

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

Jason Birch and Dominik Wujastyk and others

Draft of 5th October 2021

© Jason Birch, Dominik Wujastyk, Andrey Klebanov, Madhu
Parameswaran, Madhusudan Rimal, Deepro Chakraborty,
Harshal Bhatt, Devyani Shenoy, Vandana Lele.

Contents

Introduction	3
Aim of the Article	3
Importance of SS.1.16 in the History of Medicine	3
Torn ear lobes	5
Rhinoplasty	5
The Sanskrit Text	7
The Nepalese Version	7
The Printed Editions	7
The Vulgate	7
The sources of the 1915 edition	7
The sources of the 1931 edition	8
The sources of the 1938 edition	8
Evaluation	9
The 1939 edition	10
Evaluation	13



© Dominik Wujastyk. I am distributing this pre-publication draft under a
Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.
For details, see <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>

Differences Between the Nepalese Version and the Vulgate	13
The Edition	14
Manuscripts	14
Features of the manuscript transmission	14
Palaeographical features	14
Chart of characters	14
Editorial Principles	14
The Translation	15
Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 16	15
Abbreviations	23
Index of Manuscripts	25
References	26
Glossary	38

Introduction

Aim of the Article

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.¹ Cauterization too was used to prevent wounds from bleeding. The *Brāhmaṇa* literature of the early first millennium BCE contains more detailed descriptions of animal butchery in the context of religious sacrifice that involved the enumeration of internal organs and bones.² This exemplifies an early Sanskrit vocabulary for internal parts of bodies, but it is not the same as medical dissection, whose methods and purpose is quite different.³ With *The Compendium of Suśruta* (*Suśrutasaṃhitā*) we find ourselves in the presence of something quite different and more developed, in which the body was studied specifically for medical and surgical purposes.⁴ The *Compendium* gives us a historical window onto a school of professionalised surgical practice which existed almost two millennia ago, and which in its day was perhaps the most advanced school of surgery in the world.

The Compendium of Suśruta describes 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.⁵ The author of *The Compendium* claimed that surgery is the most ancient and most efficacious of the eight branches of medical knowledge (1.1.15–19 (Su 1938: 4)). Discussion with contemporary surgeons has convinced me that many details in the descriptions could only have been written by a practising surgeon: it is certain that elaborate surgical techniques were a reality in the author's circle.

1 Zysk 1985: 70–71.

2 Malamoud 1996.

3 Keith (1908) pointed out that the enumeration of the bones in the *Brāhmaṇas* was derived from correspondences with the numbering of various verse forms, not from anatomical observation.

4 Zysk 1986.

5 Wilson 1823; Mukhopādhyāya 1913; Deshpande 2000; Wujastyk 2003; Narayana and Thrigulla 2011 and many other studies.

I have argued elsewhere that in spite of Suśruta's elaborate descriptions, there is little historical evidence to show that these practices persisted beyond the time of the composition of *The Compendium*.⁶ A few references to surgery found in Sanskrit literature between the fourth to the eighth centuries CE were collected by P. V. Sharma.⁷ But the stereotypical nature of most of these references and the paucity of real detail, suggest that the practice of surgery was rare in this period.

There is some evidence, however, that although surgery ceased to be part of the professional practice of traditional physicians of the *vaidya* castes, it migrated to practitioners of the 'barber-surgeon' type. As such, it was no longer supported by the underpinning of Sanskrit literary tradition, and so it is harder to find historical data about the practice. Sircar (1987) discussed some epigraphical evidence for the heritage and migrations of the 'Ambaṣṭha' caste, who appear to have functioned as barber-surgeons in South India and later migrated to Bengal. There is also evidence from the eighteenth century of the practice of smallpox inoculation by traditional '*tīkādars*'.⁸ And some other surgical techniques which sound similar to those described in *The Compendium*, for example for removing ulcers, were observed in the same period.⁹

While the theoretical aspects of surgery continued to appear in those medical textbooks which tried to be comprehensive, in practice those who applied the surgical techniques seem to have been increasingly isolated from mainstream of āyurvedic practice. It may be that as the caste system grew in rigidity through the first millennium CE, taboos concerning physical contact became almost insurmountable and *vaidyas* seeking to enhance their status may have resisted therapies that involved intimate physical contact with the patient, or cutting into the body. On the other hand, against this hypothesis it may be argued that the examination of the pulse and urine gained in popularity, as did massage therapies.

An example of this process may be the famous ophthalmic operation of couching for cataract, which is first described in *The Compendium*.¹⁰ A description of this operation survives in the ninth-century *Kalyāṇakāraka*

6 Wujastyk 1993.

7 P. V. Sharma 1972: 74–8.

8 Coult 1731; Holwell 1767.

9 Baber 1996: 79.

10 Well outlined by Majno 1975: 378–9.

composed in eastern India by the Jaina author Ugrāditya.¹¹ This procedure, or one very similar to it, also reached China, through transmission on the routes taken by traders and Buddhist pilgrims.¹² But by the beginning of the twentieth century it was described by Elliot (1918) as long having been carried out by traditional practitioners of the barber-surgeon type rather than by physicians trained in the Sanskrit texts.

By the seventeenth century, foreign visitors to India began to remark on how surgery was virtually non-existent in India. The French traveller Tavernier, for example, reported in 1684 that once when the King of Golconda had a headache and his physicians prescribed that blood should be let in four places under his tongue, nobody could be found to do it, 'for the Natives of the Country understand nothing of Chirurgery'.¹³

Torn ear lobes

Suśruta's description of the repair of torn ear lobes is again unique for its time. Majno 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'.¹⁴ The different types of mutilated ear lobe which the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* describes are not always easy to understand from the Sanskrit: the illustrations supplied in Majno's text help visualization.¹⁵

Rhinoplasty

One of the best-known surgical techniques associated with *The Compendium of Suśruta* is rhinoplasty, the repair or rebuilding of a severed nose. I described the history of this operation elsewhere and translated the Sanskrit passage from the vulgate edition of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.¹⁶ This fascinating technique is certainly old in South Asia, having been witnessed by travellers from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.¹⁷ But it is

11 Meulenbeld 1984: 67, n. 76; HIML: IIA, 151 ff; Pārśvanātha Śāstrī 1940: 366–368, 375–378.

12 Unschuld 1984: 132–48; Deshpande 1999; 2000.

13 Tavernier 1684: 1.2.103; see also Sleeman 1893: 1.130.

14 Majno 1975: 291.

15 Majno 1975: 290–291; reproduced with permission in Wujastyk 2003: 92–93.

16 Wujastyk 2003: 67–70, 99–100. See also HIML: IB, 327–328, note 186 for further literature and interesting reflections.

17 Manucci 1907–8: ii.301; Thorburn 1876: 352–3.

disappointing to find that it is not found in the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasamhitā*. As noted by Meulenbeld, none of the known commentators, Jejjāta, Gayadāsa, Cakrapāṇi or Ḍalhaṇa, explained the technique in any detail beyond lexical glosses.¹⁸ This suggests that the commentators did not in fact know the technique at first-hand. Perhaps by the late first millennium, the technique had moved into the professional competence of barber-surgeons? On the other hand, if the rhinoplasty description was not part of the oldest recension of the *Suśrutasamhitā*, perhaps the influence was in the other direction, and a technique known to practitioners elsewhere in South Asia in the late first millennium was written into the text of *The Compendium* after the time of the Nepalese version. The 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.¹⁹

¹⁸ [HIML](#): IB, 328. Ḍalhaṇa also noted that a rather different version of the text, cast in śloka metre, was also known to him from other sources (1.16.27–31 ([Su 1938](#): 81a)). Ḍalhaṇa's variant bears a resemblance to the description of the operation given in printed editions of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā* (Ah Utt.18.59–65 ([Ah 1939](#): 841)).

¹⁹ If this hypothesis is not contradicted when more manuscripts of the *Suśrutasamhitā* can be collated, then the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā* may be the oldest āyurvedic text describing rhinoplasty.

The Sanskrit Text

The Nepalese Version

The Printed Editions

The careful survey of printed editions of the *Suśrutasamhitā* by Meulenbeld lists no fewer than 44 entries.²⁰ These range from the first edition by Madhusūdana Gupta (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 1844 and continue up to the present in scores of publications in many languages.²¹

The Vulgate

The great ayurvedic scholar Yādavaśarman Trivikrama Ācārya produced three successive editions of the *Suśrutasamhitā* with the commentary of Ḍaḥaṇa, 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.²² 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.²³ 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*.

²⁰ [HIML](#): IIB, 311–314.

²¹ E.g., [HIML](#): IIB, 314–315; Zysk 1984.

²² See also the study of these editions by Klebanov (2021a: §1.2) and Wujastyk (2013: 143–144).

²³ The following account of the sources is paraphrased from Y. T. Ācārya and N. R. Ācārya's own account of his sources ([Su 1938](#): 22).

- 3 Bundi, my great friend the royal physician Paṃ. Śrīprasādaśarman
Covers the *uttaratantra*.

The sources of the 1931 edition

- 1 Vārāṇasī, professor of literature, the great Gaurīnāthapāthaka. 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*.²⁴
- 5 Puṇe, BORI library. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Complete. With some damaged folia.
- 6 Bombay, Asiatic Society. Incomplete.²⁵
- 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 *Suśrutasaṅgīyā* by Professor Hārānacandra Cakravārtti. Complete work. This is the 1910 Calcutta edition numbered “t” by Meulenbeld ([HIML: IB, 312](#)).²⁶
- 9 A printed edition of the first 43 chapters of the *sūtrasthāna*, printed in Bengali script, with the commentaries *Bhānumatī*, *Nibandhasaṅgraha*, edited by Vijayarātnasena and Nīśikāntasena. This is the 1886 Calcutta edition numbered “g” by Meulenbeld ([HIML: IB, 311](#)).²⁷

The sources of the 1938 edition

- 1 Gwalior, from the library of my great friend Paṃ. Rāmeśvaraśāstrīn Śukla. Covers the *sūtra*, *nidāna*, *śārīra*, *cikitsā* and *kalpasthānas*.
-
- 24 Not one of the three MSS of the *śārīrasthāna* described in H. D. Sharma 1939.
 - 25 Possibly MS Mumbai AS B.I.3 or MS Mumbai AS B.D.109 (Velankar 1925–30: v. 1, # 212 and 213). But both these have the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. The first covers only the *śārīrasthāna*; the second may be complete, but Velankar calls it only “disorderly.”
 - 26 Bhaṭṭācārya 1910–7.
 - 27 Sena et al. 1886–93.

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

edition source	1915			1931									1938		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3
<i>sthāna</i>															
<i>sū.</i>	●							●	?		○	○ ²⁸	●		●
<i>nī.</i>	●			●				●	?		○		●	●	●
<i>śā.</i>	●				●	●	●	●	?		○		●		●
<i>cī.</i>		●						●	?	●	○		●		● ²⁹
<i>ka.</i>	●							●	?		○		●		
<i>utt.</i>		●	●	●				●	?		○				

- 2 Bikaner, from the library of the Royal Palace, supplied by Paṃ. Candraśekharaśāstrin. Contains the commentary *Nyāy-acandrikāpañjikāvyaḥ* by Gayadāsa. Covers the *nidānasthāna*.

This is almost certainly MS Bikaner Anup 4390.³⁰

- 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 Jośi 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 ता for तालपत्रपुस्तके.

Evaluation

Estimates show that there are approximately 230 extant manuscript witnesses for the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.³¹ Many of these manuscripts cover only one or more of its chapters. Nevertheless, this is an order of magnitude more evidence than was considered by Ācārya for his vulgate editions.

²⁸ Covers chapters 1–43 only.

²⁹ Covers chapters 1–9 only.

³⁰ See Dominik Wujastyk, "MS Bikaner AnupLib 4390." *Pandit*. <<http://panditproject.org/entity/108068/manuscript>>.

³¹ This figure is arrived at by summing the MSS mentioned in NCC and in the NGMCP. The real figure could be many scores higher.

While the descriptions provided by Ācārya of his source materials 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 *Suśrutasamhitā*, 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 5-333.³² But that manuscript covers the whole work, not just up to the ninth chapter of the *cikitsāsthāna* as Y. T. Ācārya and N. R. Ācārya stated.³³ 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 *Suśrutasamhitā* that was published by the Swami Laxmi Ram ayurvedic centre in Jaipur, and printed at the

32 *Su* 1938: 22; Hemarāja Śarman 1938: 56–57. Discussed by Klebanov (2021a: §1.1, 2.3). See also *HIML*: IIB, 25–41; Wujastyk 2003: 161–169.

33 *Su* 1938: 22.

famous Nirṇayasāgara Press in Mumbai (see Fig. 1).³⁴ 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 मु for *mudrita*.³⁵
2. A manuscript in the India Office Library library provided through the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune.³⁶ This manuscript covered the *Bhānumatī* b up to the end of the *sūtrasthāna*. The siglum was ह for हस्तलिखित.³⁷

For the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*

1. A palm leaf manuscript from Hemarājaśarman's personal library.³⁸ The siglum was ता for ताडपत्र.
2. His own published edition. The siglum was ड for डल्हणसंमतः पाठः.³⁹
3. Hārāṇacandra Cakravartī's published edition with his own commentary.⁴⁰ The siglum was हा.

34 [Su 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 Klebanov ([2021b](#): 7). On the Swami Laxmi Ram centre, see Hofer [2007](#).

35 Sena et al. [1886–93](#). The manuscript on which this edition was based is probably in the library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, and described in H. Sastri and Gui [1895–1917](#): v. X.1, which is not available to me. See also [HIML](#): IB, 495, n. 57 for mention of this manuscript. The reference at Rama Rao et al. [2005](#): 217 to CSCL accession number 97 in Bengali script may be this manuscript.

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

37 Wujastyk [2021](#)

MS London BL H. T. Colebrooke 908 ([PanditProject #109978](#), consulted on July 03, 2021).

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

39 [Su 1938](#). It is noteworthy that Ācārya refers to his 1938 edition as representing “the Dalhaṇa recension.”

40 Bhaṭṭācārya [1910–7](#).

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 वयःस्थापनमायुर्मेधावलंकरणं 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 सर्वाङ्गीणदोषारब्धत्वप्रतिपादनाभ्यतिक्रमं वदन्ति । शान्तिकर्म बलिहरणादिना ग्रहाणां देवादीनामुपशमो यस्तदर्थः; यदि वा ग्रहणं ग्रहो देवानामावेशस्तदुपशमार्थम् । दुष्टस्तन्यग्रहसमुत्थितानामिति दुष्टस्तन्येन

१ ‘सर्वशरीरावस्थितानां’ व्याधीनामुपशमकरणार्थं, ज्वरशोफयुग्मरक्तपित्तोन्मादापसार-प्रमेहातीसारादीनां च’ इति ता. । २ ‘देवदानव’ इति ता. । ३ ‘विनायकनागग्रहोप-सष्टचेतसां’ 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 1: A page of the 1939 *Bhānumatī* edition, showing the variant readings in the footnotes.

Evaluation

The main innovation of this publication was to present the only surviving part of the commentary on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* by the great eleventh-century medical scholar Cakrapāṇidatta, namely the *Bhānumatī*.⁴¹ 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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 1).

Ācārya noted in his introduction that the manuscripts containing the Ḍalhaṇa's commentary all came together with the root-text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, and thus the main *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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 know what the text that 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.⁴²

There is compelling evidence that Cakrapāṇidatta's *Bhānumatī* commentary once covered the whole text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴

Differences Between the Nepalese Version and the Vulgate

As exemplified by SS.1.16.

⁴¹ HIML: IA, 374–375 and IB, 495–496.

⁴² Su 1939: 3–4. See discussion by Klebanov (2021b: 7).

⁴³ HIML: IA, 375.

⁴⁴ Cordier 1903: 332.

The Edition

Manuscripts

Features of the manuscript transmission

Palaeographical features

- śrita for śṛta.
- ś and s in KL 699.
- b and v in KL 699 and NAK 5-333.
- cha and ccha
- line-fillers
- ṇ for n (punarṇavā)

Chart of characters

[[[Put a chart from QuickPalaeographer here.]]]

Editorial Principles

The Translation

Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 16

- 1 Now we shall expound the method for piercing the ear.⁴⁵
- 2 One may pierce a child's ears for the purpose of preserving and decorating. On renowned days, half days, hours and constellations during the first half of the sixth or seventh lunar month, the boy who has received a benediction (*kṛtamaṅgala*), – blessings pronounced (*svastivācana*)⁴⁶ – should be placed on the lap of a wet-nurse.⁴⁷ Then, while pacifying him and having pulled his ear with the left hand, the physician should use his right hand to pierce the ear straight through at a naturally occurring

45 The topic of piercing the ear (*kaṇṇavyadha*) is not discussed in the *Carakasamhitā* (HIML: IB, 326, n. 175), but it is mentioned in some texts that followed the *Suśruta-samhitā*, such as the *Kaśāpyasamhitā* (HIML: IIA, 30). Also, the instrument for piercing the ear is described in the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasūtra* 1.26.26 (kunt-1902). In the versions of the text known to Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76) and Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 125), the heading of this chapter is *kaṇṇavyadhabandhavidhi* ('the method of piercing and joining the ear'), instead of the Nepalese version's *kaṇṇavyadha*. The topic of *kaṇṇabandha* 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. For a discussion of the frame story in the Nepalese version, see Birch et al. 2021. Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76) and Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 125) state that only the ears of healthy people should be pierced, and they quote 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 Su 1938: 76).

46 The syntax here is unclear. The expression *svastivācana* may have been a gloss inserted into the text at an earlier period to clarify *maṅgala*. But as it stands, it is not syntactically connected to the rest of the sentence. In the versions of 1.16.3 known to Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 126) and Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76), the words are united in a compound that reads more naturally.

47 The versions of 1.16.3 known to Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 126) and Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76) have the additional compound *kumāradharāṇike* ('on the lap of one who holds the child') after *dhātṛyaṇike*. The gender of *kumāradhara* 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 enticed with toys to stay on the assistant's lap. According to Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.3 (Su 1938: 76), the toys include replica elephants, horses, bulls and parrots. Ḍalhaṇa further mentions that others read *bhakṣyaviśeṣair vā* ('or by special treats') before *bālakṛīḍanakaiḥ*.

- cleft.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹
- 3 If there is excess blood or pain one should know that it was pierced in the wrong place. The absence of side-effects is a sign that it has been pierced in the right place.⁵⁰
- 4 In this context, if an ignorant person accidentally 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.⁵¹
- 5 Having removed the wick (*varti*) in the hole because of the aggravation of humours or a culpable piercing,⁵² one should smear it with a paste of the roots of barley, liquorice, Indian madder (*mañjiṣṭhā*), and the castor oil tree (*gandharvahasta*), thickened with honey and ghee. When it has healed well, one should pierce it again.

ADD
PRIMARY
REF)

- 48 The versions of 1.16.3 of Cakrapāṇidatta ([Su 1939](#): 126) and Ḍalhaṇa ([Su 1938](#): 76) add *ādityakarāvabhāsite* to clarify that this naturally occurring cleft is illuminated by sunshine.
- 49 Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.3 ([Su 1938](#): 76) clarifies that the awl is a shoe-maker's knife for piercing leather.
- 50 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.
- 51 This passage is significantly augmented in 1.16.4 of Cakrapāṇidatta's version ([Su 1939](#): 126) and 1.16.5 of Ḍalhaṇa's ([Su 1938](#): 77) to outline the specific problems caused by piercing three ducts called *kālikā*, *marmikā* and *lohitikā*. 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 ([Su 1939](#): 126) 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.'
- 52 In addition to these reasons, 1.16.5 of Cakrapāṇidatta's version ([Su 1939](#): 126–127) and 1.16.6 of Ḍalhaṇa's ([Su 1938](#): 77) add *kliṣṭajihmāpraśastasūcīvyadhāt* ('because of piercing with a painful, crooked and unrecommended needle') and *gāḍhataravartitvāt* ('because of a wick that is too thick'). Ḍalhaṇa was aware of the reading in the Nepalese version because he notes in his commentary on 1.16.6 ([Su 1938](#): 77) that some read 'because of the accumulation of humours' rather than 'because of piercing with a painful, crooked and unrecommended needle or because of a wick that is too thick.' On the meaning of *samudāya*, see ?? and Meulenbeld [1992](#): 1–5.

- 6 One should treat the properly-pierced ear by sprinkling it with raw sesame oil. After every three days one should apply a thicker wick (*varti*) and sprinkle oil right on it.⁵³
- 7 Once the ear is free from humours or side-effects, one should loosen it with a light dilator (*pravardhanaka*) in order to enlarge it.⁵⁴
- 8 A person's ear enlarged in this way can split in two, either as a result of the humours⁵⁵ or a blow. Listen to me about the joins (*sandhāna*) it can have.
- 9 Here, there are, in brief, fifteen ways of mending the ear flap.⁵⁶ 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 (*ardhakapāṭasandhika*), Compressed (*saṃkṣipta*), Reduced-ear (*hīnakarṇa*), Creeper-ear (*vallīkarṇa*), Stick-ear (*yaṣṭīkarṇa*), and Crow's lip (*kākauṣṭha*).⁵⁷

In this context, among these,

“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.

-
- 53 The manuscripts support the reading *sthūlatarīm* that is either a non-standard form or a scribal error.
 - 54 Cakrapāṇidatta on 1.16.6 (Su 1939: 127) and Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.8 (Su 1938: 77) point 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 adds that it can also be made of lead (*sīsaka*) and should have the shape of the datura flower (*dhattūrapuṣpa*).
 - 55 Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.9 (Su 1938: 77) 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.
 - 56 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 (Su 1938: 77) 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.
 - 57 For an artist's impression of these different kinds of joins in the ear flap, see Majno 1975: 290 (reproduced as Figure 3.2 in Wujastyk 2003: 154).

“Cheek-ear” (*gaṇḍakarna*): one flap is longer on the outside.⁵⁸

“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.⁵⁹ The five from compressed (*saṃkṣipta*) on are incurable.⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹

58 For an artist’s impression of this join, see Majno 1975: 291 (reproduced as Figure 3.3 in Wujastyk 2003: 155).

59 Cakrapāṇidatta on 1.16.9–13 (Su 1939: 128–129) and Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.10 (Su 1938: 77–78) 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*).

60 Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.10 (Su 1938: 77–78) 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.

61 The version of 1.16.11–13 known to Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938: 78) has four verses (*śloka*) at this 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* known to Cakrapāṇidatta. He cites the verses separately in his commentary, the *Bhānumatī* (Su 1939: 128–129), introducing each one as ‘some people read’ (*ke cit paṭhanti*). How-

- 10 A person wishing to perform any of these joins should therefore gather together the supplies prepared according to the recommendations of the ‘Preparatory Supplies’ chapter.⁶² And in particular, he should gather decanted liquor (*surāmaṇḍa*), milk, water, fermented rice-water (*dhānyāmla*), and powdered earthenware crockery (*kapālacūrṇa*).⁶³ Next, he should prepare the woman or man, who have had the ends of their hair tied up, have eaten lightly, and are firmly supported by qualified attendants. Then, he should ready the bindings (*bandha*) and carry out the procedure with cutting (*chedya*), splitting (*bhedya*), scarification (*lekhyā*), or piercing (*vyadhana*). Then, 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. Then, arranging the join in the ear so that it is neither proud, depressed, nor uneven, one should make the join. Having seen that the blood has stopped, one should anoint it with honey and ghee, bandage each ear with cotton (*picu*) and gauze (*prota*), and bind it up with a thread, neither too tightly nor too loosely. Then, the earthenware powder should be sprinkled on, and medical advice (*ācārika*) given. And he should supplement with food as taught in the ‘Two Wound’ chapter.⁶⁴
- 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.⁶⁵ For when the ear is tainted by wind, then it is obstruc-

ever, in Trikamajī Ācārya’s edition of the *Sūtrasthāna* of the *Bhānumatī*, the root text is largely identical to the one commented on by Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938), even in instances like this where Cakrapāṇidatta’s commentary indicates that he was reading a different version of the *Suśrutasamhitā*.

62 *Suśrutasamhitā* 1.5 (Su 1938: 18–23).

63 The term *kapālacūrṇa* is unusual. Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938: 79) defines it as the powder of fragments of fresh earthen pots and Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 129) as the powder of earthenware vessels.

64 *Suśrutasamhitā* 4.1 (Su 1938: 396–408).

65 1.16.17 of Ḍalhaṇa’s version (Su 1938: 79) reads “impure” for the Nepalese “too pure,” which would appear to make better medical sense. Emending the text to *nāśuddha-* for *nātīśuddha-* in the Nepalese recension would yield the same meaning as the Ḍalhaṇa’s

- ted 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 a small amount of wasted (*kṣīṇa*) flesh and it will not grow.⁶⁶
- 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 (*viṣkira*) birds, and creatures that live in marshes or water,⁶⁷ fat, marrow, milk, and sesame oil, and white mustard oil.⁶⁸ Then cook the oil with an admixture (*prativāpa*) of the following: purple calotropis (*arka*, white calotropis (*alarka*, country mallow (*balā*, ‘strong Indian mallow’ (*atibalā*, country sarsaparilla (*anantā* beggarweed (*vidāri*, liquorice (*madhuka*), hornwort (*jalaśūka* → *jalanīlikā*⁶⁹), items having the ‘sweet’ savour (*madhuravarga*⁷⁰) and ‘milk flower’ (*payasyā* → *vidārī*⁷¹). This

version.

- 66 In his edition of *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, Ācārya (Su 1938: 79 n. 1) 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 trirātraṃ pariṣecayet trirātrāc ca picuṃ parivartayet*).
- 67 For such classifications, see Zimmermann (1999) and Smith (1994).
- 68 1.16.19 of Ḍalhaṇa’s version (Su 1938: 79) includes ghee (*sarpis*). However, Ḍalhaṇa’s remarks on 1.16.19 and Cakrapāṇidatta’s on 1.16.18 (Su 1939: 130) indicate that they knew a version of this recipe (perhaps, similar to the Nepalese) that does not have ghee. Ḍalhaṇa also notes that others simply read four oils, beginning with fat and without milk, whereas Cakrapāṇidatta says some read that it is made with four oils and milk.
- 69 *Ceratophyllum demersum*, L. This name is not certain. In fact, Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.19 (Su 1938: 79) notes that some people interpret it as a poisonous, hairy, air-breathing, underwater creature.
- 70 The items which exemplify the ‘sweet’ savour (*madhuravarga*) are enumerated at SS.1.42.11.
- 71 *Pueraria tuberosa* (Willd.) DC. The version of 1.16.19 known to Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938: 79) adds several ingredients to this admixture, including *apāmārga*, *aśvagandhā*, *kṣīraśuklā*, *madhuravarga* and *payasyā*. Also, it has *vidāriḡandhā* instead of *vidāri*. When commenting on 1.16.19, Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938: 79) notes that some do not read *madhuravarga* and *payasyā*. Therefore, there were probably other versions of this recipe with fewer in-

- should then be deposited in a well-protected spot.
- 15 The wise man who has been sweated should rub the massaged (*ma-
rdita*) ear with it. Then it will be free of complications, and will enlarge
properly and be strong.⁷²
- 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.⁷³
- 17 In this tradition, experts know countless repairs to ears. So a physi-
cian who is very intent (*suniviṣṭa*) on working in this way may repair
(*yojayed*) them.⁷⁴
- 18 If an ear has grown hair, has a nice hole, a firm join, and is strong and
even, well-healed, and free from pain, then one can enlarge it slowly.⁷⁵
- 19 Now I shall describe the proper method of repairing a severed nose.
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*)⁷⁶ with the same measurements
off the cheek, the end of the nose is then scarified.⁷⁷ Then the diligent

gredients, as seen in the Nepalese version.

- 72 For these aims (i.e., healing and enlarging the ear), the text known to Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938: 79) 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 (Su 1939: 131) 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.
- 73 Ḍalhaṇa's version of 1.16.23 adds another hemistich that states more explicitly that the scarification should not be done on the outside of hole as it will cause derangement.
- 74 After verse 17, the 1938 edition of Ācārya (Su 1938: 80) 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 (Su 1939: 132) and Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938: 80) 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 *paripota*. Ḍalhaṇa goes on to say that some believe that these verses were not composed by sages and, therefore, do not read them.
- 75 The order of verses 17 and 18 are reversed in Ḍalhaṇa's version (Su 1938: 80).
- 76 The version of 1.16.28b known to Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938: 81) 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 (see Wujastyk 2003: 67–70).
- 77 Or 1.16.20 could be mean, '... off the cheek, it is fixed to the end of the nose, which

- (*apramatta*) physician, should quickly put it back together so that it is well joined (*sādhubaddha*).
- 21 Having carefully observed that it has been well sown up, two tubes should be fixed in place.⁷⁸ Then, having lifted them up,⁷⁹ the powder of sappanwood (*pattāṅga*),⁸⁰ liquorice (*yaṣṭīmadhuka*, and Indian barberry.⁸¹ should be applied to 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.⁸²
- 23 And once healed and really come together, what is left of that slice of flesh (*vadhra*) should then be trimmed. If it is reduced (*hīna*), however, one should make an effort to stretch it, and one should make its overgrown flesh smooth.⁸³

añjana

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 (*Su 1938*: 81) 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.

- 78 Ḍalhaṇa notes 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 (*Su 1938*: 81)). They should not be made of lead or betel nut because the weight will cause them to slip down.
- 79 The Sanskrit term *unnāmayitvā* in 1.16.21 is non-Pāṇinian.
- 80 *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 (*Su 1938*: 66)). The text known to Ḍalhaṇa has *pataṅga* (1.16.29 (*Su 1938*: 81)) and this term is propagated in modern dictionaries.
- 81 *Berberis aristata*, DC. Ḍalhaṇa understands it as elixir salve (*rasāñjana*) (*Su 1938*: 81).
- 82 The expression *svayathopadeśa* is ungrammatical but supported in all available witnesses.
- 83 Ḍalhaṇa accepts a verse following this, which points out that the procedure for joining the nose is similar to that of joining the lips without fusing the ducts (*Su 1938*: 81). He notes that earlier teachers did not think this statement on the nose and lips was made by sages, but includes it because it was accepted by Jejjāṭa, Gayadāsa and others. However, Cakrapāṇidatta does not comment on this additional verse, which suggests that either he did not know of it or was not inclined to accept it (*Su 1939*: 133).

Abbreviations

- Ah 1939 Kumṭe, Aṇṇā Moreśvara, Navare, Kṛṣṇaśāstrī, and Parādkar, Hariśāstrī (1939) (eds.), श्रीमद्वाग्भटविरचितम् अष्टाङ्गहृदयम्, श्रीमद-
रुणदत्तविरचितया सर्वाङ्गसुन्दराख्यया व्याख्यया, हेमाद्रिप्रणीतया आयुर्वेदर-
सायनाह्वया टीकया च समुल्लसितम् = *The Astāṅgahṛidaya* (6th edn.,
Mum̐bayyām: Nirṇayasāgara Press), [ark:/13960/t3tt6967d](https://nirṇayasāgara.org/ark:/13960/t3tt6967d).
- Anup *Anup Sanskrit Library* (n.d.).
- AS *Asiatic Society* (n.d.).
- As 1980 Āṭhavale, Ananta Dāmodara (1980) (ed.), *Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgrahaḥ. Śrīmad Vṛddhavāgbhaṭaviracitaḥ Induvyākhyāśahitaḥ* (Pune: Ma-
heśa Ananta Āṭhavale, Śrīmad Ātreya Prakāśanam), [ark:/13960/t9773bb9z](https://nirṇayasāgara.org/ark:/13960/t9773bb9z).
- Bhela 1921 Mookerjee, Ashutosh and Ananta Krishna Shastri, Ved-
antabisharad (1921) (eds.), *The Bhela Samhita. Sanskrit Text*
(Calcutta: University of Calcutta), [ark:/13960/t3sv3157j](https://nirṇayasāgara.org/ark:/13960/t3sv3157j);
Based on two copies made of the Thanjavur codex unicus
(MS Thanjavur TMSSML 10773, Burnell 1880: 63–4, P. P. S.
Sastri 1933: #11085).
- Bhela 2000 Krishnamurthy, K. H. (2000), *Bhela-saṃhitā. Text with English
Translation, Commentary and Critical Notes* (Haridas Ayurveda
Series, 8; Varanasi: Chaukhambha Visvabharati).
- BL *British Library* (n.d.).
- Ca. 1941 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1941) (ed.), महर्षिणा पुनर्व-
सुनोपदिष्टा, तच्छिष्येणाग्निवेशेन प्रणीता, चरकहृदबलाभ्यां प्रतिसंस्कृता च-
रकसंहिता, श्रीचक्रपाणिदत्तविरचितया आयुर्वेददीपिकाव्याख्यया संवलित्ता
(3rd edn., Mum̐bayyām: Nirṇaya Sagara Press), [URL](https://nirṇayasāgara.org/), accessed
01/01/2018.
- HIML Meulenbeld, Gerrit Jan (1999–2002), *A History of Indian
Medical Literature*, 5 vols. (Groningen: E. Forsten), ISBN:
9069801248.
- KL *Kaiser Library* (n.d.).
- NAK *National Archives of Kathmandu* (n.d.).

- NCC Raghavan, V. et al. (1949–), *New Catalogus Catalogorum, an Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit and Allied Works and Authors*, 39 vols. (Madras University Sanskrit Series; Madras: University of Madras); v.1: revised edition, 1968.
- NGMCP NGMCP (2014), 'Nepal-german Manuscript Cataloguing Project. Online Title List and Descriptive Catalogue', Universität Hamburg and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, [URL](#).
- RORI *Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute* (n.d.).
- Su 1889 Bhaṭṭācāryya, Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara (1889) (ed.), सुश्रुतः. सूत्र-निदान-शारीर-चिकित्सा-कल्पोत्तर-तन्त्र-कल्पित आयुर्वेद. भगवता धन्वन्तरिणोपदिष्टः सुश्रुतनामधेयेन तच्छिष्येण विरचितः (3rd edn., Calcutta: Saratī Press), [ark : / 13960 / t1nh6j09c](#); [HIML](#): IB, 311, edition b.
- Su 1915 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1915) (ed.), सुश्रुतसंहिता, सुश्रुतेन विरचिता, वैद्यवरश्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया समुल्लसिता, आचार्योपाह्वेन त्रिविक्रमात्मजेन यादवशर्मणा संशोधिता = *The Sushrutasamhita of Sushruta, the Nibandhasangraha Commentary of Shri Dalhanāchārya* (Mumbayyām: Nirṇayasāgaramudrāyantrālaye), [ark : / 13960 / t3sv0mt50](#), accessed 29/07/2020; [HIML](#): IB, 312 edition *v.
- Su 1931 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1931) (ed.), सुश्रुतसंहिता, वैद्यवरश्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया समुल्लसिता, महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता, सूत्र-निदान-शारीर-चिकित्सा-कल्पस्थानोत्तरतन्त्रात्मकः. आचार्योपाह्वेन त्रिविक्रमात्मजेन यादवशर्मणा संशोधिता = *The Sushrutasamhitā of Sushruta with the Nibandhasangraha Commentary of Shree Dalhanāchārya* (2nd edn., Mumbayyām: Pāṇḍuraṅga Jāvajī at the Nirṇayasāgaramudrāyantrālaye), [ark : / 13960 / t9j41sg94](#), accessed 09/06/2020; [HIML](#): IB, 312 edition *v.
- Su 1938 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (1938) (eds.), श्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया निदानस्थानस्य श्रीगयदासाचार्यविरचितया न्यायचन्द्रिकाख्यपञ्जिकाव्याख्यया च समुल्लसिता महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता (3rd edn., Bombay: Nirṇayasāgara Press), [ark : / 13960 / t09x0sk1h](#); [HIML](#): IB, 313, edition cc ('the vulgate').

- Su 1938² Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (2004) (eds.), महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता, श्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया निदानस्थानस्य श्री-गयदासाचार्यविरचितया न्यायचन्द्रिकाख्यपञ्जिकाव्याख्यया च समुल्लसिता (Vārāṇasī: Caukhambhā Kṛṣṇadāsa Akādamī); Reprint of the third, 1938 edition (Su 1938).
- Su 1939 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama and Śarman, Nandakiśora (1939) (eds.), सुश्रुतसंहितायाः सूत्रस्थानम्. श्रीचक्रपाणिदत्तविरचितया भानुमतीव्याख्याया समेतम् = *Sushrut-saṁhitā (sūtra Sthān) with Bhānumatī Commentary by Chakrapāṇi Datta with Introduction by Gaṇanāth Sen* (Śrīsvāmi Lakṣmīrāma Nidhi Grantha-mālā = Shri Swāmī Lakshmi Rām Trust Series, 1; [Jaipur]: Śyāmasundara Śarman), [ark : /13960/t54g0d12m](http://13960/t54g0d12m); Printed at the Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay.
- Su 1945 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikramācārya and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (1945) (eds.), महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता (मूलमात्रा). पाठान्तर-परिशिष्टादिभिः संवलिता = *the Suśrutasaṁhitā of Suśruta with Various Readings, Notes and Appendix etc.* (Mumbāi: Nirṇayasāgarākhyamudraṇālaye), [URL](http://13960/t6qz6fr23).
- TMSSML Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji Saraswati Mahal Library (n.d.).
- Viṣṇudh. Śarman, Madhusūdana and Śarman, Mādhavaprasāda (1912) (eds.), विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणम् = [*Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*] (Mumbai: Khemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa at the Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press), [ark : / 13960 / t6qz6fr23](http://13960/t6qz6fr23); Lithograph format. Edited on the basis of a manuscript belonging to the astrologer Śudhākaraśarman of the Varanasi Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā.

Index of Manuscripts

The numbers after the comma refer to pages in this document.

Bikaner Anup 4390: 9

Kathmandu NAK 1-1079: 16, 22

Kathmandu KL 699: 16, 22

Kathmandu NAK 5-333: 10f, 13, 16, 22

London BL H. T. Colebrooke 908: 11

Mumbai AS B.I.3: 8

Mumbai AS B.D.109: 8

Thanjavur TMSSML 10773: 23

References

- Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1941) (ed.), महर्षिणा पुनर्वसुनोपदिष्टा, तच्छिष्येणाग्निवेशेन प्रणीता, चरकदृढबलाभ्यां प्रतिसंस्कृता चरकसंहिता, श्रीचक्रपाणिदत्तविरचितया आयुर्वेददीपिकाव्याख्यया संवलिता (3rd edn., Mumbayyām: Nirṇaya Sagara Press), [URL](#), accessed 01/01/2018.
- Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikramācārya and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (1945) (eds.), महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता (मूलमात्रा). पाठान्तर-परिशिष्टादिभिः संवलिता = *the Suśrutasaṃhitā of Suśruta with Various Readings, Notes and Appendix etc.* (Mumbāi: Nirṇayasāgarākhyamudraṇālaye), [URL](#).
- Adriaensen, Rob C. R., Barkhuis, Roelf, and Ruijters, Jean-Louis (1984), 'An English Translation of Suśrutasaṃhitā, Nidānasthāna 1, 1–39, Together with Gayadāsa's Nyāyacandrikā', in Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Workshop on Priorities in the Study of Indian Medicine* (Groningen: Forsten), 277–310.
- Apte, Vaman Shivaram (1992), *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Company), ISBN: 4-653-00038-7; Reprinted from **gode-apte**.
- Baber, Zaheer (1996), *The Science of Empire: Scientific Knowledge, Civilization, and Colonial Rule in India* (Albany: State University of New York Press).
- Bausi, Alessandro et al. (2015), *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies. An Introduction* (Hamburg: Tredition). DOI: [10.5281/ZENODO.46784](#).
- Bendall, Cecil (1883), *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit, Manuscripts in The, University Library, Cambridge: With Introductory Notices and Illustrations of the Palaeography and Chronology of Nepal and Bengal* (Cambridge: University Press), [ark:/13960/t03x8vz7b](#).

- Bhaṭṭācārya, Candrakānta (1910–7) (ed.), सुश्रुतसंहिता प्रथमखण्डम् सूत्रस्थानात्मकम्...हाराणचन्द्रचक्रवर्तिकविराजविरचितसुश्रुतार्थसन्दीपनभाष्य-समेतम्...चन्द्रकान्त भट्टाचार्य-प्रमुखैः संशोधितम् = [The Suśrutasaṃhitā with the Commentary Suśrutārthasandīpanabhāṣya by Hārāṇacandra Cakravartī] (Kalikātā: Satya Press); Edition "t" in [HIML](#): IB, 312.
- Birch, Jason et al. (2021), 'Further Insight into the Role of Dhanvantari, the Physician to the Gods, in the Suśrutasaṃhitā', *Academia Letters*. DOI: [10.20935/AL2992](#), URL, accessed 04/10/2021.
- Breton, P. (1826), 'On the Native Mode of Couching', *Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta*, 2: 341–82, [ark : / 13960 / t3dz8nn5t](#), URL, accessed 02/06/2021.
- Bronkhorst, Johannes (2021), 'Patañjali's Āryāvarta = Śuṅga realm?', *Academia Letters*. DOI: [10.20935/al291](#); Article 291.
- Bronner, Yigal (2021) (ed.), 'The Pandit Project' (30 Sept.), URL.
- Burghart, Marjorie (2016), 'The TEI Critical Apparatus Toolbox: Empowering Textual Scholars through Display, Control, and Comparison Features', *Journal of the Text Encoding Initiative*, 10/Issue 10. DOI: [10.4000/jtei.1520](#), URL, accessed 12/12/2017.
- (2017), 'Textual Variants', in Marjorie Burghart, James Cummings, and Elena Pierazzo (eds.), *Digital Editing of Medieval Texts: A Textbook* (DEMM), URL, accessed 04/07/2021.
- Burnell, Arthur Coke (1880), *A Classified Index to the Sanskrit Mss. in the Palace at Tanjore* (London: Trübner), [ark : / 13960 / t4xh86j61](#); Bheḷasaṃhitā described on pp. 67 ff.
- Carpue, J. C. (1816), *An Account of Two Successful Operations for Restoring a Lost Nose from the Integuments of the Forehead...Including Descriptions of the Indian and Italian Methods* (London: Longman et al.), [ark : / 13960 / t2q57fn42](#), accessed 20/03/2019.
- Cone, Margaret (2001), *A Dictionary of Pāli* (Oxford: The Pali Text Society), ISBN: 0 86013 394 x.
- Cordier, P. (1903), 'Récentes découvertes de mss. médicaux sanscrits dans l'Inde (1898–1902)', *Muséon, Nouvelle Série*, 4: 321–52, [ark : / 13960 / t26b2j457](#), accessed 02/01/2020; Reprinted in Roṣu 1989: 539–70.

- Coulter, Ro. (1731), 'An Account of the Diseases of Bengall', in *Indian Science and Technology in the Eighteenth Century* (Impex India), 141 f., 276.
- Crawford, D. G. (1930), *Roll of the Indian Medical Service, 1615–1930* (London, Calcutta, Simla: Thacker).
- Das, Rahul Peter (2003), *The Origin of the Life of a Human Being. Conception and the Female According to Ancient Indian Medical and Sexological Literature* (Indian Medical Tradition; Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas), ISBN: 81-208-1998-5.
- Dave, K. N. (1985), *Birds in Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas), ISBN: 0-89581-676-8, [ark:/13960/t2c94cv80](https://nopr.scribd.org/ark:/13960/t2c94cv80).
- Deshpande, Vijaya (1999), 'Indian Influences on Early Chinese Ophthalmology: Glaucoma As a Case Study', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 62: 306–22. DOI: [10.1017/S0041977X00016724](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X00016724).
- (2000), 'Ophthalmic Surgery: A Chapter in the History of Sino-indian Medical Contacts', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 63/3: 370–88, ISSN: 0041-977X. DOI: [10.1017/s0041977x00008454](https://doi.org/10.1017/s0041977x00008454).
- Elliot, Robert Henry (1918), *The Indian Operation of Couching for Cataract: Incorporating the Hunterian Lectures Delivered before the Royal College of Surgeons of England on February 19 and 21, 1917* (London: H. K. Lewis).
- Emeneau, M. B. (1969), 'Sanskrit Syntactic Particles – "kila, khalu, nūnam"', *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 11/4: 241–68.
- Falk, Harry (1991), 'Silver, Lead and Zinc in Early Indian Literature', *South Asian Studies*, 7/1: 111–7. DOI: [10.1080/02666030.1991.9628430](https://doi.org/10.1080/02666030.1991.9628430).
- Fan, Ka Wai (2005), 'Couching for Cataract and Sino-indian Medical Exchange From the Sixth to the Twelfth Century AD', *Clinical and Experimental Ophthalmology*: 188–90. DOI: [10.1111/j.1442-9071.2005.00978.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1442-9071.2005.00978.x); Unaware of Deshpande 1999; 2000.
- Gombrich, Richard (1979), '“He cooks softly”: dverbs in Sanskrit grammar', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 42/2 (June): 244–56. DOI: [10.1017/s0041977x0014580x](https://doi.org/10.1017/s0041977x0014580x).
- Gupta, Sri Madhusudana (1835–6) (ed.), *Āyur-veda-prakāśa [also Called Suśruta-saṃhitā] by Suśruta. the Suśruta, or System of Medicine, Taught by Dhanwantari, and Composed by His Disciple Suśruta*, 2 vols. (Calcutta: Education Press and Baptist Mission Press), [ark:/13960/t6841qw6x](https://nopr.scribd.org/ark:/13960/t6841qw6x).

- Harimoto, Kengo (2011), 'In Search of the Oldest Nepalese Manuscript', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 84/1-4: 85-106, ISSN: 0392-4866, [URL](#), accessed 08/09/2019.
- (2014), 'Nepalese Manuscripts of the Suśrutasamhitā', *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu)*, 62/3: 23-29 (1087-1093). DOI: [10.4259/ibk.62.3_1087](#), [URL](#), accessed 08/09/2019.
- (pre-published), '[Preliminary Edition of the Nepalese MSS of the Suśrutasamhitā, adhyāyas 1.1-3, 6.4]'; Unpublished document dated 2010.
- Hayashi, Takao (2017), 'The Units of Time in Ancient and Medieval India', *History of Science in South Asia*, 5/1: 1-116. DOI: [10.18732/h2ht0h](#).
- Hemarāja Śarman (1938) (ed.), काश्यपसंहिता (वृद्धजीवकीयं तन्त्रं वा) महर्षिणा मारीचकश्यपेनोपदिष्टा ... हेमराजशर्मणा लिखितेन विस्तृतेन उपोद्धातेन सहिता ... सत्यपाल भिषगा कृतया विद्योतिनी हिन्दीव्याख्या ... समुल्लसिता (1st edn., Mumba: Nirṇayasāgara Press), [URL](#), accessed 02/02/2018.
- Hendley, T. Holbein (1895), *A Medico-topographical Account of Jeypore, Based on the Experience of Twenty Years' Service As a Residency Surgeon and Thirteen As Superintendent of Dispensaries at Jeypore, Rajputana* (Calcutta: Calcutta Central Press Company).
- Hessler, Franciscus (1844-55), *Suśrutas Ayurvēdas: Id Est Medicinae Systema a Venerabili D'hanvantare Demonstratum a Susruta Discipulo Compositum; Nunc Primum Ex Sanskrita in Latinum Sermonem Vertit, Introductionem, Annotationes Et Rerum Indice Franciscus Hessler* (Erlangen: Ferdinandum Enke), [URL](#), accessed 04/11/2017.
- Hoernle, A. F. Rudolf (1893-1912) (ed.), *The Bower Manuscript: Facsimile Leaves, Nagari Transcript, Romanised Transliteration and English Translation with Notes* (New Imperial Series, 22; Calcutta: Government of India and under the patronage of the Bengali Government, Archaeological Survey of India), [ark:/13960/t05z1bg4q](#).
- (1907), *Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India: Osteology or the Bones of the Human Body* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Hofer, Theresia (2007), 'Swami Laxmi Ram's Ayurvedic Pharmacy in Jaipur, India', *Wellcome History*, 34: 2-3, [URL](#), accessed 01/07/2021.

- Holwell, J. Z. (1767), *An Account of the Manner of Inoculating for the Small Pox in the East Indies With...Observations on The...Mode of Treating That Disease in Those Parts* (London: T. Becket & P. A. de Hondt), [ark:/13960/t3ws9h63c](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-63838-p0073-9).
- Jack, David Morton (1884), 'A Thesis on Cataract in India: Its Pathology and Treatment', Wellcome Library, London, MS.3007, [URL](#), accessed 02/06/2021.
- Joṣī, Veṇīmādhavaśāstrī and Joṣī, Nārāyaṇa Harī (1968), *Āyurvedīya Mahākośaḥ arthāt Āyurvedīya Śabdakośaḥ Saṃskṛta–Saṃskṛta* (Mumbai: Mahārāṣṭra Rājya Sāhitya āṇi Saṃskṛti Maṇḍala), [URL](#).
- Keith, Arthur Berriedale (1908), review of A. F. Rudolf Hoernle (1907), *Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India: Osteology or the Bones of the Human Body* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), in *Zeitschrift Der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1/62: 134–9, [URL](#), accessed 17/04/2021.
- Klebanov, Andrey (2021a), 'On the Textual History of the Suśrutasaṃhitā (1): A Study of Three Nepalese Manuscripts', to be published in *eJIM: Electronic Journal of Indian Medicine*, [URL](#), accessed 09/09/2019.
- (2021b), 'On the Textual History of the Suśrutasaṃhitā, (2): An Anonymous Commentary and its Identified Citations', in Toke Lindegaard Knudsen, Jacob Schmidt-Madsen, and Sara Speyer (eds.), *Body and Cosmos: Studies in Early Indian Medical and Astral Sciences in Honor of Kenneth G. Zysk* (Leiden, Boston: Brill), 110–39.
- Leffler, Christopher T. et al. (2020), 'The History of Cataract Surgery: From Couching to Phacoemulsification', *Annals of Translational Medicine*, 8/22: 1551–97, ISSN: 2305-5847. DOI: [10.21037/atm-2019-rcs-04](https://doi.org/10.21037/atm-2019-rcs-04), [URL](#), accessed 02/11/2020.
- Lienhard, Siegfried (1978), 'On the Meaning and Use of the Word Indragopa', *Indologica taurinensia*, 6: 177–88, [URL](#), accessed 06/02/2021; The indragopa is a 'red velvet mite'.
- Longmate, Barak (1794), 'A Curious Chirurgical Operation', *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 64.4 (Oct.): 883, 891, 892; I am grateful to my colleague Mr. John Symons for the information that the author 'B. L.' was the journalist Barak Longmate. Cf. citekuis-nich.

- Majno, Guido (1975), *The Healing Hand. Man and Wound in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), [URL](#), accessed 26/08/2021.
- Malamoud, Charles (1996), 'Paths of the Knife: Carving up the Victim in Vedic Sacrifice', in *Cooking the World: Ritual and Thought in Ancient India. Translated from the French by David White* (Delhi, Bombay, etc.: Oxford University Press), 169–80.
- Manucci, Niccolò (1907–8), *Storia Do Mogor or, Mogul India, 1653–1708 by Niccolao Manucci, Venetian; Translated with Introduction and Notes, by William Irvine* (The Indian Texts Series; London: J. Murray), [URL](#), accessed 04/10/2021.
- Masai, François (1950), 'Principes et conventions de l'édition diplomatique', *Scriptorium*, 4: 177–93. DOI: [10.3406/scrip.1950.2294](#).
- Meulenbeld, Gerrit Jan (1974), *The Mādhavanidāna and Its Chief Commentary: Chapters 1–10. Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (Leiden: Brill), ISBN: 978-90-04-03892-9; Meulenbeld provided a supplement to his 1974 listing of plant identities as an appendix in Das [2003](#).
- (1984), 'The Surveying of Sanskrit Medical Literature', in id. (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Workshop on Priorities in the Study of Indian Medicine* (Groningen: Forsten), 37–56.
- (1992), 'The Characteristics of a Doṣa', *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society*, 2/1: 1–5, [URL](#), accessed 31/08/2021.
- (2008), *The Mādhavanidāna with "Madhukośa," the Commentary by Vijayarakṣita and Śrīkaṇṭhadatta (Ch. 1-10). Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass); Meulenbeld provided a supplement to his 1974 listing of plant identities as an appendix in Das [2003](#).
- (2011), 'The Relationships between Doṣas and Dūṣyas: A Study on the Meaning(s) of the Root Murch-/mūrch', *eJournal of Indian Medicine*, 4/2: 35–135, [URL](#), accessed 13/10/2017.
- Miles, M. (1999), 'Personal Communication', Mar.; Letter of 4 March.
- Moureau, Sébastien. (2015), 'The Apparatus Criticus', in Alessandro Bausi et al. (eds.), *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction* (Hamburg: Tredition), 348–52, ISBN: 978-3-7323-1768-4, [URL](#), accessed 04/07/2021.

- Mukhopādhyāya, Girindranāth (1913), *The Surgical Instruments of the Hindus, with a Comparative Study of the Surgical Instruments of the Greek, Roman, Arab, and the Modern European (sic) Surgeons* (Calcutta: Calcutta University), [ark:13960/t1zd2pq29](https://nms.iiit.ac.in/ark:/13960/t1zd2pq29), accessed 29/01/2018; Vol.2: [ark:/13960/t9r25qd8m](https://nms.iiit.ac.in/ark:/13960/t9r25qd8m). Reprinted as a single volume, New Delhi, 1987.
- Nadkarni, K. M. (1954), *Dr. K. M. Nadkarni's Indian Materia Medica, with Ayurvedic, Unani-tibbi, Siddha, Allopathic, Homeopathic, Naturopathic & Home Remedies, Appendices & Indexes ... in Two Volumes*, ed. A. K. Nadkarni, 2 vols. (3 ed., revised by A. K. Nadkarni, Bombay: Popular Prakashan), [ark:/13960/t6rz4h160](https://nms.iiit.ac.in/ark:/13960/t6rz4h160).
- (1982), *Dr. K. M. Nadkarni's Indian Materia Medica, with Ayurvedic, Unani-tibbi, Siddha, Allopathic, Homeopathic, Naturopathic & Home Remedies, Appendices & Indexes ... in Two Volumes*, ed. A. K. Nadkarni, 2 vols. (3 ed., revised and enlarged by A. K. Nadkarni, Bombay: Popular Prakashan), ISBN: 8171541429, [URL](https://nms.iiit.ac.in/ark:/13960/t6rz4h160).
- Narayana, Ala and Thrigulla, Saketh Ram (2011), 'Tangible Evidences of Surgical Practice in Ancient India', *Journal of Indian Medical Heritage*, 16: 1–18, [URL](https://nms.iiit.ac.in/ark:/13960/t6rz4h160), accessed 02/06/2021.
- NGMCP (2014), 'Nepal-german Manuscript Cataloguing Project. Online Title List and Descriptive Catalogue', Universität Hamburg and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, [URL](https://nms.iiit.ac.in/ark:/13960/t6rz4h160).
- Oberlies, Thomas (2003), *A Grammar of Epic Sanskrit* (Indian Philology and South Asian Studies, 5; Berlin: De Gruyter), ISBN: 9783110144482. DOI: [10.1515/9783110899344](https://nms.iiit.ac.in/ark:/13960/t6rz4h160).
- Osbaldeston, Tess Anne and Wood, R. P. A. (2000), *Dioscorides. De Materia Medica. Being an Herbal with Many Other Medicinal Materials Written in Greek in the First Century of the Common Era. a New Indexed Version in Modern English* [Introductory Notes by R. P. Wood] (Johannesburg: IBIDIS Press), ISBN: 0-620-23435-0, [URL](https://nms.iiit.ac.in/ark:/13960/t6rz4h160).
- Pandey, Anshuman (2012), 'Proposal to Encode the Newar Script in ISO/IEC 10646', [URL](https://nms.iiit.ac.in/ark:/13960/t6rz4h160).
- Pārśvanātha Śāstrī, Vardhamāna (1940) (ed.), *उग्रादित्याचार्यकृत कल्याणकारक (राष्ट्रभाषानुवादसहित) = The Kalyāṇa-kārikam of Ugrādityacharya, Edited with Introduction, Translation, Notes, Indexes and Dictionary* (Sakhārāma

- Nemacaṇḍa Gramṭhamālā, 129; Solāpura: Seṭha Goviṇḍajī Rāvajī Doṣī), [ark:/13960/t2q617g4d](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-63862-p0111-9).
- Pass, Gregory (2003), *Descriptive Cataloging of Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance, and Early Modern Manuscripts* (Chicago: American Library Association), ISBN: 0-8389-8218-2, [URL](https://www.librarycongress.org/record/n68001718).
- Preisendanz, Karin (2007), 'The Initiation of the Medical Student in Early Classical Āyurveda: Caraka's Treatment in Context', in Birgit Kellner et al. (eds.), *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ. Papers Dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday. Part 2*, ii, 2 vols. (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 70.2; Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische Und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien), 629–68, ISBN: 9783902501097, [URL](https://www.wien.ac.at/stt/stt_70_2/stt_70_2_629-68.pdf).
- Price, Kenneth M. (2013), 'Electronic Scholarly Editions', in Ray Siemens and Susan Schreibman (eds.), *A Companion to Digital Literary Studies* (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd), 434–50. DOI: [10 . 1002 / 9781405177504 . ch24](https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405177504.ch24), [URL](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781405177504.ch24), accessed 04/07/2021.
- Rai, Saurav Kumar (2019), 'Invoking 'Hindu' Ayurveda: Communalisation of the Late Colonial Ayurvedic Discourse', *The Indian Economic & Social History Review*, 56/4: 411–26. DOI: [10 . 1177 / 0019464619873820](https://doi.org/10.1177/0019464619873820); Online first.
- Rama Rao, B. et al. (2005), *Sanskrit Medical Manuscripts in India* (New Delhi: Central Council for Research in Ayurveda & Siddha), [ark : / 13960 / t88h7763b](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-63862-p0111-9).
- Rhys Davids, Thomas William and Stede, William (1921–5), *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* (London: The Pali Text Society), [URL](https://www.palitext.com/).
- Roşu, Arion (1989), *Un demi-siècle de recherches āyurvédiques. Gustave Liétard et Palmyr Cordier: Travaux sur l'histoire de la médecine indienne* (Paris: Institut de Civilisation Indienne).
- Sastri, Hrishikesh and Gui, Siva Chandra (1895–1917), *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of Calcutta Sanskrit College* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press).
- Sastri, P. P. S. (1933), *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library Tanjore: Natya, Sangita, Kamasutra, Vaidya & Jyotisa*, nos. 10650–11737 (Srirangam: Sri Vani Vilas Press), [ark: / 13960 / t3nw8bc12](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-63862-p0111-9).

- Scott, H. (1817), 'Some Remarks on the Arts of India, with Miscellaneous Observations on Various Subjects', *Journal of Science and the Arts*, 2: 67–72, ill. after 133, [ark:/13960/t9870jt4g](https://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t9870jt4g); Breton 1826: 358–363 cites Scott's description of cataract couching.
- Sena, Gaṅgāprasād et al. (1886–93) (eds.), सुश्रुतसंहिता...दल्लनाचार्य-कृत-निबन्ध-संग्रह, चक्रपाणिदत्त-कृत-भानुमती-टीका...वङ्गानुवाद...इरेजि प्रतिशब्द (Calcutta: Maṇirāma Press); Edition "g" in [HIML](https://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t0ms6rc70): IB, 311.
- Sharma, Har Dutt (1939), *Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collections of Manuscripts Deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XVI, Part I, Vaidyaka* (Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Government Manuscripts Library; Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute), [ark:/13960/t0ms6rc70](https://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t0ms6rc70), accessed 23/10/2019.
- Sharma, Priya Vrat (1972), *Indian Medicine in the Classical Age* (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office).
- (1982), *Ḍalhana and his Comments on Drugs* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal).
- (1999–2001), *Suśruta-Saṃhitā, with English Translation of Text and Ḍalhana's Commentary Alongwith (sic) Critical Notes*, 3 vols. (Haridas Ayurveda Series, 9; Varanasi: Chaukhambha Visvabharati).
- Shastri, R. Shama (1920) (ed.), बोधायनगृह्यसूत्रम् *The Bodhāyana Grihyasutra* (Mysore: University of Mysore), [ark:/13960/t2t492622](https://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t2t492622).
- Singh, Thakur Balwant and Chuneekar, K. C. (1972), *Glossary of Vegetable Drugs in Brhatṭrayī* (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office).
- Sircar, Dinesh Chandra (1987), '6. Rākshashkhāli (Sundarban) Plate; Śaka 1118', *Epigraphia Indica* (1953–54), 30: 42–3.
- Sivarajan, V. V. and Balachandran, Indira (1994), *Ayurvedic Drugs and Their Plant Sources* (New Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta: Oxford & IBH Publishing).
- Sleeman, W. H. (1893), *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official* (London: Constable), [ark:/13960/t22c4bx7w](https://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t22c4bx7w), accessed 14/03/2018; V. 2 at <http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t2s52bq7w>.
- Smith, Brian K. (1994), *Classifying the Universe: The Ancient Indian Varṇa System and the Origins of Caste* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press), ISBN: 0-19-508498-5.

- Spink, M. S. and Lewis, G. L. (1973) (eds.), *Albucasis on Surgery and Instruments: A Definitive Edition of the Arabic Text with English Translation and Commentary* (London: Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine).
- Srikantha Murthy, K. R. (2000–2), *Illustrated Suśruta Saṁhitā: Text, English Translation, Notes, Appendices and Index* (Jaikrishnadas Ayurveda Series, 102; 1st edn., Varanasi: Chaukhambha Orientalia).
- Suvedī, K. S. and Tivārī, N. (2000) (eds.), *Sauśrutaniḥaṇṭuḥ: grāthāḍau viṣṭṛtena grāthavaiṣiṣṭyaparakāśakenopodghātena avasāne ca dravyāṇām anekabhāṣānām āvalī- paryāyasaṅgrahābhyaṁ samalaṅkṛtaḥ Suśrutasaṁhitāyāṁ prayuktānām auśadhadravyāṇām paryāya-guṇakarmavarṇātmako pūrvagrāthah* (Belajhūṇḍī, Ḍāṇ: Mahendrasaṁskṛtaviśvavidyālayah).
- Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste (1684), *Collections of Travels through Turkey (sic), into Persia, and the East-Indies* (London: M. Pitt).
- The Unicode Consortium (1991–2020), 'The Unicode Standard 13.0, NewaRange: 11400–1147F', [URL](#), accessed 20/07/2021.
- Thorburn, S. S. (1876), *Bannu; or Our Afghan Frontier* (London: Trübner & Co.), [URL](#), accessed 10/09/2019; Reprinted Lahore: Niaz Ahmad, 1978.
- Unschuld, Paul Ulrich (1984), *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas* (Berkeley: University of California Press), ISBN: 0520050231.
- Velankar, H. D (1925–30), *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskr̥ta and Prākṛta Manuscripts in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Bombay: Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay), [ark:/13960/t53g00h0n](#); Biswas #0115.
- Warrier, P. K., Nambiar, V. P. K., and Ramankutty, C. (1994–6) (eds.), *Indian Medicinal Plants: A Compendium of 500 Species. Vaidyaratnam P. S. Varier's Arya Vaidya Sala, Kottakal* (Madras: Orient Longman).
- Watt, George (1889–96), *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India* (Calcutta: Dept. Revenue and Agriculture, Government of India), [URL](#), accessed 28/04/2021.
- (1908), *The Commercial Products of India, Being an Abridgement of "the Dictionary of the Economic Products of India"* (London: John Murray), [ark:/13960/t9t14xh3x](#).

- Whitney, William Dwight (1885), *The Roots, Verb-forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language. A Supplement to his Sanskrit Grammar* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel), [ark:/13960/t3qv3p906](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bsz:13960-t3qv3p906).
- Wilson, H. H. (1823), 'On the Medical and Surgical Sciences of the Hindus', *The Oriental Magazine and Calcutta Review*, 1: 207–12, 349–56, [URL](#).
- Wren, R. C. (1956), *Potter's New Cyclopaedia of Botanical Drugs and Preparations*, ed. R. W. Wren (Rustington, Sussex: Health Science Press), [ark:/13960/t14n65c9g](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bsz:13960-t14n65c9g).
- Wujastyk, Dagmar (2012), *Well-mannered Medicine: Medical Ethics and Etiquette in Classical Ayurveda* (New York: Oxford University Press). doi: [10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199856268.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199856268.001.0001).
- (2019), 'Iron Tonics: Tracing the Development from Classical to Iatrochemical Formulations in Ayurveda', *HIMALAYA, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies*, 39/1, ISSN: 2471-3716, [URL](#), accessed 23/07/2019.
- Wujastyk, Dominik (1993), 'Indian Medicine', in W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter (eds.), *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, i (London: Routledge), chap. 33, 755–78, ISBN: 0-415-04771-4, [URL](#).
- (2003), *The Roots of Ayurveda: Selections from Sanskrit Medical Writings* (Penguin Classics; 3rd edn., London, New York, etc.: Penguin Group), ISBN: 0-140-44824-1.
- (2004), 'Agni and Soma: A Universal Classification', *Studia Asiatica: International Journal for Asian Studies*, IV–V, ed. Eugen Ciurtin: 347–70, ISSN: 1582-9111, [URL](#).
- (2013), 'New Manuscript Evidence for the Textual and Cultural History of Early Classical Indian Medicine', in *Medical Texts and Manuscripts in Indian Cultural History*, ed. Dominik Wujastyk, Anthony Cerulli, and Karin Preisendanz (New Delhi: Manohar), 141–57, [URL](#).
- (2021), 'MS London BL H. T. Colebrooke 908', [URL](#).
- Zimmermann, F. (1983), 'Suśrutasamhita. Essay review.', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 57/2: 291–3, ISSN: 00075140, [URL](#).
- Zimmermann, Francis (1999), *The Jungle and the Aroma of Meats* (2nd edn., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass), ISBN: 8120816188.

- Zysk, Kenneth G. (1984), 'An Annotated Bibliography of Translations into Western Languages of Principle Sanskrit Medical Treatises', *Clio Medica*, 19/3-4: 281-91.
- (1985), *Religious Healing in the Veda: With Translations and Annotations of Medical Hymns from the Rgveda and the Atharvaveda and Renderings from the Corresponding Ritual Texts* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society), ISBN: 0871697572.
- (1986), 'The Evolution of Anatomical Knowledge in Ancient India with Special Reference to Cross-cultural Influences', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 106: 687-705. DOI: [10.2307/603532](https://doi.org/10.2307/603532).
- (2000), *Asceticism and Healing in Ancient India: Medicine in the Buddhist Monastery* (Indian Medical Tradition; 2nd edn., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass); First published 1991. Reprint of 1998 edition.

Glossary

ācārika
- medical advice: 19
admixture
- *prativāpa*: 20
āhārya
- take away: 17
apāmarga
- prickly chaff
flower: 17
apāṅga
- edge of the hole:
21
apatānaka
- convulsions: 16
apramatta
- diligent: 22
ārā
- awl: 16
ardhakapāṭasandhika
- half door-hinge:
17
āsaṅgima
- fastening: 17
awl
- *ārā*: 16
baddham
- bound, connected:
21
bandha
- bindings: 19
bhedyā
- splitting: 19
bindings
- *bandha*: 19
blessings pronounced
- *svastivācana*: 15
bound, connected
- *baddham*: 21
cakradhārā
- rim of a wheel: 18
castor oil tree
- *gandharvahaṣṭa*: 16

chedya
- cutting: 19
cheek-ear
- *gaṇḍakārṇa*: 17
compressed
- *saṃkṣipta*: 18
compressed
- *saṃkṣipta*: 17
convulsions
- *apatānaka*: 16
cotton
- *picu*: 19
cotton plant
- *kārpāsa*: 17
creeper-ear
- *vallikārṇa*: 17
crow's lip
- *kākauṣṭha*: 17
cutting
- *chedya*: 19
dais
- *pīṭha*: 18
datura flower
- *dhattūrapuṣpa*: 17
decanted liquor
- *surāmaṇḍa*: 19
dhānyāmla
- fermented
rice-water: 19
dhattūrapuṣpa
- datura flower: 17
dilator
- *pravardhanaka*: 17
diligent
- *apramatta*: 22
door-hinge
- *kapāṭasandhika*: 17
dried flesh
- *vallūraka*: 17
duct
- *sirā*: 16
ducts
- *sirā*: 18

duṣṭa
- tainted: 19
edge of the hole
- *apāṅga*: 21
elixir salve
- *rasāñjana*: 22
eraṇḍapatranāla
- stalk of the leaf of
castor oil plant: 22
fastening
- *āsaṅgima*: 17
fermented rice-water
- *dhānyāmla*: 19
gāḍha
- pinched: 20
gaṇḍakārṇa
- cheek-ear: 17
gandharvahaṣṭa
- castor oil tree: 16
gauze
- *prota*: 19
ghee
- *sarpis*: 20
granthi
- lumps: 16
granthita
- lumpy: 18
half door-hinge
-
ardhakapāṭasandhika:
17
hīna
- reduced: 22
hīnakārṇa
- reduced-ear: 17
indian madder
- *mañjiṣṭhā*: 16
inflamed
- *saṃrambha*: 20

joins
 - sandhāna: 17
 - sandhi: 18
 kākauṣṭha
 - crow's lip: 17
 kapālacūrṇa
 - powdered earthenware crockery: 19
 kapāṭasandhika
 - door-hinge: 17
 kaṇnavyadha
 - piercing the ear: 15
 kārṇpāsa
 - cotton plant: 17
 kṛtamaṅgala
 - received a benediction: 15
 kṣṇa
 - wasted: 20
 lead
 - sīsaka: 17
 lekhyā
 - scarification: 19
 lotus-splittable
 - utpalabhedyaka: 17
 lumps
 - granthi: 16
 lumpy
 - granthita: 18
 mañjiṣṭhā
 - indian madder: 16
 manyāstambhā
 - paralysis of the nape of the neck: 16
 mardita
 - massaged: 21
 massaged
 - mardita: 21
 may repair
 - yojayed: 21
 medical advice

- ācārīka: 19
 miśrakacikitsa
 - various treatments: 21
 multi-joins
 - vyāyojima: 17
 nala
 - reed: 22
 neem tree
 - nimba: 17
 nemīsandhānaka
 - rim-join: 18
 nemīsandhānakāḥ
 - rim-join: 17
 nimba
 - neem tree: 17
 nirvedhima
 - ready-split: 17
 obstructed by blood
 - raktabaddha: 20
 ointment for rubbing the ear
 - udvartana: 21
 options
 - vikalpa: 18
 pāka
 - septic: 20
 paralysis of the nape of the neck
 - manyāstambhā: 16
 pattāṅga
 - sappanwood: 22
 picu
 - cotton: 19
 piercing the ear
 - kaṇnavyadha: 15
 piercing
 - vyadhana: 19
 pinched
 - gāḍha: 20
 pīṭha
 - dais: 18

powdered earthenware crockery
 - kapālacūrṇa: 19
 pratiṣṭhāpa
 - admixture: 20
 pratuda
 - scavenging: 20
 pravardhanaka
 - dilator: 17
 prickly chaff flower
 - apāmarga: 17
 prota
 - gauze: 19
 puffed up
 - śopha: 20
 raktabaddha
 - obstructed by blood: 20
 rasāñjana
 - elixir salve: 22
 ready-split
 - nirvedhima: 17
 received a benediction
 - kṛtamaṅgala: 15
 reduced
 - hīna: 22
 reduced-ear
 - hīnakarṇa: 17
 reed
 - nala: 22
 rim of a wheel
 - cakradhārā: 18
 rim-join
 - nemīsandhānaka: 18
 rim-join
 - nemīsandhānakāḥ: 17
 sādhubaddha
 - well joined: 22
 samkṣipta
 - compressed: 18
 - compressed: 17
 samrambha

-inflamed: 20
sandhāna
 -joins: 17
sandhi
 -joins: 18
 sappanwood
 -*pattāṅga*: 22
sarpis
 -ghee: 20
 scarification
 -*lekhyā*: 19
 scavenging
 -*pratuda*: 20
 seed-eating
 -*viṣkīra*: 20
 septic
 -*pāka*: 20
 sesame oil
 -*taila*: 21
sirā
 -duct: 16
 -ducts: 18
sīsaka
 -lead: 17
 slice of flesh
 -*vadhra*: 21f
śopha
 -*puffed up*: 20
 splitting
 -*bhedya*: 19
srāva
 -suppurating: 18
 -suppuration: 20
stabdha
 -stiff: 18, 20

stalk of the leaf of castor
 oil plant
 -*eraṇḍapatranāla*: 22
 stick-ear
 -*yaṣṭīkārṇa*: 17
 stiff
 -*stabdha*: 18, 20
sunivīṣṭa
 -very intent: 21
 suppurating
 -*srāva*: 18
 suppuration
 -*srāva*: 20
surāmaṇḍa
 -decanted liquor:
 19
svastivācana
 -blessings
 pronounced: 15
śvayathu
 -swelling: 16
 swelling
 -*śvayathu*: 16
taila
 -sesame oil: 21
 tainted
 -*duṣṭa*: 19
 take away
 -*āhārya*: 17
udvartana
 -ointment for
 rubbing the ear: 21
utpalabhedyaka
 -lotus-splittable: 17

vadhra
 -slice of flesh: 21f
vallīkārṇa
 -creeper-ear: 17
vallūraka
 -dried flesh: 17
 various treatments
 -*miśrakacikitsa*: 21
vartī
 -wick: 16f
vāta
 -wind: 17
 very intent
 -*sunivīṣṭa*: 21
vikalpa
 -options: 18
viṣkīra
 -seed-eating: 20
vyadhana
 -piercing: 19
vyāyojima
 -multi-joins: 17
 wasted
 -*kṣīṇa*: 20
 well joined
 -*sādhubaddha*: 22
 wick
 -*vartī*: 16f
 wind
 -*vāta*: 17
yaṣṭīkārṇa
 -stick-ear: 17
yojayed
 -may repair: 21

Todo list

■ ADD PRIMARY REF)	16
■ añjana	22