11(2)), Siglum N⁶²



Figure 5: NAK 1/1079, fragment of 1v.

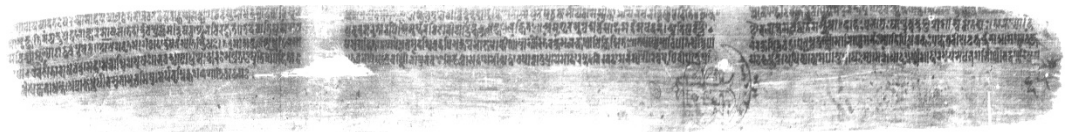


Figure 6: NAK 1/1079, last folio (65v, numbered as 40v).

2.2.1. Physical Description

This is an incomplete and partially damaged palm-leaf manuscript written in a variety of the Newari script. It contains 65 folios, 56 x 5cm in size, with two string holes each. There are ca. 7 lines of text on each folio as well as figure numerals (digits) in both margins of every verso.

⁶¹ As suggested by the editors of this issue of eJIM, this analysis may result in the necessity to reinterpret the date given in the colophon. This date may consequently refer to the time when Harṣacandra issued his order, donated money, etc., for the writing of the manuscript, and not to the time of its completion. Yet, while this reinterpretation is not absolutely compelling (as in the example “this palace was built by king so-and-so in the year so-and-so”), it is nonetheless worth consideration.

⁶² A catalogue entry of the NGMCP can be found here: [http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A_45-5_\(Suśrutasaṃhitā\)](http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A_45-5_(Suśrutasaṃhitā)) (accessed January 12, 2021).

2.2.2. General Description

This manuscript belongs to the collection of the National Archives, Kathmandu (NAK). It consists of a single codicological unit and contains the complete text of the Sū and Ni. The text suddenly breaks off in the middle of a leaf at a sentence identifiable as Śā 2.35 (see Figure 6). There is no indication whatsoever of the nature of circumstances that could have prevented the scribe from completing his work. There is a lengthy passage omitted in Sū 21 where the scribe (or one of his predecessors) might have skipped one side of a folio in the exemplar.

2.2.3. Auspicious Scribal Phrases, Colophon and Dating Issues

The manuscript starts with a felicitation of all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, as well as the Buddhist sage Nāgārjuna: [SIDDHAM] *namaḥ sarvabuddha-bodhisatvebhyaḥ* | *namo nāgārjunāpādāya*, “[SIDDHAM] Obeisance to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Obeisance to the venerable Nāgārjuna.”

Due to its abrupt ending, **N** lacks a colophon or any mention of a date or place of copying. On the basis of palaeographical features, I conjecture that it is younger than **K** (see Section 2.1) and older than **H** (see Section 2.3) and that it was most likely produced in Nepal.⁶³

2.3. NAK 5/333 and 5/334 (NGMCP B 29/19 and B 30/15), Siglum H⁶⁴

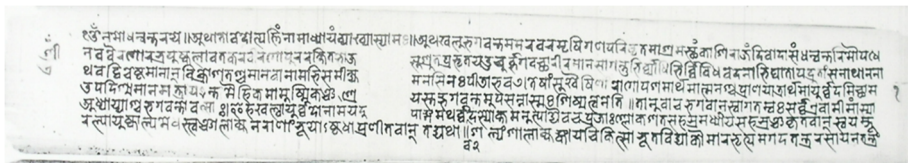


Figure 7: NAK 5/333, folio 1v.

⁶³ Based on my still limited experience with Nepalese manuscripts, I estimate that **N** could have been produced some time during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This impression was confirmed by Prof. Yuko Yokochi and Prof. Somdev Vasudeva (personal communication, April 2018), two senior scholars with considerable experience on the field of Nepalese codicology.

⁶⁴ A catalogue entry of the NGMCP can be found here: http://ngmcp.fdm.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/B_29-19_Suśrutasaṃhitā (accessed January 12, 2021).

There is some confusion as to whether the above accession numbers refer to one manuscript or two.⁶⁵ The microfilm of manuscript NAK 5/334 (NGMCP B 30/5, taken on October 18, 1970) comprises about one sixth of the folios (parts of the Ut and the SauNi) already microfilmed as NGMCP B 29/19 two days earlier (on October 16, 1970), referring, however, to manuscript NAK 5/333. The folios seen on the former microfilm are furthermore disarranged and the microfilm is of notably worse quality. I was able to match all folios filmed on B 30/15 with those of B 29/19. Thus, there can be no doubt about the identity of the actually filmed leaves. At the same time, on the older title cards of the NGMPP, NAK 5/334 (B 30/15) and 5/333 (B 29/19) are reported to have different physical dimensions (29.5 x 4.5 cm and 34 x 5 cm, respectively). This circumstance probably misled Suvedī and Tivārī (2000, p. 4f.). On the one hand, they rightly observe that “these manuscripts” are not only identical in the number of lines and *akṣara*-s per line on individual folios, but also share exactly the same omissions as well as corrections; on the other hand, they state that in a few places there is some difference as far as the correction of errors and the readability of *akṣara*-s are concerned. Thus, they reason that NAK 5/334 (their *ga*) must be older than 5/333 (*ka*). This conclusion is best explained as an erroneous superimposition of the notion of a microfilm on that of a manuscript (*sūkṣmacchavicitra* and *grantha* in the authors’ terminology).

My visit to the National Library, Kathmandu, in the fall of 2013 revealed another puzzling fact. Namely, the manuscript bundle kept under the accession number NAK 5/334 consists of nothing but laminated black-and-white photocopies of several disarranged folios of the manuscript numbered NAK 5/333. Neither the reasons for this strange substitution nor its circumstances could be recovered by the employees at the archives, who would hardly be able to recollect the state of affairs in the 1970s.

2.3.1. *Physical Description*

This is a well-preserved and almost complete palm-leaf manuscript from which only several folios of the Ut are missing. It is written in a variety of the Newari script. It contains 435 folios that are 34 x 5cm in size, with one string hole in the middle of each folio. There are approximately 6 lines per folio as well as two types of folio numbering on each verso: (1) figure numerals (digits) are found in the right-hand margin, which give the “absolute” number of the folio in the manuscript, whereas (2) the letter numerals in the left-hand

⁶⁵ A short discussion of this issue is also found in Harimoto (2014, p. 1092 [27], n. 2).

margin restart at the beginning of every *sthāna*. Starting from folio 21 of the Ka (folio 344 according to the numbering in the right margin), the letter numerals are prefixed with *kalpaḥ* and later on, from the first folio of the Ut onwards, with *uttara*. Many folios in the Ut lack the figure numbers as well as the prefix *uttara*. The folios of the SauNi are foliated with letters in the left-hand margin and figures in the right-hand margin, both starting at number one.

2.3.2. General Description

NAK 5/333 stems from the private collection of the above-mentioned Nepalese pandit Hemarāja Śarman (fl. 1878–1953). Soon after Hemarāja's death, the entire collection was acquired by His Majesty the Government of Nepal and has been kept since then in the National Library of Nepal.⁶⁶ H contains a complete text of all six *sthāna*-s of the SS as well as the text of the SauNi.

Among the disordered folios of the Ut we find a folio with a short alchemical text called *Gandhakakalpa* attributed to Nāgārjuna.⁶⁷ The script, the arrangement of lines, and the shape of individual *akṣara*-s in the *Gandhakakalpa* suggest its close relationship to the folios of the main codicological unit as far as their place and time of production are concerned. Whether the texts of the SS and the *Gandhakakalpa* originally constituted a multiple-text manuscript or were put together at a later point remains unclear.

2.3.3. Auspicious Scribal Phrases, Colophon and Dating Issues

The scribe's benedictory invocation at the beginning of the manuscript reads: [SIDDHAM] [OM] *namo dhanvantaraye*, "[SIDDHAM] [OM] Obeisance to Dhanvantari."

Noteworthy is the scribal benediction that precedes the text of the SauNi. It is identical with the one found at the beginning of the SauNi in K (see Section 2.1.3.1). Given the rare character of the addressed deity in the Nepalese manuscripts,⁶⁸ this fact may suggest a link between the two manuscripts, or, in fact, the portions containing the text of the Nighaṇṭu. At the same time, as

⁶⁶ Cf. Dimitrov & Tamot (2007, p. 33).

⁶⁷ See the NGMCP catalogue entry for the transcript of the *Gandhakakalpa* (see note 64).

⁶⁸ I was unable to locate any other instance where a scribe would pay homage to an *anuttaravaidyarāja* ("unsurpassed king of doctors") in the online catalogue of the NGMCP (accessed September 17, 2015).

neither my own research (Klebanov 2010, pp. 77ff.) nor the study undertaken in Harimoto (2014, p. 1089) could determine any linear connection between any of the Nepalese manuscripts of the *SS*, one may assume that this invocation goes back to an older common ancestor of both of the manuscripts **K** and **H**.

2.3.4. The final Colophon to NAK 5/333-334 (*H nighaṇṭu* 24v)

The concluding colophon is found at the end of the manuscript after the text of the *SauNi*. The reading of the date, however, is uncertain.

*varṣe 'nalāṅga*⁶⁹*rasage nabhakālapakṣe*
viśve tithau dinakare divase gurau bhe |
dhīro nighaṇṭum iha kāmāladattir eṣa
*vaidyo lilekha asuko 'marasiṃhako nu ||*⁷⁰

In the year 3(*anala*)-6(*aṅga*)⁷¹-6(*rasa*)⁷² in the dark half of the month Nabhas (= Śrāvaṇa)⁷³ on the 13th tithi, on a Sunday, in the nakṣatra Puṣya,⁷⁴ this intelligent son of Kamaladatta,⁷⁵ this⁷⁶ doctor Amara-siṃhaka, has copied here the *Nighaṇṭu*.

⁶⁹ 'nalāṅga°] **H**^{AC}; 'nalāṅni° **H**^{PC}; 'nalāṅka° Suvedī & Tivārī (2000, p. 15).

⁷⁰ The metre is *vasantatilaka*.

⁷¹ The translation of the second number changes according to the different readings that may be adopted: 3 (*agni*), 6 (*aṅga*), or 9 (*aṅka*).

⁷² My translation lacks any explicit rendition of the final member of the compound *anala*-[...] -*rasaga*, namely, *-ga*. In my interpretation of the colophon, *-ga* does not bear any distinct semantic value (similar to, e.g., *-gata* or *-stha* that can be often found in a similar position.) A more literal translation of the concerned compound could read approximately “in the year being / abiding [in the count] ...” (cf. PWT’s entry for *ga*: “(von gam) adj. [...] 2) =*gata sich befindend, befindlich*; von der Stellung der Gestirne”). It is, however, also possible to interpret *-ga* in a different way as “ongoing” (as opposed to “expired”).

⁷³ For this identification, see Pingree (1978, p. 535).

⁷⁴ The words *gurau bhe* literally mean “the nakṣatra [associated with] Jupiter (*guru*, i.e., *Bṛhaspati*)”. A table of correspondances between *nakṣatra*-s and associated deities can be found in Pingree (1978, p. 535).

⁷⁵ *kāmāladatti* is a patronymic formation from *kamaladatta* taught in A 4.1.95 (*ata iñ*).

⁷⁶ Within the Pāṇinian system of grammar, the uncommon word *asukaḥ* is justified as the nominative singular of the secondary pronominal base **adakas-* formed by the

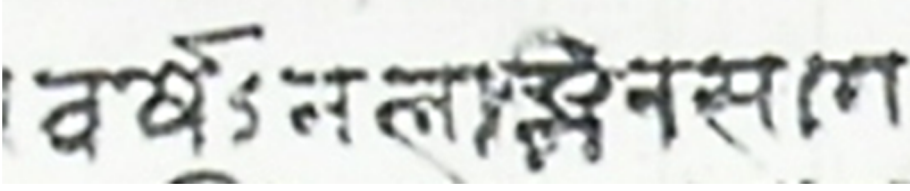


Figure 8: A fragment of the final colophon of NAK 5/333-334 (H nighaṇṭu 24v).

There are several diverging opinions concerning the identification of the date given in the colophon. In the following, I furnish my current understanding of the matter and present several alternative analyses.

(1) According to my current understanding, I adopt the reading *anala(3)-aṅga(6)-rasa(6)*. On paleographical grounds, to begin with, this reading seems most likely to be the original one (*ante correctionem*), that is, to be the reading of the manuscript before the secondary addition of the post-consonantal *i* and a correction of the consonant ligature (see Figure 8). As far as the computation of the date is concerned, I adopted the following procedure: Given that the years recorded according to the Nepāla (or Nevāra) era (Nepāla Saṁvat, NS) start with the month of Kārttika, “in order to obtain the current (northern) Vikrama year, we must add to the expired years of the Nēwār era [...] 938, when a date falls within any of the seven months from Chaitra to Āśvina.”⁷⁷ Thus, remembering that “Hindus, during the middle ages, were in the habit of dating their documents in expired years,”⁷⁸ we obtain NS 663 + 938 = VS 1601 (current). Accepting, furthermore, that in the case of Nepāla years “the scheme of the months is the *amānta*-scheme,”⁷⁹ with the help of *Pancanga*,⁸⁰ one can arrive at Sunday, July 29, AD 1543.⁸¹ For the given date,

addition of the *taddhita* affix *akAC* to the pronominal base *adas-* (A 5.3.71). Further morphological changes, which are triggered by the addition of *sU*, the general case ending of the nominative and vocative singular, are described in A 7.2.106 (*a[d->s]akas+sU*) and A 7.2.107 with Vārttika 1 (Kielhorn 1884, p. 312) on the same rule (*as[a->u]kas+[sU->ø]*).

⁷⁷ Kielhorn (1888, p. 247).

⁷⁸ Kielhorn (1888, p. 246).

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Fushimi and Yano (2014).

⁸¹ This and all other calculations in this section were carried out with the longitude and latitude values set to those of Kathmandu. In all calculations, after identifying an approximate date using the “Try” option of the software, I have confirmed and readjusted

the “List” option of the *Pancanga* determines the *nakṣatra* Punarvasū with Puṣya to follow on the next day (on Monday, July 30). According to Prof. Michio Yano,⁸² a discrepancy by a single *nakṣatra* can usually be neglected, because the *nakṣatra*-s do not always coincide with the *tithi*-s and their exact value could vary depending on the actual time of the composition of the colophon. Furthermore, according to Yano’s estimation the scribe could have preferred the *nakṣatra* Puṣya to Punarvasū because the former was considered particularly auspicious.

It should be noted that according to the *Pancanga* the determined day falls within a so called *adhika māsa* (Śrāvaṇa-*adhika* in this case).⁸³ This circumstance considerably complicates the computation of the concerned dates and renders the results of the program less reliable. According to the calculations of Prof. Dinesh Raj Pant,⁸⁴ furthermore, the *nakṣatra* is Aśvinī.

(2) Suvedī and Tivārī (2000, pp. 15–16), while acknowledging the ambiguity of the reading, adopt *anala*(3)-*aṅka*(9)-*rasa*(6) as the most probable one, relying on the opinion of Bālarāmaprasāda Lāmicchāne, a student of the famous Nepalese astronomer Naya Raj Pant. The calculation carried out by Lāmicchāne was, furthermore, repeated and confirmed by Dinesh Raj Pant.⁸⁵ In this reckoning, the determined solar day should be considered “expired” and increased by one in order to obtain the date of the current (or “ongoing”) day. With this adjustment, both astronomers arrived at Sunday, June 28, AD 1573, calculating according to the *pūrṇimānta* system.⁸⁶ As per their findings, the *nakṣatra* is the sought one, namely, Puṣya.⁸⁷

it with the help of the more precise “List” option. Note that the calculations of the *Pancanga* are carried out for expired years, so that one needs to subtract one year from the above value of VS (1601 – 1 = 1600).

⁸² Personal communication, September 2018.

⁸³ See Dīkshīt & Sewell (1896, p. 11) for a succinct examination of the term *adhika māsa*.

⁸⁴ Personal communication, October 2013.

⁸⁵ Personal communication, October 2013.

⁸⁶ For expired VS 1630 (693 + 938 – 1), *kṛṣṇapakṣa* of Śrāvaṇa, 13th *tithi* according to the *pūrṇimānta* system, *Pancanga* arrives at Saturday, June 27, AD 1573. In accordance with the above consideration (see note 81), this date needs to be increased by one day.

⁸⁷ Suvedī and Tivārī (2000, pp. 15-16) write: “*tadanusāraṃ tena viduṣā 1630 vaikramābdasya śrāvaṇamāse kṛṣṇapakṣe (pūrṇāntamānena) 27tame divase (gate), trayodaśī tithiḥ – ghaṭī 39, palāni 39, ravivāsaraḥ, puṣyanakṣatram (ghaṭī 38/ palāni 58), śakābdaḥ 1495 nepālasaṃvat 693 iti kālavivaraṇaṃ prastutam.*”

I would like to point out that according to Kielhorn's findings⁸⁸ the use of the *pūrṇimānta* system in connection with the NS years should be considered untypical. Moreover, the reading *aṅka* appears to be the least probable one from the paleographical point of view (see Figure 8).

(3) Hemarāja Śarman (see Section 1.1) dated the manuscript to the year NS 633, for which he must have adopted the reading *anala(3)-agni(3)-rasa(6)*.⁸⁹ As mentioned above, this reading should be considered secondary (*post correctionem*). According to the calculations of Dinesh Raj Pant,⁹⁰ the resulting date (either in the *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta* system) cannot satisfy the constraint of the day being a Sunday.

Following the above procedure, that is, calculating with the help of the *Pancanga* for NS 633 (i.e., expired VS 1570) in the *amānta* system, I arrived at Saturday, July 30, AD 1513, with the *nakṣatra* Punarvasū.⁹¹ It is worth noting that the immediately following calendar day, that is, July 31, AD 1513, for which the *Pancanga* lists the 14th *tithi*, satisfies both the other stipulations of the day being a Sunday and the *nakṣatra* being Puṣya.

(4) In the above calculations, it has not been considered that the mentioned year might refer to a current, that is, currently ongoing year.⁹² In this case, one needs to reduce the count of years by one prior to applying Kielhorn's conversion formula. Table 1 below shows that none of the dates computed with this adjustment can meet all requirements. Nevertheless, the date computed for NS 633 in the *amānta* system deviates from the wanted weekday by only a single position. Dr. Karl-Heinz Golzio⁹³ considers Sunday, July 11, AD 1512 (see Table 1) to be the day of the composition of the colophon.

⁸⁸ Kielhorn (1888, pp. 246 and 253).

⁸⁹ See also Suvedī & Tivārī (2000, p. 15, n. 20): “*rājaguruṇā hemarājena madhyagata-syāṅkasya ‘agnir’ iti pāṭhaṃ sambhāvya tadanusāraṃ ‘633 nevārasaṃvalliḥite’ iti likhitaṃ pratīyate.*”

⁹⁰ Personal communication, October 2013.

⁹¹ Calculating according to the *pūrṇimānta* system, one arrives at Friday, July 1, AD 1513 (*nakṣatra* Mṛgaśīrṣa).

⁹² Cf. note 72. I thank Dr. Karl-Heinz Golzio (personal communication by email of September 2015) for pointing out this shortcoming to me.

⁹³ Ibid.

	NS ^{CURR} 633 = VS ^{EXP} 1569	NS ^{CURR} 663 = VS ^{EXP} 1599	NS ^{CURR} 693 = VS ^{EXP} 1629
<i>amānta</i>	Monday, August 9, 1512 (Puṣya)	Wednesday, August 9, 1542 (Puṣya)	Thursday, August 7, 1572
<i>pūrṇimānta</i> (unusual)	Sunday, July 11, 1512 (Ārdra) ⁹⁴	Monday, July 10, 1542 (Mṛgaśīrṣa)	Tuesday, July 8, 1572

Table 1: Pancanga calculations for the ongoing year NS 633, dark half of Śrāvaṇa, 13th tithi.

(5) In all of the above calculations, the words *viśve tithau* (or *viśvetithau*) were interpreted as “*tithi* [number] 13”. *viśva* (or *viśve-*), in any case an abridged form of *viśvedevāḥ*, was understood as a so-called *bhūtasamkhyā*, that is, a word expressive of a number. Because the word *viśvedevāḥ* denotes a group of thirteen divinities, it can be used to signify this number.⁹⁵ This understanding seems to be further supported by the colophon of a decisively younger Nepalese manuscript catalogued by the NGMCP as NGMCP B 242/2 (NAK 3/190).⁹⁶ The date given in this colophon is *saṃvat* 1853, bright half of Śuci (i.e., Āṣāḍha), Sunday, and the value of the *tithi* is stated as *viśve-tithau*. Assuming that the latter refers to the thirteenth *tithi* and that the year is given according to the Vikrama era, with the help of the *Pancanga* one can arrive at Sunday, July 17, AD 1796.

It is, however, important to note that the above Sanskrit expression can also be understood as “*tithi* [governed by the] *viśvedeva*-s.” According to the list found in the popular *Muhūrtacintāmaṇi* by Rāma Daivajña (fl. around 1600),⁹⁷ the *viśvedeva*-s govern the 11th *tithi*.⁹⁸ The calculation of the respective dates shows, however, that this interpretation is unlikely (see Table 2).

⁹⁴ This value has kindly been confirmed by Karl-Heinz Golzio (personal communication in September 2015).

⁹⁵ Sircar (1965, pp. 230-233) provides a comprehensive list of these word numerals.

⁹⁶ The catalogue entry that includes the transcript of this colophon can be found at http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/B_242-2_Mahābhārata (accessed September 21, 2020).

⁹⁷ Cf. Pingree (1994, p. 426). The popularity of the text can be inferred from the striking number of extant manuscripts of this text (700) recorded by Pingree (1994, pp. 428–442).

⁹⁸ *Muhūrtacintāmaṇi* 1.3: *tithīśā vahnīkau gaurī gaṇeśo 'hir guho raviḥ | śivo durgāntako viśve hariḥ kāmāḥ śivāḥ śaśī ||*.

	NS 633		NS 663		NS 693	
	current: VS ^{EXP}	expired: VS ^{EXP} 1570	current: VS ^{EXP} 1599	expired: VS ^{EXP} 1600	current: VS ^{EXP} 1629	expired: VS ^{EXP} 1630
<i>amā</i> °	Saturday, August 7, 1512 (Ādrā)	Thursday, July 28, 1513	Monday, August 7, 1542 (Ādrā)	Friday, July 27, 1543	Tuesday, August 5, 1572	Monday, August 24, 1573 (Puṣya)
<i>pūrṇimā</i> °	Friday, July 9, 1512	Wednesday, June 29, 1513	Saturday, July 8, 1542 (Kṛttikā)	Thursday, June 28, 1543	Sunday, July 6, 1572 (Rohiṇī)	Friday, June 26, 1573

Table 2: Pancanga calculation for the years NS 633, NS 663 and NS 693 (both expired and ongoing), dark half of Śrāvaṇa, 11th tithi.

(6) Whether or not one finds any of the above hypotheses convincing, it can be established beyond any doubt that the manuscript was completed in the sixteenth century, sometimes between AD 1512 and 1573.

3. The *Nepalese Version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*

In this section I report some of my findings pertaining to the characteristics of the *Nepalese version of the *SS*. They are grouped here into two categories according to the aspect of the text they affect: those findings which are (1) related to the structural elements or the structure of the text, and those (2) related to individual issues of content.

The Nepalese manuscripts also record a number of orthographical peculiarities that I do not address here separately. Some of these, such as the spelling *piṭakā* instead of the usual *piḍakā* (see Section 3.2.2) seem to be generally acceptable, while others, such as the spelling *vyājī-* (in *vyājī-kṛ-*) instead of *vājī-* throughout the Nepalese manuscripts, seem to point to a mistake in one or several related archetypes.

3.1. Structure & Structural Elements

3.1.1. General Remarks

The general structure of the text found in the *Nepalese version of the *SS* widely corresponds to the available vulgate versions. There are several minor changes in the order of the chapters, which partly coincide with the variations detected in the other textual witnesses. So, for example, the order of the chapters Sū 36 (Bhūmipravibhāgīya) and Sū 37 (Miśraka) according to **E** is inverted not only in the *Nepalese version of the *SS*, but also in all of the printed sources from Bengal that are available to me.⁹⁹ A brief mention of this disagreement is found in both the commentaries by Cakrapāṇi and Ḍalhaṇa¹⁰⁰ and, what is more, it is reproduced in the *Nepalese and the Bengali reading of Sū 3, one of the introductory chapters of the *SS* that lists all of the chapters in the first five sections of the work. The *Nepalese inversion of Ka 6 (Dundubhisvanīya) and Ka 7 (Mūṣikakalpa), the relocation of the chapters Pratiśyāyapraṭiṣedha (from Ut 25 in the printed sources to Ut 51 in the Nepalese manuscripts) and Yonivyāpat (from Ut 38 to 58) as well as the omission of Ut 14 (Bhedyarogapraṭiṣedha), on the other hand, neither have any parallels in other textual sources nor agree with the *Nepalese reading of Sū 3.¹⁰¹ It is noteworthy that all of the above alterations are reflected in the chapter-group colophons of the *Nepalese version of the *SS* (see Section 3.1.4).

⁹⁹ The sources from Bengal include an edition of the text of the *SS* in Bhaṭṭācārya (1889), an edition of the *SS* along with an early modern Sanskrit commentary by Hārānacandra in Bhaṭṭācārya (1905–1917), as well as an English translation of the *SS* in Bhishagratna (1907, 1911, 1916).

¹⁰⁰ Ḍalhaṇa, at the beginning of the chapter Bhūmipravibhāgīya, which he accepts to precede Miśraka, justifies this choice as follows: *kecid atrāntarāle miśrakādhyāyaṃ paṭhanti, tan na, pūrvācāryair apaṭhitatvāt* (“Some [people] insert here the chapter [called] Miśraka. This is not correct, because the previous teachers did not read it [here].”). Cakrapāṇidatta, a slightly earlier scholar from Bengal, holds a different view. At the beginning of the chapter Miśraka, which in his opinion should precede the Bhūmipravibhāgīya, he writes: *imaṃ cādhyāyaṃ anye bhūmipravibhāgīyānantaraṃ vyākhyānanti, tac coddeśakramaviruddham iti nādrīyāmahe* (“Others comment upon this chapter after the Bhūmipravibhāgīya, but this contradicts the order of listing [that is, the order of chapters given in Sū 3], so that we do not accept it.”).

¹⁰¹ Sū 3 covers only the first five *sthāna*-s of the *SS* (Sū, Ni, Ci, Śā and Ka), so that the changes in the order of chapters of the Ut cannot be expected to have been reflected there in any case.

The hierarchy of the sections (five main *sthāna*-s plus an additional “later” Uttaratāntra) that can be observed from the vulgate version of the text, is identical with that of the *Nepalese version. In fact, several peculiar readings of the Nepalese manuscripts even seem to strengthen this division. Among these, for example, is the extended section colophon to the Ka, which seems to provide a final word to the preceding text, as well as the name given to the work in the short prose colophons of **K**: *samāptaṇ cedaṇ saḥottaratāntram ity atho nighaṇṭur bhaviṣyati* (see Section 2.1.3.2) and **H**: *sauśrutyāṃ saṃhitāyāṃ saḥottarāyāṃ nighaṇṭuḥ samāptaḥ* (“The Nighaṇṭu in the Saṃhitā of Suśruta, along with the Uttara[tantra], is concluded.”) As one can see, the Uttaratāntra is mentioned in both cases as an additional feature of the work, which accompanies the actual text of the SS.¹⁰²

A major addition to both the structure and content of the SS found in the *Nepalese version is the Sauśrutanighaṇṭu. This text, which is immensely important to the history of Āyurveda, has been recently studied and published separately from the *Nepalese SS by Suvedī and Tivārī (2000) and will not be discussed in detail in this article.

3.1.2. The Phrase *yathovāca bhagavān dhanvantariḥ*

The discussion below was inspired by an observation made by Wujastyk already in the first version (2009) of his article referred to above and reformulated (2013, p. 147) as follows:

A preliminary examination of Kaiser Shamsheer [...] 9/699 has already revealed a startling fact. It frequently lacks the standard phrase *yathovāca bhagavān dhanvantariḥ* “as the sage Dhanvantari declared,” that appears at the start of all chapters in the vulgate text. This phrase casts the entire work as a series of lectures made by the ancient sage Dhanvantari. [...]

In order to evaluate this statement, it is necessary to place it in a broader context.

(1) Every chapter in the editions prepared by Jāḍavjī Trikamjī¹⁰³ incorporates in its repetitious introductory formula the phrase *yathovāca bhagavān dhanvantariḥ*:

¹⁰² In both cases, I interpret *saḥottara* as a *bahuvrīhi* compound meaning “accompanied by the Uttara[tantra].”

¹⁰³ Trikamjī Āchārya (1915), Trikamjī Āchāryā (1931), Jāḍavjī Trikamjī & ‘Kāvyaatīrtha’ (1938 [1980]) and Trikamjī Acharya & Nandakishor (1939 [2001]).

a. The chapters of the Sū start with the formula *athātaḥ* [chapter name] *adhyāyam vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*.¹⁰⁴ *yathovāca bhagavān dhanvantariḥ* (“Now, henceforth we will expound the chapter [dealing with / containing discussion on]”¹⁰⁵ [chapter topic].’ Thus the sage Dhanvantari declared.”).

b. The chapters of the Ni and the Ci are introduced in either of the two following ways: *athātaḥ* [disease name]-*nidānaṃ* / *-cikitsitaṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*. *yathovāca ...* or *athātaḥ* [disease name]-Gen. *nidānaṃ* / *cikitsitaṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*. *yathovāca ...* The meaning of both formulas is the same: “Now, henceforth we will expound the [chapter dealing with / containing discussion on] ‘etiology / treatment of [disease name].’ Thus the sage Dhanvantari declared.”

c. The chapters of the Śā invariably begin with *athātaḥ* [chapter name]-*śārīraṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*. *yathovāca ...* (“Now, henceforth we will expound the [chapter on) anatomy [dealing with / containing discussion on] ‘[chapter topic].’”¹⁰⁶ Thus the sage Dhanvantari declared.”).

d. The introductory formulas of the Ut follow that of Sū, but occasionally omit the word *adhyāyam*.

¹⁰⁴ The majority of the chapter names in the Sū (except for Sū 1, 6, 7, 11, 12, 16, 18, 37, 45 and 46) are formed with the help of the secondary suffix *-īya-* (see, for example, Stenzler 2003, p. 76), as in Śiṣyopanayanīya (Sū 2), etc. In Pāṇinian terminology, this is the *taddhita*-affix known as *cha*, which obtains its actual phonetic form (i.e., *-īya-*) after application of A 7.1.2. It is worth mentioning briefly that within the Pāṇinian system of grammar the exact derivational process, in result of which these chapter names are formed, involves certain technical difficulties. Haradatta (fl. ca. 12th century AD), the author of the *Padamañjarī*, one of the two preserved commentaries on the *Kāśikā*, addresses this issue at two different instances. According to him, it is, among other things, in order to tackle exactly this matter that (1) one of the examples given in the *Kāśikā* on A 5.2.60 reads *dīrghajīvitaḥ*, *dīrghajīvītiyaḥ* (possibly a reference to Sū 1 in the CS), and that (2) the mention of the words *śiśukranda* and *yamasa-bhā* has been made by Pāṇini in A 4.3.87 and interpreted in the *Kāśikā* as providing additional details (*prapañcārtham*). Note that in the commentary on SS Sū 1.1, Cakrapāṇidatta explains the addition and the optional elision of *cha* based exclusively on A 5.2.60. As far as I can judge from the fragmentary manuscript of the NC, on the other hand, in the commentary on Sū 2.1 Gayadāsa proposes to follow either one of two alternatives (i.e., A 4.3.87 or A 5.2.60).

¹⁰⁵ The two alternative translations correspond to the two grammatical interpretations mentioned in n. 104 above.

¹⁰⁶ In the *NiSam* on Śā 1.1–2, Ḍaḥaṇa interprets the title of the relevant chapter (Sarva-bhūta-cintāśārīra).

(3) Furthermore, all the early-modern sources of the text from Bengal available to me (see note 99) have the formula *yathovāca*... only at the beginning of the text.¹¹²

(4) Similarly, none of the manuscripts of the text available to me, excluding the Nepalese manuscripts for the time being, have the words *yathovāca*... anywhere except at the beginning of the first chapter of *Sū*.

The foregoing observations show that the reading *yathovāca*... at the beginning of every chapter of the text is a variant found so far solely in the editions of the *SS* produced by Jāḍavjī Trikaṃjī (see note 103) and that it was possibly unknown to the medieval commentators. Therefore, it appears likely that this variant was either accepted by the editor-scholar on the basis of a limited number of manuscripts or even introduced by himself without any manuscript evidence. In both cases he may have followed a certain tradition of teaching, memorization, and recitation of the *SS* (or of medical *saṃhitā*-s in general),¹¹³ where at the beginning of every chapter the expression *yathovāca*... (or parallel phrases in the case of other medical works) could have played the role of framing and marking the beginning of the actual text.¹¹⁴

(5) To return to the *Nepalese version of the *SS*, it is interesting to note that the phrase *yathovāca*... is found here not at the beginning of the text,¹¹⁵ but, against expectation, at the beginning of the first chapter of *Ka*, that is, the fifth section of the book.¹¹⁶

It is difficult to evaluate this finding in the absence of wider manuscript evidence, so any conclusion remains purely hypothetical for now. Nonetheless, from the philological point of view (i.e., in following the principle known as *lectio difficilior potior*), it seems plausible to assume that the Nepalese variant represents an earlier, less structured state of the text and that it could even be original. It is in fact more difficult to explain why anyone would have been

¹¹² Note that these sources all read *yathovāca bhagavān dhvanvantariḥ suśrutāya* (“[...] to Suśruta”), a variant added in brackets in some of the Trikaṃjī editions (e.g., Trikaṃjī Āchārya 1915).

¹¹³ See, for example, Zimmermann (1987, p. 135f.).

¹¹⁴ Note Wujastyk’s (2013, p. 147) remark that “some of the Carakasamhitā manuscripts [...] also lack the parallel framing.” Note, furthermore, that both the older editions of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* available to me (Kunte & Navre 1902; Śarmā 1928) likewise contain the analogous expression *iti ha smāhur ātreyaḍādayo maharṣayaḥ* only at the beginning of the first chapter of each *sthāna*.

¹¹⁵ For this part, we have the evidence of all three manuscripts.

¹¹⁶ For this part, we have the evidence of only two manuscripts, namely, **K** and **H**.

tempted to move the phrase *yathovāca*... from the beginning of the *SS* to the beginning of its fifth section, unless that person deliberately had wanted to disturb the text. The opposite scenario, however, is more likely to be true, because it could be explained by someone's aspiration to smoothen and systematize the text. It should also be noted that the current earliest attestation of this "polished" reading dates back to the medieval commentaries and thus postdates the production of *K* by at least half a century.

3.1.3. *Ślokasthāna* vs. *Sūtrasthāna*

Another admittedly minor alteration pertaining to a structural element of the text belongs to the title of the first section of the work commonly known as the *Sūtrasthāna*, which is often referred to in the *Nepalese version as the *Ślokasthāna*. In the following, I try to systematize the relevant textual data.

(1) All the printed sources of the *SS* available to me (see the bibliography below) call the first section of the work "*Sūtrasthāna*" in all of its chapter-colophons as well as in the section's own final colophon. In the running text of the *sthāna* itself, its name appears three times, in *Sū* 1.40, 3.3 and 3.12, and always as "*Sūtrasthāna*." Four further appearances of the section's name in the text are at *Ut* 42.61, 64.3, 65.30, and 65.31. Of all my sources, only Bhishagratna (1907), an early translator of the *SS*, consistently employs the section name *Sūtrasthāna*. Jāḍavjī Trikamjī, however, prints *Ślokasthāna* in *Ut* 42.61, 65.30, and 65.31, whereas Bhaṭṭācārya (1889) accepts this section name only at the two later instances.¹¹⁷ Among the three usages of the designation *Ślokasthāna* by Jāḍavjī Trikamjī, Ḍalhaṇa quotes the word at *Ut* 42.61 and 65.30 and in the former case paraphrases it as *Sūtrasthāna*. This indicates that the commentator must have also found this word in his version of the *SS*.¹¹⁸

(2) In the case of the above mentioned occurrences of the designation *Sūtrasthāna* within the text of the section itself, the *Nepalese version preserves this reading only at a single instance, namely, in *Sū* 3.12, the verse that, among other things, provides what can be called an etymological analysis of

¹¹⁷ Note that the numbering in this edition deviates from the one adopted by me from Jāḍavjī Trikamjī.

¹¹⁸ This logic holds good only if we accept Jāḍavjī Trikamjī's restoration of Ḍalhaṇa's text as trustworthy. Although a single manuscript of the *SS* at my disposal contains fragments of the *NiSaṃ*, I have not collated its readings yet.

the actual word *sūtrasthāna*.¹¹⁹ See *SS* Sū 3.12 according to the *Nepalese version (**K**: 3v4, **N**: 3v1, **H**: 6r2):

sūcanāt sūtraṇāc caiva sādhanāc cārthasantateḥ |
*ṣaṭcatvāriṃśadadhyāyaṃ sūtrasthānaṃ pravakṣyate ||*¹²⁰

[Called this way] because it indicates, strings together and accomplishes a series of meanings, the *Sūtrasthāna*, containing forty-six chapters, will be proclaimed.¹²¹

At both the other instances, however, the *Nepalese version prefers *Ślo-kasthāna*. In *SS* Sū 1.40, the Nepalese manuscripts read (**K**: 2v6; **N**: 2v4; **H**: 4r6):

¹¹⁹ In my understanding of the involved phonological-semantic analysis as a kind of etymology I follow Visigalli (2017, pp. 1–2, n. 2).

¹²⁰ Cf. *SS* Sū 3.12 according to **E**: *sūcanāt sūtraṇāc caiva savanāc cārthasantateḥ | ṣaṭcatvāriṃśadadhyāyaṃ sūtrasthānaṃ pracakṣate ||* Sharma (1999, p. 39) translates: “Thus *sūtrasthāna* containing fortysix chapters is so called as it indicates, links and potentially generates the idea of the text.” Note the *Nepalese variant reading *sādhanāc* in place of **E**’s *savanāc* (literally, “inasmuch as it urges” or, according to Ḍalhaṇa’s gloss *jananāt*, “because it gives birth, produces”). See the next note for further discussion.

¹²¹ The verbal nouns in *pāda*-s a and b provide glosses for the word *sūtra* in *pāda* d. This seems to be based primarily on a phonetic similarity between the underlying verbal roots and the word *sūtra* (akin to *akṣaravarṇasāmānya*, “similarity in syllables and sound”, in Yāska’s *Nirukta* 2.1; see, for example, Deeg 1995, p. 77). The first two words in *pāda* a are common to both, the vulgate and the *Nepalese version: *sūcana* is derived from the root *sūc* (“to indicate,” *DhP* x, 327) that shares two letters with *sūtra*, and *sūtraṇa*, whether it is derived from *sūtr-* (“to release,” *DhP* x, 362) or, what is more likely, it is based on a denominative of the actual word *sūtra* (*Uṇādisūtra* iv, 162 derives the latter from the root *sīv*, “to weave a thread,” *DhP* iv, 2), is obviously related to the word to be explained. The third gloss in **E** is *savana*. It is derived from *sū* (“to urge,” *DhP* vi, 115, or “to give birth,” *DhP* ii, 21 and iv, 24), a root that shares the first two letters of the word *sūtra*. The *Nepalese reading *sādhana*, on the other hand, is derived from *sādh* (“to accomplish,” *DhP* v, 17) and has only the initial consonant *s* in common with the word it explains. The similarity is so meager that is even possible to assume that the author(s) of the *Nepalese reading did not intend any etymological connection between both words. Given the above, it appears likely that, in agreement with the principle of *lectio difficilior potior*, the reading of the vulgate is a secondary improvement.

*tac ca viṃśam adhyāyaśataṃ pañcasu sthāneṣu ceti | tatra śloka*¹²² *sthāna-*
nidānaśārīracikitsitakalpeṣv arthavaśād vibhajyottare vakṣyāmaḥ |¹²³

And these 120 chapters are also (*ca*) [found/arranged] in five sections – thus [it should be known] (*iti*).¹²⁴ In this regard, having distributed [them] in accordance with the content among the Ślokaśthāna, Nidāna, Śārīra, Cikitsā and Kalpa, we will proclaim [these chapters] in the Uttaratantṛa (?).¹²⁵

Similarly, the *Nepalese version of *SS* Sū 3.3, a passage closely related to the one just quoted, reads as follows (**K**: 3r7; **N**: 3r6; **H**: 5v2):

¹²² *śloka*°] **K** **N** **H**^{ac}; *sūtre* **H**^{pc}. The word *sūtre* is added here above the line. The locative case may point to its being an explanatory gloss rather than a correction of the reading.

¹²³ Cf. *SS* 1.40 according to **E**: *tac ca saviṃśam adhyāyaśataṃ pañcasu sthāneṣu. sūtra-nidānaśārīracikitsitakalpeṣv arthavaśād saṃvibhajyottare tantre śeṣān arthān vyākhyāyāmaḥ*. Sharma (1999, p. 27) translates: “The text in one hundred and twenty chapters is divided into five sthānas (sections); out of them, respective subjects are arranged in Sūtra, Nidāna, Śārīra, Cikitsā and Kalpa and the remaining subjects would be dealt within the uttaratantra.”

¹²⁴ In the actual context of the present sentence, it appears more fitting to interpret *iti* differently from what I have proposed in my translation, namely, as a logical connector: “[...] in five section; therefore (*iti*) [...]” Yet, based on the *Nepalese reading of *SS* Sū 3.3 that partly quotes *SS* Sū 1.40, I consider the expression *tac ca viṃśam adhyāyaśataṃ pañcasu sthāneṣu ceti* to constitute a complete syntactic unit on its own.

¹²⁵ The *Nepalese reading *uttare* is very difficult to interpret, and, in my opinion, it is likely to have occurred as the result of some textual corruption. The construction “*uttare* + a form of a verb of speaking in the future tense” is found in the *SS* at several instances (Śā 10.51, Ci 5.24, Ka 8.140 and Ut 1.3). In all cases, the available Nepalese manuscripts confirm the concerned text (for the *Nepalese reading of Ka 8.140, see Section 3.1.4.3). At one further instance, in *SS* Sū 24.12, the word *uttare* is used along with *tantre*, but it is clear that also in all the above usages *uttare* should be understood as an abbreviation of *uttare tantre* (or *uttaratantre*). As the above translation shows, this interpretation appears somewhat strange in the discussed case, because the implied object of the first verbal action referred to by *vibhajya*, that is, *saviṃśam adhyāyaśataṃ*, cannot at the same time be the object of *uttare [tantre] vakṣyāmaḥ* (see the reading in **E**). Alternatively, one could interpret *uttare* as meaning “in the following.” In this case, however, the indeclinable *uttaram* would be preferable. As far as I can see, neither *uttare* nor *uttaram* is used in this sense anywhere in the *SS*.

*prāg abhīhitaṃ saviṃśam adhyāyaśataṃ pañcasu sthāneṣu ceti | tatra śloka*¹²⁶*sthāne hy adhyāyāḥ ṣaṭcatvāriṃśat [...]*¹²⁷

It was stated above: “And these 120 chapters are also (*ca*) [found/arranged] in five sections – thus [it should be known] (*iti*).” In fact, among these, in the Ślokaśthāna, [there are] forty-six chapters [...].

Regarding the occurrences of the concerned section title in the Uttaraśāstra, 64.3 is omitted (a direct quote from Sū is introduced instead of an indirect reference), but at the remaining three places (Ut 42.61, 65.30 and 31) both the available Nepalese manuscripts (**K** and **H**) read Ślokaśthāna.

In the section colophon to Sū found in the Nepalese manuscripts (**N**: 51v2; **H**: 124r3) and absent from **E** (see Section 3.1.4) we read:

*sūtrasthāne purā proktaṃ catvāriṃśat ṣaḍuttaram |
adhyāyāḥ kāśīrājena pūrṇaṃ sarvaṃ savistaram* ||¹²⁸

The Nepalese colophon to Ka (see Section 3.1.4.3) contains a half-verse that in a way harmonizes both uses:

sūtrabhūtaṃ samāśena ślokaśthānaṃ pravakṣyate ||

(3) A cursory look at the unpublished commentaries to the *SS* provides further insights into the history of the text. Based on my reading of the fragmentary manuscript of Gayadāsa’s *NC* (Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, no. 4389, 5r5),¹²⁹ the commentator clearly calls the first section of the work Ślokaśthāna as he introduces *SS* Sū 3.4 in the following way:

¹²⁶ *śloka* °] **K** **N**; *sūtra* **H**^{AC}; om. **H**^{PC}. The word *sūtra* was deleted in **H**, but remains visible.

¹²⁷ Cf. *SS* Sū 3.3 according to **E**: *prāg abhīhitaṃ saviṃśam adhyāyaśataṃ pañcasu sthāneṣu. tatra sūtrasthānaṃ adhyāyāḥ ṣaṭcatvāriṃśat [...]*. Sharma (1999, p. 36) translates: “Earlier it is stated that the text contains one hundred and twenty chapters divided into five sections. Among them, sūtrasthāna (section on aphorisms, fundamentals) has forty six chapters, [...].”

¹²⁸ See Section 3.1.4.2 for a translation.

¹²⁹ As the library does not allow any kind of reproduction of its holdings, I have examined this manuscript during my visit there.

*atha ke te ślokasthāne*¹³⁰ *ṣaṭcatvāriṃśad*¹³¹ *adhyāyā ity āha — vedotpattir ityādi* ||

In the same way, the anonymous *Suśrutavyākhyā* (GOML, Madras, no. R 3422, p. 33) evidently presupposes the mention of the section title Ślokasthāna in SS Sū 3.3 and provides a further historically significant clue on the use of the same title in another ancient medical compendium authored by Bhāluki:¹³²

*tatra ślokasthāna adhyāyāḥ ślokānāṃ ṣaṭ*¹³³*catvāriṃśat | āha bhālukiḥ – ślokāḥ pūrvam ihādhyāyāḥ śārīrāṇi tataḥ param | nidānāni cikitsās ca kalpās*¹³⁴ *caīṣa kramāḥ smṛtaḥ || iti [...]*

In conclusion of this section, I would like to point out that Preisendanz (2018, p. 205) has recently observed a very similar ambiguity with regard to the title given to the first section of the CS. According to her estimate, the name Ślokasthāna “which is difficult to explain [...] is the original one [...] whereas the second one may have originated from an explanatory stanza at the very end of this *sthāna*.” Although the exact reasons for the occurrence of the title Sūtrasthāna in place of the Ślokasthāna require further investigation,¹³⁵ the observations offered in the present section seem to support the above hypothesis. Furthermore, it appears likely that at the stage of textual development reflected by the *Nepalese version of the SS, both designations of the *sthāna* were considered equivalent and interchangeable, in the same way as they seem to have been considered by Ḍalhaṇa in his *NiSaṃ* on SS Ut 42.61.

¹³⁰ °*sthāne*] em.; —*ne* Anup 4384. The dash before *ne* represents a similarly looking symbol found in this manuscript.

¹³¹ *ṣaṭcatvāriṃśad*] em.; *pya+cāniśadd* Anup 4384. The plus sign stands for an illegible syllable (similar to *ḍū*) in the manuscript.

¹³² See Klebanov (2020) for a brief discussion of this verse and its implications for our knowledge of the text of Bhāluki’s lost *Bhālukitantra* (or *Bhālukīya*). On the latter see HIML IA, pp. 689–690.

¹³³ *ṣaṭ*°] em.; *kṣada*° R 3422.

¹³⁴ *kalpās*] conj.; *kalpaś* R 3422.

¹³⁵ It is possible that the section name Sūtrasthāna has replaced Ślokasthāna in common parlance merely due to the fact that the former has some kind of “śāstric aura” and on account of the doctors’ efforts to establish their teachings as a formal *śāstra*, in fact, an ancillary of the Veda (cf. SS Sū 1.6).

3.1.4. Text Structuring: The Sub-colophons

Noteworthy features of the *Nepalese text of the *SS* are its chapter-group colophons and the colophons found at the end of individual sections. These colophons play an important role in the structuring of the text and are for the most part absent from the printed editions. In fact, in all of the consulted printed versions of the *SS*, only the concluding verses of the *Ka* (*Ka* 8.140–143) and the *Ut* (*Ut* 66.15–17) contain texts that can be, broadly speaking, called colophons. These passages will be discussed later in this section.

3.1.4.1. Chapter-group Colophons

The Nepalese manuscripts of the *SS* furnish the text of every *sthāna* with metrical colophons, which conclude smaller subsections of usually ten chapters. The chapters of each *sthāna* are arranged in groups of ten, with the remaining chapters of such a division forming their own smaller group. This means that in the *Sū* such metrical colophons are found after the tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, fortieth and forty-sixth chapter, concluding chapters 1–10, 11–20, 21–30, 31–40 and 41–46, respectively; in the *Ni* after the tenth and sixteenth chapter, concluding chapters 1–10 and 11–16; in the *Śā* after the tenth chapter, concluding chapters 1–10; in the *Ci* after the tenth, twentieth, thirtieth and fortieth chapter, concluding chapters 1–10, 11–20, 21–30 and 31–40; and in the *Ka* after the eighth and final chapter.

The grouping of the chapters in the *Ut* follows this general pattern, but additionally respects the boundaries between the thematic subsections, which are, according to the *Nepalese recension of the *SS*, the *Śālākyaatantra*¹³⁶ (chapters 1–24), *Kumāraatantra*¹³⁷ (chapters 25–35), and *Kāyacikitsā*¹³⁸ (chapters 36–64). In this way, the chapter-group colophons of the *Ut* are found after the tenth, twentieth, twenty-fourth, thirty-fifth, forty-fifth, fifty-fifth and sixty-fifth chapter, concluding chapters 1–10, 11–20, 21–24 and the *Śālākyaatantra*, 25–35 and the *Kumāraatantra*, 36–45, 46–55, and 56–65 and the *Kāyacikitsā*, respectively.

All chapter-group colophons have the same structure: they list the names of the concluded chapters and give their count in tens (that is, the first, second, etc., decad). The majority of these colophons are composed in the *anuṣṭubh* metre, but there are also several instances of the *upajāti* metre. The grammar, syntax and metrics of these verses are often incorrect. The chapter names are

¹³⁶ “[Section on] diseases of supraclavicular region”; see Sharma (2001, p. 103).

¹³⁷ “[Section on] pediatrics including gynaecology”; see Sharma (2001, p. 277).

¹³⁸ “[Section on] general medicine”; see Sharma (2001, p. 313).

at times modified to conform to the metre, a practice that is also found in *SS* Sū 3.

To demonstrate the features described above, in the following I limit myself to a single example of a chapter-group colophon. Due to the fragmentary character of all of the discussed manuscripts, only two of these subcolophons bear evidence of all three Nepalese sources (on Sū 1–10 and 21–30). Of these two, the second one, consisting of ten metrical feet, is given here as an illustration (**K**: 28v6; **N**: 26r1; **H**: 63v4):

vraṇapraśnaṃ vraṇāsrāvaṃ kṛtyākṛtyavidhiṃ tathā |
vyādhyuddeśīyaṃ adhyāyaṃ śāstrakarmāṣṭakaṃ tathā || 1 ||
praṇaṣṭaśalyavijñānaṃ śalyāpanayanam eva¹³⁹ ca¹⁴⁰ |
viparītavraṇajñānaṃ dūtasvapnaviparyayaṃ ||
pañcendriyārthavibhrāntiṃ proktaṃ vai tṛtīyo daśa || 2 ||¹⁴¹

Vraṇapraśna (“Questions related to Ulcers”), Vraṇāsrāva (“Discharges from Ulcers”), so also Kṛtyākṛtyavidhi (“Description of Curable and Incurable [Ulcers]”), the chapter Vyādhyuddeśīya (“Description of Diseases”) as well as Śāstrakarmāṣṭaka (“Eight Surgical Operations”), Praṇaṣṭaśalyavijñāna (“Knowledge of Dislocated (?) Foreign Bodies”) and also Śalyāpanayana (“Extraction of Foreign Bodies”); Viparītavraṇajñāna (“Knowledge of Ulcers Adverse [to Medical Treatment]”), Dūtasvapnaviparyaya (“Adversity [to Medical Treatment Known] on the Basis of Messengers and Dreams”), Pañcendriyārthavibhrānti (“[Unfavourable Prognosis the Basis of] Erroneous Perception of the Objects of the Five Senses.” Certainly, the third decade has been taught [thus].¹⁴²

¹³⁹ °nayanam eva] **K**^{PC} **N** **H**; °nayanava **K**^{AC} (*me* is added in **K** in the space below the line by an unmistakably later hand).

¹⁴⁰ 2b is hypermetrical. A most obvious fix would be a shortening of °panayanam to °panayam.

¹⁴¹ 2f is unmetrical on account of the restriction that the fifth syllable (in this case *tī*) of an even verse quarter should invariably be light.

¹⁴² This translation does not reproduce grammatical peculiarities of the original. It merely renders its meaning according to my understanding of the grammatically flawed text. The additions in square brackets are made on the basis of the commentatorial remarks and my knowledge about the content of the chapters. See note 104 on the grammatical technicalities involved in the formation of the chapter names.

With respect to Sanskrit grammar, one can see that the text is irregular or even faulty. In the first part of the colophon (verse quarters 1–2d), several chapter names as well as the Sanskrit word for “chapter” (*adhyāya*), which should be used in the masculine gender, are used in the neuter.¹⁴³ It is possible to imagine a scenario in which the author of the colophon wrongly thought that the chapter names were to be construed as accusative objects of the verbal action expressed by *proktam*,¹⁴⁴ or, similarly improbable though, as accusative objects relating to an absent, that is, merely presupposed, finite verbal form. In the final two quarters of verse 2 (2ef), three syntactically connected declined words — *proktam* (“has been taught,” nominative singular neuter), *ṭṭīyo* (ordinal adjective “third” nominative singular masculine) and *daśa* (cardinal number “ten,” nominative plural) — do not grammatically agree with each other. The author of the two verses must have, furthermore, used the word *daśan* (“ten”) in the sense of *daśaka* or *daśat* (“decad”). The former is, in fact, found at several other instances in the chapter-group colophons of the *Nepalese version of the *SS*, most of which contain grammatical mistakes very similar to those detected here.

As noted in Section 3.1.1 above, the names and, more evidently, the order of the chapters given in the chapter-group colophons match exactly the text circulated in the *Nepalese version of the *SS*. One can therefore detect a proximate connection of the colophons with the particular transmissional line. Their grammatical defectiveness, on the other hand, clearly differentiates them from the actual text of the *Nepalese *SS*, which, notwithstanding certain peculiarities, is written according to the standards of classical Sanskrit grammar. As a result, it appears tenable that the chapter-group colophons were added by a person involved merely in the copying of the existing text and not directly connected with its composition, redaction, or compilation. Their secondary character could be further argued from the point of “lower” textual criticism: of two possible editorial activities, namely, (1) furnishing the text with structuring and framing colophons, and (2) deleting such colophons, the former is more likely to have happened. A clue about the age of this likely addition could be provided by the reading of **K^{PC}** in the colophon to *Sū* 21–30 cited above. This emendation of a nonsensical to a metrically wrong reading, which could easily be improved upon (see note 140), seems to point to the fact

¹⁴³ Cf. the similar grammatical irregularities observed in the case of Tantric textual material transmitted in Nepalese manuscripts by Goodall et.al (2015, p. 116f.). See also Oberlies (2003, p. XXXVIIIff.) for general observations on the change of grammatical gender in Epic Sanskrit.

¹⁴⁴ *proktam*, being a passive form, relates to the object of action in the nominative case.

that the scribe of **K^{PC}** corrected the spelling mistake of **K^{AC}** (written either by the same or a different person) on the basis of a comparison with the exemplar and not due to his own considerations about grammar and metre. Following this interpretation, one can infer the existence of a manuscript older than **K** that had already contained the text of the chapter-group colophons. The fact that none of the three Nepalese manuscripts has been found to be a direct copy of either of the other two may further corroborate the hypothetical existence of such an older common ancestor.

3.1.4.2. Final Section Colophons

The ending of each *sthāna* of the *Nepalese *SS* is marked with a section-colophon.¹⁴⁵ The colophons to *Sū* and *Ni* are metrical. The colophon to *Sū* runs as follows (**N**: 51v2; **H**: 124r1):

*sūtrasthāne purā proktaṃ catvāriṃśat śaṭuttaram (1)*¹⁴⁶
adhyāyāḥ kāśīrājena pūrṇaṃ sarvaṃ savistaram ||
*iti suśrute śalyatanetre*¹⁴⁷ *sūtrasthānaṃ samāptam*

[What] was declared earlier (that is, in *Sū* 3.3 and 3.12) by Kāśīrāja [namely, that there were] forty-six chapters in the *Sūtrasthāna*, [this] all is now complete with elaboration.

Thus the *Sūtrasthāna* in the surgical treatise [of] *Suśruta* is concluded.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ On the section colophon to the *Ut* see Sections 2.1.3 and 2.3.5.

¹⁴⁶ Apart from the orthographically odd *śaṭ-uttaram*, for the normal *śaḍ-uttaram*, the expression *catvāriṃśat śaḍuttaram* (“forty followed by six”) is grammatically contestable. A word of the type *X-uttara* (“followed / increased by *X*”) is most commonly used as an adjective and has to match the word it qualifies in grammatical attributes such as gender, etc. (see, e.g., Perry 1965, pp. 126f.). *catvāriṃśat* (“forty”) is a feminine cardinal number word, so that the expected expression is *catvāriṃśat śaḍuttarā* (cf. n. 125). It appears nonetheless possible to justify the mere grammaticality of the reading *śaḍuttaram* by interpreting it as an adverb. However, even if this form may thus be acceptable from a strict grammatical point of view, it strikes as very unusual for the current context.

¹⁴⁷ *iti suśrute śalyatanetre*] **H**; om. **N**.

¹⁴⁸ As in the case of the colophon to *Sū* 21–30 cited in Section 3.1.4.1, this translation does not reproduce grammatical peculiarities of the original. It merely renders the meaning of the grammatically faulty text according to my understanding.

The colophon to Ni reads (**K**: 86r7; **N**: 38v2; **H**: 158r2):

*sūtre pradiṣṭaṃ*¹⁴⁹ *daśa ṣaṭ ca*¹⁵⁰ *pūrvaṃ sthānaṃ nidānaṃ bhavatīti*
yac ca |
savistaraṃ tat kathitaṃ mayeha svayambhunā yat kathitaṃ hitāya ||¹⁵¹
 || *samāptaṃ nidānasthānaṃ* ||

And what was previously declared in the Sūtrasthāna (i.e., in Sū 3.3 and 3.14), [namely,] that the Nidānasthāna was ten and six [chapters long], this has now been told by me here in detail according to what Brahma had told for the benefit [of all].

The Nidānasthāna is concluded.

Śā, Ci and Ka, on the other hand, close with short concluding phrases in prose. The briefest is the one concluding Śā (**H**: 199v1):

iti śārīrasthānaṃ samāptaṃ

Thus the Śārīrasthāna is concluded.

In the case of the Ci, the number of chapters is indicated (**K**: 143r1; **H**: 323v6):

yad uktaṃ catvāriṃśac cikitsitānīti tat sarvaṃ samāptaṃ iti

What has been referred to (in Sū 3.3) by saying “[There are] forty chapters of the Cikitsāsthāna,” this all is concluded now.

The colophon to the Ka reads (**K**: 157r5; **H**: 352v6):

sauśrute śalyatantre kalpasthānaṃ samāptaṃ

The Kalpasthāna in the surgical treatise of Suśruta is concluded.

One can see that the above grouping of the section colophons according to their form (verses *versus* prose) does not correspond to their content. Whereas the colophons to the Śā and Ka are very brief, the conclusions of the other

¹⁴⁹ °*diṣṭaṃ*] em.; °*diṣṭa*° **K N**; °*didiṣṭaṃ* **H**.

¹⁵⁰ 1a *ca*] **N H**; *cā*° **K**.

¹⁵¹ The metre is *upajāti*.

three *sthāna*-s are slightly more elaborate and share the same elements: They refer to the third chapter of the Sū and the number of chapters specified therein for the respective section. After that, they state that the announced chapters have been completed. Noteworthy is also the fact that the colophon to the Ni is composed in the first person and thus is “put into the mouth” of the supposed author of the SS (perhaps, Suśruta or Kāśīrāja Divodāsa).

On the basis of the following collective evidence, I conjecture that at least two of the metrical section colophons (relating to Sū and Ni) belong to the same or a similar strata of the textual development as the chapter-group colophons discussed in the previous paragraph:

(1) Both verses are similarly unsmooth in terms of grammar and syntax. While the colophon to the Sū contains a grammatical mistake and omits any syntactical linkage between the different parts of the complex sentence, the verse concluding the Ni reads clumsily with the construction *daśa śaṭ ca [...]* *sthānam nidānam* and the apposition of *yat – tat – yat*. Following the argumentation presented in the case of the chapter-group colophons, these verses should be differentiated from the main body of the *Nepalese SS.

(2) All the described section colophons are found in the Nepalese manuscripts *after* the last chapter-group colophon of the respective section. That being the case, one could argue (a) that they were either produced by the same author, or (b) that the author of the chapter-group colophons, which were added last, recognized the section colophons as additions and not as a part of the actual text of the SS, or, less probable, (c) that the section-colophons were added even after the addition of the chapter-colophons. Whichever of the three options may appear most likely to the reader (I prefer the first one), they all point towards a later addition of the section colophons by a person not connected with the redaction, etc., of the actual text of the *Nepalese SS.

3.1.4.3. Verses Concluding the *Kalpasthāna*

A different case is an extended version of the concluding verses to the Ka found in the Nepalese manuscripts of the SS. From four and a half *anuṣṭubh* verses¹⁵² known from the printed vulgate versions of the SS, the text is expanded to fourteen verses in the *anuṣṭubh* metre and one in the longer *vaṃśastha*. These verses are written in grammatically (and metrically) correct Sanskrit and should be, in my view, regarded as a part of the main text of the *Nepalese SS. Apparently, they were considered as such also by the composer of the chapter-group colophons, because the colophon at the end of the last chapter of the Ka was put after these concluding verses. In the following I

¹⁵² Ka 8.140–143ef in E.

provide the complete transcription of the concerned verses (**K**: 156v6 – 157r4; **H**: 152r1 – 152r4). The many interesting features of this text and its connection to the version circulated in the vulgate will have to be discussed on another occasion.

saviṃśam adhyāyaśatam etad uktam vibhāgaśaḥ | (= Ka 8.140ab)¹⁵³
*ihoddiṣṭān anirdiṣṭān arthān*¹⁵⁴ *vakṣyāmi cottare* || 1 || (~ 8.140cd)
*śāstram śāstrasamutpattiṃ vyādhikāryabalā*¹⁵⁵ *balam* |
sūtrabhūtam samāsenā ślokaśthānam pravakṣyate || 2 ||
*doṣāhārāpa*¹⁵⁶ *cāraiś ca sāgantūvyādhilakṣaṇam* |
avasthālakṣaṇam caiva nidānam sthānam ucyate || 3 ||
sambhavaś caiva dehasya dhātur indriyamarmasu |
sirādinām ca sarveśām śārīre kathitam mayā || 4 ||
*yathāsthānopadiṣṭānām viditānām ca la*¹⁵⁷ *kṣaṇaiḥ* |
vyādhīnām sādhanam śāstre cikitsitam iti smṛtam || 5 ||
sthāvare jaṅgame caiva viṣe hitavikalpanam |
*sādhanam caiva kārtsnyena*¹⁵⁸ *kalpasthānam tad ucyate* || 6 ||
sāhasro vistarāḥ pūrvam prajāpatimukhodbhavaḥ |
*saviṃśad*¹⁵⁹ *adhyāyaśatam mayā vatsa prakṛitām* || 7 ||¹⁶⁰
sanātanatvād vedānām akṣaratvāt tathaiva ca | (= 8.141ab)¹⁶¹
drṣṭādrṣṭaphalatvāc ca hitatvāc cāpi dehinām || 8 || (~ 8.141cd)
*vāksamūhārthavistārāt pūjitatvāc ca dehiṣu*¹⁶² | (~ 8.142ab)

¹⁵³ 1a is a *bha-vipulā*.

¹⁵⁴ *arthān*] **H**; *arthā* **K**.

¹⁵⁵ °*balā*°] **H**; °*bālā*° **K**.

¹⁵⁶ °*āpa*°] **K**, **H**^{PC}; °*ūpa*° **H**^{AC}.

¹⁵⁷ °*nām ca la*°] **K**; blank space **H**.

¹⁵⁸ °*na*] **K**^{PC}, **H**; om. **K**^{AC}.

¹⁵⁹ °*viṃśad*] **K**; °*viṃśam* **H**. For the time being, I prefer the reading of **K** based merely on the principle of *lectio difficilior* and the consideration that **K** is elder than **H**. Note, however, that 7c is evidently related to 1a (*saviṃśam adhyāyaśatam*) and 15b (*saviṃśad adhyāyaśatam*) in the current section, as well as to several other statements in the SS that are phrased similarly. Some examples can be found in Sections 3.1.4.1 and 3.1.4.2. Therefore, the final decision concerning the problematic reading needs to be taken in view of this collective evidence.

¹⁶⁰ 7c is a *bha-vipulā*.

¹⁶¹ 8a is a *ma-vipulā*.

¹⁶² *dehiṣu*] **K**; *dehinaḥ* **H**.

cikitsitāt puṇyatamaṃ na kiṃcid api śuśrumaḥ || 9 || (= 8.142cd)¹⁶³
ṛṣer indraprabhāvasya tasmād amṛtajanmanaḥ | (~ 8.143ab)
dhārayitvedam amalāṃ mataṃ paramasaṃmatam || 10 || (~ 8.143cd)¹⁶⁴
*uktācārasamācārāḥ pretya*¹⁶⁵ *ceha ca nandati* | (~ 8.143ef)
śeṣāṇām api tantrāṇām yuktijño lokabandhavaḥ || 11 ||
yat kiṃcid ābādhakaraṃ tad yasmāc chalyasaṃjñitam |^{166,167}
vyāptāny aṅgāny atas tena śalyajñānena bhūriṇā || 12 ||
ataś cāśya viśeṣeṇa gatiṃ na pratiśidhyate |
yathā svaviśayasthasya rājño balavato gatiḥ || 13 ||
*upadravāṇām nirdeśo nidānaṃ vyañjanāni*¹⁶⁸ *ca* |¹⁶⁹
jvarādīnām cikitsārtham uttaraṃ tantraṃ ucyate || 14 ||
*bhavati*¹⁷⁰ *cātra* |
idaṃ tu yaḥ pañcasu saṃniveśitaṃ savimśad adhyāyaśataṃ sahottaraṃ |
paṭhet sa rājño 'rhati vaidyapūjitaḥ kriyāṃ prayoktum bhiṣag āga-
takramaḥ || 15 || *iti* |

3.2. Elements of Content

3.2.1. General Observations

The *Nepalese version of the *SS*, when compared to the text of the vulgate versions, abounds in readings that often result in changes in terms of the content of the text. Some of these alterations are elaborately reflected upon in the commentaries, some are merely introduced as known alternatives, and some, perhaps the majority, are not mentioned at all.

¹⁶³ 9c is a *bha-vipulā*.

¹⁶⁴ 10a is a *na-vipulā*.

¹⁶⁵ *pretya*] **K**; *pratya* **H**.

¹⁶⁶ 12a is a *bha-vipulā*.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. *yat kiṃcid ābādhakaraṃ śarīre tat sarvaṃ eva pravādanti śalyam* (quoted in the *NiSaṃ* ad *SS* Sū 1.8.1).

¹⁶⁸ *vyañjanāni*] **K**; *vyañjanāni* **H**.

¹⁶⁹ 14a is a *ma-vipulā*.

¹⁷⁰ *bhavati*] **K**; *bhavanti* **H**.

In SS Sū 45.48, for example, in the description of the qualities of different milks and milk products (*kṣīravarga*), the only available Nepalese manuscript **H** unmistakably attests to the same version of the text as attributed to Jejjāṭa in the *NiSaṃ* (see Table 3 and note 171 below), while the recension of the SS propagated by Ḍalhaṇa contains two additional, metrically superfluous verse quarters. The prose passage that commences immediately after this verse offers another example of a similar correspondence: SS Sū 45.49 gives a long list of medical properties that in Ḍalhaṇa's reading should equally apply to all varieties of milk. According to Jejjāṭa's text, as observed by Ḍalhaṇa (see note 172), and also the *Nepalese version of the SS, however, they are accepted to be present only in cow milk:

H (94v5)	E (SS Sū 45.48–49)
<i>tat tv anekauṣadhirasaḥ prasādakṣīratām</i> <i>gataḥ </i>	<i>tat tv anekauṣadhirasaprasādaḥ prāṇadaḥ</i> <i>guru </i> <i>madhuraḥ picchilaḥ śītaḥ snigdhaḥ</i> <i>ślakṣṇaḥ saraḥ mṛdu </i>
<i>sarvaprāṇabhṛtām tasmāt sātmyaḥ kṣīram</i> <i>ihocyate </i> ¹⁷¹	<i>sarvaprāṇabhṛtām tasmāt sātmyaḥ kṣīram</i> <i>ihocyate </i> (Sū 45.48ab–ef)
<i>gavyaḥ tu śītasnigdhamaḍhuraḥ avidāhi,</i> <i>vātapitta- [...]</i> ¹⁷²	<i>tatra sarvaḥ eva kṣīraḥ prāṇinām apratiṣid-</i> <i>dhaḥ jātisātmyāt, vātapitta- [...]</i>

Table 3: SS Sū 45.48–49 in the Nepalese manuscript **H** and in **E**

A representative example of a case where Ḍalhaṇa quotes a reading obviously corresponding with the *Nepalese version as a known alternative not connected to any particular authority can be seen at SS Sū 15.7. Here the topic is the description of the functions of the seven bodily elements (*dhātu*-s). The *Nepalese version merely lists the functions of each *dhātu*, whereas Ḍalhaṇa's text additionally highlights their consecutive interdependency and thus presents a more advanced state of the Āyurvedic theory. At the end of the commentary, however, Ḍalhaṇa mentions a reading just slightly different from the one found in the Nepalese manuscripts:

¹⁷¹ Cf. *NiSaṃ* ad Sū 45.48: *Jejjāṭas tu “tat tv anekauṣadhirasaprasādaḥ kṣīratām gataḥ | sarvaprāṇabhṛtām tasmāt sātmyaḥ kṣīram ihocyate ||” iti.*

¹⁷² Cf. *NiSaṃ* ad Sū 45.49: *Jejjāṭas tu “gavyaḥ tu śītaḥ snigdhamaḍhuraḥ avidāhi” iti paṭhati, śeṣaḥ tu samam, tanmate gokṣīraśyaiva guṇāḥ ||.*

E	<i>rasas tuṣṭiṃ prīṇanam raktapuṣṭiṃ ca karoti, raktam varṇaprasādam māṃsapuṣṭiṃ jīvayati ca, māṃsam śarīrapuṣṭiṃ medasāś ca, medaḥ snehasve- dau dr̥ḍhatvaṃ puṣṭiṃ asthnāṃ ca, asthūni dehadhāraṇaṃ majjñāḥ puṣṭiṃ ca, majjā prītiṃ snehaṃ balaṃ śukrapuṣṭiṃ pūraṇam asthnāṃ ca karoti, śukraṃ dhairyaṃ cyavanaṃ prītiṃ dehabalaṃ harṣaṃ bījārthaṃ ca </i>
K: 14r7	<i>rasaḥ prīṇayati, raktam jīvayati, māṃsam lepayati, medaḥ snehayati, asthi</i>
N: 12v2	<i>dhārayati, majjā pūrayati, bījārthaharṣakṛc chukraṃ kledayati </i>
H: 28r1	
NiSaṃ	<i>anye tv anyathā paṭhanti — “rasaḥ prīṇayati, raktam jīvayati, māṃsam lepayati, medaḥ snehayati, asthi dhārayati, majjā asthīni pūrayati, śukraṃ dhairyacya- vanaṃ prītidhabalaharṣabījārthakṛt” iti, vyākhyānayanti ca [...] ayaṃ pāṭho ni- bandhakāraiḥ sādaraṃ paṭhitah ¹⁷³</i>

Table 4: SS Sū 15.7 in the Nepalese manuscripts, in **E** and in the **NiSaṃ**

An example of a peculiar variant in terms of content unnoticed by the commentators is found in the same fifteenth chapter of the Sū immediately preceding the passage quoted in Table 4. In Sū 15.5–6 Ḍalhaṇa’s text (and, in fact, the text printed in all vulgate versions) divides not just *vāta* (the humour wind), but also *pitta* (the humour bile) and *śleṣman* (the humour phlegm) into five types. The *Nepalese text, for its part, omits the division of the latter two entities. It is taken up in Sū 21, however, so that it is not the existence but the importance of this concept in the *Nepalese version of the *SS* (or, for that matter, at an earlier state in the development of āyurvedic doctrine connected with the *SS*) that should be re-examined.

As can be expected, a significant number of variants pertain to matters of pharmacology. In fact, one of the main highlights of the Nepalese manuscripts of the *SS* — the appended *Sauśrutaniḥganṭu* — concerns exactly this area of medical knowledge. As this text was recently published and extensively studied along with the respective chapters of the *SS*, I shall not devote much space to it here. Among many significant findings, Suvedī and Tivārī (2000) made the general observation that the text of the *SauNi* is by far more closely related to the pharmacological chapters (above all, to Sū 38, the *Dravyasaṃgraha-*

¹⁷³ The identity of the *nibandhakāra*-s (or, possibly, a single well-respected *nibandhakāra*), who are quoted by Ḍalhaṇa at a number of instances (cf. HIML IA, pp. 376f.), remains undetermined. In the current case, it is noteworthy that the reading of the *SS* quoted in the *NiSaṃ* largely corresponds with the one presupposed by the *Bhānumatī*.

ṇīya) of the *Nepalese version than to the text of these chapters known from the vulgate versions of the *SS*.¹⁷⁴ Here, apart from several groups of drugs (*gaṇa*-s) listed in different positions or missing substances in comparison to the text of the vulgate versions, the Nepalese manuscripts account for only 35 instead of 37 groups commonly ascribed to the *SS*.¹⁷⁵ Two *gaṇa*-s, the so-called *trikaṭu* and *āmalakyādi*, are omitted in both the *Nepalese *SS* and the *SauNi*. From among many internal deviations in the lists, one may highlight the use of *eraṇḍa* (castor seed) instead of *trikaṇṭaka* (puncture vine) in the well-known combination called *kanīyapañcamūla* or *laghupañcamūla* (on this variant in other medical texts, see also Ghildiyal & Joshi [2012]).

3.2.2. The Number of Pramehapiṭakā-s¹⁷⁶ (*SS Ni 6.14–19*)

In this section I consider the number and the list of skin lesions (*piṭakā*) associated with urinary disease (*prameha*).¹⁷⁷ In order to visualize the problem, I present the text of *SS Ni 6.14–19* as found in *E* and the *Nepalese version, along with the parallels from *CS Sū 17.82–90* and *Mādhavanidāna (MN) 59.29–34*, in Table 5.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Suvedī & Tivārī (2000, p. 45): “*suśrutasamhitāyā hastalikhita-granthāntargato dravyasaṃgrahaṇīyādhyāya eva sauśrutaniḥṣṭagranthasyādhāro vartate viśeṣeṇa | paraṃ tatrāpi kvacit gaṇakramabhaṅgaḥ, gaṇeṣu dravyāṇāṃ kramabhaṅgaḥ, gaṇokta-dravyāṇāṃ paryāyādyanullekhaḥ, anuktadravyāṇāṃ paryāyavacraṇaś [!] ca vihitam dṛśyate ||*.” Furthermore, paragraphs 3.a), 3.ā), 3.i) and 3.ī) in Suvedī & Tivārī (2000, pp. 45–46) list cases where the text of the *SS* presupposed by the *SauNi* differs from both the *Nepalese and the vulgate versions.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Suvedī & Tivārī (2000, p. 22).

¹⁷⁶ The orthography of the word *piṭakā* adopted here is attested throughout the Nepalese manuscripts of the *SS* at all instances of its usage. In printed sources, however, the word is most commonly spelled as *piḍakā*, as in all consulted editions of the *SS*, whereas Kunte and Navre (1939), for example, opt for *piṭikā*. Surendran (2008, p. 96) lists all three spellings.

¹⁷⁷ Note that according to *CS Sū 17.104–106* and Ḍalhaṇa’s remark at the very beginning of *SS Ci 12*, *pramehapiṭakā*-s (literally, skin lesions [associated] with urinary disease) can arise without a urinary disease as a precondition, but due to the corrupted element fat (*duṣṭamedas*). From a therapeutical point of view, Ḍalhaṇa adds, these lesions are treated equally, since their pathogenesis involves the same *doṣa*-s (morbific entities) and *dūṣya*-s (i.e., corruptible entities, such as the *dhātu*-s, etc.).

E	<i>tatra vasāmedobhyām abhipannaśarīrasya tribhir doṣaiś cānugatadhātoḥ pramehiṇo daśa piḍakā jāyante </i> <i>tad yathā — śarāvikā (1), sarṣapikā (2), kacchapikā (3), jālinī (4), vinatā (5), putrinī (6), masūrikā (7), alajī (8), vidārikā (9), vidradhikā (10) ceti (Ni 6.14)</i>
N, H	<i>tatra vasāmedobhyām abhipannaśarīrasya doṣair anugatadhātoḥ pramehiṇo nava piṭakāḥ saṃjāyante </i> <i>tad yathā — sarāvikā (1), sarṣapī (2), kacchapikā (3), jālinī (4), putrinī (5), masūrikā (6), alajī (7), vidārikā (8), vidradhikā (9) ceti </i>
E	<i>śarāvamātrā tadrūpā nimnamadhyā śarāvikā (Ni 6.15ab)</i>
N, H	<i>antonnatā ca tadrūpā nimnamadhyā sarāvikā</i>
MN	<i>antonnatā tu tadrūpā nimnamadhyā śarāvikā (59.29ab)</i>
CS	<i>antonnatā madhyanimnā śyāvā kledaruganvitā śarāvikā syāt piḍakā śarāvākr̥tisamsthītā (Sū 17.84)</i>
E	<i>gaurasarṣapasamsthānā tatpramāṇā ca sārṣapī (Ni 6.15cd)</i>
N, H	<i>gaurasarṣapasamsthānā tatpramāṇā ca sarṣapī</i>
MN	<i>gaurasarṣapasamsthānā tatpramāṇā ca sarṣapī (59.29cd)</i>
CS	<i>piḍakā nātimahatī kṣiprapākā mahārujā sarṣapī sarṣapābhābhīḥ piḍakābhīś citā bhavet (Sū 17.87)</i>
E	<i>sadāhā kūrmāsamsthānā jñeyā kacchapikā budhaiḥ (Ni 6.16ab)</i>
N, H	<i>sadāhā kūrmāsamsthānā jñeyā kacchapikā budhaiḥ</i>
MN	<i>sadāhā kūrmāsamsthānā jñeyā kacchapikā budhaiḥ (59.30ab)</i>
CS	<i>avagādhārtinistodā mahāvāstuparigrahā ślakṣṇā kacchapaprṣṭhābhā piḍakā kacchapī matā (Sū 17.85)</i>
E	<i>jālinī tivrādāhā tu māṃsajālasamāvṛtā (Ni 6.16cd)</i>
N, H	<i>jālinī tivrādāhā tu māṃsajālasamāvṛtā</i>
MN	<i>jālinī tivrādāhā tu māṃsajālasamāvṛtā (59.30cd)</i>
CS	<i>stabdhā sirājālavatī snigdhāsrāvā mahāśayā rujānistodabahulā sūkṣmacchidrā ca jālinī (Sū 17.86)</i>
E	<i>mahatī piḍakā nīlā piḍakā vinatā smṛtā (Ni 6.17ab)</i>
N, H	<i>om.</i>
CS	<i>avagāḍharujākledā prṣṭhe vāpy udare 'pi vā mahatī vinatā nīlā piḍakā vinatā matā (Sū 17.89)</i>
MN	<i>avagāḍharujākledā prṣṭhe vāpy udare 'pi vā mahatī piḍakā nīlā vinatā nāma sā smṛtā (59.31)</i>

E	<i>mahaty alpācitā jñeyā piḍakā sā tu putriṇī</i> (Ni 6.17cd)
N, H	<i>mahaty alpacitā jñeyā piṭakā cāpi putriṇī</i>
MN	<i>mahaty alpacitā jñeyā piḍakā cāpi putriṇī</i> (59.32ab)
CS	om.
E	<i>masūrasamaṣṭhānā jñeyā sā tu masūrikā</i> (Ni 6.18ab)
N, H	<i>masūrasamaṣṭhānasamā vijñeyā tu masūrikā</i>
MN	<i>masūrākṛtisaṣṭhānā vijñeyā tu masūrikā</i> (59.32cd)
CS	om.
E	<i>raktā sitā sphoṭavatī dāruṇā tv alajī bhavet</i> (Ni 6.18cd)
N, H	<i>raktā sitā sphoṭa*citā dāruṇā tv alajī bhavet</i>
	<i>*sphoṭa°] H; sphoṭā° N. The adopted reading of the younger H, supported here by MN, accounts for a correct bha-vipulā. The reading of N, on the other hand, is metrically faulty. A study of metres used in the SS is still to be undertaken.</i>
MN	<i>raktā sitā sphoṭacitā dāruṇā tv alajī bhavet</i> (51.33ab)
CS	<i>dahatī tvacam utthāne tṛṣṇāmohajvarapradā visarpaty aniṣaṃ duḥkhād dahaty agnir ivālajī </i> (Sū 17.88)
E	<i>vidārikandavad vṛttā kaṭhinā ca vidārikā</i> (Ni 6.19ab)
N, H	<i>vidārikandavad vṛttā kaṭhinā ca vidārikā</i>
MN	<i>vidārikandavad vṛttā kaṭhinā ca vidārikā</i> (51.33cd)
CS	om.
E	<i>vidradher lakṣaṇair yuktā jñeyā vidradhikā budhaiḥ</i> (Ni 6.19cd)
N, H	<i>vidradher lakṣaṇair yuktā jñeyā vidradhikā budhaiḥ</i>
MN	<i>vidradher lakṣaṇair yuktā jñeyā vidradhikā tu sā</i> (51.34ab)
CS	<i>vidradhiṃ dvividhām āhur bāhyām ābhyantarīṇi tathā bāhyā tvak-snāyumaṃsothā kaṇḍarābhā mahārujā </i> (Sū 17.90)

Table 5: SS Ni 6.14–19 according to E and the Nepalese manuscripts (N: 56r2–3; H: 137v6 – 138r4), along with the parallels from the CS and MN.

As one can see, a major difference between the readings of E (as well as all other printed sources of the SS) and the *Nepalese version lies in the number of skin lesions to be accounted for. N and H omit the type called *vinatā* in both instances — that is, in the general list as well as in the descriptive verses — and read accordingly “nine” (*nava*) instead of “ten” (*daśa*) as the exact number of varieties of lesions.

Though the parallel passage in *MN* 59.27–34¹⁷⁸ seems to support the number and the list of *piṭakā*-s presented in the vulgate versions, it contains an important pointer. Whereas the wording of the *MN* resembles the text of the *SS* in the absolute majority of cases, precisely in the definition of *vinatā* it clearly depends on the *CS*. It is worth noting that the respective verse in the vulgate of the *SS* is also unusually close to the wording of the *CS*.

Furthermore, the text of the *SS* as found in the consulted printed sources contains an internal inconsistency. Namely, the counterpart of the concerned passage in *SS* Ci 12 deals with only nine varieties of *pramehapiṭakā*-s and omits the concerned type *vinatā*. Neither Ḍalhaṇa nor Hārāṇacandra problematize this issue, which had been, however, already discussed by their predecessor Gayadāsa. To quote his commentary on *SS* Ni 6.14–19, along with a collation of the manuscript of the *Nyāyacandrikā* (*NC*) that I was permitted to consult (Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, no. 4390, 36r5–9):¹⁷⁹

*piḍikās tu sapta Carake, Suśrute nava | Suśrute yadāpy anye*¹⁸⁰ *vinatām*
*adhīyate, “nīlāvagāḍharujā”*¹⁸¹ *ityādinā, tatpāthe*¹⁸² *tu samkhyātirekāt*
*samānatantreṣv apāṭhāc ca*¹⁸³ *sā na paṭhanīyā | tathā hi Bhojaḥ —*
sarāvīkā (1) sarṣapīkā (2) kūrmīkā (3) jālinī (4) tathā |
kulatthīkā (5) ’lajī (6) putrī (7) vidāri (8) vidradhī (9) tathā |
*navaitāḥ piḍīkā jñeyā mehinām lakṣaṇaiḥ śṛṇu*¹⁸⁴ *|*

¹⁷⁸ Further parallels not presented here are *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* (*AS*) Ni 10.11–12, *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya* (*AH*) Ni 10.27–34, and *Bhāvaprakāśa* Madhyakhaṇḍa 38.28–36, the latter being almost identical with the passage in the *MN*.

¹⁷⁹ The collated manuscript is likely to be identical with (or related to) the one used by Jāḍavjī Trikamjī and ‘Kāvyaṭīrtha’ (1938 [2004]) for their edition of the text, because (1) Jāḍavjī Trikamjī obtained his copy from the same royal library in Bikaner (p. 22), and because (2) according to my survey, only one among the three extant manuscripts of the *NC* listed in Dash (2014, p. 374b) contains the commentary on Ni.

¹⁸⁰ *yadāpy anye*] conj.; *yavānpe* Anup 4390; *ye* E.

¹⁸¹ Cf. *AS* Ni 10.12: *mahatī nīlāvagāḍharujākledā prṣṭhodarānyatarādhiṣṭhānā vinatā vinatā* |. Note that *avagāḍharujā nīlā* instead of *nīlāvagāḍharujā* would account for a metrically correct uneven *pāda* of an *anuṣṭubh* verse.

¹⁸² *tatpāthe*] E; *tatpothe* Anup 4390.

¹⁸³ *apāṭhāc ca*] Anup 4390; *apāṭhat* E.

¹⁸⁴ *śṛṇu*] Anup 4390; *śṛṇu* | *iti* E.

*tasmāt tulyatantrasaṃvādāt*¹⁸⁵ *tathaiva vinatātra*¹⁸⁶ *vihaṭāstīti* | *masūrikaiva Bhoje kulatthikā* ||

The skin lesions, for their part, are seven in the *Caraka[samhitā]*, [and] nine in the *Suśruta[samhitā]*. But even though others, by [accepting the variant] “blue, [causing] deep pain,” etc., study the *vinatā* type in the *Suśruta[samhitā]*, it (i.e., the concerned type of lesion) should not be read here, because, should this reading be [accepted], there would be an excess in the number [of lesions], and because it is not taught in treatises [belonging to the] same [tradition]. To explain further, the *Bhoja[samhitā]* gives the following list:

sarāvikā (1) [...], also *vidradhī* (9) — listen to these nine [types of] lesions of people suffering from urinary diseases which should be known along with their definitions.

Therefore, because of the agreement with similar treatises, the *vinatā* has been rejected here in exactly the same way (i.e., as in the *Bhojasaṃhitā*). It is really the *masūrikā* type (i.e., not the *vinatā* type) that is [called] *kulatthikā* in the *Bhoja[samhitā]*.

As becomes evident from the above quote, Gayadāsa was aware of an effort to bring all possible types of *piṭakā*-s together in the text of the *SS*. He rejected this development, however, and accepted the shorter list of skin lesions, thus staying in line with what he regarded to be the original and hence more authoritative list that is corroborated by *SS* Ci 12.

Noteworthy is the variant reading *nīlāvagāḍharujā* quoted in the *NC* which differs from the reading accepted by Ḍalhaṇa and assimilated in the later transmission of the *SS*, in a distinct way. What is more, the variant violates the norms of the *anuṣṭubh* meter (in fact, it does not seem to be metrical at all) and in this way appears quite alien in the context of a metrical text passage. Its agreement with the corresponding passage in the *AS* is as remarkable as it is difficult to interpret unequivocally: one may wonder whether the variant known to Gayadāsa gave rise to the known text of the *AS* or whether it occurred the other way round.

Another circumstance is significant for the evaluation of the text-historical value of the *Nepalese version of the *SS*. At several instances, where the Nepalese manuscripts have a reading different from **E**, the *MN* follows the

¹⁸⁵ °*saṃvādāt*] **E**; °*sāmāt* Anup 4390.

¹⁸⁶ *vinatātra*] conj.; *vinatāstu* Anup 4390; *vinatā* **E**.

Nepalese variant.¹⁸⁷ From this we can reasonably assume that the version of the *SS* that Mādhava (ca. 8th c.)¹⁸⁸ had at his disposal for this part of the text was still closer to the *Nepalese version than the recension popularized by Ḍalhaṇa. This is further corroborated by the observation that Mādhava borrowed the description of *vinatā* from the *CS*; it must have been absent from his text of the *SS*.

3.2.3. The Number of Prāṇa-s (SS Śā 4.3)

The discussion in this section deals with the variation in the list of *prāṇa*-s (“vital energies” or “vital forces”) active in the production of a human foetus. This list is found at the beginning of *SS* Śā 4. As in the previous case, I resort to the learned remarks found in the *NC* to evaluate the readings. It is impossible, however, to detail Gayadāsa’s explanations in the scope of the present article, so that I shall use them here merely as textual evidence for the existence of a certain reading and hope to examine their content on another occasion.

The text of Śā 4.3, as found in the vulgate versions and in the only Nepalese manuscript (**H**) that is available for this part, reads as follows:

H (168v2)	E
<i>agnīṣomau</i> ¹⁸⁹ (1, 2) <i>vāyuh</i> (3) <i>sattvaṃ</i> (4) <i>rajas</i> (5) <i>tamaḥ</i> (6) <i>pañcendriyāṇi</i> (7–11) <i>bhūtātmā</i> (12) <i>manaś</i> (13) <i>ceti prāṇāḥ</i>	<i>agnih</i> (1) <i>somo</i> (2) <i>vāyuh</i> (3) <i>sattvaṃ</i> (4) <i>rajas</i> (5) <i>tamaḥ</i> (6) <i>pañcendriyāṇi</i> (7–11) <i>bhūtāmeti</i> (12) <i>prāṇāḥ</i>
Cf. <i>BhP</i> Pūrvakhaṇḍa 3.320: <i>garbhasya kiṃ kiṃ viśiṣṭopakāraṇaṃ tad āha — agnīṣomau</i> (1, 2) <i>mahī</i> (3) <i>vāyur</i> (4) <i>nabhaḥ</i> (5) <i>sattvaṃ</i> (6) <i>rajas</i> (7) <i>tamaḥ</i> (8) <i>pañcendriyāṇi</i> (9–13) <i>bhūtātmā</i> (14) <i>garbhaṃ sañjīvyanti hi</i>	

Table 6: *SS* Śā 4.3 according to **E** and the *Nepalese version, along with a parallel from the *BhP*.

¹⁸⁷ The text of the *MN* is closer to the *Nepalese version of the *SS* than to **E** in the descriptions of *śarāvikā*, *putrīṇi* and *alajī* (see Table 5). In the cases of *masūrikā* and *vidradhikā*, it equally resembles both versions and introduces its own variants.

¹⁸⁸ See HIML IIA, p. 72.

¹⁸⁹ °*ṣomau*] em.; °*somo* **H**.

The difference between the two versions of the text is in the number of *prāṇa*-s. While **E** accounts for twelve items, **H** lists *manas* (“mind”) in addition to that, and thus has a total of thirteen elements.¹⁹⁰ The only obvious parallel I could find in another medical textbook is the passage from the *BhP* presented above.¹⁹¹ Yet we can see that the list there does not match either reading. The archaic, or, at least, less common in āyurvedic literature three-fold group consisting of *agni* (“fire”), *soma* (“the somic substance”, i.e., water?), and *vāyu* (“wind”) is supplemented by *mahī* (“earth”) and *nabhas* (“sky”, though in the current context rather “space” or “ether”), and thus transformed into a well-known list of five gross elements.¹⁹² Given that the decisive item *manas* (“mind”) is not present in the list of the *BhP*, it is more likely that the latter list was inspired by the enumeration found in **E** and commented upon by Ḍalhaṇa.¹⁹³

Another interesting and much earlier occurrence of the list is found in Cakrapāṇidatta’s *Bhānumatī* on *SS Sū* 15.21.¹⁹⁴ Here, commenting on a verse devoted to the qualities of *ojas* (“vital fluid”) and discussing the meaning of the word *prāṇāyatana* (roughly, “seat of vital energy”), Cakrapāṇi gives the following list:

agniḥ (1) *somo* (2) *vāyuh* (3) *sattvaṃ* (4) *pañcendriyāṇi* (5–9) *bhūtātmā* (10) *manas* (11) *ceti prāṇāḥ*

¹⁹⁰ On the role of the *manas* and the connected *manovahā* channel in the yogic physiology described in the *Vārṣṇeyādhyātma* section of the *Mahābhārata*, see Takahashi (2019).

¹⁹¹ This parallel is also noted and discussed in Das (2003, p. 164).

¹⁹² Kirfel (1951, p. 8) argues for the originality of the three elements fire, water and wind: “Diese ursprüngliche Dreizahl der Elemente gehört offenbar zu einer älteren Kulturstufe der Menschheit, als sie noch unter der Wirkung eines dualistischen Grundprinzips stand.” Frauwallner (1953, pp. 31–43) speaks of the three fundamental doctrines of the *Upaniṣads* (“die Lehre vom Kreislauf des Wassers”, “die Atemlehre” and “die Feuerlehre”), which are obviously related to the three gross elements. Frauwallner’s arguments are summarized in Wujastyk (2004, p. 349). For an overview of citations from āyurvedic literature that allude to the trinity of elements, see Das (2003, pp. 161–166).

¹⁹³ Note that Ḍalhaṇa enumerates the very same twelve *prāṇa*-s at two further instances in the *NiSaṃ*: in the commentary to *SS Sū* 5.24b and in the commentary to *SS Ut* 66.7. Curiously enough, the latter verse (as found in **E** as well as in **K** 209r1) speaks of only eleven *prāṇa*-s (*prāṇās caikādaśaiva ye*), so that at least part of Ḍalhaṇa’s commentarial effort is spent on harmonizing both lists.

¹⁹⁴ This is also noted in Das (2003, p.164, n. 527).

This list, as printed in Trikamji Acharya & Nandakishor (1939 [2001]), even though it contains the relevant item *manas*, lacks *rajas* and *tamas*, two essential items, which together with *sattva* make the fundamental threefold group of qualities or constituents of primal matter (*guṇa*-s) according to Sāṃkhya metaphysics. Nevertheless, it is probable that the explanation for the omission of these two *guṇa*-s should be sought not with Cakrapāṇidatta, but with the transmission of his commentary, preserved so far in only a single manuscript. Without access to this textual witness, it remains a matter of pure speculation whether or not the eleventh-century Bengali commentator was familiar with the same version of the list as the one found in H.

Strong evidence for the knowledge and acceptance of the list preserved in the Nepalese manuscript can be found in Gayadāsa's *Nyāyacandrikā* on SS Ni 1.13. Starting with the printed evidence, supplemented by the evidence of the manuscript (Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, no. 4390, 8r4),¹⁹⁵ we find the following remark in the NC on SS Ni 1.13 ("The wind circulating in the mouth is called *prāṇa* ["breath"], which upholds the body; it makes the [solid] food enter [the body] and also supports the vital forces [*prāṇa*-s]"): ¹⁹⁶

[...] *prāṇāṃś cā*¹⁹⁷ *gnīṣomādīn anilavarjitān*¹⁹⁸ *dvādaśa, athavā trayodaśaiva*,¹⁹⁹ *vāto 'pi vātāntaram avalambata*²⁰⁰ *eva* |

[...] and [supports] the *prāṇa*-s, that is, the twelve [*prāṇa*-s] beginning with fire and the somic substance, except for wind, or, alternatively, [it supports] all thirteen [*prāṇa*-s], [inasmuch as] wind, for its part, certainly supports other [kind(s) of] wind.

Gayadāsa unambiguously refers here to the list of thirteen *prāṇa*-s in total and provides two alternative ways to account for the interaction between *vāyu*,

¹⁹⁵ As the library does not allow any kind of reproduction of its holdings, I have examined this manuscript during my visit there.

¹⁹⁶ SS Ni 1.13 (in E): *yo vāyur vaktrasaṃcārī sa prāṇo nāma dehadhṛk | so 'nnaṃ praveśayaty antaḥ prāṇāṃś cāpy avalambate* ||.

¹⁹⁷ *prāṇāṃś cā*°] conj.; *prāṇān cā*° Anup 4390; *prāṇān* E.

¹⁹⁸ °*varjitān*] E; °*varjitā* Anup 4390.

¹⁹⁹ *trayodaśaiva*] E; *tapodviśaiva* Anup 4390.

²⁰⁰ *avalambata*] E; *avalamba* Anup 4390.

itself a member of the group, and the other *prāṇa*-s in the list: *vāyu* either supports the twelve other *prāṇa*-s, or, alternatively, it supports itself as well.²⁰¹

That the list Gayadāsa presupposed in the passage quoted above was identical with the one in *H* is confirmed by his as yet unpublished commentary on *SS Śā* (Cambridge Add. 2491). Here, at *Śā* 4.3 (33v2ff.), the commentator discusses each of its items separately and in relation to each other. At the level of a mere gloss, the word *bhūtātman* is explained as *karmapurūṣa*, whereas *manas* is explained as *cetanā*. Gayadāsa also mentions the opinion of Jaḍa (= Jejjāṭa), who proposed not to read *manas* here since there is no difference between it and the *bhūtātman*. This must be the tradition silently followed by Ḍalhaṇa and thus adopted in the later transmission of the *SS*.

The example described in the foregoing demonstrates once again that the *Nepalese version of the *SS* enables us directly to access a very early stage of textual development of the *SS*. At the same time, it highlights the importance of thorough research into the commentarial literature of *Āyurveda*, which so far remains largely unpublished.

²⁰¹ The exact meaning and implication of Gayadāsa's remarks are not entirely clear to me at the moment. According to my initial assessment, the special type of wind, the one active in the mouth and technically designated *prāṇa*, could be said to support other winds, inasmuch as it can support the other four types of wind (*udāna*, *samāna*, *vyāna*, and *apāna*), which are enumerated in the directly preceding verse (*SS* Ni 1.12) and examined in the following verses (Ni 1.13–20). According to a suggestion of the special editors of this volume, however, Gayadāsa may be drawing a contrast between the special form of wind (the one active in the mouth and called *prāṇa*) and the inner vital force “wind” that is conceived as another kind of wind. Gayadāsa's further explanations of the same verse add a certain complexity to the whole issue (and, perhaps, support the editors' interpretation). In short, he argues that the very mention of the capacity of *prāṇa* (i.e., the *prāṇavāyu*, one of the five bodily winds) to support the *prāṇa*-s (i.e., the vital principles in the body) indicates that, in harmony with other treatises, the author of *SS* actually holds the opinion that the *prāṇavāyu* is located in the whole of the upper body and, specifically, sustains the region of the heart. It is in this way that the *prāṇavāyu* supports the *prāṇa*-s, because they are located in the heart (*vaktre saṃcaraṇam asyoktaṃ vaktracaratvād vāyoḥ, prāṇāvalambanavacanena tu hṛdayāvalambanam uktam [...] vaktrasaṃcāritvaṃ cāsyopalakṣaṇam, tena mūrdhoroḥkaṇṭhanāsikā api prāṇasthānam [...] prāṇānām agnīṣomādīnān ādheyānām avalambanavacanenādhārabhūtahṛdayāvalambanam evocyate, tatraiva teṣāṃ samastānām avasthiteḥ*).

4. Conclusion

To conclude, I would like to express my current hypotheses concerning the *Nepalese version of the *SS* and to summarize the evidence in their support.

The three Nepalese manuscripts of the *SS* discussed here transmit a version of the text particular to a certain hyperarchetype or a group of such. They preserve several features specific to this/these hyperarchetype(s). These features were transmitted locally in Nepal and may possibly have originated there:

a. On the basis of paleographic features and the information given in the colophons to **K** and **H**, one can conclude that all Nepalese manuscripts discussed here were produced in Nepal.

b. The colophon in **K** suggests that it was produced for use in a certain family.

c. The chapter-group colophons suggest the origin of the Nepalese manuscripts from a certain hyperarchetype in which these paratexts had been added by a scribe. The same is most likely true for the auspicious scribal phrase found at the beginning of the *SauNi* in both **H** and **K**. Particular attention should be paid to the Buddhist character of this invocation. The scribe of **H** does not show any Buddhist inclinations elsewhere.

d. According to the present state of research, the existence of an important *SauNi* has not been mentioned in any of the classical Indian medical treatises and commentaries on them. The text of the *SauNi*, on the other hand, corresponds with the specific features of the *Nepalese version of the *SS*.

It seems probable that the hyperarchetype of the *Nepalese version would have arrived in Nepal from India, possibly from Bengal or elsewhere in Eastern India:

e. Plentiful evidence proves that certain Indian commentators, starting with Jejjāṭa, knew readings of the *SS* similar or equal to those preserved in the Nepalese manuscripts. Thus, it is difficult to maintain that the *Nepalese version was disseminated to India from Nepal.

f. The readings of the *SS* followed by the Bengali commentator Cakrapāṇi-datta seem to be much closer to the text of the *Nepalese version than those followed by Ḍaḷhaṇa.

g. It is possible that Mādhava (8th c., Bengal) was familiar with a version of the *SS* similar to the *Nepalese version (see Section 3.2.2). A close study of parallels in the *MN* is a desideratum that will enable us to ascertain or reject this hypothesis.

The *Nepalese version of the *SS* represents an early stage in the development of the text:

h. The date of the copy of **K**, April 13, AD 878, sets the *terminus ante quem* for the age of the *Nepalese version. This manuscript probably predates the composition of the major commentarial works on the *SS*, that is, Gayadāsa's *Nyāyacandrikā* (ca. 10th to 11th c.), Cakrapāṇidatta's *Bhānumatī* (about the third quarter of the 11th c.), Ḍalhaṇa's *Nibandhasaṃgraha* (*NiSaṃ*) (ca. 12th c.) and Candratā's *Suśrutapāṭhaśuddhi* (ca. 10th to 11th c.), but post-dates Jejjāta's work (7th or 8th c.).

i. Several variant readings discussed above, both pertaining to the structure and content of the text, can be considered as archaic as far as their originality (see, for example, Sections 3.1.2–3) and the development of medical doctrines (see Section 3.2) are concerned.

I hope to have proven that the study of the *Nepalese version of *SS* is a matter of considerable significance not just for our knowledge of an early local transmission of the text, but, more importantly, for the estimation of original readings, and thus for serious text-historical research on the *SS*. It is important to remember, though, that the Nepalese manuscripts do not provide us with an *Ur-Suśrutasaṃhitā* or anything of the like. They do, however, provide us with exceptionally rare and valuable textual data, which must be carefully evaluated on the basis of all available sources. In this respect, I would like to emphasize the importance of a thorough examination of both the published and unpublished commentatorial literature on the *SS*.

Abbreviations

Titles of Sanskrit texts

AS	<i>Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha</i>
CS	<i>Carakasamhitā</i>
MN	<i>Mādhavanidāna</i>
NiSaṃ	<i>Nibandhasamgraha</i> , commentary on the <i>Suśrutasaṃhitā</i> by Ḍalhaṇacārya (vulgo Ḍalhaṇa)
NC	<i>Nyāyacandrikā</i> , commentary on the <i>Suśrutasaṃhitā</i> by Gayadāsa
SauNi	<i>Sauśrutaniḥganṭhu</i>
SS	<i>Suśrutasaṃhitā</i> ; the numbering of passages follows E unless otherwise stated

Sections in Sanskrit medical works

Ci	Cikitsāsthāna
Ka	Kalpasthāna
Ni	Nidānasthāna
Śā	Śārīrasthāna
Śl	Ślokaśthāna
Sū	Sūtrasthāna
Ut	Uttaratantra

Bibliographical references

E	SS in Jādayī Trikaṃjī & ‘Kāvyaṭīrtha’ (1938 [2004])
H	Nepalese manuscript H of the SS, see Section 2.3
HIML	Meulenbeld (1999–2002)
K	Nepalese manuscript K of the SS, see Section 2.1
N	Nepalese manuscript N of the SS, see Section 2.2
<i>Pancanga</i>	Yano & Fushimi (2014)

Sigla used in the text-critical notes

]	end of a lemma
AC	<i>ante correctionem</i> (before correction)
conj.	conjectured
conj. DA	conjectured by Prof. Diwakar Acharya
om.	omitted
PC	<i>post correctionem</i> (after correction)

Miscellaneous abbreviations

NAK	National Archives, Kathmandu
NGMCP	Nepalese–German Manuscript Cataloguing Project
NGMPP	Nepal–German Manuscript Preservation Project
NS	Nepal (Nepāla/Newari/Newar/Nevāra) Saṃvat
VS	Vikrama Saṃvat

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