

A Translation of the New Edition of the  
*Suśrutasaṃhitā*

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### Abstract

The [Suśruta Project](#) is producing a new Sanskrit text edition of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* based on the early Nepalese manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> As we gradually transcribe and edit the manuscripts, we are producing this new translation of the classic work.

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<sup>1</sup> MS Kathmandu KL 699, MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079, and MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333.

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## The manuscripts and editions used in the vulgate editions by Yādavaśarman Trivikrama Ācārya

Yādavaśarman Trivikrama Ācārya produced three successive editions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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.<sup>2</sup>

The 1915 edition was based on three manuscripts. The 1931 edition used another seven plus two printed editions. For his final 1938 edition, Ācārya used a further three manuscripts.<sup>3</sup> 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*.

### 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 Raṇachōḍalāla 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 Pune, BORI library. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Covers the *śārīrasthāna*.<sup>4</sup>

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

3 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).

4 Not one of the three MSS of the *śārīrasthāna* described in H. D. Sharma 1939.

- 5 Pune, BORI library. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Complete. With some damaged folia.
- 6 Bombay, Asiatic Society. Incomplete.<sup>5</sup>
- 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 Hārāṇacandra Cakravārtti. Complete work. This is the 1910 Calcutta edition numbered “t” by Meulenbeld ([HIML](#): IB, 312).<sup>6</sup>
- 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 Niśikāntasena. This is the 1886 Calcutta edition numbered “g” by Meulenbeld ([HIML](#): IB, 311).<sup>7</sup>

### 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 Paṃ. Candrasekharaśāstrin. Contains the commentary *Nyāyacandrikāpāñjikā-vyākhyā* by Gayadāsa. Covers the *nidānasthāna*. This is almost certainly MS Bikaner Anup 4390.<sup>8</sup>
- 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 ता for तालपत्रपुस्तके.

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5 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.”

6 Bhaṭṭācārya 1910–7.

7 Sena et al. 1886–93.

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

edition sthāna	Manuscripts (●) and print editions (○)											
	1915			1931								
	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
sū.	●							●	?		○	○ <sup>(1-43)</sup>
nī.	●			●				●	?		○	
śā.	●				●	●	●	●	?		○	
cī.		●						●	?	●	○	
ka.	●							●	?		○	
utt.		●	●	●				●	?		○	

Table 1: The sources of Yādavaśarman T. Ācārya's three vulgate editions.

## Evaluation

Estimates show that there are approximately 230 extant manuscript witnesses for the *Suśrutasamhitā*.<sup>9</sup> 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.

While the descriptions provided by Ācārya of his source materials seems at first to be moderately comprehensive, Table 1 reveals the real paucity of textual basis for these editions. Apparently, fifteen manuscripts were consulted. However, we quickly find that two of the sources were other people's printed editions, and one of those covered less than a quarter of the work. 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 manuscripts. One of them, no. 6 of 1931, remains mysterious. 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 next, 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

<sup>9</sup> This figure is arrived at by summing the MSS mentioned in [NCC](#) and in the [NGMCP](#). The real figure could be many scores higher.

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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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 famous Nirṇayasāgara Press in Mumbai.<sup>12</sup> 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 𑀧 for *mudrita*.<sup>13</sup>
2. A manuscript in the India Office Library library provided through

<sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>11</sup> Su 1938: 22.

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> 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 CACL accession number 97 in Bengali script may be this manuscript.





Figure 1: A page of the 1939 *Bhānumatī* edition, showing the variant readings in the footnotes.

the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune.<sup>14</sup> This manuscript covered the *Bhānumatī* b up to the end of the *sūtrasthāna*. The siglum was ह for हस्तलिखित.<sup>15</sup>

### For the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*

1. A palm leaf manuscript from Hemarājaśarman's personal library.<sup>16</sup> The siglum was ता for ताडपत्र.
2. His own published edition. The siglum was ड for डल्हणसंमतः पाठः.<sup>17</sup>
3. Hārānacandra Cakravartī's published edition with his own commentary.<sup>18</sup> The siglum was हा.

### 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*.<sup>19</sup> 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

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

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

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

17 [Su 1938](#). It is noteworthy that Ācārya refers to his 1938 edition as representing "the Ḍalhaṇa recension."

18 Bhaṭṭācārya [1910-7](#).

19 [HIML](#): IA, 374-375 and IB, 495-496.

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.<sup>20</sup>

There is compelling evidence that Cakrapāṇidatta's *Bhānumatī* commentary once covered the whole text of the *Suśrutasamhitā*.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Su 1939: 3–4. See discussion by Klebanov (2021b: 7).

<sup>21</sup> HIML: IA, 375.

<sup>22</sup> Cordier 1903: 332.

## Features of the manuscript transmission

### Palaeographical features

- śrita for śṛta.
- ś and s in KL 699.

### Chart of characters

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

## Uttaratantra, adhyāya 38

### Introductory remarks

**Summary of the Content** The chapter talks about various diseases of the female reproductive system and, in doing so, combines both aspects that go into a representation of diseases in āyurvedic literature: signs, symptoms and pathogenesis (*nidāna*), on the one hand, and medical treatment (*cikitsā*), on the other. In chapters of the *Uttaratantra*, these two aspects are sometime dealt with in two different chapters *X-vijñānīya* and *X-pratiṣedha*. There are, however, many examples where this distinction is not made.

**Placement of the Chapter** While in [Su 1938](#) the current chapter is found at the end of the section on paediatrics (*Kumāratantra*, or *Kumārabhṛtya* as this section is styled in MS Kathmandu KL 699), in the Nepalese version, this is chapter 6.58, and it is chapter 23 of an entirely different section, namely, the *Kāyācikitsā*.

Several things are noteworthy in this regard:

- In the placement of the vulgate, this chapter follows upon 6.37 *Grahotpatti* (6.35 in the Nepalese version), a chapter that talks about the origination of nine demons (*graha*) that are responsible for all children's diseases described in previous chapters of the *Kumāratantra*. In this way, the current chapter retains the general focus on the child bearing (*kaumārabhṛtya*), but, at the same time, marks a change to a distinct, less mystical approach to the topic at hand (that could originate in a cultural milieu different from that of the preceding 11 chapters). Ḍalhaṇa ([Su 1938](#): 668b) explains how the chapter fits its context in the following way:

It is appropriate that for the sake of treating the disorders of the female reproductive system (*yonivyāpat*), the chapter called Countermeasures Against Disorders of the Female Reproductive System (*yonivyāpatpratiṣedha*) (SS.6.38) is taught immediately after the chapter called Origination of Planetary Deities (*grahotpatti*) (SS.6.37). It is because (1) there is an explicit mention of the word “*yonī*” in the statement “born in the womb (*yonī*) of animal and human” (in SS.6.37.13bc) and because (2) the

disorders of the female reproductive system (*yonivyāpat*) are the causes for the inborn disorders of children.<sup>160</sup>

- In the placement of the Nepalese version, *Yonivyāpatpratiṣedha* is preceded by 6.56 *Mūtrāghātapratiṣedha* (6.58 in [Su 1938](#)) and 6.57 *Mūtrakṛcchrapratiṣedha* (6.59 in [Su 1938](#)), two chapters dealing with the diseases of the urinary tract. The current chapter carries on with the topic of diseases that affect genitalia. In its Nepalese version, the chapter opens with two verses that explain the reasons for treating the particular set of diseases. These lack any reference to the inborn disorders of children (*kumārajanmavikāra*) mentioned by Ḍalhaṇa, and instead highlight the importance of curing female diseases for the satisfaction of male partner.
- SS.1.3 in both [Su 1938](#) and the Nepalese version lists the chapter at the place, where it is found in the vulgate (Cf. Sū.3.37ab: *naigameṣacikitsā ca grahotpattih sayonijāh*).
- Parallel chapters in the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* and the *Aṣṭāṅghṛdayasamhitā* form a part of the *Śalyatantra* section of each text.

**Parallels** The current chapter is parallel in its content to *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* 6.38 and 6.39 as well as *Aṣṭāṅghṛdayasamhitā* 6.33 and 6.34 (*Guhyarogavijñāna* and *Guhyarogapratiṣedha* respectively).

A close literary parallel to the first part of the chapter is found in *Mādhavanidāna* (MN) 62, or at least its version printed in @@. The readings of the MN as it stands now usually side with the vulgate version rather than with the Nepalese. In addition to the basic text, there are several valuable pointers made in the *Madhukośa*, an early commentary on the MN. This part of the text is authored by Śrīkaṇṭhadatta, who was most like a direct student of Vijarakṣita. The latter wrote the first part of the *Madhukośa*, up to chapter 32, and, what is more, can be dated to the second half of the 11th – first half of the 12th centuries (Meulenbeld 1974: 22–26).

Another most interesting parallel is found in *Carakasamhitā* 6(Ci).30.

<sup>160</sup> Ḍalhaṇa on SS.6.38.1: *grahotpattyadhyāyanantaram 'tityagyonim mānuṣam ca' iti vacanena yoner nāmasamkīrtanāt kumārajanmavikārakāraṇatvāc ca, yonivyāpaccikitsitārtham yonivyāpatpratiṣedhādhyāyārambho yuyjate [...]*

## Translation

- 1 And now I shall explain the countermeasures against disorders of the female reproductive system (*yonivyāpat*).<sup>161</sup>
- \*3 Since for good men, a woman is the most pleasurable thing, therefore a physician should diligently attend to the diseases located in the female reproductive system (*yoni*), because he is entirely devoted to it (that is, to curing these diseases) for the sake of (people's) happiness.<sup>162</sup>
- \*4 A corrupted female reproductive system (*yoni*) cannot consume semen (*bīja*), and therefore, the woman cannot take a fetus (that is, become pregnant). She gets severe prolapses (*arśas*), abdominal lump (*gulma*) and similarly many other diseases (*roga*).

**Philological Notes** The first two verses (2 and 3) in the Nepalese version are written in a classical variety of the *upajāti* metre:

U \_ U \_ \_ U U \_ U \_ \_.

In content, they are only approximately parallel to three hemistichs in *anuṣṭubh* metre found in [Su 1938](#). The latter verses lack the apologetic explanation concerning the reasons for this chapter being taught.

- \*5 Humours (*doṣa*), wind (*vāta*), etc., corrupted due to faulty medical treatment (*mithyopacāra*),<sup>163</sup> sexual activity, fate, and also defects (*doṣa*)

161 On this broad understanding of the term *yoni*, see Das 2003: pp. 572–5

162 As our translation indicates, the sentence construction does not allow an unambiguous identification of who or what is the referent of the pronoun *tad* in the compound form *tadadhīna* 'devoted to it.' Our current understanding is that *tad* refers to the 'most pleasurable thing' mentioned in pāda a. It could, however, also refer to 'them,' that is, the 'good men.'

163 In our translation of the compound *mithyopacāra*, we decided for the technical meaning of the term *upacāra*, that is, 'medical application' or 'treatment'. The combination *mithyā + upa-√cār* is attested several times in medical literature. At least once, at CS Vi.3.38, it is given an explicit commentarial gloss (by Cakrapāṇidatta): "*mithopacaritān iti asamyak cikitsitān*". In the SS ([Su 1938](#)), it is used once in Ut.18.30, where it refers specifically to the wrong application of ? (*tarpaṇa*) and ? (*putapāka*), both of which are mentioned in the previous verse. Another use of the compound in a seemingly conforming meaning is found in a citation from Bhoja's text quoted by Gayadāsa at SS Ni.5.17: "*śvitraṃ tu dvividhaṃ proktaṃ doṣajaṃ vṛṇajam tathā/ tatra mithyopacārād dhi vṛṇasya vṛṇajam smṛtam // ...*". In contrast to this, the parallel verse in [Su 1938](#) = CS Ci.30.7 = MN 62.1 reads *mithyācāra* 'wrong conduct'. All commentators (Cakra-

of menstrual blood (*ārtava*) and semen (*bīja*), produce various diseases in the female reproductive organ (*yonī*). These 20 diseases are taught here distinctly and one by one along with their treatment (*bheṣaja*), causes (*hetu*) and signs (*cihna*).

**Philological Notes** The Nepalese version of the SS continues here with 3 hemistichs in classical *upajāti* metre (see the syllabic pattern above). On the other hand, Su 1938 contains two complete verses (4 hemistichs) in the *anuṣṭubh*. Three final hemistichs are found verbatim in CS Ci.30.7cd–8. It is very likely that these verses were borrowed from the CS into SS (and not the other way around), because CS Ci.30.7cd = SS Ut.38.5ab says that the 20 kinds of diseases were already taught in the Collection of Diseases (*rogasaṃgraha*). In the context of the SS, this reference does not make any sense and is left uncommented by Ḍalhaṇa. In case of the CS, however, Cakrapāṇidatta explains that this reference points back to CS Sū.19, a chapter that does, in fact, list all the diseases dealt with in later sections of the text. 20 diseases of female reproductive system (*yonī*) as mentioned in Sū.19.3.

The above three hemistichs in *anuṣṭubh* are also repeated in MN 62.1–2ab. Given that all following verses stem from the SS, it is likely that MN 62.1–2ab too was incorporated into the text from the SS (and not its original location in the CS).

\*6.1 Because of wind (*vāta*), female reproductive organ (*yonī*) becomes:

1. ? (*udāvartā*),
2. called Infertile (*vandhyā*), and
3. Sprung (*plutā*),
4. Flooded (*pariplutā*), and
5. Windy (*vātalā*).

\*6.2 And because of choler (*pitta*), occur:

1. With bloodloss (*raktakṣayā*),
2. Vomiting (*vāminī*), and
3. Causing a Fall (*sraṃsanī*),

---

pāṇidatta on the CS, Śrīkaṇṭhadatta on the MN, and Ḍalhaṇa on the SS) explain that the wrong conduct stands here specifically for unwholesome diet. The parallel in AH Ut.33.28 = AS Ut.38.34 plainly reads *duṣṭabhojana* ‘corrupted food’ instead.



4. Child-murderess (*putraghnī*), and also
  5. Bilious / Choleric (*pittalā*).
- \*7.1 And because of phlegm (*kapha*) occur:
1. Extremely Excited (*atyānandā*),
  2. Protuberant (*karninī*), and
  3. & 4. two (*caranī*), and
  5. other Phlegmatic (*śleṣmalā*).
- \*7.2 And similarly there are other (kinds of morbid female reproductive system) involving all *doṣas*:
1. Impotent (*śaṇḍhī*),
  2. With testicles (*aṇḍinī*),
  3. two Huge (*mahatī*),
  4. With a needle-like opening (*sūcīvākrā*),
  5. (*sarvātmikā*).

**Philological Notes** Verses 5 and 6 consist of four hemistichs written in a kind of *triṣṭubh* metre — that is, of eight unequal *pādas* containing 11 syllables each — and correspond to six hemistichs in *anuṣṭubh* in [Su 1938](#) (Ut.38.6cd–9cd). By the standards of classical Sanskrit prosody, the metre in all four hemistichs is irregular. However, considering the wide range of metrical variations of the *triṣṭubh* permissible in Epic Sanskrit, the concerned verses can be considered to fall well within metrical norm. Based on the metrical analysis of a large sample of *triṣṭubh* passages in the *Mahābhārata*, Fitzgerald ([2009](#):108) postulated the following general metrical structure:

Table 2: Summary of table 3 in Fitzgerald [2009](#).

syllable nr.	1	2,3,4	5,6,7	8,9,10	11
	x	ra ( _ U _ ), ma ( _ _ _ )	bha ( _ U U ), ra ( _ U _ ), sa ( U U _ )	ra ( _ U _ )	x

Our verses scan:

Table 3: Metrical structure of vss. Ut.38.5–6 in the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

5		U _ _ _ , _ U _ _ U _ U		U _ U _ , _ U _ _ U _ _
6		_ _ U _ , _ U _ _ U _ U		_ _ U _ , _ U _ _ U _ _

Following Fitzgerald’s hypothesis (Fitzgerald 2009: 99) formulated explicitly with regard to the *Mahābhārata* that “the more variable a *triṣṭubh* passage of the Mbh is, the older it is likely to be”, one may speculate that the current passage in the Nepalese version may go back to an ancient textual layer that, at the time when the hyparchetype of the Nepalese version was produced, was not yet fully “Sanskritized” and harmonized with the surrounding passages. Alternatively and, perhaps, less likely, vss. 5–6 of the Nepalese version could have been composed as an attempt to harmonize the text of the SS — that is, to recast the list of diseases originally written in *anuṣṭubh* into *triṣṭubh*.

Note that so far we have not come across any other examples of non-Classical metres used either in Su 1938 or in the Nepalese version.

- 9 The Retaining (*udāvartā*) releases foamy menstrual blood (*rajas*) with pain. One should diagnose the Infertile (*vandhyā*) by the absence of menstrual blood (*ārtava*), and the ? (*utplutā*) by chronic pain. In the case of Flooded (*pariplutā*), there is an extreme appetite for sex.
- 11 The Windy (*vātalā*) is hard, stiff, afflicted by stabbing and pricking pain. And in four former types too, there are painful sensations (*vedanā*) associated with the wind (*anila*).
- 12 The Bloodloss (*lohitakṣayā*) is the one that has blood that diminishes with a burning sensation. And the Vomiting (*vāmini*), flooded with menstrual blood (*rajas*), ejects the semen (*bīja*) in the flow.<sup>164</sup>
- 13 The Falling (*prasraṁsanī*) protrudes, it is agitated, and delivery is hard. The Child-Murdress (*putraghnī*) kills a well-established fetus because of flows of blood (*rakta*).<sup>165</sup>

**Philological Notes** In 10ab, we introduced two minor corrections and deleted the final *anusvāras* in *prasraṁsanīṃ* and *duḥprajāyanīṃ* found in both MSS. In doing so, we effectively changed the Accusative ending to the

<sup>164</sup> The exact force of *srutau* ‘in the flow’ remains unclear.

<sup>165</sup> Note that our interpretation of the semantic value of the reduplication *sthitam sthitam* follows Ḍaḥṇa’s comment: *sthitam sthitam grabham hanti, notpannamātram*, ‘She kills a “*sthitam sthitam*” fetus, not the one that has just arisen.’ Note, however, that from a strict Pāṇinian point of view, this reduplication can be used to indicate either a permanent or a repeated character of an action or property (Cf. A 8.1.4: *nityavīpsayoh*), thus ‘always established’ and ‘repeatedly established’ respectively. The second option seems contextually fitting as well and would point towards repeated miscarriage.

Nominative ones. Apart from mere grammatical, that is, syntactic, reasons, we believe that it is possible to explain how this mistake could occur. Based on irregular forms of both *anusvāra* signs (that is, in MS Kathmandu KL 699 and MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333) at the end of *prasraṃsanīm*, and considering the fact that MS Kathmandu KL 699 is missing one syllable, we believe that both MSS could have faithfully copied what initially was an insertion mark of their common ancestor. The addition of an *anusvāra* after *duḥprajāyanī*, on the other hand, is most likely deliberate and occurred after the initial confusion between an insertion mark and *anusvāra* in order to smooth out the syntax.

If we are correct in thinking that the omission of one syllable in 10a was already present in the common ancestor of MS Kathmandu KL 699 and MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333, the question about the source of MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333's reading *saṃsraṃsate* arises. At the moment, it remains unclear to us whether the scribe of MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 had access to further textual sources or whether he conjectured the text on his own. Note also that this hemistich is written in an uncommon type of *anuṣṭubh*, namely, a *ta-vipulā*. Note, furthermore, that a reading parallel to the Nepalese edition is found, for example, in Mādhavanidāna 64.6ab. Here, however, the text reads *sraṃsate ca*, which brings the metre back to a regular *anuṣṭubh*.

- 14 The Choleric (*pittalā*) has intense burning sensation (*dāha*) and inflammation (*pāka*). And in the case of the first four kinds as well,<sup>166</sup> one should include the symptoms of choler (*pitta*).
- 15 She overindulges in sex (*grāmyadharma*) because of excessive enjoyment (*atyānanda*) and dissatisfaction.<sup>167</sup> And in the case of ? (*karṇinī*), from phlegm (*śleṣman*) and menstrual blood (*āsṛk*) a protuberance (*karṇikā*) develops in the ? (*yonī*).
- 16 During sexual intercourse (*maithuna*), the first ? (*caraṇī*) is the one that

<sup>166</sup> The first four kinds are described in the preceding verses. They are (*lohitakṣayā*), (*vāminī*), (*prasraṃsanī*) and (*putraghnī*).

<sup>167</sup> The syntax of 12ab differs from its parallel formulations beginning with 8ab. The most notable irregularity is that the concerned hemistich lacks the name of the described condition and, consequently, the Nominative subject of the short sentence. It seems likely, therefore, that the Ablative *atyānadāt* 'because of excessive enjoyment' is meant additionally to explain the reasons behind the specific name of the disease, that is Excessive Enjoyment (*atyānandā*).

surpasses the man.<sup>168</sup> Because of frequent excessive intercourse, the semen (*bīja*) then does not stay in place.<sup>169</sup>

**Philological Notes** Note here that the reading of Ut.38.16ab printed in the [Su 1938](#) is the one given by Ḍalhaṇa as an alternative. The reading that he accepted in his main text (inferable from the text his commentary) must have been identical with Ut.38.13ab of the Nepalese version: *maitunetyādi/pūrvā caraṇī atiricyate maithunācaraṇe 'dhikā bhavati*

- 17 Phlegmatic (*śleṣmalā*) female genitals (*yoni*) are slimy, tormented by itchiness and very cold. And in the first four types too, one should include symptoms of phlegm (*kapha*).
- 18 In the case of ? (*ṣaṇḍhī*),<sup>170</sup> the menstrual blood (*ārtava*) and breasts are missing,<sup>171</sup> and during sex, it is rough to the touch.

168 Ḍalhaṇa's reports two readings of the hemistich (see the Philological Notes) and, accordingly, proposes two slightly different (though equally puzzling) explanations of the clause 'to surpass the man during sexual intercourse'. In the first variant (identical with the Nepalese version), he explains that during the intercourse, the vulva? (*yoni*) afflicted by the condition becomes bigger, i.e., swells: *pūrvā caraṇī atiricyate maithunācaraṇe 'dhikā bhavati*. However, it remains unclear what syntactic role is ascribed to the Ablative of the word 'man' (*puruṣāt*). The second explanation is similarly unclear: *puruṣāt pūrvam atiricyate, atyartham kaṇḍūyata ity arthaḥ*. Taken literally, it says that a woman afflicted by the particular condition is scratched excessively (or, perhaps, feels excessive itchiness). *Madhukośa* accepts Ḍalhaṇa's alternative reading as the main text of *Mādhavanidāna* 62.9ab. Accordingly, it assumes that the condition is called *a-caraṇā* and that it makes a woman in-capable of enjoying lovemaking so that she withdraws from it before the man (*acaraṇā' samyaṅmaithunācaraṇāt pūrvam prathamam puruṣād atiricyate viramati*).

169 The syntactic structure of 13cd corresponds to that of 12ab, and, by the same token, it seems likely that the Ablative 'because of frequent excessive intercourse' (*aticaraṇāt*) is meant to explain the name of the condition, namely, Excessive Intercourse (*aticaraṇā*).

170 It is noteworthy that both MSS equally unambiguous in transmitting *ṣaṇḍhī* as the name of the condition here, and calling it *ṣaṇḍhī* in the list above (see verse 8). At the moment we preserve this orthographic variation in our provisional edition and in the translation. Note, furthermore, that in our printed sources of the verse ([Su 1938](#) and [@@Mādhavanidāna@@](#)) that condition is called *ṣaṇḍī*.

171 From a strict grammatical point of view, the compound *naṣṭārtvastanaḥ* (as well as the uncompound reading of H, *naṣṭārtavaḥ stanah*) should mean 'breasts that lack menstrual blood'. At the moment, we cannot make any sense of this translation and follow the [Su 1938](#) (*anartvastanā ṣaṇḍī*) and the *Mādhavanidāna* (MN 62.11: *anartavā 'stanī ṣaṇḍī*) in thinking that the intention of the author was to express that both the

- And the ? (*yonī*) of a juvenile woman, taken by a copulent man,<sup>172</sup> may become ? (*aṇḍanī*).<sup>173</sup>
- 19 (*mahāyonīḥ*) is wide open and (*sūcīvaktrā*) is very closed. For those women who have all the symptoms, their genitals (*yonī*) have all the humours.
- 20 And also in first four types, one observes the symptoms of all humours. These five types of incurable diseases of female genitalia (*yonivyāpat*) are diseases that arise from all the humours.

**Philological Notes** In this verse, we introduced a conjectural emendation and adopted the reading *sarvaliṅganidarśanam* instead of the variant *sarvaliṅgānidarśanam* that is supported by both MSS. We have two reasons for doing so.

On the one hand, we think that the reading of the MSS is faulty. If parsed as *sarvaliṅgāni darśanam*, we arrive at a faulty syntactic construction that we think is unlikely to occur in our text. The parsing *sarvaliṅganidarśanam* ‘one does not observe the symptoms of all humours’, on its turn, is possible to sustain from the point of syntax. However, it violates the repetitive structure of the section, which consists of (1) a set of verses describing specific symptoms of the four types of (*yonivyāpat*) associated with a particular humour, (2) a description of a general type of *yonivyāpat* caused by the particular humour, and (3) a statement that the general symptoms of the particular humour are observed in the case of the four specific types as well. This being the case, we expect that the current verse does exactly this.

On the other hand, our conjecture is supported by an external evidence

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breasts and the menstrual blood of a woman afflicted with the particular condition are reduced. From a grammatical point of view, however, the *karmadhāraya* compound *ārtavastana* should be either singular neuter or dual masculine.

172 Both medieval commentators, Ḍalhaṇa and Śrīkaṇṭhadatta, explain that a ‘copulent’ is aneiphimism for a large penis. Cf. Ḍalhaṇa on SS.Ut.38.18: *atikāyo brhatsādhanonarah* and Śrīkaṇṭhadatta on MN 62.11: *atikāyagrhitāyā mahāmehanena grhitāyāḥ*.

173 Note that in the version of Su 1938, the condition *aṇḍanī* is called *phalinī*, or, according to a variant reading and its explanation offered by Ḍalhaṇa, *aphalinī*. @@MN@@ reads *aṇḍalī* and reports *aṇḍinī* as the reading of the MS ‘ka’. Since the term presupposed by Śrīkaṇṭhadatta was based on the primary nominal stem *aṇḍa* ‘egg’ (Cf.: *aṇḍalī aṇḍavan niḥsṛtā yonīḥ*), it is more likely that he read either *aṇḍanī* or *aṇḍinī*. Note, furthermore, that in Maithilī as well as in the modern Bengali script, letters *n* and *l* can be easily confused.

of *Bhāvaprakāśa* Ma Ci 70.16 that reads *sarvaliṅgasamutthānā sarvadoṣaprakopajā | catasṛṣv api cādyāsu sarvaliṅganidarśanam ||*

- 21 But in the case of the curable ones, the sequence beginning with oleation<sup>174</sup> for each humour (*doṣa*) is recommended. And one should especially administer an vaginal douche (*uttarabasti*) according to the instructions.<sup>175</sup>
- 22 One should treat a female genital (*yoni*) that is rough, cold, rigid and lacking in sensation (*alpasparśa*) with pot-sweats (*kumbhīsveda*)<sup>176</sup> filled with marsh water.
- 23 One should also put spiced, cooked meats (*veśavāra*)<sup>177</sup> mixed with

<sup>174</sup> Commenting on this, Ḍalhaṇa says: “In this way one understands the following meaning: in the case of curable diseases of female genitals, one should first use the type of oleation that counters the particular humour and then apply therapeutic emesis etc.” (*etena yasya doṣasya yaḥ pratyānikāḥ snehas tena snehena saṁsnehyā tato vamanādīn sādhyāsv avacārayed ity arthaḥ*)

<sup>175</sup> SS Ci 37.100ff. give a detailed account of the therapeutic procedure called *uttarabasti*. These verses also describe specific instruments and application methods that vary depending on the gender and age of the patient. Therefore, our translation ‘vaginal douche’ is called by the context. In other contexts, the same term could refer instead to smth. like ‘urethral douche’.

<sup>176</sup> The term *kumbhīsveda* occurs several times in other āyurvedic works. Commenting on this verse, Ḍalhaṇa gives a detailed account of the procedure: “One should treat with *kumbhīsveda*, that is to say, one should prepare a pot filled with decoction made from wind-reducing substances such as meat of aquatic animals and those living in marshes, bury it in earth, prepare a bed above it, add to the decoction globules of iron stones? (*lauhapāṣāṇa*) melted in the fire, and treat the woman with the vapour (*bāṣpasveda*) that arises from that pot and is directed only to the region of female genitalia (*yoni*). However, others explain that one should take the heat that comes about when one adds water into the pot filled with meat of aquatic and marshy animals as well as substances reducing wind.” (*kumbhīsvedaiḥ, ānūpaudakamāṁsavātaghnadravyakvāthapūrṇāṁ kumbhīm kṛtvā bhūmau nikhanyā tadupari śayyāṁ saṁsthāpyāgnisantaptalauhapāṣāṇagudakān kvāthe nikṣīpya tadutthitair bāṣpasvedair yonipradeśamātragāmibhir upacaret; anye tu kumbhīm vātaḥradravānūpaudakamāṁsapūrṇāṁ sajalāṁ kṛtvā pravṛttoṣmāṇaṁ grhṇīyād iti vyākhyānayanti/* – 6.38.24ab (Su 1938: 669–670).)

<sup>177</sup> As Ḍalhaṇa points out here, *veśavāra* is defined in SS.1.46.365–6 as follows: “Meat, boneless and steamed, is again pounded on stony slab and cooked after mixing pip-palī, śuṇṭhī, marica, jagger and ghee. This is known as *vesavāra* (curry). *Vesavāra* is heavy, unctuous, promotes strength and allays disorders of *vāta*.” (trl. PV Sharma, vol. 1, p. 530). *māṁsaṁ nirasthi susvinnaṁ punar dṛṣādi peṣitam | pippalīśuṇṭhimaricaguḍasarpīḥsamanvitam || aikādhyāṁ pācayet samyag vesavāra iti smṛtaḥ | vesavāro guruh snigdho balyo vātarujāpahaḥ ||*



- sweet drugs in the vaginas (*yoni*). And the women should gently hold enough Country Mallow (*balā*) oil.
- 24 One should also apply suitable types of lavage as well as vomiting. In diseases with burning sensations (*ūṣā*) and heat (*coṣa*), a physician should apply cold treatment that has been taught.
- 25 A physician should fill a vagina (*yoni*) that has a bad smell or is slimy with powders prepared from the five astringent substances (*pañcakaṣāya*).<sup>178</sup> And in such a case, the purifying agent is a decoction made from ingredients such as the royal tree (*rājavṛkṣa*).<sup>179</sup>
- 26 As for a vagina connected with vaginal worms (*yonikrimi*),<sup>180</sup> one should slowly fill it, along with cow urine and sea salt, with pastes composed of cleansing substances.
- 27 And he should wash the vagina that is itchy and lacking in sensation (*niḥsparśa*) with the water of Indian barberries (*bṛhatī*) and fill it with pastes made of them. He should also fumigate it.
- 28 Suppositories with cleansing substances should be administered into the Protuberant (*karnīnī*).  
One should anoint the (*prasraṃsanī*) with ghee, sweat it and enter milk into it.
- 29 And then, a physician should cover it with (*veśāvara*) and make a bandage. And for each humour (*doṣa*), he should place/ prescribe SURĀRIṢṬASAMĀM/N.
- 30cd He should also prescribe food reach in milk and meat broth.

178 According to Ḍalhaṇa, the five astringent substances (*pañcakaṣāya*) are (*nyagrodha*), (*udumbara*), (*plakṣa*), (*aśvattha*) and (*gardabhāṇḍa*).

179 Note that in translating this verse, we put a comma after *pūrayet*.

180 The condition *yonikrimi* seems to be virtually unknown in currently preserved āyurvedic literature. The term is neither recorded in V. Joṣī and N. H. Joṣī (1968) or found in any of the available electronic texts. As a matter of fact, the only occurrence of the term in an āyurvedic work we are aware of, is a footnote (!) that reports an alternative reading of Cakrapāṇidatta's commentary on CS Ci.30.18 (see Y. T. Ācārya (Ca. 1941: 635b)). Outside of medical literature, the *Śabdakalpadrūma* records a quote from the *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa* (*śrīkṛṣṇajanmakhaṇḍe 83 adhyāyaḥ*). Among other things, it describes the hardships that await a *śūdra*, who transgresses his *dharma* and has sex with a Brahmin woman or with his mother. After suffering for a hundred Brahma-years in the hell, he is damned for all times to reincarnate on earth among presumably some of the lowest and most wretched beings. So, for example, he will be reborn for seven times as a vaginal worm (*yonikrimi*) of prostitutes (*yaḥ śūdro brāhmaṇīgāmī mātrgāmī sa pātakī | ... yonikrimiḥ puṃścalīnāmī sa bhavet saptajanmasu ||*)

- 31 The diseases (*doṣa*) of semen (*śukra*), menstrual blood (*ārtava*), (*stanya*) as well as the diseases of (*rasa*) were told, so also the causes for impotence and the ways of an aborted fetus.
- 32 And also the treatment given to a pregnant woman in case of various diseases was also told. And a physician should also treat the subsequent diseases that arise after these.



## Abbreviations

- Ah 1939 Kumṭe, Aṇṇā Moreśvara, Navare, Kṛṣṇaśāstrī, and Parādkar, Hariśāstrī (1939) (eds.), श्रीमद्वाग्भटविरचितम् अष्टाङ्गहृदयम्, श्रीमद-  
रुणदत्तविरचितया सर्वाङ्गसुन्दराख्यया व्याख्यया, हेमाद्रिप्रणीतया आयुर्वेद-  
सायनाह्वया टीकया च समुल्लसितम् = *The Astāṅgahṛidaya* (6th edn.,  
Mum̐bayyām: Nirṇayasāgara Press), [ark:/13960/t3tt6967d](http://ark:/13960/t3tt6967d).
- Anup *Anup Sanskrit Library* (n.d.).
- Apte Apte, Vaman Shivaram (1992), *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Company), ISBN: 4-653-00038-7; Reprinted from Gode and Karve 1957-9.
- AS *Asiatic Society* (n.d.).
- As 1980 Āṭhavale, Anaṃta Dāmodara (1980) (ed.), *Aṣṭāṅgasan̐grahaḥ. Śrīmad Vṛddhavāgbhaṭaviracitaḥ Induvyākhyāsahitaḥ* (Pune: Ma-  
heśa Anaṃta Āṭhavale, Śrīmad Ātreya Prakāśanam), [ark:/13960/t9773bb9z](http://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](http://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, चरकदृढबलाभ्यां प्रतिसंस्कृता च-  
रकसंहिता, श्रीचक्रपाणिदत्तविरचितया आयुर्वेददीपिकाव्याख्यया संवलिता  
(3rd edn., Mum̐bayyām: Nirṇaya Sagara Press), [URL](http://url), 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.).

- MW Monier-Williams, Monier, Leumann, E., Cappeller, C., et al. (1899), *A Sanskrit–English Dictionary Etymologically and Philologically Arranged, New Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press); 1970 reprint.
- NAK *National Archives of Kathmandu* (n.d.).
- NCC Raghavan, V. et al. (1949–), *New Catalogus Catalogorum, an Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit and Allied Works and Authors*, 39 vols. (Madras University Sanskrit Series; Madras: University of Madras); v.1: revised edition, 1968.
- NGMCP 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 निबन्धसंग्रहाख्य-  
व्याख्यया निदानस्थानस्य श्रीगयदासाचार्यविरचितया न्यायचन्द्रिकाख्यप-  
ञ्जिकाव्याख्यया च समुल्लसिता महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता  
(3rd edn., Bombay: Nirṇayasāgara Press), [ark : / 13960 / t09x0sk1h](#); [HIML](#): IB, 313, edition cc ('the vulgate').
- Su 1938<sup>2</sup> 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  
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## Glossary

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■ fn about sadyas+ . . . . .	28
■ Bear's bile instead of deer's bile. . . . .	29
■ punarṇavā in the N & K MSS . . . . .	30
■ śrita for śṛta . . . . .	30
■ explain more . . . . .	31
■ Medical difference from Sharma. . . . .	31
■ example where the vulgate clarifies that these should be used separately; appears to be a gloss inserted into the vulgate text. . . . .	31
■ The two uses of prāpta are hard to translate. prāptāḥ → kṣipraṃ is an example of the vulgate banalizing the Sanskrit text to make sense of a difficult passage. . . . .	32
■ √vyadh not √vedh (also elsewhere and for the ears), causative optative. . . . .	32
■ opposite of the vulgate Same as As 1.8.89 (As 1980: 79). . . . .	32
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