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

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Introduction

The *Compendium of Suśruta* (*Suśrutasaṃhitā*) is amongst the most important treatises on medicine to survive from the ancient world. It has been studied seriously by historians since it first became available in print in the mid-nineteenth century.¹ Meulenbeld listed forty-four editions of the work since the first edition of 1835 by **gupt-1835** in Calcutta, and eight translations, starting from the Latin translation of 1844 by **hess-1855**.² Many more translations have appeared in recent decades.

The study of this work has yielded rich historical discoveries about the earliest history of surgery, ancient pharmacology, toxicology and many other social and medical topics. Yet there remain fundamental unanswered questions about the history of the text itself and about related issues in the history of medicine in Asia.³

In January 2007, a manuscript of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, previously unknown to contemporary scholarship, was brought to international attention.⁴ MS Kathmandu KL 699 is a Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript covering about two thirds of the Sanskrit text. It is dated to 878 CE, making it one of the earliest dated manuscripts known from South Asia.⁵ The manuscript has been declared by UNESCO to be part of the Memory of the World.⁶

The newly-discovered manuscript in Nepal is related to two other early palm-leaf manuscripts in the National Archives in Kathmandu, MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 and MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079. **kleb-2010**; **kleb-2021b** has assembled compelling evidence for believing that these Nepalese manuscripts present a version of the text that was in wider circulation in northern India, especially Bengal, in the period up to about 1200 CE. Generally speaking, the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* is more rudimentary than the versions commented on by Cakrapāṇidatta (fl. eleventh century) and Ḍalhaṇa (fl. twelfth century). The version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* commented on by Ḍalhaṇa has formed the basis of modern

1 A selection of prominent contributions includes: **hoer-1897**; **hoer-1906a**; **hoer-1906b**; **hoer-1907a**; **hoer-1907**; **stra-1934**; **sing-1972a**; **shar-1975**; **ray-1980**; **adri-1984**; **yano-1986**; **meul-hist**; **shar-1999**; **vali-2007**.

2 **meul-hist**.

3 **meul-hist**.

4 **dimi-kais**.

5 **hari-2011**.

6 **unes-2013**.

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printed editions, such as those of Yadavaśarman Trivikramātmaja Ācārya and others.⁷ Some of the changes in the text between the Nepalese version and what we might call the Ḍalhaṇa version, or the vulgate version, consist of the addition and loss of numerous verses, changes to medical recipes, and reordering of chapters, especially in the *Uttaratantra* or last part of the work. **lari-2003** hypothesized long ago, in a different context, that Sanskrit texts tended to continue to expand through the addition of new materials,

The process of addition to these compilations must have gone on for centuries. The hearers or readers of of these compilations must have known other verses ... and it would be natural for them to include these verses in the compilation. This type of addition may have continued until a commentary on the collection was composed. A commentary would have served to fix the text. and the expansion of the text would have been more difficult after that.⁸

In the case of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, the Nepalese manuscripts appear to present us with the last recoverable snapshot of this stage of the work when it was still open to absorbing new materials, most notably the *Uttaratantra*, and before the text was fixed as a result of the authority of the major commentators, Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa.⁹ It is in this sense that we use the expression, “Ḍalhaṇa’s version,” when referring to the vulgate text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

The present study offers a critical edition and annotated translation of the sixteenth chapter of the *Ślokaśthāna*, the first book of the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.¹⁰ This chapter is important in the history of Indian medicine because of its discussion of surgical methods for repairing

7 **susr-trikamji1**; **vulgate**; **shar-susr**.

8 **lari-2003**, cited with agreement by **oliv-manu** in the context of legal literature and by **bron-how** in the context of epic literature. See the latter citation for further discussion of Sanskrit text formation between the empires.

9 The roles of earlier commentators including Jejjāṭa, Gayadāsa and Candraṭa in closing the text and influencing Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa remains an open research problem.

10 This book is called the *Sūtrasthāna* in later versions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. Note that the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* itself used the name *Ślokaśthāna* at several places, e.g., 6.42.61 (**vulgate**), 6.65.30 and 31 (**vulgate**), usually referring to identifiable passages in that part of the work. The name is also used in the *Ślokaśthāna* itself, at 1.1.40 of the Nepalese version.

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torn ears and severed noses. In addition to discussing the manuscripts and published editions used in this new edition, the introduction of this study addresses some of the challenges of editing the Nepalese manuscripts and the salient differences between the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasamhitā* 1.16 and the text as known to Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa. The notes to the edition incorporate alternative readings mentioned by the commentators. The annotations to the translation discuss the following topics: instances where the text is uncertain; non-standard spellings and syntax; the meaning of technical and obscure terms; relevant remarks by the commentators; ambiguities in the identification of medical ingredients, in particular, plant names; and the additional compounds, verses and passages in Ḍalhaṇa's version of the text. In short, this is a pilot study for undertaking a complete edition and translation of the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasamhitā*.

Importance of SS.1.16 in the History of Medicine

Simple forms of surgery have a long history in South Asia. In works datable to at least 1200 BCE we learn how a reed was used as a catheter to cure urine retention.¹¹ Cauterization too was described in the same ancient sources, to prevent wounds from bleeding. The *Atharvaveda*, in the early first millennium BCE, described the bones of the human body, showing early anatomical awareness in a religious context.¹² The *Brāhmaṇa* literature of the only slightly later contains more detailed descriptions of animal butchery in the context of religious sacrifice that involved the enumeration of internal organs and bones.¹³ This exemplifies an early Sanskrit vocabulary for internal parts of bodies. However, this is not the same as anatomical dissection, whose methods and intentionality are quite different. As was pointed out long ago by **keit-1908**, the enumeration of the bones in the *Brāhmaṇas* was derived from correspondences with the numbering of various verse forms, not from anatomical observation. With the *Suśrutasamhitā* we find ourselves in the presence of something quite different and more medically developed, in which the body was studied specifically for medical and surgical purposes.¹⁴ The text gives us a historical window onto a school of

¹¹ **zysk-1985**.

¹² Translation by **hoer-1907**. Further bibliography: **meul-hist**.

¹³ **mala-1996**; **saha-2015**.

¹⁴ **zysk-1986**. The *Carakasamhitā* too has brief descriptions of surgical techniques, but the *Suśrutasamhitā* goes into greater detail.

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professionalised medicine, including surgical practice, that existed almost two millennia ago, and which in its day was perhaps the most advanced school of surgery in the world.

The author of the *Suśrutasamhitā* described how a surgeon should be trained and how various operations should be done. There are descriptions of ophthalmic couching (the dislodging of the lens of the eye), perineal lithotomy (cutting for stone in the bladder), the removal of arrows and splinters, suturing, the examination of dead human bodies for the study of anatomy, and other procedures.¹⁵ The author of the *Suśrutasamhitā* claimed that surgery is the most ancient and most efficacious of the eight branches of medical knowledge.¹⁶ Anecdotal discussion with contemporary surgeons suggests that many details in the descriptions could only have been written by a practising surgeon: it is beyond doubt that elaborate surgical techniques were a reality in the author's circle.

Torn ear lobes

Suśruta's description of the repair of torn ear lobes is unique for its time.¹⁷ **majn-1975**, a practising surgeon, noted that, "through the habit of stretching their earlobes, the Indians became masters in a branch of surgery that Europe ignored for another two thousand years".¹⁸ The different types of mutilated ear lobe which the *Suśrutasamhitā* describes are not always easy to understand from the Sanskrit: the illustrations supplied in Majno's text help visualization.¹⁹

Rhinoplasty

One of the best-known surgical techniques associated with *Suśrutasamhitā* is rhinoplasty, the repair or rebuilding of a severed nose. The history of this operation was discussed by **wuja-2003**, and a translation of the Sanskrit

15 **mukh-1913**; **desh-2000**; **nara-2011**; **wuja-2003**; **wils-1823**; **vali-2007** and many other studies.

16 *Suśrutasamhitā* 1.1.15–19 (**vulgate**).

17 The comprehensive study of ears in the history of Indian culture by **boll-2010** oddly omits reference to *Suśrutasamhitā*'s surgery, although it mentions the text's description of ear diseases.

18 **majn-1975**.

19 **majn-1975****wuja-2003**.

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passage from the vulgate edition of the *Suśrutasamhitā* was given.²⁰ This fascinating technique is certainly old in South Asia, having been witnessed by travellers from Marco Polo in the seventeenth century onwards.²¹ Many witnesses, including the most famous, Cruso and Findlay,²² described an operation that differs from *Suśrutasamhitā* in that it takes the grafting skin from the forehead, not the cheek. But the nineteenth-century account of **thor-bann** is especially interesting, since the technique follows *Suśrutasamhitā* exactly in taking flesh from the cheek, not the forehead.²³

As noted by **meul-hist**, none of the extant commentators – Jejjaṭa, Gayadāsa, Cakrapāṇi or Ḍalhaṇa – explained the technique in any detail beyond short lexical glosses.²⁴ This suggests that the commentators did not in fact know the technique at first-hand.

The skin flap

It is worth highlighting here a point of critical medical importance: the continued attachment of the skin flap. One of the crucial innovations of the “Hindu Method” of nasal reconstruction, as observed and internationally reported in the eighteenth century, was that the skin flap taken from the face remained partially connected to its original location.²⁵ This ensures the blood flow essential to keeping the skin alive while it heals in its new location. The Sanskrit of the vulgate is ambiguous on this critical point and the wording of the Nepalese version is unclear. However, Ḍalhaṇa clarified the meaning of the vulgate here by stating that when reading the expression “connected,” one should understand “connected flesh”.²⁶ He thus indicated that he understood the flesh to be connected to the face.²⁷ Thus, we cannot know definitively at present whether the connection of the flap was known to the redactors of the Nepalese version, although it

20 See also **meul-hist**, for further literature and reflections.

21 **manu-stor**.

22 **cowasjee**.

23 **thor-bann**.

24 **meul-hist**. Ḍalhaṇa also noted cryptically that a rather different version of the text, cast in śloka metre, was also known to him from other sources (1.16.27–31 (**vulgate**)). Ḍalhaṇa’s variant bears a resemblance to the description of the operation given in printed editions of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā* (Utt.18.59–65 (**kunt-1939**)).

25 **wuja-2003**.

26 *Suśrutasamhitā* 1.16.28 (**vulgate**).

27 See p. 56 below.

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seems likely. It was probably known to the redactors of the vulgate, and was certainly known to Ḍalhaṇa in the twelfth century.

Earlier in the chapter, in the context of ear-piercing and repair, the vulgate has a passage that is more explicit and conclusive. After listing the names and characteristics of different types of earlobe, the vulgate cites some summary verses from an unknown source.²⁸ The last of these verses says,

If no lobe exists, an expert may create an ear lobe by scarifying and then using living flesh still attached to the cheek from which it has been sliced.²⁹

The commentator Ḍalhaṇa was even more explicit in his gloss on this passage:

“Living” [flesh] means “together with blood”.³⁰

Thus, Ḍalhaṇa’s comment gives us unequivocal evidence for the concept of a living skin flap in the twelfth century, and it is almost certain that this is also what the text of the *Suśrutasamhitā* intended by the word “living.” The one remaining historical problem is that these specific verses, 1.16.11–14, are not present in the Nepalese version of the text. That suggests that they were part of a different tradition of practice with a verse literature that was integrated into the *Suśrutasamhitā* at the latest by the time of Ḍalhaṇa but perhaps after the Nepalese version.

If we can assume that the descriptions of ear-surgery and rhinoplasty were part of a single professional tradition of surgical method, then the above passage, in the context of ear-lobe repair, strongly supports the idea that rhinoplastic surgery too was conducted with attention to keeping a living skin flap.

By the late first millennium, had the rhinoplastic technique moved from the professional competence of physicians (*vaidya*) to that of barber-surgeons (*ambasṭhas* and others)? Or perhaps the influence was in the other direction, and a technique known to practitioners elsewhere

²⁸ 1.16.11–14 (vulgate).

²⁹ 1.16.14 (vulgate): *gaṇḍādutpātya māṃsena sānubandhena jīvatā | karṇapālīmāpalestu kuryānnirlikhya śāstravit/* Cf. the translation of the whole passage by wuja-2003.

³⁰ 1.16.14 (vulgate): *jīveti śoṇitasahitenetyarthah/*

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in South Asia in the first millennium was integrated into the text of *Suśrutasamhitā*. The rhinoplastic description consists of only five verses and they are written in the Upendravajrā metre, which is different from the rest of the chapter. The description's appearance at the very end of the chapter, its terseness, its ornate metre, and the paucity of the commentators' treatment could all be taken as pointing in this direction.

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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 *Suśrutasamhitā*. The primary rationale behind using this designation was outlined in **kleb-2021b**, 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 *Suśrutasamhitā* 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 in **kleb-2010** and reiterated in **kleb-2021a** 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 *Suśrutasamhitā* transmitted in the Nepalese manuscripts. On the one hand, these studies highlight 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, **kleb-2010**; **kleb-2021a** systematically compared the concerned textual excerpts with four printed editions, alternative readings (*pāthas*) reported by several commentators, parallel passages in other texts, and with a limited number of additional manuscripts of the *Suśrutasamhitā*. This analysis demonstrated that the text of the *Suśrutasamhitā* preserved in the Nepalese MSS differs decidedly from all the above standards of comparison. In this way, for example, we establish

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that another Nepalese manuscript of the *Suśrutasamhitā*, MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1146,³¹ 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 *Suśrutasamhitā* 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.³² As a matter of fact, we believe that the Nepalese MSS preserve many archaic features of the early *Suśrutasamhitā* 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 *Suśrutasamhitā* 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 Ḍalhaṇa and recorded in the widely-used **vulgate**. The present study of SS.1.16 also considers the readings found in **acar-1939** and incorporates various observations made by both medieval commentators, Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa, 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.³³ 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 *Suśrutasamhitā*. 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 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

³¹ **rima-2022**.

³² For a list of most of these manuscript copies of the *Suśrutasamhitā*, see **ncc** and **wuja-2020**.

³³ Earlier publications include, for example, **hari-2011**; **wuja-2013**; **birc-2021**; **birc-2021a**.

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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 Ḍalhaṇa in the twelfth century and is reproduced in printed editions of the *Suśrutasamhitā*. 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 Uttaratāntra, 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 *Suśrutasamhitā* and that, due to its regional character, has suffered relatively little contamination. We term this hyparchetype the “Nepalese version.”

The Versions of Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa

The commentaries of Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa, titled *Bhānumatī* and *Nibandhasaṅgraha* respectively, are based on similar but not identical versions of the *Suśrutasamhitā*, both of which are significantly different to the Nepalese version.³⁴ Ḍalhaṇa was aware of Cakrapāṇidatta’s work and reiterated many of his predecessor’s remarks, so the interpretation of the root text by these two commentators is, broadly speaking, consistent.³⁵ Ḍalhaṇa

34 See **meul-hist** on these authors. Meulenbeld already noted that “the text of the *Suśrutasamhitā* 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* (**meul-hist**).

35 **meul-hist**.

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evidently also had several manuscripts of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* available to him, since he frequently recorded their variant readings.³⁶

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 **acar-1939**'s text of the *Sūtrasthāna* commented on by Cakrapāṇidatta (**acar-1939**) simply duplicated the text of that section from **vulgate**'s edition of Ḍalhaṇa's commentary (**vulgate**).³⁷ This duplication of the root text creates the misleading impression that both commentators had the same *Suśrutasaṃhitā* before them. However, there is much evidence, including in SS.1.16, that this was not the case. For example, Ḍalhaṇa commented on four verses, 1.16.11–14 (**vulgate**), as part of his root text, that Cakrapāṇidatta cited separately only in his commentary (**acar-1939**). Cakrapāṇidatta introduced each verse with “some people say” (*kecit paṭhanti*). This clearly indicates that these verses were not in the version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* upon which Cakrapāṇidatta was commenting, but a century or so later they were part of the text before Ḍalhaṇa. But **acar-1939** included them in the root text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

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

36 Cf. **meul-hist**. Meulenbeld drew attention to Ḍalhaṇa's commentary on 5.8.24cd–25ab (**vulgate**) as a particularly striking example of such awareness (**meul-hist**). In this passage, Ḍalhaṇa noted that certain readings known to the earlier commentators Jejjāta and Gayadāsa were, “not to be found in current manuscripts” (*sa ca vartamānapustakeṣu na dṛśyate*).

37 There are a few exceptions where Cakrapāṇidatta glossed a word or compound that is different to the one glossed by Ḍalhaṇa. For example, in SS.1.16.18, Cakrapāṇidatta glossed *rājasarṣapa* whereas Ḍalhaṇa glossed *gaurasarṣapa*, and the editors reflected this in the root texts of the *Bhānumatī* (**acar-1939**) and *Nibandhasaṅgraha* (**vulgate**) respectively.

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Figure 1: The text as it appears in Cakrapāṇi (left) and Ḍalhaṇa (right) (**acar-1939, vulgate**).

Figure 2: *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.16.31 in the 1939 printed edition.

saṃhitā that Cakrapāṇidatta commented on in his *Bhānumatī* (Fig. 1, left).³⁸ It is followed by several verses also in the main text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that elaborate on the content of the prose passage.³⁹ Ḍalhaṇa 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.⁴⁰ However, Cakrapāṇidatta's older commentary showed no awareness of the first few verses in this group, Su.1.16.19–21ab.⁴¹ 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.⁴²

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 Ḍalhaṇa but not by Cakrapāṇidatta (see Fig. 2).⁴³ 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*.⁴⁴ Therefore, it requires a detailed reading of the commentary itself to infer what its author, Cakrapāṇidatta, was seeing

38 **acar-1939**, i.e., athāpraduṣṭasyābhivardhanārtham ... nidadhyāt/. It is numbered Su.1.16.19 in Ḍalhaṇa's *Nibandhasaṅgraha* (**vulgate**).

39 Su.1.16.19–23 in **acar-1939**, i.e., svedito ..., yavāśva ..., tailaṃ ..., teṣāṃ ..., vaddha

40 1.16.19–23 (**vulgate**).

41 **acar-1939**.

42 The editors remarked in a footnote that verses 20–21a were not in the Nepalese manuscript that they consulted (**acar-1939**).

43 The verse begins *nāḍīyogaṃ vinauṣṭhasya*. It is printed in the vulgate as 1.16.32 (**vulgate**), with Ḍalhaṇa's commentary. It is printed in parentheses as 1.16.31 in the edition of the *Bhānumatī* (**acar-1939**).

44 The MS is described in **egge-1887**. The section on p. 27 below describes the sources that the editors used for the 1939 edition.

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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 **acar-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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* was more similar to Cakrapāṇidatta's version than to Ḍalhaṇa's. For example, *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.16.5 of the Nepalese version begins with the compound *doṣasamudayāt*.⁴⁵ Ḍalhaṇa's version, on the other hand, inserted two compounds, *kliṣṭajihmāpraśastasūcīvyadhāt* and *gāḍhataravaritvāt*, before this.⁴⁶ Cakrapāṇidatta began his comment on this passage by glossing *doṣasamudayāt*, which suggests that he was not aware of the compounds that Ḍalhaṇa saw.⁴⁷

If one looks beyond *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.16, there are instances where the Nepalese version and the root text as read by Cakrapāṇidatta have the same reading, but Ḍalhaṇa mentions it as an alternative that is, "read by others." For example, *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.1.28 of the Nepalese version has *tatrāsmiṇ chāstre*, which is also the reading commented on by Cakrapāṇidatta.⁴⁸ However, Ḍalhaṇa comments on *asmiṇ chāstre* and states that "others read *tatrāsmiṇ chāstre*".⁴⁹ Another example is the reading of *ṣaṣṭyā vi-dhānaiḥ* in Ḍalhaṇa's commentary on 1.1.8.1 (**vulgate**) that is not in his main text but that he ascribes to "some others." This reading is likely to be derived from the expression *ṣaṣṭyābhidhānaiḥ* in the main text of the Nepalese version, and to have been rewritten before Ḍalhaṇa's time because it was hard to understand.⁵⁰

45 **acar-1939**.

46 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.16.6 (**vulgate**).

47 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.16.5 (**acar-1939**).

48 **acar-1939**.

49 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.1.22 (**vulgate**).

50 See the discussion by **birc-2021a**.

Differences between the Nepalese and Subsequent Versions of SS.1.16

Several differences between the text of the *Suśrutasamhitā* 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. **kleb-2021b** 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.⁵¹ **kleb-2021b** highlighted the interchangeable use of two names of the first book of the text, namely *Ślokasthāna* and *Sūtrasthāna*. 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.⁵²

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.

hari-2011 provided an exemplary investigation of textual variants in the Nepalese version. His study looked at the classification of snakes in *Suśrutasamhitā* 5.4 and revealed that the Nepalese MSS preserve a text that is internally more consistent and coherent than the versions of the *Suśrutasamhitā* 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.⁵³ The first case study dealt with the list of skin lesions associated with urinary disease (*pramehapīṭakā* in the Nepalese spelling). Their signs and pathogenesis are described in the *Nidānasthāna* and their treatment in the *cikitsāsthāna*.⁵⁴ This list of skin lesions exemplifies a case where the text of the *Suśrutasamhitā* transmitted in the Nepalese MSS is internally more coherent than that commented on by Ḍalhaṇa. The incoherence of Ḍalhaṇa'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.⁵⁵

⁵¹ **wuja-2013kleb-2021bbirc-2021birc-2021a**.

⁵² **kleb-2021b**.

⁵³ **kleb-2021b**.

⁵⁴ 2.6 (**vulgate**) and 4.12 (**vulgate**) respectively.

⁵⁵ MS Kathmandu KL 699 was copied a century or more before Gayadāsa's time, so its

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The second case study by **kleb-2021b** focussed on the variation in another list, that of the bodily winds (*prāṇas*, *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, Jejjāta. It is precisely Jejjāta'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 *Carakasamhitā*.

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 Ḍalhaṇa's version of the text also included extremely early readings and variants, suggesting that some of the readings accepted by Ḍalhaṇa were ancient, if not original. Each case has to be weighed.

The following detailed comparison of 1.16 of the Nepalese version with Ḍalhaṇa'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 Ḍalhaṇa. 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* (**vulgate**) was known by Ḍalhaṇa. These

version cannot have been influenced by Gayadāsa's innovations or suggestions.

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Nepalese version	Ḍalhaṇa's version
1	1
–	2
2–9	3–10
–	11–14
10–15	15–20
–	21–22ab
16	22cd–23ab
–	23cd–24
–	25
17	26
–	26.1–19
18	–
19–23	27–31
–	32

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

verses cover additional diseases of the ear lobes, with their treatment and complications. Although Ḍalhaṇa 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 Ḍalhaṇa's comments prompted him to place them in parentheses.⁵⁶ 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 Ḍalhaṇa'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

⁵⁶ Ācārya (**vulgate**) 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 *Suśrutasamhitā* in India. For example, they are present in MS Hyderabad Osmania 137-3(b).

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the redaction of other chapters of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

Apart from the addition of verses, the redacting of the version known to Ḍalhaṇa involved many small, yet sometimes significant, changes that are summarised below.⁵⁷

Changing Spelling, Sandhi and Syntax

Later commentators like Ḍalhaṇa often made efforts to standardise, simplify or improve the language of the Nepalese version. Such changes include the standardising of spelling,⁵⁸ sandhi,⁵⁹ and verbal forms,⁶⁰ as well as interventions to simplify and clarify syntax.⁶¹ These efforts often involved splitting compounds.⁶² In some instances, these changes improved the grammar,⁶³ or altered the meaning.⁶⁴ However, some prefixes of verbal forms,⁶⁵ case endings,⁶⁶ and indeclinables were changed for less apparent reasons.⁶⁷ There is also a tendency to replace uncommon words with

57 The present study focusses on the commentary of Ḍalhaṇa, but many of the same investigations could be made with regard to the surviving parts of the other early commentaries. See the discussion below, p. 30.

58 For example, pattāṅga (SS.1.16.21) → pataṅga (1.16.29, **vulgate**). For more information on this, see the relevant footnote to the translation.

59 or example, °hastena ṛju (SS.1.16.2) → °hastena rju (1.16.3, **vulgate**).

60 For example, unnāmayitvā (SS.1.16.21) → prānnamya (1.16.29, **vulgate**); avacūrṇayīta (SS.1.16.21) → upaharet (1.16.29, **vulgate**).

61 For example, śoṇitabahutvanivedanāyāṃ cānyadeśaviddham iti jānīyāt | nirupadravatā taddeśaviddhaliṅgam | (SS.1.16.3) → śoṇitabahutvena vedanayā cānyadeśaviddham iti jānīyāt | nirupadravatayā taddeśaviddham iti | (1.16.4, **vulgate**); āmatailapariṣeṇopacaret (SS.1.16.6) → āmatailena pariṣecayet (1.16.7, **vulgate**); supariṅghītaṃ (SS.1.16.10) → supariṅghītaṃ ca kṛtvā (1.16.15, **vulgate**); anena (SS.1.16.15) → snehenaitena (1.16.20, **vulgate**).

62 For example, yadṛcchāviddhāyāṃ sirāyāṃ (SS.1.16.4) → yadṛcchayā viddhāsu sirāsu (1.16.5, **vulgate**); dhānyāmlakapālacūrṇaṃ (SS.1.16.10) → dhānyāmlaṃ kapālacūrṇaṃ (1.16.20, **vulgate**).

63 For example, surāmaṇḍakṣīram (SS.1.16.10) → surāmaṇḍaṃ kṣīram (1.16.15, **vulgate**).

64 For example, kṣīṇālpamāṃsaḥ (SS.1.16.12) → kṣīṇo 'lpamāṃsaḥ (1.16.17, **vulgate**).

65 For example, samvarddhitaḥ (SS.1.16.8) → vivarddhitaḥ (1.16.9, **vulgate**); niveśya (SS.1.16.10) → sanniveśya (1.16.15, **vulgate**); avabadhya (SS.1.16.10) → ca baddhvā (1.16.15, **vulgate**).

66 For example, māse (SS.1.16.2) → māsi (1.16.3, **vulgate**).

67 For example, api (SS.1.16.13) → vā (1.16.18, **vulgate**); ca (SS.1.16.16) → tu (1.16.23, **vulgate**); tu (SS.1.16.18) → ca (1.16.25, **vulgate**).

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generic ones,⁶⁸ add indeclinables,⁶⁹ omit the verb to be at the end of sentences,⁷⁰ and introduce verses after a prose passage with the phrase *bhavati cātra*.⁷¹

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 *sandhāna* and *sandhi* with *bandha* in prose passages.⁷² However, the use of the term *sandhāna* was retained in verses, perhaps because of the metrical challenges of making such a change. Also, the names of joins which incorporate *sandhāna* and *sandhi* remained the same.⁷³

The Nepalese version contains the rather obscure term *vadhra* 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 *vadhra* as a leathern strap or a slice of bacon,⁷⁴ the latter of which is more indicative of its meaning in the Nepalese version. This word was written out of subsequent versions,⁷⁵ 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, *vadhra* was used by the author

68 For example, *mrakṣayet* (SS.1.16.15) → *yodayet* (1.16.20, **vulgate**); *nahyet* (SS.1.16.21) → *baddhvā* (1.16.29, **vulgate**).

69 For example, [absent] (SS.1.16.6) → *ca* (1.16.7, **vulgate**); [absent] (SS.1.16.10) → *tatra* (1.16.15, **vulgate**); [absent] (SS.1.16.12) → *api* (1.16.17, **vulgate**).

70 The words *bhavati* or *bhavanti* are omitted four times in Ḍalhaṇa's version (1.16.10 (twice), 1.16.17 and 1.16.18, **vulgate**).

71 For example, [absent] (SS.1.16.11) → *bhavati cātra* (1.16.16, **vulgate**).

72 For example, *pañcadaśasandhānākṛtayaḥ* (SS.1.16.9) → *pañcadaśabandhākṛtayaḥ*, (cf. 1.16.10 (**vulgate**)); *daśakarṇasandhivikalpāḥ* (SS.1.16.9) → *karṇabandhavikalpāḥ* (cf. 1.16.10 (**vulgate**)).

73 These names are *nemīsandhānaka*, *kapāṭasandhika*, and *ardhakapāṭasandhika* in SS.1.16.9 (cf. 1.16.10 (**vulgate**)).

74 **apte-pracmoni-sans.**

75 *vadhram* (SS.1.16.20) → *baddham* (SS.1.16.28, **vulgate**) and *tadvadhraśeṣaṃ* (SS.1.16.23) → *tad ardhāśeṣaṃ* (SS.1.16.31, **vulgate**).

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of the *Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdayasaṃhitā* in the context of rhinoplasty, so it likely to be the correct reading in the Nepalese version.⁷⁶

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,⁷⁷ and phrases added to elaborate on diseases and treatments.⁷⁸ 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 Ḍalhaṇa (1.16.6 (**vulgate**)) 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 Ḍalhaṇa's version have additional characteristics,⁷⁹ and a list of four symptoms associated with incurable joins in the Nepalese version (SS.1.16.19) was increased to six in Ḍalhaṇa's version (1.16.10 (**vulgate**)). 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 Ḍalhaṇa (1.16.5, **vulgate**) classifies these symptoms according to three ducts called *kālikā*, *marmarikā* and *lohitikā*, which results in some repetition of the symptoms mentioned.⁸⁰

76 Utt.18.62 (**kunt-1939**). The word is old, occurring, also in the form *vardhra*, from the *Atharvaveda* onwards (**mayr-1986**).

77 For example, *chidre* (1.16.2, **vulgate**) → *chidra ādityakarāvabhāsite* (1.16.3, **vulgate**); [absent] (1.16.2) → *śanaiḥ śanaiḥ* (1.16.3); [absent] (SS.1.16.3) → *āśu* (1.16.5, **vulgate**).

78 For example, *dhātryaṅke* (SS.1.16.2) → *dhātryaṅke kumāradharāṅke vā* (1.16.3); [absent] (SS.1.16.2) → *bālakrīḍanakaiḥ pralobhya* (1.16.3); [absent] (SS.1.16.3) → *picuvartim praveśayet* (1.16.5).

79 For example, *pīthopamapālir nirvedhimaḥ* (1.16.9, **vulgate**) → *pīthopamapālir ubhayataḥ kṣīṇaputrikāśrito nirvedhimaḥ* (1.16.10, **vulgate**); *itarālpapālīḥ saṃkṣiptaḥ* (SS.1.16.9) → *utsannapālir itarālpapālīḥ saṃkṣiptaḥ* (1.16.10); *tanuviṣamapālīḥ* (SS.1.16.9) → *tanuviṣamālpapālīḥ* (1.16.10).

80 In Ḍalhaṇa's version (1.16.5, **vulgate**), the symptoms of fever (*jvara*) and pain (*vedanā*) are repeated. This repetition does not occur in the Nepalese version. It is possible that

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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.⁸¹ 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 Ḍalhaṇa'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.

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 Ḍalhaṇa's version (**vulgate**), which contains a statement that the physician should insert a wick of cotton after the ear has been pierced.⁸² 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 Ḍalhaṇa's version elucidates the role of the wick in the procedure of piercing the ear.

this classification was not in the version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* known to Cakrapāṇidatta (1.16.4, **acar-1939**) because he mentions that some read classifications of ducts at this point in the text and he cites verses from Bhoja on *kālikā*, *marmarikā* and *lohitikā*, but he does not gloss or comment on the passage known to Ḍalhaṇa.

81 For example, *aṇusthūla*° (SS.1.16.9) → *sthūlāṇu*° (1.16.10, **vulgate**); *tatraite daśa-karṇa*° (SS.1.16.9) → *tatra daśaite karṇa*° (1.16.10, **vulgate**); *nātigāḍhan nātiśithilaṃ sūtreṇāvabadhya* (SS.1.16.9) → *sūtreṇānavagāḍhaman atīśithilaṃ ca baddhvā* (1.16.10, **vulgate**); *pūrvan dakṣiṇaṃ kumārasya vāmaṃ kanyāyāḥ | pratanuṃ sūcyā bahalam ārayā* (SS.1.16.2) → *pratanukaṃ sūcyā bahalam ārayā | pūrvam dakṣiṇaṃ kumārasya vāmaṃ kanyāyāḥ* (1.16.3, **vulgate**).

82 For example, [absent] (SS.1.16.2) → *picuvartim praveśayet* (1.16.3, **vulgate**).

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A similar clarification occurs in 1.16.18 of Ḍalhaṇa's version (**vulgate**), 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, **vulgate** = 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 Ḍalhaṇa's version, the treatment is reiterated at 1.16.18.

In Ḍalhaṇa'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 Ḍalhaṇa's version (1.16.7, **vulgate**) the recipe was rewritten to include sesame seeds.⁸³ 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. Ḍalhaṇa's version (1.16.7, **vulgate**) of the admixture has five additional ingredients, namely, prickly chaff-flower (*a-pāmārga*), Withania (*aśvagandhā*), giant potato (*kṣīraśuklā*), the 'sweet' savour (*madhuravarga*)⁸⁴ and 'milk flower' (*payasyā* → *vidāri*)⁸⁵. It also has beggarweed (*vidārigandhā*) instead of milk flower (*vidāri*).⁸⁶ 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.

83 yavamadhukamañjiṣṭhāgandharvahastamūlair madhughṛtapragāḍhair ālepayet (SS.1.16.5) → madhukairaṇḍamūlamañjiṣṭhāyavatilakalkair madhughṛtapragāḍhair ālepayet (1.16.7, **vulgate**).

84 The items which exemplify the 'sweet' savour (*madhuravarga*) are enumerated at SS.1.42.11.

85 Pueraria tuberosa (Willd.) DC. (ADPS 510, IMP 1.792f., AVS 4.391; not Dymock 1.424f. See GJM supplement 444, 451, IMP 1.187, but IMP 3.1719 = Ipomoea mauritiana, Jacq.).

86 arkālarkabalātibalānantāvidārīmadhukajalaśūkaprativāpan tailam pācayitvā (SS.1.16.14) → arkālarkabalātibalānantāpāmārgāśvagandhāvidārigandhākṣīraśuklājalaśūkamadhuravargapayasyāprativāpaṇ tailam vā pācayitvā (1.16.19, **vulgate**).

The Printed Editions

The careful survey of printed editions of the *Suśrutasamhitā* by Meulenbeld lists no fewer than 44 entries.⁸⁷ These range from the first edition by Madhusūdana Gupta (**gupt-1835**) to editions in the 1970s. The number of reprints and editions since that time might almost double that number. Translations begin with Hessler's Latin translation in **hess-1855** and continue up to the present in scores of publications in many languages.⁸⁸

The vulgate

The great ayurvedic scholar Yādavaśarman Trivikrama Ācārya produced three successive editions of the *Suśrutasamhitā* with the commentary of Ḍalhaṇa, in 1915, 1931 and 1938. These editions, especially the last, are generally considered the most scholarly and reliable editions of the work, and have been constantly reprinted up to the present day.⁸⁹ We refer to the last of these editions as “the vulgate.”

The 1915 edition was based on three manuscripts. The 1931 edition used another seven manuscripts plus two printed editions. For his final 1938 edition, Ācārya used a further three manuscripts.⁹⁰ These sources are described as follow, with an overview in Table 1.

The sources of the 1915 edition

- 1 Calcutta, Royal Asiatic Society. Covers the *sūtra*, *nidāna*, *śārīra* and *kalpa sthānas*.
- 2 Jaipur, Pandit Gaṅgādharaḥṭṭaśarman, lecturer at the Royal Sanskrit University. Covers the *cikitsāsthāna* and the *uttaratantra*.
- 3 Bundi, my great friend the royal physician Paṃ. Śrīprasādaśarman. Covers the *uttaratantra*.

⁸⁷ meul-hist.

⁸⁸ zysk-1984meul-hist.

⁸⁹ See also the studies of these editions by kleb-2021bwuja-2013.

⁹⁰ The following account is paraphrased from vulgate's own account of their sources (vulgate).

The Printed Editions

The sources of the 1931 edition

- 1 Vārāṇasī, professor of literature, the great Gaurīnāthapāṭhaka. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Covers the *nidānasthāna* and *uttaratantra*.
- 2 Ahmedabad. My friend Sva. Vā. Vaidya Raṇachoḍalāla Motīlālaśarman. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Covers the *śārīrasthāna*.
- 3 From the personal library of my great friend Sva. Vā. Vaidya Murārājīśarman. Extremely old. No commentary. Covers the *śārīrasthāna*.
- 4 Puṇe, BORI library. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Covers the *śārīrasthāna*.⁹¹
- 5 Puṇe, BORI library. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Complete. With some damaged folia.
- 6 Bombay, Asiatic Society. Incomplete.⁹²
- 7 Varanasi, the private library of Vaidya Tryambakaśāstrī. Covers the *cikitsāsthāna*. The variant readings of this MS were compiled by Prof.
- 8 A printed edition together with the commentary *Suśrutasandīpana-bhāṣya* by Professor Hārānacandra Cakravārtti. Complete work. This is the 1910 Calcutta edition numbered “t” by **meul-hist**.⁹³
- 9 A printed edition of the first 43 chapters of the *sūtrasthāna*, printed in Bengali script, with the commentaries *Bhānumatī*, *Nibandhasaṅgraha*, edited by Vijayaratnasena and Nīśikāntasena. This is the 1886 Calcutta edition numbered “g” by **meul-hist**.⁹⁴

The sources of the 1938 edition

- 1 Gwalior, from the library of my great friend Paṃ. Rāmeśvaraśāstrin Śukla. Covers the *sūtra*, *nidāna*, *śārīra*, *cikitsā* and *kalpasthānas*.
- 2 Bikaner, from the library of the Royal Palace, supplied by

91 Not one of the three MSS of the *śārīrasthāna* described in **shar-void**.

92 Possibly MS Mumbai AS B.I.3 or MS Mumbai AS B.D.109 (**vela-1930**). But both these have the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. The first covers only the *śārīrasthāna*; the second may be complete, but Velankar calls it only “disorderly.”

93 **bhat-1917**.

94 **sena-1886**.

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Table 1: The sources of Yādavaśarman T. Ācārya's three editions: manuscript coverage (●) and print coverage (○).

edition	1915									1931									1938		
source	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
<i>sthāna</i>																					
<i>sū.</i>	●							●	?		○	○ [†]	●		●			●			
<i>nī.</i>	●			●				●	?		○		●	●	●			●			
<i>śā.</i>	●				●	●	●	●	?		○		●		●			●			
<i>cī.</i>		●						●	?	●	○		●		● ^{††}						
<i>ka.</i>	●							●	?		○		●								
<i>utt.</i>		●	●	●				●	?		○										

† Covers chapters 1–43 only. †† Covers chapters 1–9 only.

Paṃ. Candraśekharaśāstrin. Contains the commentary *Nyāy-acandrikāpañjikāvyaṅkhyā* by Gayadāsa. Covers the *nidānasthāna*. This is almost certainly MS Bikaner Anup 4390.⁹⁵

- 3 Kathmandu, located in the private library of the Royal Guru Hemarāja Śarman. An extremely old palm-leaf manuscript. Readings from this MS were compiled by Paṃ Nityānandaśarman Jośī and sent to Ācārya. Covers from the beginning of the work to the end of the ninth chapter of the *cikitsāsthāna*. The siglum for this manuscript in footnotes was *tā* for *tālapatrapustake*.

Evaluation

Estimates show that there are approximately 230 extant manuscript witnesses for the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.⁹⁶ Although many of these manuscripts cover only parts of the whole work, they amount to approximately twenty times the evidence that was used by Ācārya for his vulgate editions.

While the descriptions provided by Ācārya of his source materials

95 See Dominik Wujastyk, “MS Bikaner AnupLib 4390.” *Pandit*. <<http://panditproject.org/entity/108068/manuscript>>.

96 This figure is arrived at by summing the MSS mentioned in *ncc* and in the *ngmcp*. The real figure could be many scores higher.

The Printed Editions

seems at first to be moderately comprehensive, Table 1 reveals the underlying paucity of textual sources for these editions. At first, it appears that fifteen manuscripts were consulted. However, we quickly see that two of the sources were other people's printed editions, and one of those covered less than a quarter of the work (no. 9 of 1931). That reduces the manuscript base to 13 manuscripts. Ācārya does not appear to have seen two of the manuscripts at all, having been sent collations prepared for him by others (7 of 1931 and 3 of 1938). Thus, Ācārya's final edition was based on the personal consultation of eleven partial manuscripts. One of them remains unidentified (6 of 1931). Only a single manuscript covers the whole of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, no. 5 of the 1931 edition. Manuscript 1 of 1938 is the next most complete, but it omits the *uttaratantra*, which comprises a third of the work. Manuscript 1 of the 1915 edition is third in size, but it still omits both of the longest chapters, and thus offers less than half the work. For the rest, the evidence is spotty, with each part of the work being supported by only between four and eight manuscripts, excluding the printed editions.

Two sources stand out for their historical importance. The first is no. 3 of 1931, which Ācārya calls "extremely old." It covered the *śārīrasthāna* only, and unfortunately we know nothing of the later history of this manuscript. The second is no. 3 of 1938, which is one of the important Nepalese manuscripts being considered in the present project. Ācārya's remarks and references to Hemarājaśarman's introduction to the *Kāśyapasaṃhitā* allow us to identify this manuscript as MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333.⁹⁷ The editors of the vulgate, **vulgate**, stated that this manuscript covered up to the ninth chapter of the *cikitsāsthāna*, but in fact it covers the whole work.⁹⁸ Perhaps the editors only received collations for this portion of the manuscript and did not know that it was a witness for the whole work.

The 1939 edition

In 1939, Yādavaśarman Trivikrama Ācārya and Nandakiśora Śarman co-edited an edition of the *sūtrasthāna* of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that was published by the Swami Laxmi Ram ayurvedic centre in Jaipur, and printed at the

⁹⁷ **vulgatehema-1938**. Discussed by **kleb-2021b**. See also **meul-histwujja-2003**.

⁹⁸ **vulgate**.

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famous Nirṇayasāgara Press in Mumbai (see Fig. 4).⁹⁹ The text was edited on the basis of the following sources.

For the *Bhānumatī*

1. A printed edition. Covered the *Bhānumatī* up to chapter Su.sū.40. The siglum was **mu** for **mudrita**.¹⁰⁰
2. A manuscript in the India Office Library library provided through the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune.¹⁰¹ This manuscript covered the *Bhānumatī* b up to the end of the *sūtrasthāna*. The siglum was **ha** for **hastalikhita**.¹⁰²

For the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*

1. A palm leaf manuscript from Hemarājaśarman's personal library.¹⁰³ The siglum was **tā** for **tāḍapatra**.
2. His own published edition. The siglum was **ḍa** for **ḍalhaṇasaṃmataḥ pāṭhaḥ**.¹⁰⁴
3. Hārāṇacandra Cakravartī's published edition with his own commentary.¹⁰⁵ The siglum was **hā**.

Evaluation

The main innovation of this publication was to present the only surviving part of the commentary on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* by the great eleventh-

99 **acar-1939**. The description of the sources below is based on Yādavaśarman T. Ācārya's remarks in his introduction (pp. 3–4). See also the remarks on this edition by **kleb-2021a**. On the Swami Laxmi Ram centre, see **hofe-2007**.

100 **sena-1886**. The manuscript on which this edition was based is probably in the library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, and described in **sast-1917**, which is not available to me. See also **meul-hist** for mention of this manuscript. The reference at **rao-sans** to CACL accession number 97 in Bengali script may be this manuscript.

101 At this time, manuscripts from Britain were routinely lent to scholars in India and vice versa.

102 **PP109978**; MS London BL H. T. Colebrooke 908 (**PanditProject #109978**, consulted on July 03, 2021).

103 I.e., MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333.

104 **vulgate**. It is noteworthy that Ācārya refers to his 1938 edition as representing “the Ḍalhaṇa recension.”

105 **bhat-1917**.

चरके—“लभोपायो हि शस्तानां रसावीनां रसायनम्” (च. चि. अ. १ पा. १) । पारिशेष्याद्वाजीकरणतन्त्रम् । अवाजिनं वाजीकुर्वन्ति येन तद्वाजीकरणम् । ‘अन्येषामपि दृश्यते’ (पा. अ. ६।३।१३७) इति धीर्घत्वम् । येन वाऽत्यर्थं स्त्रीषु व्यज्यते तद्वाजीकरणम् । तदुक्तं चरके—“येन नारीषु सामर्थ्यं वाजिवल्लभते नरः । प्रजेन्नाप्यधिकं येन वाजीकरणमेव तत्” (च. चि. अ. २, पा. ४) इति ॥ ५ ॥

अथास्य प्रत्येकाङ्गलक्षणसमासः—तत्र, शल्यं नाम विविधतृणकाष्ठ-पाषाणपांशुलोदलोष्टास्थिवालनखपूयास्त्रावदुष्टव्रणान्तर्गर्भशल्योद्धरणार्थं षष्ठ्या विधानैः, यन्त्रशस्त्रक्षाराग्निप्रणिधानव्रणविनिश्चयार्थं च; शालाक्यं नामोर्ध्वजत्रुगतानां श्रवणनयनवदनघ्राणादिसंश्रितानां व्याधीनामुपशमनार्थं; कायचिकित्सा नाम सर्वाङ्गसंश्रितानां व्याधीनां ज्वररक्तपित्तशोफोन्मादापसारकुष्ठमेहातिसारादीनामुपशमनार्थं; भूतविद्या नाम देवांसुरगन्धर्वयक्षरक्षःपितृपिशाचनैलग्रहाष्टपष्टचेतसां शान्तिकर्मबलिहरणादिग्रहोपशमनार्थं; कौमारभृत्यं नाम कुमारभरणघात्रीक्षीरदोषसंशोधनार्थं दुष्टस्तन्यग्रहसमुत्थिनां च व्याधीनामुपशमनार्थम्; अगदतन्त्रं नाम सर्पकीटलृतामूषकादिदृष्टविषव्यञ्जनार्थं विविधविषसंयोगोपशमनार्थं च; रसायनतन्त्रं नाम वयःस्थापनमायुर्मेधाबलकरणं रोगापहरणसमर्थं च; वाजीकरणतन्त्रं नामारूपदुष्टक्षीणशुष्करेतसामाप्यार्थेनप्रसादोपचयजनननिमित्तं प्रहर्षणजननार्थं च ॥ ६ ॥

शल्यग्रविशेषाश्च शालुं प्रतिलक्षणं संक्षेपेणाह—अथास्येत्यादि । एकमेकमङ्गं प्रति लक्षणानां समासः संक्षेपः प्रत्येकाङ्गलक्षणसमासः । तृणादीनां, तथा दुष्टव्रणस्य, तथाऽन्तर्गत(र्भशल्य)स्य उद्धरणार्थमिति प्रत्येकमुद्धरणशब्दः संबध्यते । दुष्टव्रणस्यान्तस्तृणाद्याहरणार्थमित्यन्ये । षष्ठ्या विधानैरिति द्विव्रणीयोचैरपतर्पणाद्यै रक्षाविधानान्तैः; इत्थंभूतलक्षणे तृतीया । जत्रु ग्रीवामूलं, जत्रुण ऊर्ध्वमूर्ध्वजत्रु । घ्राणादीत्यादिग्रहणाच्छिरःकपालादिग्रहणम् । उत्तरतन्त्रे प्रतिपादितक्रमप्राप्त्या ज्वरानन्तरमतीसारः पठितः, तस्यान्ते पाठोऽतिसारस्य सर्वाङ्गीणदोषारब्धत्वात्, अन्येषामपि तन्मध्यपाठेन सर्वाङ्गीणदोषारब्धत्वप्रतिपादनव्यतिक्रमं वदन्ति । शान्तिकर्म बलिहरणादिना ग्रहाणां देवादीनामुपशमो यस्तदर्थः; यदि वा ग्रहणं ग्रहो देवानामावेशस्तदुपशमार्थम् । दुष्टस्तन्यग्रहसमुत्थितानामिति दुष्टस्तन्येन

१ ‘सर्वशरीरावस्थितानां’ व्याधीनामुपशमकरणार्थं, ज्वरशोफयुग्मरक्तपित्तोन्मादापसारप्रमेहातीसारादीनां च’ इति ता. । २ ‘देवदानव’ इति ता. । ३ ‘विनायकनागग्रहोप-सृष्टचेतसां’ इति ता. । ४ ‘विषवेगोपशमनार्थं’ इति ता. । ५ ‘शुक्राप्यायन’ इति ता. । ६ ‘घ्राणादीनां शल्यान्तानां’ इति सु. । ७ ‘अन्ये तु तस्यान्ते पाठेन’ इति पा० । ८ ‘ग्रहणाद्’ इति सु. ।

Figure 4: A page of the 1939 *Bhānumatī* edition, showing the variant readings in the footnotes.

The Manuscripts

century medical scholar Cakrapāṇidatta, namely the *Bhānumatī*.¹⁰⁶ A secondary purpose was to present the text of the *sūtrasthāna* as read in MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333, that had recently been brought to the editors' attention. In their judgement, the Kathmandu manuscript presented a text that was closer to what Cakrapāṇidatta had before him than the text according to Ḍalhaṇa. This was the first *Suśrutasamhitā* edition in which Ācārya used sigla to identify the sources from which variant readings were reported, so while it has limitations, it for the first time enables us to get some idea of origins of the text (see Figure 4).

Ācārya noted in his introduction that the manuscripts containing Ḍalhaṇa's commentary all came together with the root-text of the *Suśrutasamhitā*, and thus the main *Suśrutasamhitā* text reflected the readings chosen by Ḍalhaṇa. But the manuscripts of the *Bhānumatī* contained the commentary alone, without the root-text, and had many explanations based on different readings of the root-text than those of Ḍalhaṇa. In many of these cases it was hard to infer what readings Cakrapāṇidatta had before him. But Ācārya noted that Cakrapāṇidatta had a text before him that had much in common with the text of the Nepalese manuscript.¹⁰⁷

There is compelling evidence that Cakrapāṇidatta's *Bhānumatī* commentary once covered the whole text of the *Suśrutasamhitā*.¹⁰⁸ The loss of the rest of the work ranks amongst the greatest disasters in Āyurvedic literature. Remarkably, the whole *Bhānumatī* may still have existed in the early twentieth century. In 1903, Palmyr Cordier reported being privately informed of a complete copy of the work in a personal manuscript collection in Benares.¹⁰⁹

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Our edition is based on the textual evidence of three manuscripts. All three were produced in the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal and preserved in libraries there. **kleb-2021b** provided a comprehensive description of the individual manuscripts, quotes and translates their colophons and thoroughly examines various problems involved in their interpretation. That is why

¹⁰⁶ meul-hist.

¹⁰⁷ acar-1939. See discussion by kleb-2021a.

¹⁰⁸ meul-hist.

¹⁰⁹ cord-1903.

Figure 5: Folio 17r of MS Kathmandu Kaiser Library 699.

we will present only the key data essential for the study of our edition in the present paper. In referring to the manuscripts, we use the sigla K, N and H, which correspond to the initial letters in the names of the libraries and collection where the respective bundles were discovered.

Siglum K (Fig. 5) The MS has been preserved at the Kaiser Shamsheer (KL) library in Kathmandu, accession number KL 699. It was microfilmed and catalogued by the NGMPP/ NGMCP as C 80-7.¹¹⁰ The MS comprises 152 palm-leaf folios that originally belonged to several different codicological units written by different scribes.¹¹¹ The folios are 53.5×4.4 cm in size and have two string holes. The text is written in the so-called transitional Gupta script, with six to eight lines per folio.¹¹² The MS is incomplete and contains a large part of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* as well as the *Sauśrutanighaṇṭu*.¹¹³ The date stated in the colophon at the end of the compendium is verified for Sunday, April 13, 878 CE. However, some controversy is involved in interpreting the exact roles of two persons mentioned in the same concluding remarks, someone called Śrī Harṣacandra and Vaidya Vasuvarman. **kleb-2021b** thinks that the former,

...either sponsored the copying enterprise or wrote the manuscript himself, [and that he subsequently] 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

¹¹⁰ See http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/C_80-7_Suśrutasaṃhitā (accessed on October 22, 2021).

¹¹¹ **bhat-2020** and **kleb-2021b** agree that four to five scribes were involved in the manuscript's production.

¹¹² Codicological features of the manuscript, such as the layout, peculiarities of the script, various ornamental and text-dividing symbols and many more, were scrutinized in **bhat-2020**.

¹¹³ See **kleb-2021b** for a detailed description of the content.

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Figure 6: Folios 30r and 30v of MS Kathmandu National Archives 1-1079.

Figure 7: Folios 22v and 23r of MS Kathmandu National Archives 5-333.

pawn. If the manuscript sat unused, it should be returned to Śrī Harṣacandra.¹¹⁴

Siglum N (Fig. 6) This MS is kept at the National Archives Kathmandu (NAK), under accession number 1-1079 ka. It was microfilmed twice by the NGMPP as A 45-5(1) and A 1267-11(2).¹¹⁵ The MS comprises 65 palm-leaf folios, 56 × 5 cm in size, with two string holes each, and it is bundled together in a composite manuscript with at least one other medical work. The text is written in a variety of Newari script, with ca. seven lines per folio. Although the text contained in the MS does not cover the entire *Suśrutasamhitā* and breaks off abruptly in the second chapter of the *śārīrasthāna*, the actual MS, as a codicological unit, appears complete, that is, no leaf seems to be missing from the originally unitary artefact. Based on paleographic considerations, the MS can be dated tentatively to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

Siglum H (Fig. 7) The MS belongs to the historical collection of Hemarāja Śarman (fl. 1878–1953) and is currently kept at the NAK under accession number NAK 5-333. It is microfilmed twice by the NGMPP as B 29-19 and B 30-15, but the latter microfilm is incomplete.¹¹⁶ The manuscript comprises 435 palm-leaf folios, 34 × 5 cm in size, with one string-hole in the middle. It is written in a type of Newari script that is more recent than the one used in N, with approximately six lines per folio. The MS is exceptionally well-preserved and complete, containing the text of the *Suśrutasamhitā* as well as the *Sauśrutanighaṇṭu*.

¹¹⁴ See **kleb-2021b** for a translation and a study of the colophon, as well as an exposition of different positions related to its interpretation.

¹¹⁵ See [http://ngmcp.fdm.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A_45-5_\(Suśrutasamhitā\)](http://ngmcp.fdm.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A_45-5_(Suśrutasamhitā)) (accessed on October 22, 2021)/

¹¹⁶ See http://ngmcp.fdm.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/B_29-19_Suśrutasamhitā (accessed on October 22, 2021).

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The final colophon identifies the scribe of the MS as Vaidya Amarasimhaka, son of Kamaladatta, and states the date on which he concluded the copying of the text. Both reading, that is, deciphering the actual characters, and interpretation of the concerned passage involve diverging opinions, all of which concur, however, in assigning the MS to the sixteenth century. **kleb-2021b** gives an analytical account of the views expressed in literature, considers further options and puts forward his understanding that the MS was completed on Sunday, July 29, 1543 CE.

In future publications, palaeographical features of these witnesses will be described.

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Method

The data for the critical edition comes from the witnesses of the Nepalese version, which are MS KL 699, NAK 5-333 and NAK 1-1079. Diplomatic transcriptions of SS.1.16 of these manuscripts have been created by researchers of the [Suśruta Project](#) according to a subset of TEI Guidelines that has been formulated by Charles Li.¹¹⁷ MS NAK 5-333 was transcribed first because its script is relatively easy to read, the scans are clear, and it is the most complete of the manuscript witnesses. Following that, MS KL 699 and MS NAK 1-1079 were transcribed.

The diplomatic transcriptions were uploaded to Li's manuscript collation platform Saktumiva, chapter by chapter as they were completed. An electronic edition of the vulgate of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, that was transcribed, without the commentaries, by Tsutomu Yamashita and Yasutaka Muroya on the basis of Ācārya's 1931 and 1938 Bombay editions has also been included in the collation.¹¹⁸

Saktumiva's collation function standardises punctuation and orthographic variants according to filters which can be turned off or on. These

¹¹⁷ These guidelines are at <https://saktumiva.org/wiki/tei>, accessed 20/10/2021.

¹¹⁸ This electronic edition is also available on the SARIT website; <https://sarit.indology.info/susrutasamhita.xml?view=div>, accessed 20/8/2021. The version at Saktumiva has received several corrections and the intention is to merge these back into the SARIT version eventually.

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filters enable the editors to ignore *daṇḍa*, numbers and *puṣpikā* in the transcripts, as well as orthographic variants, such as *ba* and *va*, certain germinated consonants, and *visarga* variants. On the basis of the automatic collation, Jason Birch created a provisional edition of SS.1.16, which the project's researchers read together at weekly seminars. Manuscript images were routinely checked to verify the transcripts, particularly when a reading was uncertain; the commentaries of Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa were read, and variant readings reported by these commentators were included in notes to the edition. Also, various reference books were consulted, such as **josi-maha**; **nadk-1954** and **meul-hist**, to elucidate the meaning of technical terms and identify relevant information in other medical works.

An initial draft of the translation and many annotations were written by Wujastyk during the seminars as the Project researchers discussed the text's meaning. The transcripts, provisional edition and translation were uploaded to the project's repository at Github on a weekly basis. Therefore, the project's work has been publicly available as it evolves. The software tools used in the project have been described on the project website.¹¹⁹

Stemma

The data from transcripts collated by Saktumiva can be exported as a FASTA file and aligned according to characters, syllables or words by a program called Helayo. The resulting NEXUS file can be read by phylogenetics software to build a stemmatic tree.¹²⁰ This procedure was done with transcripts of several chapters of the Nepalese witnesses, and the results confirmed the editors' provisional stemmatic hypothesis that K and H are more closely related to one another than K and N.¹²¹ Given the early date of K and the small number of other surviving witnesses of the Nepalese version, the relationship between the manuscripts at our disposal is reasonably clear and, in the case of SS.1.16, the manuscript data was largely confined to N and H owing to a missing folio of K. Rather than have to assess numerous variant readings from a large number of

¹¹⁹ <http://sushrutaproject.org>, consulted 15 September 2022.

¹²⁰ This process is discussed in greater detail by Charles Li at <https://chchch.github.io/sanskrit-alignment/docs/index.html#tree>, accessed 21/8/2021.

¹²¹ See section 'Features of the Manuscript Transmission' for further discussion of this.

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witnesses, the challenge of editing has been to repair the text where it has become corrupt in the few witnesses available to us.

The Edition and Apparatus

The critical edition of SS.1.16 in this article retains many of the peculiarities of MS KL 699 because the editors have endeavoured to present to the reader an archetype of the text that was transmitted by this ninth-century manuscript. Therefore, the Sanskrit has been standardised as minimally as possible and, although the text has been corrected and repaired wherever it was corrupt in the witnesses, it has not been normalized or conventionalized to the extent of many modern editions of Sanskrit works.

The editors have assumed that the authors of the Nepalese *Suśrutasaṃhitā* were familiar with Pāṇinian Sanskrit and, although there are some non-standard spellings and grammatical forms in the text, there are very few instances of hyper-Sanskritization, Buddhist-hybrid Sanskrit or Epic forms that would suggest that this assumption is unreasonable. Therefore, the editors of SS.1.16 have opted to retain some unusual features of the Sanskrit in MS KL 699 when they are grammatically correct. For example, in external *sandhi*, the class nasal is usually used at the end of a word instead of an *anusvāra* (e.g., 1.16.3, °vācanan dhātry°), although the *anusvāra* is sometimes used (1.16.15, udakam dhānyāmla°). In most cases, the consonant following a *repha* is doubled, but this is not always the case.¹²² Since these inconsistencies seem inherent to the transmission of the text and may have even been authorial, the critical edition reflects them as they occur in K and, when the testimony of K is not available, the witness most similar to K, which is H.

The Nepalese manuscripts often have an *anusvāra* before a *daṇḍa* at the end of a sentence or verse. Whether these *anusvāras* should be changed to the consonant *m* is a moot question because there is no Pāṇinian concept of ‘end-of-sentence’ and his rules on *sandhi* are contingent on the close contact of sounds (*saṃhitā*). However, it is reasonable to assume that at the end of a verse, paragraph or sentence the speakers would have paused for

¹²² Examples of the germination of consonants are *karṇṇa* (1.16.1 ff), *muhūrta* (1.16.2), *pūrvva* (1.16.2), *gandharvva* (1.16.5), °mūlair mmadhu° (1.16.5), *vartti* (1.16.6) and *punar vvidhyet* (1.16.6). Examples where it does not occur in 1.16 are °ārtham (1.16.8,19), *kuryāt* (1.16.16, 32), °pālair vallūra° (1.16.10); °pālair vyāyojimaḥ (1.16.10) and *ḍirghaika*° (1.16.10).

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breath or thought, so *sandhi* should be applied, in which case a final *anusvāra* or class nasal of the following consonant is changed to **m**. Nonetheless, this remains an assumption about how the text would be pronounced. Therefore, in a critical edition, inserting *daṇḍas* and changing *anusvāras* to **m** before them are subjective decisions by the editors. The scribal use of *daṇḍas* and *anusvāras* in the Nepalese manuscripts can be seen in the digital edition if one switches off the filters for ignoring *daṇḍas* and final *anusvāra* variants.

Unconventional spellings and grammatical forms have been retained and noted in the annotations to the translation. However, the editors have corrected scribal errors and repaired corruptions in the transmitted text with conjectures wherever possible. Therefore, although the edition retains many of the peculiarities of the Nepalese manuscripts, it is not a diplomatic transcript or a hybrid of diplomatic and critical editing because the features of the transmitted text have been retained or changed deliberately, and the reasons for doing so are given in either the introduction or, in more specific cases, the annotations to the translation.

Printed Edition

The editors intend to produce both printed and digital editions of the Nepalese *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. Since the print and digital environments differ markedly, each edition has its own format. The printed edition of SS.1.16 in this article has four layers of footnotes. The first layer reports the witnesses that have been collated. Line numbers and lemmata have been used to identify the witnesses that have been collated for a particular section of the text, as seen in the following example.

1–7 **athātaḥ** – °**viddhaliṅgam**] MSS K, H, and N

The above entry means that a textual passage beginning with **athātaḥ** on line 1 and ending with °**viddhaliṅgam** on line 7 is attested by manuscripts K, H and N. This layer also indicates passages that are missing or omitted in a particular witness.

The second layer of footnotes reports the variant readings of the Nepalese witnesses. This apparatus is negative, that is to say, only the testimony of the variant readings have been reported, and not that of the lemma. The following entry is an example of the apparatus' syntax:

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5 pratanuṃ] pratanū N H

This entry means that on line five of the edition the editors have chosen to read **pratanuṃ**, instead of **pratanū**, which is attested by witnesses N and H. The reader can infer that **pratanuṃ** is attested by K because the first layer of footnotes indicate that K has been collated here. In prose passages, the lemmata and variants consist of corresponding words and, in verses, corresponding syllables. Emendations by the editors are indicated by the abbreviation *em.*, and omissions and suppletions in the witnesses are indicated by *om.* and *add.*, respectively. A wavy line under a letter means that it is unclear to the editors. If some text has been deleted by a scribe, it is underscored by double lines.

The third layer of footnotes contains the variant readings of the vulgate, which have been presented in the same format as the second layer. If a reading of the vulgate has been accepted by the editors against different readings in the Nepalese witnesses, the siglum for the vulgate (i.e., A) has been placed next to lemma in the second layer of footnotes.

Various testimonia and notes have been included in the fourth layer of footnotes. The testimonia mainly consists of the variant readings noted by the commentators Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa. Those known to Gayadāsa may be added in future publications. The notes include the brief comments on emendations and some editorial decisions. More elaborate discussions on such issues have been included in the annotations to the translation.

Digital Edition

Instructions for reading the digital edition have been provided by Li at [Sak-tumiva](#). In brief, you can generate the apparatus by choosing a base text and one or more of the other witnesses. You can also choose to hide or ignore in varying degrees TEI tags, punctuation and orthographical variants in the transcripts of the witnesses. On the right side of the text, the digital edition displays an apparatus that is negative in so far as the lemma and its witnesses are not included. This apparatus truncates variants wherever possible.

For example, as seen in Figure 8, the apparatus for the words *pratanuṃ sūcyā bahalam ārayā* is on the right side of the display. This entry means that

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pratanuṃ sūcyā bahalam ārayā ||2|| *
(A: tataḥ N, H: pratanū) A: [ADD] picu-
rtiṃ A: [OM] A: praveśayet ||

Figure 8: The digital edition of SS.1.16.3

the editors have chosen to read *pratanuṃ*, which the reader must infer is attested by K, whereas A has *tataḥ* and N and H *pratanū*. Witness A has added the word *picuvartim* after *tataḥ*, omitted *sūcyā bahalam*,¹²³ and has *praveśayet* instead of *ārayā*, which is attested by all of the Nepalese witnesses.

A positive apparatus is available if you highlight with the cursor one or more words, and even entire passages or verses, and click on the collapsed menu icon. As seen in Figure 9, the positive apparatus of *pratanuṃ sūcyā bahalam ārayā* appears in a pop-up window in which the lemma and variants are aligned according to letters, and the variations are highlighted in yellow.

SP:	pratanuṃ	sūcyā bahalam ārayā
A:	tataḥ [ADD] picuvartim [OM]	praveśayet
K:	pratanuṃ	sūcyā bahalam ārayā
N:	pratanū	sūcyā bahalam ārayā
H:	pratanū	sūcyā bahalam ārayā

Figure 9: The witnesses to a selected passage of SS.1.16.3

In both the negative and positive apparatuses of the digital edition, you must infer conjectures and corrections by the editors. Testimonia and notes are in the apparatus on the right side of the “provisional edition” text. They give an opportunity for the editors to provide scholarly commentary of various kinds, but the editors cannot write comments directly into the textual apparatus itself, since it is constructed live each time the text is displayed.

¹²³ The omitted words are displayed by hovering the cursor over [OM] adjacent to A in the apparatus.

Critical Edition of Sūtrasthāna 16

athataḥ karṇṇavyadhavidhim vyākhyāsyāmaḥ ||1||

rakṣābhuṣaṇanimittam bālasya karṇṇau vyadhayet | tau
śaṣṭhe māse saptame vā śuklapakṣe praśasteṣu
tithikaraṇamuhūrttanakṣatreṣu kṛtamaṅgalasvastivācanaṃ¹
5 dhātryanke kumāram upaveśyābhisāntvayamāno² bhiṣag
vāmahastenākṛṣya karṇṇan daivakṛte chidre dakṣiṇahastena
rju vidhyet | dakṣiṇaṃ kumārasya vāmaṃ kanyāyaḥ |
pratanuṃ sūcya bahalam āraya ||2||

śoṇitabahutve 'tivedanāyaṃ cānyadeśaviddham iti jāniyāt |
10 nirupadravatā taddeśaviddhaliṅgam ||3||

1--9 athataḥ--°viddhaliṅgam] MSS K, H, and N

1 vyākhyāsyāmaḥ] vyā K. 3 saptame] om. N. 4 °maṅgalasvastivācanaṃ] A; °ma-
ṅgalaṃ svastivācanaṃ K, H, N. 5 dhātryanke] dhātryanke K. 5 kumāram] kumā-
rakam N. 7 rju] rjum N H. 8 pratanuṃ] pratanu N H.

1 karṇṇavyadhavidhim] karṇavyadhabandhavidhim adhyāyaṃ A. 1 vyākhyāsyāmaḥ]
add. yathovāca bhagavān dhanvantariḥ || A. 2 vyadhayet] vidhyete A. 3 māse] māsi
A. 5 dhātryanke] add. kumārādharāṅke vā A. 5 upaveśyābhisāntvayamāno] upa-
veśya bālakriḍanakaiḥ pralobhyābhisāntvayan A. 6 karṇṇan] karṇam A. 6 chidre]
chidra A. 6 chidre] add. ādityakarāvabhāsite śanaiḥ śanair A. 7 rju] rju A. 7 vid-
hyet] add. pratanukaṃ sūcya bahalam āraya A. 7 kanyāyaḥ] kumāryaḥ A. 8 āraya]
add. tataḥ picuvartim praveśayet || A. 9 bahutve] bahutvena A. 9 'tivedanāyaṃ]
vedanaya A. 10 °dravata] °dravataya A. 9--10 °viddhaliṅgam] °vidddham iti A.

¹The compound kṛtamaṅgalasvastivācanaṃ is an emendation based on the similar text at Su.śā.3.2.25.

²The ātmanepada participle is a permitted form, although the vulgate has the *parasmaipada*.
Dālhaṇa records the alternative reading bhakṣyaviśeṣair vā before bālakriḍanakaiḥ pra-
lobhya in the vulgate.

tatra yadṛcchaviddhayam sirayam ajñena
jvaradāhaśvayathuvedanāgra-
nthimanyāstambhāpatanakaśirograhakarṇṇaśulāni bhavanti
||4||

doṣasamudayaḍ apraśastavyadhāḍ vā tatra varttim apahr̥tya
yavamadhukamañjiṣṭhagandharvvahastamūlair
5 mmadhughṛtapragaḍhair ālepayet | suruḍhañ cainam punar
vvidhyet ||5||³

samyagviddham āmatailapariṣekenopacaret | tryahāt
tryahāḍ varttim sthūlatarīṇ⁴ kurvīta pariṣekañ ca tam eva
||6||

10 atha vyapagatadoṣopadrave karṇṇe 'laṃpravarddhanārtham
laghupravarddhanakam āmuñcet ||7||

11 tatra] MSS H and N. From here to the end of 1.16, MS K is missing a folio.

12 °śvayathu° em.] °śvayathur N; °śvayathur H. 4 °gandharvvahastamūlair] °ganda-
rvahastamūlai N. 5--7 °pariṣekenopa°] °pariṣekaṇopa° H. 8 °tarīṇ] °tarīm N 11
laghupravarddhanakam] la pravarddhanakam° N; pravarddhanakamā° mai' H. 8--11 a-
muñcet] em.; muñcet N H.

11 tatra] tatraññena A. 11 yadṛcchaviddhayam] yadṛcchayaḍ viddhasu A. 11 sirayam] sirasu A. 11 sirayam] add. kalikāmarmarikālohitikāsupadravaḍ bhavanti | tatra kalikāyam A. 12 jvara°] jvaro 12 °dāha°] dāhaḥ 12 °śvayathu° em.] śvayathur A. 12 °vedana°] add. ca bhavati marmarikāyam vedanaḍ jvaro A. 39.12--40.1 °granthi°] granthayaś A. 39.12--40.1 °granthi°] add. ca lohitikāyam A. 1 bhavanti] add. teṣu ya-
thasvam pratikurvīta || kliṣṭajihmaḍ praśastasucivvyadhāḍ gaḍhataravartitvāḍ A. 3 vā]
add. yatra samrambho vedanaḍ vā bhavati A. 3 apahr̥tya] upahr̥tyaśu A. 4 yavama-
dhuka°] madhukairāṇḍamūla° A. 4 °mañjiṣṭhagandharvvahastamūlair] °mañjiṣṭha-
yavatilakalkair A. 5 ālepayet] add. tāvad yavat suruḍha iti || A. 6 vvidhyet] add.
vidhānam tu pūrvoktam eva || A. 7 samyag°] tatra samyag° A. 5--7 āmatailapari-
ṣekenopacaret] āmatailena pariṣecayet A 8 tryahāḍ] add. ca A. 8 °tarīṇ] °tarām A
8 kurvīta] dadyāt A. 10 'laṃpravarddhanārtham] om. A. 11 laghupravarddhanaka-
kam] laghuva° A 8--11 āmuñcet] kuryāt || A

³Dalhana (1.16.6) stated that some do not read suruḍhañ cainam punar vidhyet.

⁴The unusual form sthūlatarīm is supported by both manuscripts and we have retained it in spite of only meagre evidence for the form in epic Sanskrit.

evam samvarddhitah karṇṇaś chidyate tu dvidha["]
nrṇam["] |
doṣato vābhighatād vā sandhanan["] tasya me śṛṇu["]
||8||

tatra samāsenā pañcadaśasandhanakṛtayo bhavanti |⁵ tad
5 yathā | nemisandhanakah | utpalabhedyakah | vallurakah |
āsaṅgimāḥ | gaṇḍakarṇṇah | āharyah | nirvvedhimah |
vyāyojimah | kapāṭasandhikah | arddhakaṭasandhikah |
saṅkṣiptah | hinakarṇṇah | vallikarṇṇah | yaṣṭikarṇṇah |
kakausthah | iti | teṣu tatra prthulayatasaṃbhayaḥ
10 nemisandhanakah | vṛttayatasaṃbhayaḥ
utpalabhedyakah | hrasvavṛttasaṃbhayaḥ
vallurakarṇṇakah | abhyantaradīrghaikaḥ | āsaṅgimāḥ |
bāhyadīrghaikaḥ | gaṇḍakarṇṇakah | aḥ | ubhayato 'py
āharyah | pīthopamaḥ | nirvvedhimah |
15 aṇusthūlasamaviśamaḥ | vyāyojimah |
abhyantaradīrghaikaḥ | itarālpapāliḥ | kapāṭasandhikah |
bāhyadīrghaikaḥ | itarālpapāliś | arddhakaṭasandhikah |
tatraite daśakarṇṇasandhivikalpā bandhyā bhavanti | teṣāṃ
nāmaḥ | evākṛtayah | prayeṇa vyākhyātaḥ | saṅkṣiptādayah
20 pañcāsādhyah | tatra śuśkaśaṅkulir itarālpapāliḥ | saṅkṣiptah
| anadhiṣṭhanapāliḥ | paryantayoś ca kṣīṇamāṃso
hinakarṇṇah | tanuviśamaḥ | vallikarṇṇah |
granthitamāṃsah | stabdhasiratatasukṣmapāliḥ | yaṣṭikarṇṇah |

9--1 nrṇam] nrṇa N. 2] A; doṣato N H.

11 samvarddhitah] vivardhitah A. 2 sandhanan] sandhanam A.

nirmmāṁsasamkṣiptagrāpaṣoṇitapālīḥ kākauṣṭha iti |
baddheṣv api dāhapākasrāvaśophayuktā na siddhim
upayanti ||9||⁶

5 ato 'nyatamasya bandhañ cikirṣuḥ
agropaharaṇīyoktopasambhṛtasambharaḥ viśeṣataś

4 °sandhāṇa°] °sandha° N. 7 arddhakapaṭasandhikaḥ] om. N. 9 kākauṣṭhaḥ] kākauṣṭhabhah
H. 9 iti] ti H. 9 °yatasamo°] A; °yasamo° H; °tasamo N. 11 °bhedyakaḥ] °bhe-
dyaḥ N; °bhedakaḥ H. 12 vallūra°] valūra° N. 13 bāhya] A; bāhyaika N H. 13
ubhayato 'py] ubhayato py N. 15 aṇusthūla°] aṣusthūla° H 16 kapaṭa°] kavāṭa° H.
17 cārdhakapaṭa° em.] vārdhakavāṭa° H; cārdhakavāṭa° N. 21 paryantayoś ca]
om. N. 23 granthitamāṁsaḥ] °granthitamāṁsaḥ N H. 1 nirmāṁsa°] A; nimāsa° N;
nirmāṁsa° H. 2 °srāva°] °śrāva° H. 2 °śopha°] °sopha° N.

4 °daśasandhanākṛtayo] °daśakarnābandhākṛtayaḥ A. 11--4 bhavanti] om. A. 12--5
nemi°] nemi° A. 7 °sandhikaḥ | arddha°] °sandhiko 'rddha° A 8 yaṣṭi°] yaṣṭi° A. 9
kākauṣṭhaḥ] kākauṣṭhaka A. 9 tatra] om. A. 10 nemi°] nemi° A. 12 vallūra°] va-
llurakaḥ A. 14 pīthopamapālir] add. ubhayataḥ kṣīṇaputrikaśrito A. 15 aṇusthūla°]
sthūlaṇu° A. 17 cārdha°] ardha° A. 18 tatraite] tatra A. 18 daśakarnāsandhivi-
kalpa] daśaite karnābandhavikalpaḥ A. 18 bandhyaḥ bhavanti] śādhyāḥ A. 18 teṣāṁ]
teṣāṁ A. 19 nāmabhir] svanāmabhir A. 20 śuṣkaśaṣkulir] add. utsannapālir A. 21
ca] om. A. 22 °śamapālir] °śamālpapālir A. 23 granthitamāṁsaḥ] grathitamāṁsa°
A. 23 °sirātatasukṣma°] °sirāsaṁtatasukṣma° A. 1 kākauṣṭha] kākauṣṭhaka A. 2
api] add. tu śopha A. 2 °dāha°] add. °raga° A. 2 °pāka°] add. °pīḍaka° A. 2 °śo-
pha°] om. A. 4 **inserted passage**] bhavanti catra | yasya palidvayam api karnasya na
bhaved iha | karnapīṭhaṁ same madhye tasya viddhva vivardhayet || bāhyayam iha
dirghayam sandhir abhyantaro bhavet | abhyantarayam dirghayam bāhyasandhir uda-
hṛtaḥ || ekaiva tu bhavet pālīḥ sthūlaḥ prthvī sthiraḥ ca yā | tam dvidha paṭayitva tu chittva
copari sandhayet || gaṇḍad utpāṭya māṁsena sanubandhena jīvata | karnapālīm āpales
tu kuryān nirlikhya śāstravit || A.

⁵Cakrapāṇi (1.16.9–13) and Ḍalhaṇa (1.16.10) pointed out that others read pañcadaśaka-
rṇākṛtayaḥ (instead of pañcadaśasandhanākṛtayaḥ). Ḍalhaṇa (1.16.10) also mentioned
that some read samunnatasamobhayapālīḥ (instead of vṛttayatasamobhayapālir) and oth-
ers do not read samkṣiptadayāḥ pañcasādhyāḥ.

⁶The vulgate passage inserted between 9 and 10 (from bhavanti catra to śāstravit) was
probably also absent in the version of the *Suśrutasaṁhitā* commented on by Cakrapāṇi,
who cited it in his commentary as being “read by some” in regard to the joins (sandhana)
that they describe.

- cātropaharet⁷ suramaṇḍakṣīram udakam
dhanyāmlakapalacūrṇṇaṇ ceti | tato 'ṅgaṇam puruṣam vā
grathitakeśāntam laghubhuktavantam aptaiḥ supariḡṛhitam
ca kṛtvā bandhan upadhāya
5 chedyabhedyalekhyavyadhanair upapādyā karṇṇaśonitam
avekṣyaitad duṣṭam aduṣṭam veti tato vātaduṣṭe
dhanyāmlodakābhyām pittaduṣṭe śītodakapayobhyām
śleṣmaduṣṭe suramaṇḍodakābhyām prakṣālyā karṇṇam
punar avalikhet | anunnatam ahinam aviṣamaṇ ca
10 karṇṇasandhin niveśya sthitaraktam sandarśya
madhughr̥tenābhyajya picuplotayor anyatareṇāvaguṇṭhya
nātigāḍhan nātiśīthilam sūtreṇāvabadhya
kapalacūrṇṇenāvakīryācarikam upadiśet | dvivraṇīyoktena
cannenopacaret ||10||

5 ato] tato N. 6 °paharaṇīyo°] °pasam̐haraṇīyo° N. 1 cātropaharet] A; cāgropaha-
raṇīyat N H. 2 puruṣam] puruṣaṇ N. 4 ca kṛtvā] A; om. N H. 4 upadhāya] upa-
padya H. 3--6 °sonitam avekṣyaitad] °sonitata avekṣyetad N. 6 aduṣṭam] aduṣṭaṇ N.
6 veti] A; ceti N H. 7 dhanyāmlō°] dhanyāvlo° N 7 śītodaka°] śītodako° N. 5--9
avalikhet] avalikheta N. 10 °sandhin] °sandhiṃ N 11 °guṇṭhya] °guṇṭhyo H. 12
°gaḍhan] °gaḍham N. 12 °badhya] °baddha N. 9--14 cānnenopacaret] upapocaret
N.

5 'nyatamasya] 'nyatamaṇ A. 6 °sambharaḥ] °sambhāram A. 1 suramaṇḍakṣīram]
suramaṇḍam kṣīram A. 2 dhanyāmlakapālā°] dhanyāmlam kapālā° A. 4 bandhan]
bandham A. 5 °vyadhanair] add. upapannair A. 3--6 avekṣyaitad] avekṣya A. 6
tato] tatra A. 7 dhanyāmlodakā°] dhanyāmlōṣṇodakā° A. 8 °maṇḍodakā°] °ma-
ṇḍoṣṇodakā° A. 8 karṇṇam] karṇau A. 5--9 avalikhet | anunnatam] avalikhyānu-
nnatam A. 10 °sandhin] °sandhiṃ A 10 niveśya] sanniveśya A. 10 sandarśya]
sandadhyat A. 10 sandarśya] add. tato A. 12 nātigāḍhan] sūtreṇānavagāḍhaman A.
12 nāti°] ati° A. 12 sūtreṇāvabadhya] ca baddhvā A. 9--14 cānnenopacaret] ca vi-
dhanenopacaret A.

⁷viśeṣataś cāgropaharaṇīyat of the MSS has been emended to viśeṣataś cātropaharet to
make sense of the list of ingredients, which is in the accusative case. Also, the repetition
of agropaharaṇīyat in the Nepalese version suggests that its second occurrence, which
does not make good sense here, is a dittographic error.

vighaṭṭanan divāsvapnaṃ vyāyamam atibhojanam

vyavāyam agnisantāpam vākśramaṇ ca vivarjjayet
||11||

nāṭisuddharaktam atipravṛttaraktaṃ kṣīṇaraktaṃ vā
5 sandadhyat | sa hi vātaduṣṭe raktabaddho 'ruḍho
paripuṭanavān bhavati | pittaduṣṭe gaḍhapākarāgavān |
śleṣmaduṣṭe stabdhakarṇṇaḥ kaṇḍumān atipravṛttasrāvaḥ
śophavān kṣīṇālpamāṃso na vṛddhim upaiti ||12||

sa yadā ruḍho nirupadravaḥ karṇṇo bhavati tadainam
10 śanaiḥ śanair abhivarddhayet | anyathā
saṃrambhadaḥapākavedanavān bhavati | punar api
chidyeta ||13||

athapraduṣṭasyabhivarddhanārtham abhyaṅgaḥ |
godhapratudaviṣkiranūpaudakavasamajjapayastailam

14 inserted passage] *add.* || bha || N. **14** vighaṭṭanan] vighaṭṭanaṃ N. **2** agnisantāpam] agnisantāpa N. **11--2** vivarjjayet] varjayet N. **4** °suddha°] °suddha° N. **4** °vṛttaraktaṃ] °vṛttaṃ raktaṃ N. **5** raktabaddho 'ruḍho em.] raktavaddho ruḍho N; raktabaddho ruḍho H. **6** °puṭanavān] °puṭavāṃ N; °puṭanavāṃ H. **6** °duṣṭe] °duṣṭai N. **7** śleṣma°] śleṣa° N. **7** °karṇṇaḥ] °varṇṇaḥ N. **7** °srāvaḥ] °śrāvaḥ H. **8** kṣīṇālpā°] kṣīṇo lpa° N. **9** ruḍho] ruḍho N. **11** °pākavedanavān] °pākaraḡavedanavān N; °pākavedanavāṃ H.

14 inserted passage] bhavati cātra | A. **14** vighaṭṭanan] vighaṭṭanaṃ A. **4** nāṭi°] na caṣu° A. **5** raktabaddho 'ruḍho em.] rakte ruḍho 'pi A. **13--6** bhavati] *om.* A. **14--6** gaḍhapākarāgavān] dāhapākarāgavedanavān A. **7** stabdha°] stabdhaḥ A. **1--8** °vṛttasrāvaḥ śophavān] °vṛttarakte śyavaśophavān A. **8** kṣīṇālpā°] kṣīṇo 'lpa° A. **9 inserted passage**] amatailena trirātraṃ pariṣecayet trirātrāc ca picuṃ parivartayet | A. **9** ruḍho] suruḍho A. **9** karṇṇo] savarṇo A. **10** anyathā] ato 'nyathā A. **11** °pākavedanavān] °pākaraḡavedanavān A. **3--11** bhavati] *om.* A. **11** api] *om.* A. **4--12** chidyeta] chidyate vā A.

gaurasarṣapajaṁ ca yathalābhaṁ sambhṛtyārkālarkabalātibalānantavidarimadhukajalaśūkaprativāpan tailam pācayitvā
svanuguptan nidadhyāt ||14||⁸

svedito marditaṁ karṇaṁ anena mrakṣayed

budhaḥ |

5 tato 'nupadravaḥ samyag balavāṁś ca vivarddhate
||15||⁹

ye tu karṇā na varddhante snehasvedopapāditāḥ |
teṣāṁ apaṅge tv abahiḥ kuryāt prachānam eva ca
||16||¹⁰

13 athāpra°] athāsyāḥ pra° H. 13 °duṣṭasyābhivarddhanārtham] °duṣṭasyāvivarddhanārtham N. 1--2 °ārkālarkabalāti°] °ārkālakavalāti° N. 1--2 °prativāpan] °prativāpam N. 3 °guptan] °guptam N. 9--3 nidadhyāt] nidadyāt N. 3 svedito] svadito N. 3 anena] ane X N. 5 tato 'nupadravaḥ] tato nupadravaḥ H; tato nupadravam N. 2--8 abahiḥ] avarihi N. 8 kuryāt] kuryāt N. 8 prachānam] prachannam H. 2--8 teṣāṁ...||16||] om. K.

13 athāpra°] athāsyāpra° A. 13 abhyaṅgaḥ] add. tad yathā A. 14 °majjāpayastailam] °majjāṇau payāḥ sarpis tailam A. 1--2 °balānanta°] °balānantāpamārgaśvagaṇḍha A. 1--2 °vidarimadhukajalaśūka°] °vidarigandhākṣīraśūklajalaśūkamadthuravargapayasya° 1--2 °prativāpan] °prativāpam A. 2 tailam] add. vā A. 3 °guptan] °guptam A. 10--3 svedito marditaṁ] sveditonmarditaṁ A. 10--4 anena mrakṣayed budhaḥ] snehenaitena yojayet A. 7 inserted passage] yavaśvagandhayaṣṭyāhvaiś tilaiś codvartanaṁ hitam | śatāvaryaśvagandhābhyāṁ payasyair aṇḍajīvanaiḥ || tailam vipakvaṁ sakṣīram abhyaṅgaḥ palivardhanam | A. 1--7 snehasvedopa°] svedasnehopa° A. 2--8 apaṅge tv abahiḥ] apaṅgadeṣe tu A. 2--8 ca] tu A.

⁸Ḍalhaṇa (1.16.18) noted that some read rājasarṣapajaṁ in the place of gaurasarṣapajaṁ. This reading appears to have been accepted by Cakrapāṇi (1.16.18–20), who glosses rājasarṣapaja as śvetasarṣapa. Cakrapāṇi also said that some read sarpis in the place of payas. In the compound beginning with arka, Ḍalhaṇa noted that some read arkapuṣṭi.

⁹N has a kakapada after ane, but the missing letter (one would expect `na') has not been supplied in a margin or elsewhere.

¹⁰Ḍalhaṇa (1.16.23) noted that some read teṣāṁ apaṅgacchedyaṁ hi karyam abhyantaram bhavet.

amitaḥ karṇabandhas tu vijñeyāḥ kuśalair iha |
yo yathā suniviṣṭaḥ syāt tat tathā yojayed bhiṣak
||17||¹¹

5

jātaromā suvartmā ca śliṣṭasandhiḥ samāḥ sthirāḥ |
suruḍho 'vedano yas tu taṁ karṇaṁ varddhayec
chanaiḥ ||18||

1 °bandhas] °bandho H. 1 tu] stu H. 2 yojayed] yojaye N. 4 suvartmā] suparma N; suvarmma H. 4 °sandhiḥ] °sandhim N. 5 tu em.] tat N H.

1 **inserted passage**] bāhyacchedaṁ na kurvita vyāpadaḥ syus tato dhruvāḥ || baddhamātraṁ tu yaḥ karṇaṁ sahasaivābhivardhayet | amakośi samādhmātaḥ kṣipram eva vimucyate || A. 2 suniviṣṭaḥ] suviṣiṣṭaḥ A. 2 syāt] taṁ A. 2 yojayed bhiṣak] viniyojayet A. 2 **inserted passage**] (karṇapālyamayān nṛṇaṁ punar vakṣyāmi suśruta ! || karṇapālyam prakupita vātapittakaphas trayāḥ || 1 || dvidhā vā 'py atha saṁsrṣṭaḥ kurvanti vividhā rujaḥ | visphoṭaḥ stabdhata śophaḥ pālyam doṣe tu vatike dāhavisphoṭajananaṁ śophaḥ pākaś ca paittike | kaṇḍuḥ saśvayathuḥ stambho gurutvaṁ ca kaphatmake || 3 || yathadoṣaṁ ca saṁśodhya kuryāt teṣaṁ cikitsitam | svedābhyaṅgapariṣekaiḥ pralepaśrgvimokṣaṇaiḥ || 4 || mṛdvīm kriyāṁ bṛṁhaṇiyair yathasvaṁ bhojanais tathā | ya evaṁ veti doṣaṇaṁ cikitsaṁ kartum arhati || 5 || ata ūrdhvaṁ nāmalingair vakṣye pālyam upadravaṁ || atpākaś cotputakaḥ śyāvaḥ kaṇḍūyuto bhṛśaṁ || 6 || avamanthaḥ sakaṇḍuko granthiko jambulas tathā || sravi ca dāhavaṁś caiva śṛṇv eṣaṁ kramaśaḥ kriyāṁ || 7 || apamārgaḥ sarjaraśaḥ paṭalalakucatvacau || utpātake pralepaḥ syāt tailam ebhiś ca pācayet || 8 || śampākaśigruputikaṁ godamedo 'tha tadvasaṁ || varāhaṁ gavyam aṇeyam pittaṁ sarpiś ca saṁsrjet || 9 || lepam utpātake dadyāt tailam ebhiś ca sādhitam || gauriṁ sugandhaṁ saśyāmaṁ anantaṁ taṇḍuliyakam 10 śyāve pralepanaṁ dadyāt tailam ebhiś ca sādhitam || pāṭhaṁ rasaṇjanaṁ kṣaudraṁ tathā syād uṣṇakāñjikam 11 dadyāt lepam sakaṇḍuke tailam ebhiś ca sādhitam || vraṇibhūtasya deyaṁ syād idaṁ tailaṁ vijanata || 12 || madhukakṣirakakolijivakadyair vipacitam || godhavarāhasarpaṇaṁ vasaḥ syuḥ kṛtabṛṁhaṇe || 13 || pralepanam idaṁ dadyād avasicyāvananthake || prapaunḍarikaṁ madhukaṁ samaṅgaṁ dhavam eva ca || 14 || tailam ebhiś ca saṁpakvaṁ śṛṇu kaṇḍumataḥ kriyāṁ || sahadeva viśvadeva ajakṣiraṁ sasaindhavam etair ālepanaṁ dadyāt tailam ebhiś ca sādhitam || 15 || granthike guṭikaṁ pūrvaṁ srāvaḥ avapāṭya tu || tataḥ saindhavacūrṇaṁ tu ghrṣṭvā lepam pradāpayet || 16 || likhitvā tatsrutam ghrṣṭvā cūrṇair lodhrasya jambule || kṣireṇa pratisaryainaṁ śuddhaṁ saṁropayet tataḥ || 17 || madhuparṇi madhukaṁ ca ma madhukaṁ madhuna saha || lepaḥ sraviṇi dātavyas tailam ebhiś ca sādhitam 18 pañcavalkaiḥ samadhukaiḥ piṣṭais taiś ca ghr̥tanvitaiḥ || jivakadyaiḥ sarpīṣkair dāhamaṇaṁ pralepayet || 19 ||) A. 5 yas] ca A.

¹¹ Dalhana (1.16.26) stated that some read suniviṣṭaḥ (the reading of the Nepalese version) instead of suviṣiṣṭaḥ.

viśleṣitāyaṁ atha nāsikāyaṁ
 vakṣyāmi sandhānavidhiṁ yathāvat |
 nāsapramāṇaṁ pṛthivīruhaṇaṁ
 patraṁ gṛhitvā tv avalambī tasya ||19||¹²

5 tena pramaṇena hi gaṇḍaparśvād
 utkr̥tya vadhraṁ tv atha nāsikāgram |
 vilikhya caśu pratisandadhita
 taṁ sadhubaddham bhiṣag apramattaḥ ||20||

10 susivitaṁ samyag ato yathāvan
 naḍidvayenābhisamikṣya nahyet |
 unnamayitvā tv avacūrṇayita
 pattaṅgayasṭimadhukāñjanaiś ca ||21||

15 saṁchādya samyak picunā vraṇan tu
 tailena siñced asakṛt tilānaṁ |
 ghr̥tañ ca pāyyaḥ sa naraḥ sujirṇṇe
 snigdho virecyāḥ svayathopadeśam ||22||

1 nāsikāyaṁ] nāsikāya N. 3 °pramāṇaṁ] °pramāṇa° N. 3 °vīruhaṇaṁ] °vīruha-
 ṇaṁ N. 4 patraṁ] patra N. 6 vadhraṁ] vandhra H. 8 °baddham] °vaddha° N. 9
 susivitaṁ em.] susivita N; suśivitaṁ H. 12 susivitaṁ...||21||] om. K. 12 pattaṅga°
 em.] pattraṅga° H; pattaṅga° N. 13 vṛaṇan tu] vṛaṇa tun N. 16 virecyāḥ] A; virecya
 N H. 16 °deśam] °deśaḥ N.

1 viśleṣitāyaṁ] viśleṣitāyas tv A. 1 nāsikāyaṁ] nāsikāya A. 6 vadhraṁ] baddhaṁ
 A. 8 taṁ] tat A. 8 °baddham] °bandhair A. 9 susivitaṁ em.] susaṁhitaṁ A. 13--
 10 nahyet] baddhvā A. 11 unnamayitvā] pronnāmya caināṁ A. 11 avacūrṇayita
 avacūrṇayet tu 12 pattaṅga° em.] pataṅga° A. 13 vṛaṇan tu] sitena A. 16 svayatho°]
 sa yatho° A.

¹²Cakrapāṇidatta said that others read nāsasandhānavidhiṁ here. Ḍalhaṇa (1.16.27–31)
 stated that some read, chinnaṁ tu nāsikaṁ dr̥ṣṭvā vayahsthasya śarirīṇaḥ | nāsanurūpaṁ
 saṁcchidya patraṁ gaṇḍe niveśayet ||

ruḍhañ ca sandhaṇam upāgataṃ vai
tadvadhraśeṣaṃ tu punar nikṛntet |
hinaṃ punar varddhayituṃ yateta
samañ ca kuryād ativrddhamāṃsam
||23|| iti om ||

5

1 sandhaṇam] sandhām N. 1 upāgataṃ] upāgataś H. 1 vai] cai H. 2 °śeṣaṃ] °seṣan N. 3 yateta] yatetaḥ N. 4 °māṃsam] °mānsam N. 4 om] om. N. 20--4 ruḍhañ...om] om. K.

1 vai] syāt A. 2 tadvadhra°] tad ardha° A 3 hinaṃ] hinaṃ A. 4 samañ] samāṃ A. 4 °māṃsam] °māṃsām A. 4 om] om. A. 6 **inserted passage**] naḍḍiyogaṃ vi-
nauṣṭhasya naśasandhanavad vidhim | ya evam eva jāṇiyat sa rājñāḥ kartum arhati ||
A.

Translation of Sūtrasthāna 16

- 1 Now we shall expound the method for piercing the ear.¹²⁴
- 2 One may pierce a child's ears for the purpose of preserving and decorating. During the bright fortnight, when the child is in the sixth or seventh month, on renowned days, half days, hours and constellations, the physician, with a calming presence, sits the boy, who has received a benediction and the recitation of a blessing,¹²⁵ on the lap of a wet-nurse.¹²⁶ Then, he should pull the ear with his left hand and pierce straight through with his right hand at a naturally-occurring cleft.¹²⁷

124 The topic of piercing the ear (*karṇavyadha*) is not discussed in the *Carakasamhitā* (**meul-hist**), but it is mentioned in some texts that followed the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, such as the *Kaśāpyasaṃhitā* (**meul-hist**). Also, the instrument for piercing the ear is described in the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasaṃhitā* 1.26.26 (**kunt-1939**). In the versions of the text known to Ḍalhaṇa (**vulgate**) and Cakrapāṇidatta (**acar-1939**), the heading of this chapter is “the method of piercing and joining the ear” (*karṇavyadhabandhavidhi*), instead of the Nepalese version’s “the method of piercing the ear” (*karṇavyadhavidhi*). The topic of joining the ear (*karṇabandha*) is discussed in passages 17–20 of the Nepalese version. However, it appears that only subsequent redactors reflected its importance by including it in chapter headings.

The Nepalese version also omits the opening remark on Dhanvantari that appears in subsequent versions of the text. For a discussion of the frame story in the Nepalese version, see **birc-2021**. Ḍalhaṇa (**vulgate**) and Cakrapāṇidatta (**acar-1939**) state that only the ears of healthy people should be pierced, and they quote the lost authority Bhoja to affirm this: “When piercing the ears of children who are free of disease at these times, their ear flaps and apertures, as well as limbs, increase” (for the Sanskrit, see **vulgate**).

Some texts use the adjective *karṇa-vedhanī* rather than *vyadhanī*.

- 125 The causative form *vyadhayet* is known in Classical Sanskrit (**whit-root**). The compound *kṛtamaṅgalasvastivācanam* “who has received a benediction and the recitation of a blessing” is an emendation based on the similar text at 3.2.25 (**vulgate**). Cf. also 3.10.8, 24 (**vulgate**) that have slightly different formulations.
- 126 The versions of 1.16.3 known to Cakrapāṇidatta (**acar-1939**) and Ḍalhaṇa (**vulgate**) have the additional compound *kumārādharaṇke* (“on the lap of one who holds the child”) after *dhātryaṇke*. The gender of *kumārādhara* is made clear by Ḍalhaṇa’s gloss “a man who holds the child.” Also, both versions add *bālakṛīḍanakaiḥ pralobhya* (“having enticed with children’s toys”) to indicate that the child should be tempted with toys to stay on the assistant’s lap. According to Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.3 (**vulgate**), the toys include replica elephants, horses, bulls and parrots. Ḍalhaṇa further mentions that others read *bhakṣyaviśeṣair vā* (“or by special treats”) before *bālakṛīḍanakaiḥ*, but we see no trace of these small kindnesses in our witnesses.
- 127 The versions of 1.16.3 of Cakrapāṇidatta (**acar-1939**) and Ḍalhaṇa (**vulgate**) add that this naturally-occurring cleft is illuminated by a ray of sunshine (*ādityakarāvabhā-*

- For a boy, do the right ear first; for a girl, do the left one. Use a needle on a thin ear; an awl (*ārā*) on a thick one.¹²⁸
- 3 One may know that it was pierced in the wrong place if there is excess blood or too much pain. The absence of side-effects is a sign that it has been pierced in the right place.¹²⁹
- 4 In this context, if an ignorant person randomly pierces a duct (*sirā*) there will be fever, burning, swelling (*śvayathu*), pain, lumps (*granthi*), paralysis of the nape of the neck (*manyāstambhā*), convulsions (*apatānaka*), headache or sharp pain in the ear.¹³⁰
- 5 Having removed the wick (*vartti*) because of the accumulation of humours or an unsatisfactory piercing at that location,¹³¹ he should smear

site).

The syntax of this slightly long sentence is unusual in beginning with the dual object *tau* “the two (ears)” at the start of the sentence, which is remote from the main verb. The other singular accusatives referring to the ear being pierced are governed by absolutes.

- 128 Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.3 (**vulgate**) clarifies that the awl is a shoe-maker’s knife for piercing leather. He also cites the authority of “the notes of Lakṣmaṇa” (*Lakṣmaṇaṭippaṇaka*) on the issue of the thickness of the needle. *The Notes of Lakṣmaṇa* is not known from any earlier or contemporary sources and was presumably a collection of glosses on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that was available to Ḍalhaṇa in twelfth-century Bengal. See **meul-hist**.
- 129 At this point, MS Kathmandu KL 699 is missing a folio, so the rest of this chapter is constructed on the basis of witnesses MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 and MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079.
- 130 This passage is significantly augmented in Cakrapāṇidatta’s and Ḍalhaṇa’s versions, to outline the specific problems caused by piercing three ducts called *kālikā*, *marmikā* and *lohitikā* (1.16.4 (**acar-1939**) and 1.16.5 (**vulgate**) respectively). In fact, the order of the problems mentioned in the Nepalese version has been retained in the other versions and divided between each duct. Cakrapāṇidatta’s commentary on 1.16.4 (**acar-1939**) cites several verses attributed to Bhoja on the problems caused by piercing these three ducts in the ear flap: ‘*lohitikā*, *marmikā* and the black ones are the ducts situated in the earflaps. Listen in due order to the problems that arise when they are pierced. Paralysis of the nape of the neck and convulsions, or sharp pain arise from piercing *lohitikā*. Pain and lumps are thought to arise from piercing *marmikā*. Piercing *kālikā* gives rise to swelling, fever and burning.’
- 131 In addition to these reasons, 1.16.6 of Ḍalhaṇa at 1.16.6 (**vulgate**), added “because of piercing with a painful, crooked and unsatisfactory needle” (*kliṣṭajihmāpraśasta-sūcīvyadhāt*) and “because of a wick that is too thick” (*gāḍhataravartitvāt*). Ḍalhaṇa was aware of the reading in the Nepalese version because in his commentary on 1.16.6 (**vulgate**) he noted that some read “because of the accumulation of humours” rather than “because of piercing with a painful, crooked and unsatisfactory needle or because of a wick that is too thick.” On the concept of humoral accumulation (*samu-*

it with barley, liquorice, Indian madder (*mañjiṣṭhā*), and the root of the castor oil tree (*gandharvahasta*), thickened with honey and ghee. And when it has healed well, he should pierce it again.¹³²

- 6 He should treat the properly-pierced ear by sprinkling it with raw sesame oil. After every three days one should make a thicker wick (*vartī*) and do the very same sprinkling.
- 7 Once the ear is free from humours or side-effects, one should put in a light dilator (*pravardhanaka*) in order to enlarge it enough.¹³³
- 8 *A person's ear enlarged in this way can split in two, either as a result of the humours¹³⁴ or a blow.*

Listen to me about the ways of joining (sandhāna) it can have.

- 9 Here, there are, in brief, fifteen ways of mending the ear flap.¹³⁵ They are as follows: Rim-join (*nemīsandhānakaḥ*), Lotus-splittable (*utpalabhedyaka*), Dried Flesh (*vallūraka*), Fastening (*āsaṅgima*), Cheek-ear (*gaṇḍakarṇa*), Take away (*āhārya*), Ready-Split (*nirvedhima*), Multi-joins (*vyāyojima*), Door-hinge (*kapāṭasandhika*), Half door-hinge (*ardha-kapāṭasandhika*), Compressed (*saṁkṣipta*), Reduced-ear (*hīnakarṇa*), Creeper-ear (*vallīkarṇa*), Stick-ear (*yaṣṭīkarṇa*), and Crow's lip (*kākauṣṭha*).¹³⁶

In this context, among these,

dāya), see the important analysis by **meul-1992**.

- 132 The description of the drug is ambiguous: the word “root” could be taken with each plant, or just with the last. The vulgate reads just “castor oil root” so we assume that is the traditional interpretation.
- 133 Cakrapāṇidatta on 1.16.6 (**acar-1939**) and Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.8 (**vulgate**) pointed out that the dilator can be made of wood, such as that of the prickly chaff flower (*apāmarga*), the neem tree (*nimba*) and the cotton plant (*kārpāsa*). Ḍalhaṇa added that it can also be made of lead (*sīsaka*) and should have the shape of the datura flower (*dhattūrapuṣpa*). The manuscripts have variant readings for *laghupravardhanakam āmuñcet* at this point that include a scribal emendation, none of which construe plausibly. It is possible that the unusual verb form *ā+√muc* puzzled the scribes and caused the implausible scribal readings and emendations.
- 134 Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.9 (**vulgate**) notes that the word *doṣa* here can refer to either a humour, such as wind (*vāta*), as we have understood it, or a disease generated from a humour.
- 135 The Nepalese version uses the word *sandhāna* to refer to joining a split in an ear flap, which is consistent with the terminology in the verse cited above (8). However, 1.16.10 of Ḍalhaṇa's version (**vulgate**) uses the term *bandha* here and at the very beginning of the chapter (i.e., 1.16.1) to introduce the topic of repairing the ear.
- 136 For an artist's impression of these different kinds of joins in the ear flap, see **majn-1975** (reproduced as Figure 3.2 in **wuja-2003**).

“Rim-join” (*nemīsandhānaka*): both flaps are wide, long, and equal.

“Lotus-splittable” (*utpalabhedyaka*): both flaps are round, long, and equal.

“Dried flesh” (*vallūraka*): both flaps are short, round, and equal.

“Fastening” (*āsaṅgima*): one flap is longer on the inside.

“Cheek-ear” (*gaṇḍakarṇa*): one flap is longer on the outside.¹³⁷

“Take-away” (*āhārya*): the flaps are missing, in fact, on both sides.

“Ready-split” (*nirvedhima*): the flaps are like a dais (*pīṭha*).

“Multi-joins” (*vyāyojima*): one flap is small, the other thick, one flap is equal, the other unequal.

“Door-hinge” (*kapāṭasandhika*): the flap on the inside is long, the other is small.

“Half door-hinge” (*ardhakapāṭasandhika*): the flap on the outside is long, the other is small.

“These ten options (*vikalpa*) for joins (*sandhi*) of the ear should be bound. They can mostly be explained as resembling their names.¹³⁸ The five from compressed (*saṃkṣipta*) on are incurable.¹³⁹ Among these, “compressed” has a dry ear canal and the other flap is small. “Reduced ear” has flaps that have no base and have wasted flesh on their edges. “Creeper-ear” has flaps that are thin and uneven. “Stick-ear” has lumpy (*granthita*) flesh and the flaps are stretched thin and have stiff (*stabdha*) ducts (*sirā*). “Crow-lip” has a flap without flesh with compressed (*saṃkṣipta*) tips and little blood. Even when they are bound up, they do not heal because they are hot, inflamed, suppurating (*srāva*), or swollen.¹⁴⁰

137 For an artist’s impression of this join, see **majn-1975** (reproduced as Figure 3.3 in **wuja-2003**).

138 Cakrapāṇidatta on 1.16.9–13 (**acar-1939**) and Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.10 (**vulgate**) provide examples of how the names of these joins describe their shapes. For example, the rim-join (*nemīsandhānaka*) is similar to the join of the rim of a wheel (*cakradhārā*).

139 Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.10 (**vulgate**) mentions that some do not read the statement that only five are incurable, and they understand the causes of unsuccessful joins given below (i.e., heat, inflammation, suppuration and swelling) as also pertaining to the first ten when they do heal.

140 The version of 1.16.11–13 known to Ḍalhaṇa (**vulgate**) has four verses (*śloka*) at this

- 10 A person wishing to perform a join of any of these should therefore have supplies specially prepared according to the recommendations of the “Preparatory Supplies” chapter.¹⁴¹ And in this regard, he should particularly gather¹⁴² decanted liquor (*surāmaṇḍa*), milk, water, fermented rice-water (*dhānyāmla*), and powdered earthenware crockery (*kapālacūrṇa*).¹⁴³

Next, having made the woman or man tie up the ends of their hair, eat lightly and be firmly held by qualified attendants, the physician considers the joins (*bandha*) and then applies them by means of cutting (*chedya*), splitting (*bhedya*), scarification (*lekhyā*), or piercing (*vyadhana*).¹⁴⁴ Next, he should examine the blood of the ear to know whether it is tainted (*duṣṭa*) or not. If it is tainted by wind, the ear should be bathed with fermented rice-water (*dhānyāmla*) and water; if tainted by choler, then cold water and milk should be used; if tainted by phlegm, then decanted liquor (*surāmaṇḍa*) and water should be used, and then he should scarify it again.

After arranging the join in the ear so that it is neither proud, depressed, nor uneven, and observing that the blood has stopped, one should anoint it with honey and ghee, bandage each ear with cotton (*picu*)

point that are not in the Nepalese manuscripts. The additional verses iterate the types of joins required for ear flaps that are missing, elongated, thick, wide, etc. All four verses were probably absent in the version of the *Suśrutasamhitā* known to Cakrapāṇidatta. He cites the verses separately in his commentary, the *Bhānumatī* (acar-1939), introducing each one as ‘some people read’ (ke cit paṭhanti). However, in Trikamajī Ācārya’s edition of the *Sūtrasthāna* of the *Bhānumatī*, the root text is largely identical to the one commented on by Ḍalhaṇa (**vulgate**), even in instances like this where Cakrapāṇidatta’s commentary indicates that he was reading a different version of the *Suśrutasamhitā*. See further the discussion on p. 7 above.

- 141 *Suśrutasamhitā* 1.5 (**vulgate**), probably verse 6 especially that lists the equipment and medications that a surgeon should have ready.
- 142 The reading in the Nepalese manuscripts of *viśeṣataś cāgropaharaṇīyāt* has been emended to *viśeṣataś cātropaharet* to make sense of the list of ingredients, which is in the accusative case. Also, the repetition of *agropaharaṇīyāt* in the Nepalese version suggests that its second occurrence, which does not make good sense here, is a dittographic error.
- 143 The term *kapālacūrṇa* is unusual. Ḍalhaṇa (**vulgate**) defines it as the powder of fragments of fresh earthen pots and Cakrapāṇidatta (acar-1939) as the powder of earthenware vessels.
- 144 There are syntactic difficulties in this sentence. We have adopted the reading in Ḍalhaṇa’s version (**vulgate**), which has *ca kṛtvā* following *supariḡhītam*. It is likely that a verb, such as *kṛtvā*, dropped out of the Nepalese transmission.

and gauze (*plota*), and bind it up with a thread, neither too tightly nor too loosely. Then, the physician should sprinkle earthenware powder on it and provide medical advice (*ācārika*). And he should supplement with food as taught in the “Two Wound” chapter.¹⁴⁵

- 11 One should avoid rubbing, sleeping during the day, exercise, overeating,
sex, getting hot by a fire, or the effort of speaking.
- 12 One should not make a join when the blood is too pure, too copious, or too thin.¹⁴⁶ For when the ear is tainted by wind, then it is obstructed by blood (*raktabaddha*), unhealed and will peel. When tainted with choler, it becomes pinched (*gāḍha*), septic (*pāka*) and red. When tainted by phlegm, it will be stiff (*stabdha*) and itchy. It has excessively copious suppuration (*srāva*) and is śopha (*puffed up*). It has it has a small amount of wasted (*kṣīṇa*) flesh and it will not grow.¹⁴⁷
- 13 When the ear is properly healed and there are no complications, one may very gradually start to expand it. Otherwise, it may be inflamed (*saṃrambha*), burning, septic or painful. It may even split open again.
- 14 Now, massage for the healthy ear, in order to enlarge it. One should gather as much as one can the following: a monitor lizard (*godhā*), scavenging (*pratuda*) and seed-eating (*viṣkīra*) birds, and creatures that live in marshes or water,¹⁴⁸ fat, marrow, milk, and sesame oil, and white mustard oil.¹⁴⁹ Then cook the oil with an admixture (*prativāpa*) of the following: purple calotropis (*arka*), white calotropis

145 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 4.1 (vulgate).

146 1.16.17 of Ḍaḷhaṇa's version (**vulgate**) reads "impure" for the Nepalese "too pure," which would appear to make better medical sense. Emending the text to **nāśuddha-** for **nātiśuddha-** in the Nepalese recension would yield the same meaning as the Ḍaḷhaṇa's version.

147 In his edition of *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, Ācārya (**vulgate**) includes in parentheses the following treatment for these conditions, which according to a footnote is not found in the palm-leaf manuscript he used: ‘One should sprinkle it with raw sesame oil for three days and one should renew the cotton bandage after three days’ (*āmatailena trirātram pariseçayet trirātrāc ca picuṃ parivartayet*).

148 For such classifications, see **zimm-1999** and **smit-1994**.

149 Ḍalhaṇa's version of 1.16.19 (**vulgate**) includes ghee (*sarpis*). However, Ḍalhaṇa's remarks on this passage and Cakrapāṇidatta's on 1.16.18 (**acar-1939**) indicate that they knew a version of this recipe, perhaps similar to the Nepalese one, that did not include ghee (). Ḍalhaṇa also noted that others simply read four oils, beginning with fat and without milk, whereas Cakrapāṇidatta said that some say it is made with four oils and milk.

(*alarka*), country mallow (*balā*), ‘strong Indian mallow’ (*atibalā*), country sarsaparilla (*anantā*), beggarweed (*vidāri*), liquorice (*madhuka*) and hornwort (*jalaśūka* → *jalanīlikā*¹⁵⁰).¹⁵¹ This should then be deposited in a well-protected spot.

- 15 *The wise man who has been sweated should rub the massaged (mardita) ear with it.
Then it will be free of complications, and will enlarge properly and be strong.*¹⁵²
- 16 *Ears which do not enlarge even when sweated and oiled, should be scarified at the edge of the hole (apāṅga), but not outside it.*¹⁵³
- 17 *In this tradition, experts know countless repairs to ears. So a physician who is very intent (suniviṣṭa) on working in this way may repair (yojayed) them.*¹⁵⁴
- 18 *If an ear has grown hair, has a nice hole, a firm join, and is strong*

150 *Ceratophyllum demersum*, L. This name is not certain. In fact, Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.19 (**vulgate**) notes that some people interpret it as a poisonous, hairy, air-breathing, underwater creature.

151 The version of 1.16.19 known to Ḍalhaṇa (**vulgate**) adds several ingredients to this admixture, including *apāmārga*, *aśvagandhā*, *kṣīraśuklā*, *madhuravarga* and *payasyā*. Also, it has *vidārigandhā* instead of *vidāri*. When commenting on 1.16.19, Ḍalhaṇa (**vulgate**) notes that some do not read *madhuravarga* and *payasyā*. Therefore, there were probably other versions of this recipe with fewer ingredients, as seen in the Nepalese version.

152 For these aims (i.e., healing and enlarging the ear), the text known to Ḍalhaṇa (**vulgate**) has an additional verse and a half describing an ointment for rubbing the ear (*udvartana*) and sesame oil (*taila*) cooked with various medicines for massage. Cakrapāṇidatta (**acar-1939**) does not comment on these verses, nor verse 15 of the Nepalese version, and so the version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* known to him may not have included them.

153 Ḍalhaṇa’s version of 1.16.23 (**vulgate**) adds another hemistich that states more explicitly that the scarification should not be done on the outside of hole as it will cause derangement.

154 After verse 17, the 1938 edition of Ācārya (**vulgate**) has in parentheses nineteen verses on diseases of the ear lobes, treatments and complications. It is possible that these verses were in some of the witnesses used by Ācārya to construct the text as they occur in other manuscripts, such as MS Hyderabad Osmania 137-3 (b). However, Cakrapāṇidatta (**acar-1939**) and Ḍalhaṇa (**vulgate**) state that some read about the diseases of the ear lobes in this chapter whereas others read about them in the chapter on various treatments (*miśrakacikitsa*) (SS 5.25), which does indeed begin with a discussion of the disease *paripoṭa*. Ḍalhaṇa goes on to say that some believe that these verses were not composed by sages and, therefore, do not read them.

Translation of Sūtrasthāna 16

- and even, well-healed, and free from pain, then one can enlarge it slowly.*¹⁵⁵
- 19 Now I shall describe the proper method of making a repair when a nose is severed. First, take from the trees a leaf the same size as the man's nose and hang it on him.
- 20 Next, having cut a slice of flesh (*vadhra*)¹⁵⁶ with the same measurements off the cheek, the end of the nose is then scarified.¹⁵⁷ Then the undistracted (*apramatta*) physician, should quickly put it back together so that it is well joined (*sādhubaddha*).
- 21 Having carefully observed that it has been sewn up properly, he should then fasten it along with two tubes.¹⁵⁸ Having caused it to be raised,¹⁵⁹ the powder of sappanwood (*pattāṅga*),¹⁶⁰ liquorice and Indian barberry.¹⁶¹ should be sprinkled on it.
- 22 The wound should be covered properly with cotton (*picu*) and should be moistened repeatedly with sesame oil. Ghee should be given to the man to drink. His digestion being complete, he should be oiled and purged in accordance with the instructions specific to him.¹⁶²

155 The order of verses 17 and 18 are reversed in Ḍalhaṇa's version (**vulgate**).

156 The version of 1.16.28b known to Ḍalhaṇa (**vulgate**) reads "bound, connected (*bad-dham*)" instead of "slice of flesh (*vadhra*)." This is a critical variant from the surgical point of view. If the slice remains connected, it will have a continuing blood supply. This is one of the effective techniques that so astonished surgeons witnessing a similar operation in Pune in the eighteenth century (**wuja-2003**).

157 Or 1.16.20 could be mean, '... off the cheek, it is fixed to the end of the nose, which has been scarified.' Unfortunately, the Sanskrit of the Nepalese version is not unambiguous on the important point of whether or not the flap of grafted skin remains connected to its original site on the cheek. However, Ḍalhaṇa (**vulgate**) clarifies the meaning of the vulgate here by stating that one should supply the word 'flesh' when reading 'connected,' thus indicating that he understood the flesh to be connected to the face.

158 Ḍalhaṇa noted that the two tubes should be made of reed (*nala*) or the stalk of the leaf of castor oil plant (*eraṇḍapatranāla*) (on 1.16.21 (**vulgate**)). They should not be made of lead or betel nut because the weight will cause them to slip down.

159 The Sanskrit term *unnāmayitvā* in 1.16.21 is non-Pāṇinian.

160 *Caesalpinia sappan*, L. For *pattāṅga* there are manuscript variants *pattrāṅga* (MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333) and *pattaṅga* (MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079). Also, MS Kathmandu KL 699 (f. 14r:1) has *pattrāṅga* in a verse in 1.14 (cf. 1.14.36 (**vulgate**)). The text known to Ḍalhaṇa has *pataṅga* (1.16.29 (**vulgate**)) and this term is propagated in modern dictionaries.

161 *Berberis aristata*, DC. Ḍalhaṇa understands it as elixir salve (*rasāñjana*) (**vulgate**).

162 The expression *svayathopadeśa* is ungrammatical but supported in all available wit-

Translation of Sūtrasthāna 16

- 23 *And once healed and really come together, what is left of that slice of flesh (vadhra) should then be trimmed.¹⁶³ If it is reduced (hīna), however, one should make an effort to stretch it, and one should make its overgrown flesh smooth.¹⁶⁴*

nesses.

163 The vulgate transmission has lost the word **vadhra** and replaced it with **ardha** “half,” which makes little sense in this surgical context.

164 Ḍalhaṇa accepted a verse following this, 1.16.32 (**vulgate**), which points out that the procedure for joining the nose is similar to that of joining the lips without fusing the ducts. He noted that earlier teachers did not think this statement on the nose and lips was made by sages, but he included it because it was accepted by Jejjaṭa, Gayadāsa and others, although they did not comment on it because it was easy to understand. Cakrapāṇidatta also did not comment on this additional verse (**acar-1939**).