The *Suśrutasaṃhitā* on the Plastic Surgery of the Ears and Nose: The Nepalese Recension

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The Transmission of the Work

The Nepalese Version

In the present article and the other publications of our research group, we focus on the study of what we call the 'Nepalese version' of the $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$. The primary rationale behind using this designation was outlined by Klebanov, but we consider it necessary to reflect upon its meaning here, given the conceptual significance that this term occupies in our research. It is possible that in the course of our research, we will refine our understanding of the phenomenon and, consequently, review and modify our current interpretation.

Put plainly, the 'Nepalese version' refers to a hypothetical text-critical reconstruction of the wording of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that is based primarily on the evidence of three ancient Nepalese manuscripts that we have briefly introduced above and that we will describe in more detail in a later section. We call these MSS "Nepalese" not just because they were preserved and discovered by modern scholarship in the Kathmandu Valley but also because we believe that they were produced in the same area. We conclude this because all three MSS are written in a specific variety of Indic scripts which, to the best of our knowledge, was not used outside of the region.

Furthermore, we speak of a single "version" because we hold that these manuscripts attest to a peculiar line of transmission of the text. That is to say, in terms of stemmatic analysis they share a common ancestor or (hyparchetype), while at the same time, they bear no signs of significant contamination. This hypothesis was postulated by Klebanov (2010) and reiterated by Klebanov (2021b) as the result of a systematic analysis of two complete chapters (SS.1.3 and SS.1.15) as well as several shorter excerpts from the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* transmitted in the Nepalese manuscripts. On the one hand, these studies highlighted that all three MSS preserve a highly uniform text with very few variations, virtually all of which can be explained as standard scribal errors or corrections. On the other hand, Klebanov (2010; 2021b) systematically compared the concerned textual excerpts with four printed editions, alternative readings (पाठ) reported by several commentators, parallel passages in other texts, and with a limited number of additional manuscripts of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. This analysis

³¹ Klebanov 2021a: 2-3.

demonstrated that the text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* preserved in the Nepalese MSS differs decidedly from all the above standards of comparison. In this way, for example, we establish that another Nepalese manuscript of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1146,³² does not belong to the peculiar line of textual transmission and need not be taken into consideration when reconstructing the reading of its hyparchetype.

However, in view of the more than two hundred handwritten copies of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* preserved in different libraries across South Asia and in the absence of their systematic inclusion into the project's current collation, the assumption about the regional character of the transmission line remains hypothetical.³³ As a matter of fact, we believe that the Nepalese MSS preserve many archaic features of the early *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and it is possible, even likely, that some of these features will be found in other manuscripts of this work that have yet to be studied.

Our research group builds upon the above hypothesis about the existence of a distinct Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and concentrates primarily on the study of this text in its own right and, additionally, in comparison to a single version of the compendium popularized by its late medieval commentator Dalhaṇa and recorded in the widely-used Su 1938. The present study of SS.1.16 also considers the readings found in Su 1939 and incorporates various observations made by both medieval commentators, Cakrapāṇidatta and Dalhaṇa, into the notes of the edition and some annotations of the translation.

The current paper and several earlier publications furnish a large catalogue of uniform features that are characteristic of the Nepalese MSS and set them apart from the vulgate version.³⁴ These features of the Nepalese MSS include orthographic variants, peculiarities in the structure and structuring elements, as well as the actual wording of the text. As argued elsewhere in this article, many of these variants are likely to be closer to an archaic version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. This is partly because they preserve a version of the text that appears to be less edited, that is, slightly more idiosyncratic and original in expression, that in turn suggests that it precedes

³² Rimal and Wujastyk 2022.

³³ For a list of known manuscript copies of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, see the sources mentioned in footnote 99 below.

³⁴ Earlier publications include, for example, Harimoto 2011; Wujastyk 2013; Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. 2021; Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Rimal, et al. 2021.

later editorial intervention, according to the principle of *lectio difficilior potior*. We also assign a high historical value to many Nepalese readings because they constitute an internally more consistent and coherent text that is at times further supported by external testimonia.

Additionally, we want to make it clear that we do not think that the Nepalese MSS provide a so-called original text of the *Suśrutasamhitā*. Rather, the Nepalese MSS are witnesses to a hyparchetype, not the archetype, of the Suśrutasamhitā. The Nepalese MSS provide us with an intermediary node in the history of this work between the oldest reconstructable text and the vulgate version that was known to Dalhana in the twelfth century and is reproduced in printed editions of the Suśrutasaṃhitā. The oldest reconstructable text will only come into focus when all surviving witnesses for the work are studied. Having said that, our belief is that the Nepalese version is certain to be closer to the oldest reconstructable text than are contemporary printed versions of the work. One of the reasons for this belief is simply that the Nepalese MSS give us physical evidence for the state of the work in the ninth century, which cannot be many centuries later than the original assembly of the work in the form we are familiar with, i.e., a work of five topical sections with a large added sixth section, the Uttaratantra, that has a somewhat different character.

To summarize: the evidence arising from our studies to this point leads us to think that the Nepalese MSS provide access to single line of textual transmission that goes back to a hyparchetype that predates the composition of all major commentaries on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and that, due to its regional character, has suffered relatively little contamination. We term this hyparchetype the "Nepalese version."

The Versions of Cakrapāṇidatta and Dalhaṇa

The commentaries of Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḥalhaṇa, titled *Bhānumatī* and *Nibandhasaṅgraha* respectively, are based on similar but not identical versions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, both of which are significantly different to the Nepalese version.³⁵ Ḥalhaṇa was aware of Cakrapāṇidatta's work and reit-

³⁵ See HIML: IA 374–379 on these authors. Meulenbeld already noted that "the text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* in the [1939] edition of the *Bhānumatī* differs at many places from the text of the [vulgate edition of 1938]" and gave examples from the *sūtrasthāna*

erated many of his predecessor's remarks, so the interpretation of the root text by these two commentators is, broadly speaking, consistent.³⁶ Dalhaṇa evidently also had several manuscripts of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* available to him, since he frequently recorded their variant readings.³⁷

In addition to the fine-grained issues raised by the relationship between these commentators, there are added difficulties introduced by the way the editors of the printed versions of these commentaries handled the texts in several cases. The most obvious difficulty is that Y. T. Acārya and N. Sarman's text of the *Sūtrasthāna* commented on by Cakrapānidatta (Su 1939) simply duplicated the text of that section from Y. T. Ācārya and N. R. Ācārya's edition of Dalhana's commentary (Su 1938).³⁸ This duplication of the root text creates the misleading impression that both commentators had the same Suśrutasamhitā before them. However, there is much evidence, including in SS.1.16, that this was not the case. For example, Dalhana commented on four verses, 1.16.11—14 (Su 1938: 78), as part of his root text, that Cakrapāṇidatta cited separately only in his commentary (Su 1939: 128– 129). Cakrapānidatta introduced each verse with "some people say" (के-चित्पठन्ति). This clearly indicates that these verses were not in the version of the Suśrutasamhitā upon which Cakrapānidatta was commenting, but a century or so later they were part of the text before Dalhana. But the editors Y. T. Ācārya and N. Śarman included them in the root text of the Suśrutasamhitā as if they were. Such cases make it harder than it would otherwise be to remain clear that these two commentators were working off different versions of the Suśrutasamhitā.

Also, Cakrapāṇidatta did not acknowledge or comment on some verses in the version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* known to Dalhaṇa. Although it is possible that a commentator may not have remarked on a verse because its

⁽HIML: IB, 496, note 76).

³⁶ HIML: IB, 499, n. 162.

³⁷ Cf. HIML: IA, 377. Meulenbeld drew attention to Dalhaṇa's commentary on 5.8.24cd—25ab (Su 1938: 587) as a particularly striking example of such awareness (HIML: IB, 497, n. 112). In this passage, Dalhaṇa noted that certain readings known to the earlier commentators Jejjaṭa and Gayadāsa were, "not to be found in current manuscripts" (स च वर्तमानपुस्तकेषु न दृश्यते).

³⁸ There are a few exceptions where Cakrapāṇidatta glossed a word or compound that is different to the one glossed by Dalhaṇa. For example, in SS.1.16.18, Cakrapāṇidatta glossed राजसर्वप whereas Dalhaṇa glossed गौरसर्वप, and the editors reflected this in the root texts of the Bhānumatī (Su 1939: 130) and Nibandhasaṅgraha (Su 1938: 79) respectively.

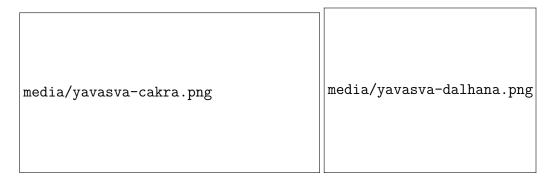


Figure 1: The text as it appears in Cakrapāṇi (left) and Dalhaṇa (right) (Su 1939: 130, Su 1938: 79).

meaning was clear, in some cases the commentarial convention of citing the first words of a new verse or passage provides firmer ground for suspecting the absence of a verse in the root text.

To give an example, there is a prose passage at Su.1.16.18 of the *Suśruta-saṃhitā* that Cakrapāṇidatta commented on in his *Bhānumatī* (Fig. 1, left).³⁹ It is followed by several verses also in the main text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that elaborate on the content of the prose passage.⁴⁰ palhaṇa commented on these explanatory verses (Fig. 1, right), citing keywords that show they all formed part of the main text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that was before him.⁴¹ However, Cakrapāṇidatta's older commentary showed no awareness of the first few verses in this group, Su.1.16.19–21ab.⁴² Apparently, they were not part of the text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* as he knew it. In spite of that, the editors printed these verses in their edition of Cakrapāṇidatta's work as if they were indeed part of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* known to to him.⁴³

A similar instance of this occurs in the edition of the *Bhānumatī* at *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.16.31 where the editors of the 1939 printed edition included a verse in parenthesis that was commented on by Dalhaṇa but

³⁹ Su 1939: 130, i.e., अथाप्रदुष्तस्याभिवर्धनार्थम् ... निद्ध्यात्।. It is numbered Su.1.16.19 in Dalhaṇa's Nibandhasaṅgraha (Su 1938: 79).

⁴⁰ Su.1.16.19-23 in Su 1939, i.e., स्वेदितो ..., यवाश्व ..., तैलं ..., तेषाम् ..., वद्ध

^{41 1.16.19-23 (}Su 1938: 79-80).

⁴² Su 1939: 130-131.

The editors remarked in a footnote that verses 20–21a were not in the Nepalese manuscript that they consulted (Su 1939: 130, n. 2).

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media/nadiyogam.png
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Figure 2: *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.16.31 in the 1939 printed edition.

not by Cakrapāṇidatta (see Fig. 2).⁴⁴ This verse was almost certainly not in the text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* known to Cakrapāṇidatta.

The manuscript on which the editor's edition of the *Bhānumatī* was mainly based, MS London BL H. T. Colebrooke 908, does not include the root text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.⁴⁵ Therefore, it requires a detailed reading of the commentary itself to infer what its author, Cakrapāṇidatta, was seeing in the manuscripts of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that he had before him in the eleventh century. But, to summarize, there is no evidence that they included the verses SS.1.16.19—21ab and 31 that are printed in Su 1939 as if they were present to Cakrapāṇidatta.

Cakrapāṇidatta and the Nepalese version

In fact, there is some evidence that the Nepalese version of the Suśruta-saṃhitā was more similar to Cakrapāṇidatta's version than to Dalhaṇa's. For example, Suśrutasaṃhitā 1.16.5 of the Nepalese version begins with the compound दोषसमुद्यात. 46 Dalhaṇa's version, on the other hand, inserted two compounds, क्रिष्टजिह्माप्रशस्तसूचीव्यधात् and गाढतरवर्तित्वात्, before this. 47 Cakrapāṇidatta began his comment on this passage by glossing दोषसमुद्यात्, which suggests that he was not aware of the compounds that Dalhaṇa saw. 48

⁴⁴ The verse begins नाडीयोगं विनोध्थस्य. It is printed in the vulgate as 1.16.32 (Su 1938: 81), with Dalhana's commentary. It is printed in parentheses as 1.16.31 in the edition of the Bhānumatī (Su 1939: 133).

The MS is described in IOLR: vol. 1.5, 928, #2647. The section on p. 31 below describes the sources that the editors used for the 1939 edition.

⁴⁶ Su 1939: 126.

⁴⁷ Suśrutasamhitā 1.16.6 (Su 1938: 77).

⁴⁸ Suśrutasamhitā 1.16.5 (Su 1939: 126–127).

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If one looks beyond <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code> 1.16, there are instances where the Nepalese version and the root text as read by Cakrapāṇidatta have the same reading, but Dalhaṇa mentions it as an alternative that is, "read by others." For example, <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code> 1.1.28 of the Nepalese version has तत्रास्मिञ्छास्त्रे, which is also the reading commented on by Cakrapāṇidatta. ⁴⁹ However, Dalhaṇa commented on अस्मिञ्छास्त्रे and states that "others read तत्रास्मिञ्छा-स्त्रे". ⁵⁰ Another example is the reading of पष्ट्या विधानैः in Dalhaṇa's commentary on 1.1.8.1 (Su 1938: 3) that is not in his main text but that he ascribes to "some others." This reading is likely to be derived from the expression पष्ट्या-भिधानैः in the main text of the Nepalese version, and to have been rewritten before Dalhaṇa's time because it was hard to understand. ⁵¹

Differences between the Nepalese and Subsequent Versions of SS.1.16

Several differences between the text of the $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$ as found in its multiple printed versions and as reconstructed on the basis of the Nepalese MSS have already been pointed out in previous publications. Klebanov (2021a: 27 f) listed differences in the chapter sequence as they affect the overall organization and structuring themes and elements of the text. Others have explored variations in the frame story of the work as a whole. Klebanov highlighted the interchangeable use of two names of the first book of the text, namely $\acute{S}lokasth\bar{a}na$ and $S\bar{u}trasth\bar{a}na$. He also discussed another peculiarity of the Nepalese version, namely the additional verse or prose colophons found at the end of each book and also at the end of each decade of chapters of the work.

As the present paper demonstrates, many distinct features pertaining to the actual content of the Nepalese version continuously come to light as we proceed with our study of the manuscripts.

Harimoto (2011: 101–104) provided an exemplary investigation of textual variants in the Nepalese version. His study looked at the classification

⁴⁹ Su 1939: 17.

⁵⁰ Suśrutasaṃhitā 1.1.22 (Su 1938: 5).

⁵¹ See the discussion by Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Rimal, et al. (2021: 4–5).

Wujastyk 2013; Klebanov 2021a: 28-32; Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. 2021; Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Rimal, et al. 2021: 2-4.

⁵³ Klebanov 2021a: 32-44.

of snakes in *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 5.4 and revealed that the Nepalese MSS preserve a text that is internally more consistent and coherent than the versions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* found in different printed sources.

Klebanov too has contributed some general remarks and examples of substantive differences between the Nepalese and vulgate texts and detailed two particular case studies.⁵⁴ The first case study dealt with the list of skin lesions associated with urinary disease (प्रमेहपिटका in the Nepalese spelling). Their signs and pathogenesis are described in the Nidānasthāna and their treatment in the *cikitsāsthāna*.⁵⁵ This list of skin lesions exemplifies a case where the text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* transmitted in the Nepalese MSS is internally more coherent than that commented on by Dalhaṇa. The incoherence of Dalhaṇa's version was already identified by an earlier commentator, Gayadāsa (fl. ca. 1000), who proposed a textual conjecture that corresponds to the reading of the Nepalese version.⁵⁶

The second case study by Klebanov (2021a) focussed on the variation in another list, that of the bodily winds (प्राण, Suśrutasaṃhitā 3.4). This discussion too relied upon Gayadāsa's learned remarks. He commented on a version of the Suśrutasaṃhitā corresponding to the Nepalese MSS and reported an alternative reading and its interpretation preferred by another ancient commentator, Jejjaṭa. It is precisely Jejjaṭa's reading that is known to modern readers of the Suśrutasaṃhitā from the vulgate version of the text.

The present paper also provides an example of interpolation. This is a rare case in which we have a fairly good idea of where the inserted text came from, namely the medical theory associated with the *Carakasaṃhitā*.

On the whole, these observations indicate that many features of the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* are likely to go back to an early state of the work that was common to other versions of the compendium. However, other textual features, such as the text-structuring colophons concluding every tenth chapter, are likely to have occurred within a local Nepalese transmission of the text, and it is improbable that they are attested in the MSS from other regions. When evaluating the Nepalese readings historically, it is necessary to keep in mind that there is plentiful evidence that Dalhaṇa's version of the text also included extremely early read-

⁵⁴ Klebanov 2021*a*: 44–55.

^{55 2.6 (}Su 1938: 289–294) and 4.12 (Su 1938: 454–455) respectively.

⁵⁶ MS Kathmandu KL 699 was copied a century or more before Gayadāsa's time, so its version cannot have been influenced by Gayadāsa's innovations or suggestions.

ings and variants, suggesting that some of the readings accepted by Dalhana were ancient, if not original. Each case has to be weighed.

The following detailed comparison of 1.16 of the Nepalese version with Palhaṇa's *Nibandhasaṅgraha* unfolded as the chapter was edited. The differences appear to emanate largely from attempts to standardise, simplify or clarify the language of the Nepalese version, add and redact information, and introduce changes to recipes and treatments. Examples from 1.16 have been provided to demonstrate the general observations which, it is hoped, a larger survey of the text will support.

Figure 3 reveals the extent to which 1.16 of the Nepalese version was redacted to create the one known by Dalhaṇa. In this particular case, twenty-seven verses have been added. Eight of these verses (11–14, 21–22ab, 23cd–24, 32) are well-integrated with the existing material in so far as they reiterate and elaborate on the content of passages in the Nepalese version. A block of nineteen verses (26.1–19) at the end of this chapter in Ācārya's edition of the *Nibandhasaṅgraha* (Su 1938: 80) was known by Dalhaṇa. These verses cover additional diseases of the ear lobes, with their treatment and complications. Although Dalhaṇa conceded that some read them in this chapter, he concludes that they were not composed by sages and, therefore, should not be read. Ācārya probably included these verses because they were in his manuscripts, and Dalhaṇa's comments prompted him to place them in parentheses.⁵⁷ Be this as it may, this large block of verses is absent in the Nepalese version.

In Figure 3, one can also see that verses 17 and 18 of the Nepalese version were transposed in the redaction of Dalhana's version, in which they are numbered 26 and 25 respectively. Although this only occurs once in 1.16, such transposing of verses and even their hemistiches is common in the redaction of other chapters of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

Apart from the addition of verses, the redacting of the version known to Dalhana involved many small, yet sometimes significant, changes that are summarised below.⁵⁸

Ācārya (Su 1938: 80) did not state that these verses were absent in some or all of his manuscripts, which he usually did in a footnote if this was the case. A broader survey of manuscripts would be helpful for establishing whether these verses were part of the transmission of the $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$ in India. For example, they are present in MS Hyderabad Osmania 137-3(b).

⁵⁸ The present study focusses on the commentary of Dalhana, but many of the same investigations could be made with regard to the surviving parts of the other early

Dalhaṇa's version
1
2
3-10
11–14
15–2 0
21–22ab
22cd–23ab
23cd-24
2 5
26
26.1-19
_
27-31
32

Figure 3: A Comparison of verses in 1.16 of the Nepalese and Dalhana's versions.

Changing Spelling, Sandhi and Syntax

Later commentators like Dalhaṇa often made efforts to standardise, simplify or improve the language of the Nepalese version. Such changes include the standardising of spelling,⁵⁹ sandhi,⁶⁰ and verbal forms,⁶¹ as well as interventions to simplify and clarify syntax.⁶² These efforts often in-

commentaries. See the discussion below, p. 33.

⁵⁹ For example, पत्ताङ्ग (SS.1.16.21) \rightarrow पतङ्ग (1.16.29, Su 1938:81). For more information on this, see the relevant footnote to the translation.

⁶⁰ or example, ॰हस्तेन ऋजु (SS.1.16.2) → ॰हस्तेन र्जु (1.16.3, Su 1938: 76).

⁶¹ For example, उन्नामियत्वा (SS.1.16.21) → प्रान्नम्य (1.16.29, Su 1938:81); अवचूर्णयीत (SS.1.16.21) → उपहरेत (1.16.29, Su 1938:81).

⁶² For example, शोणितबहुत्विनवेदनायां चान्यदेशिविद्धमिति जानीयात्। निरुपद्रवता तद्देशिवद्धिलिङ्गम्। (SS.1.16.3) → शोणितबहुत्वेन वेदनया चान्यदेशिवद्धिमिति जानीयात्। निरुपद्रवतया तद्देशिवद्धम् इति। (1.16.4, Su 1938: 76); आमतैलपरिषेकेणोपचरेत् (SS.1.16.6) → आमतैलेन परिषेचयेत् (1.16.7, Su 1938: 77); सुपरिगृहीतं (SS.1.16.10) → सुपरिगृहीतं च कृत्वा (1.16.15, Su 1938: 78); अनेन (SS.1.16.15) → स्नेहेनैतेन (1.16.20, Su 1938: 79).

volved splitting compounds.⁶³ In some instances, these changes improved the grammar,⁶⁴ or altered the meaning.⁶⁵ However, some prefixes of verbal forms,⁶⁶ case endings,⁶⁷ and indeclinables were changed for less apparent reasons.⁶⁸ There is also a tendency to replace uncommon words with generic ones,⁶⁹ add indeclinables,⁷⁰ omit the verb to be at the end of sentences,⁷¹ and introduce verses after a prose passage with the phrase भवति चात्र,⁷²

Changing Technical Terms

There is evidence of standardising and altering technical terminology in versions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* subsequent the Nepalese one. Two examples of this in *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.16 are the terms for joins (*bandha*) and a slice of flesh (*vadhra*). The Nepalese version uses three terms for joining (*bandha*, *sandhāna*, *sandhi*) splits in the ear flaps and the flesh of nose. Redactors of subsequent versions appear to have tried to standardise this terminology by replacing सन्धान and सन्धि with बन्ध in prose passages.⁷³ However, the use of the term सन्धान was retained in verses, perhaps because of the metrical challenges of making such a change. Also, the names of joins which

⁶³ For example, यदच्छाविद्धायां सिरायाम् (SS.1.16.4) → यदच्छया विद्धासु सिरासु (1.16.5, Su 1938: 76); धान्यासुकपालचूर्णं (SS.1.16.10) → धान्यासुं कपालचूर्णं (1.16.20, Su 1938: 78).

⁶⁴ For example, सुरामण्डक्षीरम् (SS.1.16.10) → सुरामण्डं क्षीरम् (1.16.15, Su 1938: 78).

⁶⁵ For example, क्षीणाल्पमांसः (SS.1.16.12) → क्षीणोऽल्पमांसः (1.16.17, Su 1938: 79).

⁶⁶ For example, सम्बर्धितः (SS.1.16.8) → विवर्धितः (1.16.9, Su 1938:77); निवेश्य (SS.1.16.10) → सिन्नवेश्य (1.16.15, Su 1938:78); अवबध्य (SS.1.16.10) → च बद्धा (1.16.15, Su 1938:78).

⁶⁷ For example, मासे (SS.1.16.2) → मासि (1.16.3, Su 1938: 76).

⁶⁸ For example, अपि (SS.1.16.13) → वा (1.16.18, Su 1938: 79); च (SS.1.16.16) → तु (1.16.23, Su 1938: 79); तु (SS.1.16.18) → च (1.16.25, Su 1938: 80).

⁶⁹ For example, म्रक्षयेत् (SS.1.16.15) → योजयेत् (1.16.20, Su 1938: 79); नह्येत् (SS.1.16.21) → बद्धा (1.16.29, Su 1938: 81).

⁷⁰ For example, [absent] (SS.1.16.6) → च (1.16.7, Su 1938: 77); [absent] (SS.1.16.10) → तत्र (1.16.15, Su 1938: 78); [absent] (SS.1.16.12) → अपि (1.16.17, Su 1938: 79).

⁷¹ The words भवति or भवन्ति are omitted four times in Dalhana's version (1.16.10 (twice), 1.16.17 and 1.16.18, Su 1938: 77, 79).

⁷² For example, [absent] (SS.1.16.11) → भवति चात्र (1.16.16, Su 1938: 79).

⁷³ For example, पञ्चद्शसन्धानाकृतयः (SS.1.16.9) → पञ्चद्शबन्धाकृतयः, (cf. 1.16.10 (Su 1938: 77)); दशकर्णसन्धिविकल्पाः (SS.1.16.9) → कर्णबन्धविकल्पाः (cf. 1.16.10 (Su 1938: 77))

incorporate सन्धान and सन्धि remained the same.74

The Nepalese version contains the rather obscure term ব্য for the slice of flesh that a surgeon cuts from the cheek in order to construct a new nose (SS.1.16.20 and 23). Modern dictionaries define ব্য as a leathern strap or a slice of bacon,⁷⁵ the latter of which is more indicative of its meaning in the Nepalese version. This word was written out of subsequent versions,⁷⁶ and it was not mentioned as an alternative reading by either Cakrapāṇidatta or Ḍalhaṇa, which suggests that its use and meaning may not have been known to them. However, ব্য was used by the author of the Aṣṭāṅgahṛday-asaṃhitā in the context of rhinoplasty, so it likely to be the correct reading in the Nepalese version.⁷⁷

Augmenting the Text

Apart from adding whole passages and verses (as seen in Figure 3), redactors of subsequent versions augmented the text by expanding existing compounds and inserting new compounds and words. Within the microcosm of 1.16, adjectives and adverbs were inserted to clarify statements, 78 and phrases added to elaborate on diseases and treatments. 79 In particular, the characteristics and number of symptoms of a disease, as well as their reasons for arising, tend to increase in subsequent versions. For example, the Nepalese version (SS.1.16.5) said that the wick in a newly pierced ear should be removed because of aggravated humours or a culpable piercing whereas the version known to Dalhana (1.16.6 (Su 1938:77)) included two further reasons, namely, because of piercing with a painful, crooked and unrecommended needle or because of a wick that is too thick. Some of the split ear flaps in Dalhana's version have

⁷⁴ These names are नेमीसन्धानक, कपाटसन्धिक, and अर्धकपाटसन्धिक in SS.1.16.9 (cf. 1.16.10 (Su 1938:77)).

⁷⁵ Apte: 1385; MW: 917.

⁷⁶ वश्रम् (SS.1.16.20) → बद्धम् (SS.1.16.28, Su 1938:81) and तद्वप्रशेषं (SS.1.16.23) → तद्र्घशेषं (SS.1.16.31, Su 1938:81).

⁷⁷ Utt.18.62 (Ah 1939: 841). The word is old, occurring, also in the form वर्ष्र, from the *Atharvaveda* onwards (Mayrhofer 1986–2001: vol. 2, 521–522).

⁷⁸ For example, छिद्रे (1.16.2, Su 1938: 76) → छिद्र आदित्यकरावभासिते (1.16.3, Su 1938: 76); [absent] (1.16.2) → शनैः शनैः (1.16.3); [absent] (SS.1.16.3) → आशु (1.16.5, Su 1938: 77).

⁷⁹ For example, धात्र्यङ्के (SS.1.16.2) → धात्र्यङ्के कुमारधराङ्के वा (1.16.3); [absent] (SS.1.16.2) → बालक्रीडनकैः प्रलोभ्य (1.16.3); [absent] (SS.1.16.3) → पिचुवर्तिं प्रवेशयेत् (1.16.5).

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additional characteristics, ⁸⁰ and a list of four symptoms associated with incurable joins in the Nepalese version (SS.1.16.19) was increased to six in Dalhaṇa's version (1.16.10 (Su 1938:77)). Also, models of classifying symptoms were introduced in subsequent versions. For example, the Nepalese version (SS.1.16.4) lists the symptoms of mistakenly piercing a duct in the ear whereas the version known to Dalhaṇa (1.16.5, Su 1938:76–77) classifies these symptoms according to three ducts called कालिका, ममेरिका and लोहितिका, which results in some repetition of the symptoms mentioned.⁸¹

Transposing Words, Verses and Passages

A close comparison of the Nepalese version with the vulgate reveals changes in the order of words, sentences and verses. Examples of such transpositions occur in SS.1.16. In most cases, the changes in word order are insignificant and may be result of different preferences in syntax or even scribal eye-brain-hand miscommunication. However, the transposition of verses and passages is usually the result of efforts at redacting the text to add new material. A good example of this is the transposition of SS.1.16.17 and SS.1.16.18 in the Nepalese version to 1.16.26 and 1.16.25, respectively, in Dalhaṇa's. It seems that this transposition may have resulted from the insertion of new verses 1.16.23cd–24 and 1.16.26.1–19 in the latter.

⁸⁰ For example, पीठोपमपालिर्निर्वेधिमः (1.16.9, Su 1938:77) → पीठोपमपालिरुभयतः क्षीणपुत्रिकाश्रितो निर्वेधिमः (1.16.10, Su 1938:77); इतराल्पपालिः संक्षिप्तः (SS.1.16.9) → उत्सन्नपालिरितराल्पपालिः संक्षिप्तः (1.16.10); तनुविषमपालिः (SS.1.16.9) → तनुविषमाल्पपालिः (1.16.10).

⁸¹ In Dalhaṇa's version (1.16.5, Su 1938: 76–77), the symptoms of fever and pain (ज्बर, वेदना) are repeated. This repetition does not occur in the Nepalese version. It is possible that this classification was not in the version of the Suśrutasaṃhitā known to Cakrapāṇidatta (1.16.4, Su 1939: 126) because he mentions that some read classifications of ducts at this point in the text and he cites verses from Bhoja on कालिका, ममेरिका and लोहितिका, but he does not gloss or comment on the passage known to Dalhaṇa.

⁸² For example, अणुस्थूल॰ (SS.1.16.9) → स्थूलाणु॰ (1.16.10, Su 1938:77); तत्रैते दशकर्ण॰ (SS.1.16.9) → तत्र दशैते कर्ण॰ (1.16.10, Su 1938:77); नातिगाढन्नातिशिथिलं सूत्रेणावबध्य (SS.1.16.9) → सूत्रेणानवगाढमनतिशिथिलं च बद्धा (1.16.10, Su 1938:77); पूर्वन्दक्षिणं कुमारस्य वामङ्कन्यायाः । प्रतनुं सूच्या बहलमारया (SS.1.16.2) → प्रतनुकं सूच्या बहलमारया। पूर्वं दक्षिणं कुमारस्य वामङ्कन्यायाः (1.16.3, Su 1938:76).

Redacting Recipes and Elaborating on Treatments

Some of the additional text in subsequent versions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* introduces new ingredients in recipes and different procedures in treatments. In many instances, the new material merely clarifies or elaborates on the original but sometimes it changes the recipe or treatment significantly. An example of a suppletion that clarifies the text of the Nepalese version can be seen in 1.16.3 of Dalhaṇa's version (Su 1938: 76), which contains a statement that the physician should insert a wick of cotton after the ear has been pierced.⁸³ This statement anticipates the instructions in the the Nepalese version (SS.1.16.5–6) on removing the wick because of aggravated humours and replacing the wick with a thicker one every three days. In this case, the additional statement of Dalhaṇa's version elucidates the role of the wick in the procedure of piercing the ear.

A similar clarification occurs in 1.16.18 of Dalhaṇa's version (Su 1938:79), which reiterates the cure for an ear tainted by a humour that was described in 1.16.7 (= SS.1.16.6). The reiteration is quite apt because it follows a passage (1.16.17, Su 1938:79 = SS.1.16.12) that outlines the various symptoms of ear disease arising from each of the three humours. The author of the Nepalese version probably assumed that, after reading SS.1.16.12, the reader would refer back to SS.1.16.6 for the cure of an ear affected by a humour. However, in Dalhaṇa's version, the treatment is reiterated at 1.16.18.

In Dalhaṇa's version of 1.16, there are two instances in which ingredients were added to recipes of medicines in the Nepalese version. The first is the recipe of an anointment that should be applied to a pierced ear that has not healed. In Dalhaṇa's version (1.16.7, Su 1938: 77) the recipe was rewritten to include sesame seeds. A more significant change occurs in another recipe for an admixture of an oil that is supposed to be rubbed into a healthy ear to enlarge it. Dalhaṇa's version (1.16.7, Su 1938: 77) of the admixture has five additional ingredients, namely, prickly chaff-flower ($ap\bar{a}m\bar{a}rga$), Withania ($a\acute{s}vagandh\bar{a}$), giant potato ($ks\bar{i}ra\acute{s}ukl\bar{a}$), the 'sweet' savour (madhuravarga)85 and 'milk flower' ($qq\bar{q}q\bar{q}q\bar{q}$). It also has

⁸³ For example, [absent] (SS.1.16.2) → पिचुवर्ति प्रवेशयेत् (1.16.3, Su 1938: 76).

⁸⁴ यवमधुकमिञ्जष्यविहस्तमूलैर्मधुघृतप्रगादैरालेपयेत् (SS.1.16.5) → मधुकैरण्डमूलमञ्जिष्ठायवितलकल्कैर्मधु-घृतप्रगादैरालेपयेत् (1.16.7, Su 1938: 77).

⁸⁵ The items which exemplify the 'sweet' savour (मधुरवर्ग) are enumerated at SS.1.42.11.

⁸⁶ Pueraria tuberosa (Willd.) DC. (ADPS 510, IMP 1.792f., AVS 4.391; not Dymock

beggarweed (*vidārigandhā*) instead of milk flower (*vidāri*).⁸⁷ This method of redacting a recipe of Nepalese version appears to be somewhat typical in so far as most of the ingredients of the original were retained and new ones simply added.

Comparative therapeutics

For at least two reasons, it is interesting to compare the text materials of the <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code> 1.16 with parallel materials found in other texts, including the <code>Carakasaṃhitā</code>, the <code>Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha</code>, and the <code>Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā</code>. The latter two works, both ascribed to Vāgbhaṭa, can safely be dated to a period after the composition of the <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code> but before the commentator Dalhaṇa, thus throwing light on a period of development for which witnesses are limited. Secondly, the manner in which Vāgbhaṭa's works incorporate and modify materials from the <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code> can help us to understand how recipes and therapies evolved within specific lines of textual transmission.

The materials presented in *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.16 are parallel to those in two chapters of the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, namely Uttarasthāna, chapters 1 and 22, titled "bālopacaraṇīya" and "karṇarogapratiṣedha," and *Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdayasaṃ-hitā*, Uttarasthāna 1 and 18 with the same chapter names. ⁸⁸

First, let us take up 1.16.3 (Su 1938: 76), i.e., passage 2 in the edition of the Nepalese version below. Although the Nepalese version does not present the reading पिचुवर्ति प्रवेशपेत, which Dalhaṇa's version supports, it is interesting to note that the reading तत्र वर्त्ति अपहृत्य in Suśrutasaṃhitā 1.16.15 (Su 1938: 78), Nepalese 10, is shared by both Nepalese and Dalhaṇa's versions.

Both Astangasangraha 6.1.57 (As 1980: 626) and Astangahndayasannhita 6.1.35 (Ah 1939: 780) describe inserting a thread in the pierced earlobe and replacing it every third day.⁸⁹ In this aspect, they more or less agree

Perhaps, Dr Madhu could add a comment on whether these additional ingredients would change the effects of the treatment in any significant way?

I'm puzzled. First, the phrase is in 1.16.6 (Su 1938:77), not 15, and then it's तत्र वर्तिमृग्रहत्य not -अपहत्य. See the variant readings to first page, line 10 of our edition. Please clarify.

emended Utt 1.48 to

^{1.424}f. See GJM supplement 444, 451, IMP 1.187, but IMP 3.1719 = Ipmoea mauritiana, Jacq.).

⁸⁷ अर्कालर्केबलातिबलानन्ताविदारीमधुकजलश्क्पप्रितवापन्तैलम्पाचित्वा (SS.1.16.14) → अर्कालर्केबलाति-बलानन्तापामार्गाश्वगन्धाविदारिगन्धाक्षीरशुक्काजलश्क्मधुरवर्गपयस्याप्रितवापं तैलम्वा पाचित्वा (1.16.19, Su 1938: 79).

⁸⁸ As 1980: 619–629 and 734–744 and Ah 1939: 777–781 and 837–841 ', respectively.

^{89 6.1.58 (}As 1980: 626) and 6.1.36 (Ah 1939: 780).

with Dalhana's version.

Secondly, it is interesting to consider the recipe prescribed to treat the vitiation of humours in the pierced ear. A slightly modified recipe is found in the Astangasangraha 6.1.63 (As 1980: 626), but the same is not present in Astangahrdayasamhita.

As pointed out in the article, <code>Dalhaṇa</code>'s version adds a paste of sesame seeds (<code>tilakalka</code>) to the recipe attested by the Nepalese version. In the parallel version of recipe found in the printed editions of <code>Aṣṭāṅgasaṅ-graha</code>, honey (<code>madhu</code>) is missing, but ghee (<code>ājya</code>) is found. However, when I checked the manuscripts, one of them, ⁹⁰ reads <code>ādyaiḥ</code> instead of <code>ājyaiḥ(yavairaṇḍajaṭāyaṣṭīmañjiṣṭhājyaiḥ pralepayet)</code>. Interestingly, the paste of sesame seeds (<code>tilakalka</code>) of <code>Dalhaṇa</code>'s version is not present in the <code>Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha</code> and is replaced by <code>jaṭā</code>, which is most probably <code>jaṭāmāṃsī</code>, or <code>spikenard</code> (<code>Nardostachys jatamansi</code> (D.Don) DC.).

Since the paste of sesame seeds (বিতৰ্ককে) is the main differentiating factor between the recipe versions attested by the Nepalese version of the Suśrutasaṃhitā and Dalhaṇa's version, a general review of the contexts its use in the major texts may be enlightening. References for the paste of sesame seeds (বিতৰ্কক) are found in Carakasaṃhitā (6 instances), Suśrutasaṃhitā (11 instances) and Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha (16 instances) and Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā (4 instances). Among them, references with the combination of the paste of sesame seeds (বিতৰ্ককে), ghee (ghṛṭa) and honey (madhu) are not rare either, with four instances each in Suśrutasaṃhitā and Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha and two instances in Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā. A combination of the paste of sesame seeds (বিতৰ্ককে), ghee (ghṛṭa) and honey (madhu) has also been specifically quoted as a healing recipe (See Suśrutasaṃhitā Sū 11.22ab, Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha Sū 38.21 and Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā Sū 30.34).

Another matter of interest is the combination of ghee (*ghṛta*) and honey (*madhu*). We find many instances where this unique combination alone or in combination with other drugs is used in a variety of clinical contexts including those prescribed for the healing of ulcers or surgical wounds.⁹¹

This material evidence points to the possibility that recipes are often transmitted to the later versions of texts with an intact central core of a few drugs, here consisting of ghee (*ghṛta*) and honey (*madhu*), and physicians

⁹⁰ MS Mumbai, Asiatic Society 162, catalogue no. BD 263/1-6

⁹¹ for e.g., AS Sū 37.30 for kṣatakaṇṭha and AS Ci 17.22 for healing of the surgical wound in udararoga.

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supplied additional changes later on usually resulting in ever larger recipes in subsequent versions of the text.

Abbreviations

Ah 1939 Kuṃṭe, Aṇṇā Moreśvara, Navare, Kṛṣṇaśāstrī, and Parādkar,

Hariśāstrī (1939) (eds.), श्रीमद्वाग्भटिवरचितम् अष्टाङ्गहृद्यम्, श्रीमद्रुणदत्तिवरचितया सर्वाङ्गसुन्दराख्यया व्याख्यया, हेमाद्विप्रणीतया आयुर्वे-दरसायनाहृया टीकया च समुल्लसितम् = The Astāngahṛidaya (6th edn., Muṃbayyām: Nirṇayasāgara Press), ark:/13960/t3tt6967d.

Anup Sanskrit Library (n.d.).

Anup Anup Sanskrit Library (n.d.).

Apte Apte, Vaman Shivaram (1992), The Practical Sanskrit-English

Dictionary (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Company), ISBN: 4-653-00038-

7; Reprinted from Gode and Karve 1957–9.

AS Asiatic Society (n.d.).

As 1980 Āṭhavale, Anaṃta Dāmodara (1980) (ed.), Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgrahaḥ.

Śrīmad Vṛddhavāgbhaṭaviracitaḥ Induvyākhyāsahitaḥ (Puṇe: Maheśa Anaṃta Āṭhavale, Śrīmad Ātreya Prakāśanam), ark:/

13960/t9773bb9z.

Bhela 1921 Mookerjee, Ashutosh and Ananta Krishna Shastri, Ved-

antabisharad (1921) (eds.), *The Bhela Samhita. Sanskrit Text* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta), ark:/13960/t3sv3157j; Based on two copies made of the Thanjavur codex unicus (MS Thanjavur TMSSML 10773, Burnell 1880: 63–4, P. P. S.

Sastri 1933: #11085).

Bhela 2000 Krishnamurthy, K. H. (2000), Bhela-saṃhitā. Text with English

Translation, Commentary and Critical Notes (Haridas Ayurveda

Series, 8; Varanasi: Chaukhambha Visvabharati).

BL British Library (n.d.).

Ca. 1941 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1941) (ed.), महर्षिणा

पुनर्वसुनोपदिष्टा, तच्छिष्येणाग्निवेशेन प्रणीता, चरकदृढबलाभ्यां प्रतिसंस्कृता चरकसंहिता, श्रीचकपाणिदत्तविरचितया आयुर्वेददीपिकाव्याख्यया संविलता (3rd edn., Mumbayyāṃ: Nirnaya Sagara Press), URL, accessed

01/01/2018.

ABBREVIATIONS

HIML Meulenbeld, Gerrit Jan (1999–2002), A History of Indian Medical Literature, 5 vols. (Groningen: E. Forsten), ISBN: 9069801248.

IOLR Eggeling, Julius et al. (1887–1935), Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office (London: Secretary of State for India).

KL Kaiser Library (n.d.).

MW Monier-Williams, Monier, Leumann, E., Cappeller, C., et al. (1899), *A Sanskrit–English Dictionary Etymologically and Philologically Arranged, New Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press); 1970 reprint.

NAK National Archives of Kathmandu (n.d.).

NCC Raghavan, V. et al. (1949–), New Catalogus Catalogorum, an Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit and Allied Works and Authors, 39 vols. (Madras University Sanskrit Series; Madras: University of Madras); v.1: revised edition, 1968.

NGMCP (2014), 'Nepal-german Manuscript Cataloguing Project. Online Title List and Descriptive Catalogue', Universität Hamburg and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, URL.

NK Nadkarni, K. M. (1982a), Dr. K. M. Nadkarni's Indian Materia Medica, with Ayurvedic, Unani-tibbi, Siddha, Allopathic, Homeopathic, Naturopathic & Home Remedies, Appendices & Indexes ... in Two Volumes, ed. A. K. Nadkarni, 2 vols. (3 ed., revised and enlarged by A. K. Nadkarni, Bombay: Popular Prakashan), ISBN: 8171541429, URL.

RORI Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute (n.d.).

Su 1889 Bhaṭṭācāryya, Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara (1889) (ed.), सुश्रुतः. सूत्र-निदान-शारीर-चिकित्सा-कल्पोत्तर-तन्त्र-किल्पत आयुर्वेद. भगवता धन्वन्तरिणो-पदिष्टः सुश्रुतनामधेयेन तच्छिष्येण विरचितः (3rd edn., Calcutta: Saratī Press), ark:/13960/t1nh6j09c; HIML:IB, 311, edition b.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1915) (ed.), सुश्रुतसंहिता, सुश्रुतेन विरचिता, वैद्यवरश्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया समुष्ठसिता, आचार्योपाह्वेन त्रिविकमात्मजेन यादवशर्मणा संशोधिता = The Sushrutasamhita of Sushruta, the Nibandhasangraha Commentary of Shri Dalhaṇāchārya (Mumbayyāṃ: Nirṇayasāgaramudrāyantrālaye), ark:/13960/t3sv0mt50, accessed 29/07/2020; HIML: IB, 312 edition *v.
- Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1931) (ed.), सुश्रुतसंहिता, वैद्यवरश्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया समुष्ठसिता, महर्षिणा
 सुश्रुतेन विरचिता, सूत्र-निदान-शारीर-चिकित्सा-कल्पस्थानोत्तरतन्त्रात्मकः. आचार्योपाह्वेन त्रिविकमात्मजेन यादवशर्मणा संशोधिता = The Sushrutasaṃhitā
 of Sushruta with the Nibandhasangraha Commentary of Shree Dalhaṇāchārya (2nd edn., Mumbayyāṃ: Pāṇḍuraṅga Jāvajī at the
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Glossary of Medical Substances [work in progress]

myrobalan abhayā. Terminalia chebula, Retz. See ADPS 172, NK #2451, Potter

214., 3

Glossary of Medical Substances [work in progress]

Todo list

Perhaps, Dr Madhu could add a comment on whether these ad-	
 ditional ingredients would change the effects of the treatment	
in any significant way?	24
I'm puzzled. First, the phrase is in 1.16.6 (Su 1938: 77), not 15, and	
then it's तत्र वर्तिमुपहृत्य not -अपहृत्य. See the variant readings to	
first page, line 10 of our edition. Please clarify	24
emended Utt 1.48 to 1.58	24