

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

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

Draft of 28th October 2021

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

Contents

Introduction	3
The Aim of the Article	3
Importance of SS.1.16 in the History of Medicine	4
Torn ear lobes	5
Rhinoplasty	5
The Sanskrit Text	6
The Nepalese Version	6
Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa's Versions	6
Differences between the Nepalese and Subsequent Versions of SS.1.16	8
Changing Spelling, Sandhi and Syntax	11
Changing Technical Terms	12
Augmenting the Text	12

Transposing Words, Verses and Passages	13
Redacting Recipes and Elaborating on Treatments	14
The Edition	15
Manuscripts	15
Features of the manuscript transmission	17
Palaeographical features	17
Chart of characters	17
The Printed Editions	17
The Vulgate	18
The sources of the 1915 edition	18
The sources of the 1931 edition	18
The sources of the 1938 edition	20
Evaluation	20
The 1939 edition	21
Evaluation	23
Editorial Principles	24
Method	24
Stemma	25
The Edition and Apparatus	26
Printed and Digital Outputs	26
The Translation	27
Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 16	27
Abbreviations	35
Index of Manuscripts	38
References	38
Glossary	51

Introduction

The Aim of the Article

The Compendium of Suśruta (*Suśrutasaṃhitā*) is amongst the most important treatises on medicine to survive from the ancient world. It has been studied seriously by historians since it first became available in print in the mid-nineteenth century.¹ The study of this work has yielded rich historical discoveries, for example about the earliest history of surgery, ancient pharmacology, toxicology and many other social and medical topics. Yet there remain fundamental unanswered questions about the history of the text itself and about related issues in the history of medicine in Asia (HIML: IA, 203–389).

HELP with
Refs in foot-
note 1.

In January 2007, a previously unknown manuscript of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* was brought to scholarly attention (Dimitrov and Tamot 2007). MS Kathmandu KL 699 is a Nepalese manuscript covering about two thirds of the text. It is dated to 878 CE and is amongst the earliest dated manuscripts known from South Asia (Harimoto 2011: 87–88). The manuscript has been declared by UNESCO to be part of the Memory of the World (UNESCO 2013).

The newly-discovered manuscript in Nepal is related to two other early palm-leaf manuscripts in the National Archives in Kathmandu (NAK 5/333, 1/1079). kleb-2011; Klebanov (2021a) has assembled compelling evidence for believing that these Nepalese manuscripts present a version of the text that was in wider circulation in northern India, especially Bengal, in the period up to about 1200 CE. Generally speaking, the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* is more rudimentary than the versions commented on by Cakrapāṇidatta (fl. tenth century CE) and Ḍaḥḥaṇa (fl. twelfth century CE), the latter of which has formed the basis of modern printed editions, such as those of Trivikramji Acharya and others (Su 1915; Su 1938; P. V. Sharma 1999–2001).

ref

This article presents a critical edition and annotated translation of the sixteenth chapter of the *Ślokaśthāna*, the first book of the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (SS.1.16).² This chapter is important in the history of

- 1 A selection of prominent contributions includes: Hoernle 1897; 1906; 1907; Strauss 1934; Singhal et al. 1972–82; Sharma 1975; Rây et al. 1980; Adriaensen et al. 1984; Yano 1986; Meulenbeld 1999–2002; Sharma 1999–2001; Valiathan 2007.
- 2 This book is called the *Sūtrasthāna* in subsequent versions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

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

Importance of SS.1.16 in the History of Medicine

Simple forms of surgery have a long history in South Asia. In works datable to at least 1200 BCE we learn how a reed was used as a catheter to cure urine retention.³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵ With the *Suśrutasamhitā* 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.⁶ The text 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 author of the *Suśrutasamhitā* describes how a surgeon should be

3 Zysk 1985: 70–71.

4 Malamoud 1996.

5 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.

6 Zysk 1986.

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.⁷ The author of *Suśrutasamhitā* 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 suggests 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.

see my
comments
in the input
file

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'.⁸ The different types of mutilated ear lobe which the *Suśrutasamhitā* describes are not always easy to understand from the Sanskrit: the illustrations supplied in Majno's text help visualization.⁹

Rhinoplasty

One of the best-known surgical techniques associated with *Suśrutasamhitā* is rhinoplasty, the repair or rebuilding of a severed nose. The history of this operation and a translation of the Sanskrit passage from the vulgate edition of the *Suśrutasamhitā* have been published in Wujastyk (2003: 67–70, 99–100).¹⁰ This fascinating technique is certainly old in South Asia, having been witnessed by travellers from Marco Polo in the seventeenth century onwards.¹¹ Many witnesses, including the most famous, Cruso and Findlay,¹² describe an operation that differs from *Suśrutasamhitā* in that it takes the grafting skin from the forehead, not the cheek. But the nineteenth-century account of Thorburn is especially interesting, since the technique

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

8 Majno 1975: 291.

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

10 See also HIML: IB, 327–328, note 186 for further literature and reflections.

11 Manucci 1907–8: ii.301.

12 Longmate 1794: 883, 891 f.

follows *Suśrutasamhitā* exactly in taking flesh from the cheek, not the forehead.¹³

As noted by Meulenbeld, none of the known commentators – Jejjaṭa, Gayadāsa, Cakrapāṇi or Ḍalhaṇa – explained the technique in any detail beyond lexical glosses.¹⁴ 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, 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 *Suśrutasamhitā*. 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.

Perhaps, it is worth mentioning (pace Meul) the comment by Ḍalhaṇa – discussed in fn 113 – which indicates that he knew the grafted skin had to be connected. And this is not clear in the mūla.

The Sanskrit Text

The Nepalese Version

Andrey's contribution here

Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa's Versions

The commentaries of Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa, called the *Bhānumatī* and *Nibandhasaṅgraha* respectively, are based on similar versions of the *Suśrutasamhitā*, both of which are significantly different to the Nepalese version. Ḍalhaṇa was aware of Cakrapāṇidatta's work and reiterated many of his predecessor's remarks, so the commentator's interpretation of the root text is largely consistent.

Trikamajī Ācārya's edition of the *Sūtrasthāna* of the *Bhānumatī* (Su 1939)

¹³ Thorburn 1876: 352–3.

¹⁴ 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)).

duplicates the version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* in his edition of the *Nibandhasaṅgraha* (Su 1938), except in a few obvious cases where Cakrapāṇidatta glosses a word or compound that is different to the one glossed by Ḍalhaṇa.¹⁵ The duplication of the root text creates the somewhat misleading impression that both commentators had an almost identical version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. However, there is evidence in SS.1.16 that this was not the case. For example, Ḍalhaṇa comments on four verses (1.16.11–14, Su 1938: 78) that Cakrapāṇidatta cites separately in his commentary (Su 1939: 128–129), introducing each one as ‘some people read’ (*ke cit paṭhanti*). This clearly indicates that these verses were not in the version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* upon which Cakrapāṇidatta was commenting, yet Ācārya includes them in the root text of the *Bhānumatī*.

Also, Cakrapāṇidatta does not acknowledge or comment on some verses in the version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* known to Ḍalhaṇa. Although it is possible that a commentator may not have remarked on a verse because its meaning was clear, in some cases the commentarial convention of citing the first words of a new verse or passage provides firmer ground for suspecting the absence of a verse in the root text. For example, the prose passage of SS.1.16.18 in the the *Bhānumatī* (Su 1939: 130), which is SS.1.16.19 in the *Nibandhasaṅgraha* (Su 1938: 79), is followed by several verses that elaborate on the content of the prose passage, and both commentators introduce these verses and cite the opening words of the first verse before glossing specific terms. However, Cakrapāṇidatta does not introduce, cite or comment on the same verses as Ḍalhaṇa (SS.1.16.20–22ab, Su 1938: 79), and yet the first of the verses commented on by Ḍalhaṇa appears in the root text of Ācārya’s edition of the *Bhānumatī* (SS.1.16.19, Su 1939: 130), and the others (SS.1.16.20–21ab) are included in parenthesis. A similar instance of this occurs at *Bhānumatī* SS.1.16.31, where Ācārya includes a verse in parenthesis that was commented on by Ḍalhaṇa (SS.1.16.32, Su 1938: 81) but not by Cakrapāṇidatta. It appears that the manuscript on which Ācārya’s edition of the *Bhānumatī* was based does not include the root text.¹⁶ Therefore, the inclusion of SS.1.16.19–21ab and 31 in the root

15 For example, in SS.1.16.18, Cakrapāṇidatta glosses *rājasarṣapa* whereas Ḍalhaṇa glosses *gaurasarṣapa*, and Ācārya reflects this in the root texts of the *Bhānumatī* (Su 1939: 130) and *Nibandhasaṅgraha* (Su 1938: 79).

16 This observation is based on the opening passage of MS 1887-1935 of the *Bhānumatī*, which is transcribed in Eggling 1896: 928. The transcription has the commentary without the root text. See the section below on Ācārya’s 1939 edition for details of the

text of the *Bhānumatī* is an unsubstantiated hypothesis.

In fact, there is some evidence that the Nepalese version was more similar to Cakrapāṇidatta's version than to Ḍalhaṇa's. For example, 1.16.5 of the Nepalese version begins with the compound *doṣasamudayāt* whereas the version known to Ḍalhaṇa (SS.1.16.6, [Su 1938](#): 77) inserts two compounds, *kliṣṭajihmāpraśastasūcīvyadhāt* and *gāḍhataravartivāt*, before this. Cakrapāṇidatta (SS.1.16.5, [Su 1939](#): 126–127) begins his comment on this passage by glossing *doṣasamudayāt*, which suggests that he was not aware of any compounds prior to this one. If one looks beyond SS.1.16, there are instances where the Nepalese version (1.1.28) and the root text of Cakrapāṇidatta have the same reading, which Ḍalhaṇa mentions as an alternative read by others. For example, 1.1.28 of the Nepalese version has *tatrāsmiṇ chāstre*, which is the reading commented on by Cakrapāṇidatta ([Su 1939](#): 17). However, Ḍalhaṇa (SS.1.1.22, [Su 1938](#): 5) comments on *asmiṇ chāstre* and states that others read *tatrāsmiṇ chāstre*. Also, in his commentary on SS.1.1.8.1, Ḍalhaṇa ([Su 1938](#): 5) notes the variant reading *ṣaṣṭyā vidhānaiḥ*, which is not in his root text but evidently was in Cakrapāṇidatta's (SS.1.1.6, [Su 1939](#): 11). As discussed elsewhere (Birch 2021), the reading of *ṣaṣṭyā vidhānaiḥ* is likely a corruption of *ṣaṣṭyābhidhānaiḥ* in the Nepalese version (1.1.9).

Differences between the Nepalese and Subsequent Versions of SS.1.16

The structural differences between the Nepalese and subsequent versions has been discussed by Klebanov ([2021a](#): 27–44), which include the frame story,¹⁷ the name of the first book (*Ślokaśthāna*), the structuring of the text according to chapter and section colophons, and an additional passage in the *Kalpasthāna*. Klebanov ([2021a](#): 44–55) also makes general observations on distinct features of the Nepalese version's content and looks specifically at lists of skin lesions arising from urinary disease and vital energies. And in an effort to demonstrate the possibility of greater coherence in the Nepalese version, Harimoto ([2011](#): 101–104) has compared its classification of snakes with Ḍalhaṇa's version.

sources Ācārya used for this edition.

17 On this topic, also see the more recent Birch et al. ([2021](#)).

On the whole, these observations indicate that [...synopsis of general conclusions here, Andrey?...]

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

Table 1 reveals the extent to which 1.16 of the Nepalese version was redacted to create the one known by Ḍalhaṇa. In this particular case, twenty-seven verses have been added, eight (11-14, 21-22ab, 23cd-24, 32) of which are well-integrated with the existing material in so far as they reiterate and elaborate on the content of passages in the Nepalese version. A block of nineteen verses (26.1-19) at the end of this chapter in Ācārya's edition of the *Nibandhasaṅgraha* (Su 1938: 80) was known by Ḍalhaṇa. These verses cover additional diseases of the ear lobes, as well as their treatment and complications. Although Ḍalhaṇa concedes that some read them in this chapter, he concludes that they were not composed by sages and, therefore, should not be read. Ācārya probably included these verses because they were in his manuscripts,¹⁸ and Ḍalhaṇa's comments prompted him to place them in parentheses. Be this as it may, this large block of verses is absent in the Nepalese version.

In Table 1, one can also see that verses 17 and 18 of the Nepalese version were transposed in the redaction of Ḍalhaṇa's version, in which they are 26 and 25 respectively. Although this only occurs once in 1.16, such transposing of verses and even their hemistiches is more prevalent in the redaction of other chapters of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

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

¹⁸ Ācārya (Su 1938: 80) does not state that these verses were absent in some or all of his manuscripts, which he usually does in a footnote if this is the case. A broader survey of manuscripts would be helpful for establishing whether these verses were part of the transmission of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* in India. For example, they are in MS Hyderabad Osmania 137-3(b).

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

Table 1: A Comparison of Verses in 1.16 of the Nepalese and Dalhaṇa's Versions

Changing Spelling, Sandhi and Syntax

In the majority of cases, efforts were made by redactors to standardise, simplify or improve the language of the Nepalese version. Such changes include the standardising of spelling,¹⁹ sandhi,²⁰ and verbal forms,²¹ as well as interventions to simplify and clarify syntax,²² which often involved splitting compounds.²³ In some instances, these changes improved the grammar,²⁴ or altered the meaning.²⁵ However, some prefixes of verbal forms,²⁶ case endings,²⁷ and indeclinables were changed for less apparent reasons.²⁸ There is also a tendency to replace uncommon words with generic ones,²⁹ add indeclinables,³⁰ omit the verb to be at the end of sentences,³¹ and introduce verses after a prose passage with the phrase *bhavati cātra*.³²

- 19 For example, *pattāṅga* (SS.1.16.21) → *paṭaṅga* (1.16.29, Su 1938: 81). For more information on this, see the relevant footnote to the translation.
- 20 or example, *°hastena ṛju* (SS.1.16.2) → *°hastena rju* (1.16.3, Su 1938: 76).
- 21 For example, *unnāmayitvā* (SS.1.16.21) → *prānnamya* (1.16.29, Su 1938: 81); *avacūrṇayīta* (SS.1.16.21) → *upaharet* (1.16.29, Su 1938: 81).
- 22 For example, *śoṇitabahutvanivedanāyām cānyadeśaviddham iti jānīyāt | nirupadravatā taddeśaviddhaliṅgam |* (SS.1.16.3) → *śoṇitabahutvena vedanayā cānyadeśaviddham iti jānīyāt | nirupadravatayā taddeśaviddham iti |* (1.16.4, Su 1938: 76); *āmatailapariṣeṇopacaret* (SS.1.16.6) → *āmatailena pariṣecayet* (1.16.7, Su 1938: 77); *supariḡrhitam* (SS.1.16.10) → *supariḡrhitam ca kṛtvā* (1.16.15, Su 1938: 78); *anena* (SS.1.16.15) → *snehenaitena* (1.16.20, Su 1938: 79).
- 23 For example, *yadṛcchāviddhāyām sirāyām* (SS.1.16.4) → *yadṛcchayā viddhāsu sirāsu* (1.16.5, Su 1938: 76); *dhānyāmlakapālacūrṇam* (SS.1.16.10) → *dhānyāmlam kapālacūrṇam* (1.16.20, Su 1938: 78).
- 24 For example, *surāmaṇḍakṣīram* (SS.1.16.10) → *surāmaṇḍam kṣīram* (1.16.15, Su 1938: 78).
- 25 For example, *kṣīṇālpamāṁsaḥ* (SS.1.16.12) → *kṣīṇo 'lpamāṁsaḥ* (1.16.17, Su 1938: 79).
- 26 For example, *samvarddhitaḥ* (SS.1.16.8) → *vivarddhitaḥ* (1.16.9, Su 1938: 77); *niveśya* (SS.1.16.10) → *sanniveśya* (1.16.15, Su 1938: 78); *avabadhya* (SS.1.16.10) → *ca baddhvā* (1.16.15, Su 1938: 78).
- 27 For example, *māse* (SS.1.16.2) → *māsi* (1.16.3, Su 1938: 76).
- 28 For example, *api* (SS.1.16.13) → *vā* (1.16.18, Su 1938: 79); *ca* (SS.1.16.16) → *tu* (1.16.23, Su 1938: 79); *tu* (SS.1.16.18) → *ca* (1.16.25, Su 1938: 80).
- 29 For example, *mrakṣayet* (SS.1.16.15) → *yojayet* (1.16.20, Su 1938: 79); *nahyet* (SS.1.16.21) → *baddhvā* (1.16.29, Su 1938: 81).
- 30 For example, [absent] (SS.1.16.6) → *ca* (1.16.7, Su 1938: 77); [absent] (SS.1.16.10) → *tatra* (1.16.15, Su 1938: 78); [absent] (SS.1.16.12) → *api* (1.16.17, Su 1938: 79).
- 31 The words *bhavati* or *bhavanti* are omitted four times in Ḍalhaṇa's version (1.16.10 (twice), 1.16.17 and 1.16.18, Su 1938: 77, 79).
- 32 For example, [absent] (SS.1.16.11) → *bhavati cātra* (1.16.16, Su 1938: 79).

Changing Technical Terms

There is evidence of standardising and altering technical terminology in subsequent versions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. Two examples of this in SS.1.16 are the terms for joins (*bandha*) and a slice of flesh (*vadhra*). The Nepalese version uses three terms for joining (*bandha*, *sandhāna*, *sandhi*) splits in the ear flaps and the flesh of nose. Redactors of subsequent versions appear to have tried to standardise this terminology by replacing *sandhāna* and *sandhi* with *bandha* in prose passages.³³ However, the use of the term *sandhāna* was retained in verses, perhaps because of the metrical challenges of making such a change. Also, the names of joins which incorporate *sandhāna* and *sandhi* remained the same.³⁴

The Nepalese version (SS.1.16.20,23) contains the rather obscure term *vadhra* for the slice of flesh that a surgeon cuts from the cheek in order to construct a new nose. Modern dictionaries define *vadhra* as a leathern strap (Apte 1992: 1385, **moni-sans**) or a slice of bacon (**moni-sans**), the latter of which is more indicative of its meaning in the Nepalese version. This word was written out of subsequent versions,³⁵ and it was not mentioned as an alternative reading by either Cakrapāṇidatta or Ḍalhaṇa, which suggests that its use and meaning may not have been known to them. However, *vadhra* was used by the author of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* (Ah Utt.18.62 (Ah 1939: 841)) in the context of rhinoplasty, so it likely to be the correct reading in the Nepalese version.

Augmenting the Text

Apart from adding whole passages and verses (as seen in Table 1), redactors of subsequent versions augmented the text by expanding existing compounds and inserting new compounds and words. Within the microcosm of 1.16, adjectives and adverbs were inserted to clarify

33 For example, *pañcadaśasandhānākṛtayaḥ* (SS.1.16.9) → *pañcadaśabandhākṛtayaḥ* (SS.1.16.10, Su 1938: 77); *daśakarṇasandhivikalpāḥ* (SS.1.16.9) → *karṇabandhavikalpāḥ* (SS.1.16.10, Su 1938: 77)

34 These names are *nemīsandhānaka*, *kapāṭasandhika*, and *ardhakapāṭasandhika* in SS.1.16.9.

35 *vadhrām* (SS.1.16.20) → *baddham* (SS.1.16.28, Su 1938: 81) and *tadvadhraśeṣaṃ* (SS.1.16.23) → *tad ardhāśeṣaṃ* (SS.1.16.31, Su 1938: 81).

statements,³⁶ and phrases added to elaborate on diseases and treatments.³⁷ In particular, the characteristics and number of symptoms of a disease, as well as their reasons for arising, tend to increase in subsequent versions. For example, the Nepalese version (SS.1.16.5) says that the wick in a newly pierced ear should be removed because of aggravated humours or a culpable piercing whereas the version known to Ḍalhaṇa (1.16.6, Su 1938: 77) includes two further reasons, namely, because of piercing with a painful, crooked and unrecommended needle or because of a wick that is too thick. Some of the split ear flaps in Ḍalhaṇa's version have additional characteristics,³⁸ and a list of four symptoms associated with incurable joins in the Nepalese version (SS.1.16.19) was increased to six in Ḍalhaṇa's version (1.16.10, Su 1938: 77). Also, models of classifying symptoms were introduced in subsequent versions. For example, the Nepalese version (SS.1.16.4) lists the symptoms of mistakenly piercing a duct in the ear whereas the version known to Ḍalhaṇa (1.16.5, Su 1938: 76–77) classifies these symptoms according to three ducts called *kālikā*, *marmarikā* and *lohitikā*, which results in some repetition of the symptoms mentioned.³⁹

Transposing Words, Verses and Passages

A close comparison of the Nepalese version with and subsequent ones reveals changes in the order of words, sentences and verses. Examples of such transpositions occur in SS.1.16. In most cases, the changes in word

36 For example, *chidre* (SS.1.16.2) → *chidra ādityakarāvabhāsite* (1.16.3, Su 1938: 76); [absent] (SS.1.16.2) → *śanaiḥ śanaiḥ* (1.16.3, Su 1938: 76); [absent] (SS.1.16.3) → *āśu* (1.16.5, Su 1938: 77).

37 For example, *dhātryaṅke* (SS.1.16.2) → *dhātryaṅke kumāradharāṅke vā* (1.16.3, Su 1938: 76); [absent] (SS.1.16.2) → *bālakrīḍanakaiḥ pralobhya* (1.16.3, Su 1938: 76); [absent] (SS.1.16.3) → *picuvartim praveśayet* (1.16.5, Su 1938: 77).

38 For example, *pīṭhopamapālir nirvedhimaḥ* (SS.1.16.9) → *pīṭhopamapālir ubhayataḥ kṣīṇaputrikāśrito nirvedhimaḥ* (1.16.10, Su 1938: 77); *itarālpapālīḥ samkṣiptaḥ* (SS.1.16.9) → *ut-sannapālir itarālpapālīḥ samkṣiptaḥ* (1.16.10, Su 1938: 77); *tanuviṣamapālīḥ* (SS.1.16.9) → *tanuviṣamālpapālīḥ* (1.16.10, Su 1938: 77).

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

order are insignificant and may be result of different preferences in syntax or even scribal eye-brain-hand miscommunication.⁴⁰ However, the transposition of verses and passages is usually the result of efforts at redacting the text to add new material. A good example of this is the transposition of Nepalese version's SS.1.16.17 and 18 to Ḍalhaṇa's 1.16.26 and 1.16.25, respectively, which appears to be connected with the insertion of new verses 23cd–24 and 26.1–19 in the latter.

Redacting Recipes and Elaborating on Treatments

Some of the additional text in subsequent versions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* supply new ingredients in recipes and procedures in treatments. In many instances, the new material merely clarifies or elaborates on the original but sometimes it changes the recipe or treatment significantly. An example of a suppletion that clarifies the text of the Nepalese version can be seen in 1.16.3 of Ḍalhaṇa's version (Su 1938: 76), which contains a statement that the physician should insert a wick of cotton after the ear has been pierced.⁴¹ This statement anticipates the instructions in the the Nepalese version (SS.1.16.5–6) on removing the wick because of aggravated humours and replacing the wick with a thicker one every three days. In this case, the additional statement of Ḍalhaṇa's version elucidates the role of the wick in the procedure of piercing the ear.

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

40 For example, *aṇusthūla*° (SS.1.16.9) → *sthūlāṇu*° (1.16.10, Su 1938: 77); *tatraite daśakarṇa*° (SS.1.16.9) → *tatra daśaite karṇa*° (1.16.10, Su 1938: 77); *nātigāḍhan nātiśithilaṃ sūtreṇāvabadhya* (SS.1.16.9) → *sūtreṇānavagāḍhaman atīśithilaṃ ca baddhvā* (1.16.10, Su 1938: 77); *pūrvan dakṣiṇaṃ kumārasya vāmaṃ kanyāyāḥ | pratanuṃ sūcyā bahalam ārayā* (SS.1.16.2) → *pratanukaṃ sūcyā bahalam ārayā | pūrvam dakṣiṇaṃ kumārasya vāmaṃ kanyāyāḥ* (1.16.3, Su 1938: 76).

41 For example, [absent] (SS.1.16.2) → *picuvarṭiṃ praveśayet* (1.16.3, Su 1938: 76).

In Ḍalhaṇa's version of 1.16, there are two instances in which ingredients were added to recipes of medicines in the Nepalese version. The first is the recipe of an anointment that should be applied to a pierced ear that has not healed. In Ḍalhaṇa's version (1.16.7, [Su 1938: 77](#)) the recipe was rewritten to include sesame seeds.⁴² A more significant change occurs in another recipe for an admixture of an oil that is supposed to be rubbed into a healthy ear to enlarge it. Ḍalhaṇa's version (1.16.7, [Su 1938: 77](#)) of the admixture has five additional ingredients, namely, prickly chaff-flower (*apāmārga*), *Withania* (*aśvagandhā*), giant potato (*kṣīraśuklā*), the 'sweet' savour (*madhuravarga*)⁴³ and 'milk flower' (*payasyā* → *vidāri*)⁴⁴. It also has beggarweed (*vidārigandhā*) instead of milk flower (*vidāri*).⁴⁵ This method of redacting a recipe of Nepalese version appears to be somewhat typical in so far as most of the ingredients of the original were retained and new ones simply added.

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

The Edition

Manuscripts

Our edition results from considering the textual evidence of three manuscripts, all of which were produced and preserved in Nepal, in Kathmandu valley, to be more precise. Klebanov ([2021a: §2.1](#)) furnishes a comprehensive description of the individual manuscripts, quotes and translates their colophons and thoroughly examines various problems involved in their interpretation. We will not review these details and points of contention here and instead present only the key data essential for the study of our edition.

42 *yavamadhukamañjiṣṭhāgandharvāhastamūlāir madhughṛtapragāḍhair ālepayet* (SS.1.16.5) → *madhukairāṇḍamūlāmañjiṣṭhāyavatīlakalkair madhughṛtapragāḍhair ālepayet* (1.16.7, [Su 1938: 77](#)).

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

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

45 *arkālarakabalātibalānantāvidārīmadhukajalaśūkaprativāpan tailam pācayitvā* (SS.1.16.14) → *arkālarakabalātibalānantāpāmārgāśvagandhāvidārigandhākṣīraśuklājalaśūkamadhuravargapayasyāprativāpan tailam vā pācayitvā* (1.16.19, [Su 1938: 79](#)).

In referring to the manuscripts, we use the sigla K, N and H, which correspond to the initial letters in the names of the libraries and collection where the respective bundles were discovered.

Siglum K: The MS has been preserved at the Kaiser Shamsheer (KL) library in Kathmandu, accession number KL 699. It was microfilmed and catalogued by the NGMPP/ NGMCP as C 80-7.⁴⁶ The MS comprises 152 palm-leaf folios that seem to have originally belonged to several different codicological units. The folios are 53.5×4.4 cm in size and have two string holes. The text is written in the so-called transitional Gupta script, with six to eight lines per folio. The MS is incomplete and partly damaged.⁴⁷ It was copied on Sunday, April 13, AD 878 by Śrī Harṣacandra, and it belonged to Vaidya Vasuvarman.⁴⁸

Siglum N: This MS is kept at the National Archives Kathmandu (NAK), under accession number 1-1079 ka. It was microfilmed twice by the NGMPP as A 45-5(1) and A 1267-11(2).⁴⁹ The MS comprises 65 palm-leaf folios, 56×5 cm in size, with two string holes each, and it is bundled together in a composite manuscript with at least one other medical work. The text is written in a variety of Newari script, with ca. seven lines per folio. Although the text contained in the MS does not cover the entire *Suśrutasamhitā* and breaks off abruptly in the second chapter of the *śārīrasthāna*, the actual MS, as a codicological unit, appears complete, that is, no leaf seems to be missing from the originally unitary artefact. Based on paleographic considerations, the MS can be dated tentatively to the 12th or 13th century.

Siglum H: The MS belongs to the historical collection of Hemarāja Śarman (fl. 1878-1953) and is currently kept at the NAK under accession number NAK 5-333. It is microfilmed twice by the NGMPP as B 29-19 and

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

47 See Klebanov (2021a: 11) for a detailed description of the content.

48 See Klebanov (2021a: 13–17) for a study of the colophon and various problems involved in reconstructing and interpreting its readings.

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

B 30-15, but the latter microfilm is incomplete.⁵⁰ The MS comprises 435 palm-leaf folios, 34 × 5 cm in size, with one string-hole in the middle. It is written in a type of Newari script that is more recent than the one used in N, with approximately six lines per folio. The MS is well-preserved and complete. It was copied on Sunday, July 29, AD 1543 by Vaidya Amarasiṃhaka, son of Kamaladatta.⁵¹

Features of the manuscript transmission

Andrey

Palaeographical features

- śrita for śṛta.
- yātri for yāṭṛ (Su.ka.1.63)
- punarṇavā (Su.ka.1.61)
- 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)
- vyājī-kṛ for vājī-kṛ

Chart of characters

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

The Printed Editions

The careful survey of printed editions of the *Suśrutasamhitā* by Meulenbeld lists no fewer than 44 entries.⁵² 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.

⁵⁰ See http://ngmcp.fdm.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/B_29-19_Suśrutasamhitā (accessed on October 22, 2022).

⁵¹ See Klebanov (2021a: 21–26) for a survey and an evaluation of issues involved in determining the date of the MS.

⁵² HIML: IIB, 311–314.

Translations begin with Hessler's Latin translation in 1844 and continue up to the present in scores of publications in many languages.⁵³

The Vulgate

The great ayurvedic scholar 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.⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵ These sources are described as follow, with an overview in Table 2.

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 Raṇachodālāla 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*.

53 Zysk 1984: E.g., HIML: IIB, 314–315.

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

55 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).

Table 2: 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>	●							●	?		○	○ ⁶⁰	●		●
<i>nī.</i>	●			●				●	?		○		●	●	●
<i>śā.</i>	●				●	●	●	●	?		○		●		●
<i>cī.</i>		●						●	?	●	○		●		● ⁶¹
<i>ka.</i>	●							●	?		○		●		
<i>utt.</i>		●	●	●				●	?		○				

4 Pune, BORI library. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Covers the *śārīra-sthāna*.⁵⁶

5 Pune, BORI library. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Complete. With some damaged folia.

6 Bombay, Asiatic Society. Incomplete.⁵⁷

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 *Suśrutasaṅgraha* by Professor Hārāṇacandra Cakravārtti. Complete work. This is the 1910 Calcutta edition numbered “t” by Meulenbeld (HIML: IB, 312).⁵⁸

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).⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Not one of the three MSS of the *śārīrasthāna* described in H. D. Sharma 1939.

⁵⁷ 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.”

⁵⁸ Bhaṭṭācārya 1910–7.

⁵⁹ Sena et al. 1886–93.

⁶⁰ Covers chapters 1–43 only.

⁶¹ Covers chapters 1–9 only.

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. Candraśekharaśāstrin. Contains the commentary *Nyāy-acandrikāpañjikāvyaḥ* by Gayadāsa. Covers the *nidānasthāna*. This is almost certainly MS Bikaner Anup 4390.⁶²
- 3 Kathmandu, located in the private library of the Royal Guru Hemarāja Śarman. An extremely old palm-leaf manuscript. Readings from this MS were compiled by Paṃ Nityānandaśarman Jośī and sent to Ācārya. Covers from the beginning of the work to the end of the ninth chapter of the *cikitsāsthāna*. The siglum for this manuscript in footnotes was *tā* for *tālapatrapustake*.

Evaluation

Estimates show that there are approximately 230 extant manuscript witnesses for the *Suśrutasamhitā*.⁶³ 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 2 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

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

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

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 5-333.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ 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 (see Fig. 1).⁶⁶ The text was edited on the basis of the following sources.

For the Bhānumatī

1. A printed edition. Covered the *Bhānumatī* up to chapter Su.sū.40. The siglum was *mu* for *mudrita*.⁶⁷

64 [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.

65 [Su 1938](#): 22.

66 [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](#).

67 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.

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-पाषाणपांशुलोहलोष्टास्थिवालनखपूयास्त्रावदुष्टव्रणान्तर्गर्भशल्योद्धरणार्थं षष्ठ्या विधानैः, यन्त्रशस्त्रक्षाराग्निप्रणिधानव्रणविनिश्चयार्थं च; शालाक्यं नामोर्ध्वजत्रुगतानां श्रवणनयनवदनघ्राणादिसंश्रितानां व्याधीनामुपशमनार्थं; कायचिकित्सा नाम सर्वाङ्गसंश्रितानां व्याधीनां ज्वररक्तपित्तशोफोन्मादापसारकुष्ठमेहातिसारादीनामुपशमनार्थं; भूतविद्या नाम देवांसुरगन्धर्वयक्षरक्षःपितृपिशाचनैरागग्रहाद्युपसृष्टचेतसां शान्तिकर्मबलिहरणादिग्रहोपशमनार्थं; कौमारभृत्यं नाम कुमारभरणघात्रीक्षीरदोषसंशोधनार्थं दुष्टस्तन्यग्रहसमुत्थिनां च व्याधीनामुपशमनार्थम्; अगदतन्त्रं नाम सर्पकीटलृतामूषकादिदृष्टविषव्यञ्जनार्थं विविधविषसंयोगोपशमनार्थं च; रसायनतन्त्रं नाम वयःस्थापनमायुर्मेधावलंकरणं रोगापहरणसमर्थं च; वाजीकरणतन्त्रं नामारूपदुष्टक्षीणशुष्करेतसामाप्यार्थेनप्रसादोपचयजनननिमित्तं प्रहर्षणजननार्थं च ॥ ६ ॥

शल्यान्निवेशोपायं 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 सर्वाङ्गीणदोषारब्धत्वप्रतिपादनार्थतिक्रमं 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-सृष्टचेतसां’ इति ता. । ४ ‘विषवेगोपशमनार्थं’ इति ता. । ५ ‘शुक्राप्यायन’ इति ता. । ६ ‘घ्राणादीनां शल्यान्तानां’ इति सु. । ७ ‘अन्ये तु तस्यान्ते पाठेन’ इति पा० । ८ ‘ग्रहणाद्’ इति सु. ।

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

2. A manuscript in the India Office Library library provided through the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune.⁶⁸ This manuscript covered the *Bhānumatī* b up to the end of the *sūtrasthāna*. The siglum was ha for hastalikhita.⁶⁹

For the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*

1. A palm leaf manuscript from Hemarājaśarman's personal library.⁷⁰ The siglum was tā for tāḍapatra.
2. His own published edition. The siglum was ḍa for ḍalhaṇasaṃmataḥ pāṭhaḥ.⁷¹
3. Hārāṇacandra Cakravartī's published edition with his own commentary.⁷² The siglum was hā.

Evaluation

The main innovation of this publication was to present the only surviving part of the commentary on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* by the great eleventh-century medical scholar Cakrapāṇidatta, namely the *Bhānumatī*.⁷³ 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

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

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

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

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

72 Bhaṭṭācārya 1910-7.

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

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.⁷⁴

There is compelling evidence that Cakrapāṇidatta's *Bhānumatī* commentary once covered the whole text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.⁷⁵ 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.⁷⁶

Editorial Principles

Method

The data for the critical edition comes from the witnesses of the Nepalese version, which are primarily MS KL 699, NAK 5-333 and NAK 1-1079. Diplomatic transcriptions of SS.1.16 of these manuscripts have been created by researchers of the [Suśruta Project](#) according to a subset of TEI Guidelines that has been formulated by Charles Li.⁷⁷ MS NAK 5-333 is usually transcribed first because its script is easy to read, the scans are clear, and it is the most complete of the manuscript witnesses. Then, MS KL 699 and MS NAK 1-1079 are transcribed.

The diplomatic transcripts are uploaded to Charles Li's platform Saktumiva, which automatically collates them. An electronic text of the vulgate of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, which was transcribed without the commentaries by Tsutomu Yamashita and Yasutaka Muroya on the basis of Ācārya's 1931 and 1938 Bombay editions,⁷⁸ has also been included in the collation.

Saktumiva's automatic collation function standardises punctuation and

⁷⁴ [Su 1939](#): 3–4. See discussion by Klebanov ([2021b](#): 7).

⁷⁵ [HIML](#): IA, 375.

⁷⁶ Cordier [1903](#): 332.

⁷⁷ These guidelines are at <https://saktumiva.org/wiki/tei>, accessed 20/10/2021.

⁷⁸ This e-text is available on the SARIT website; <https://sarit.indology.info/susrutasaṃhitā.xml?view=div>, accessed 20/8/2021.

orthographic variants according to filters which can be turned off or on. These filters enable the editors to ignore *daṇḍas*, numbers and *puṣpikās* in the transcripts, as well as orthographic variants, such as *ba* and *va*, certain germinated consonants, and *visarga* variants. On the basis of the automatic collation, Jason Birch created a provisional edition of SS.1.16, which the project's researchers read together at weekly seminars. Manuscript images were routinely checked to verify the transcripts, particularly when a reading was uncertain; the commentaries of Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa were read, and variant readings reported by these commentators were included in notes to the edition. Also, various reference books were consulted, such as the Nadkarni (1954) and V. Joṣī and N. H. Joṣī (1968) and Meulenbeld (HIML), to elucidate the meaning of technical terms and identify relevant information in other medical works.

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

1. [oXygen XML editor](#) (which has plugins for Github and TEI, and can validate the code).
2. [Saktumiva](#) (a platform for producing and publishing critical editions of Sanskrit texts).
3. [Quick Palaeographer](#) (a browser-based tool for reading MS images and developing a catalogue of character shapes).
4. [Filezilla](#) (document transfer to Saktumiva).
5. [Github](#) (document sharing, security and versioning).
6. [LaTeX](#) (document preparation).
7. [qdp](#) (project management).

Stemma

The data from transcripts collated by Saktumiva can be exported as a FASTA file and aligned according to characters, syllables or words by a program called Helayo. The resulting NEXUS file can be read by

phylogenetics software to build a stemmatic tree.⁷⁹ This procedure was done with transcripts of several chapters of the Nepalese witnesses, and the results confirmed our suspicions that K and H are more closely related to one another than K and N.⁸⁰ Given the early date of K and the small number of other surviving witnesses of the Nepalese version, the relationship between the manuscripts at our disposal is reasonably clear and, in the case of SS.1.16, the manuscript data was largely confined to N and H owing to a missing folio of K. The challenge of editing has been to repair the text in the places where it has become corrupt in the available witnesses.

The Edition and Apparatus

The critical edition of SS.1.16 in this article retains many of the peculiarities of MS KL 699. The Sanskrit has been standardised as minimally as possible and corrected wherever it seemed corrupt but, generally speaking, it has not been normalized or conventionalized to the extent of many modern editions of Sanskrit works. The editors have assumed that the authors of the Nepalese *Suśrutasaṃhitā* were familiar with Pāṇinian Sanskrit and, although there are some non-standard and complex grammatical forms in the text, there are very few instances of hyper-Sanskritization, Buddhist-hybrid Sanskrit or Epic forms that would suggest that this assumption is unreasonable.

There are many usages legislated for in Pāṇini that are rarely seen in print. The editors of SS.1.16 have opted to retain some unusual features of the Sanskrit in MS KL 699 when they are grammatically correct. For example, in external *sandhi*, the class nasal is usually used at the end of a word instead of an *anusvāra* (e.g., 1.16.3, *svastivācanan dhātryaṅke*), although the *anusvāra* is sometimes used (1.16.15, *udakaṃ dhānyāmla°*). In most cases, the consonant following a *repha* is doubled, but this is not always the case.⁸¹

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

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

81 Examples of the germination of consonants are *karṇṇa* (1.16.1 ff), *muhūrtta* (1.16.2), *pūrva* (1.16.2), *gandharva* (1.16.5), °*mūlair mmadhu°* (1.16.5), *vartti* (1.16.6) and *punar vvidhyet* (1.16.6). Examples where it does not occur in 1.16 are °*ārtham* (1.16.8,19), *kuryāt* (1.16.16, 32), °*pāliṛ vallūra°* (1.16.10); °*pāliṛ vyāyojimaḥ* (1.16.10) and *dīrghaika°* (1.16.10).

Printed and Digital Outputs

The Translation

Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 16

- 1 Now we shall expound the method for piercing the ear.⁸²
- 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 physician sits the boy, who has received a benediction (*kṛtamaṅgala*) – blessings pronounced (*svastivācana*)⁸³ –, on the lap of a wet-nurse and pacifies him.⁸⁴ Then, having pulled his ear with the left hand, he should use his right hand to pierce the ear straight through at a naturally occurring cleft.⁸⁵ For a

82 The topic of piercing the ear (*kaṛṇavyadha*) 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 *kaṛṇavyadhabandhavidhi* ('the method of piercing and joining the ear'), instead of the Nepalese version's *kaṛṇavyadhavidhi*. The topic of *kaṛṇabandha* 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).

83 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.

84 The versions of 1.16.3 known to Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 126) and Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76) have the additional compound *kumāradharāṅke* ('on the lap of one who holds the child') after *dhātryaṅke*. 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 tempted 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*.

85 The versions of 1.16.3 of Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 126) and Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76) add

- 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.⁸⁶
- 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.⁸⁷
 - 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.⁸⁸
 - 5 Having removed the wick (*varti*) in the hole because of the aggravation of humours or a culpable piercing,⁸⁹ one should smear it with a paste of the roots of barley, liquorice, Indian madder (*mañjiṣṭhā*), and the castor

Add reference in the fn for the article on samudāya

-
- ādityakarāvabhāsite* to clarify that this naturally occurring cleft is illuminated by sunshine.
- 86 Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.3 (Su 1938: 76) clarifies that the awl is a shoe-maker's knife for piercing leather. He also cites the authority of "the notes of Lakṣmaṇa" (*Lakṣmaṇaṭippaṇaka*) on the issue of the thickness of the needle. *The Notes of Lakṣmaṇa* is not known from any earlier or contemporary sources and was presumably a collection of glosses on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that was available in twelfth-century Bengal. See Meulenbeld (HIML: IA, 386, and the footnotes for further literature).
 - 87 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.
 - 88 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.'
 - 89 In addition to these reasons, 1.16.6 of Ḍalhaṇa's (Su 1938: 77) adds *kliṣṭajihmā-praśastasūcīvyadhāt* ('because of piercing with a painful, crooked and unrecommended needle') and *gāḍhataravartivāt* ('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.

- oil tree (*gandharvahaṣṭa*), thickened with honey and ghee. When it has healed well, one should pierce it again.
- 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.⁹⁰
 - 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.⁹¹
 - 8 A person's ear enlarged in this way can split in two, either as a result of the humours⁹² 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.⁹³ They are as follows: Rim-join (*nemīsandhānakaḥ*), Lotus-splittable (*utpalabhedyaka*), Dried Flesh (*vallūraka*), Fastening (*āsaṅgima*), Cheek-ear (*gaṇḍakarṇa*), Take away (*āhārya*), Ready-Split (*nirvedhima*), Multi-joins (*vyāyojima*), Door-hinge (*kapāṭasandhika*), Half door-hinge (*ardha-kapāṭasandhika*), Compressed (*saṃkṣipta*), Reduced-ear (*hīnakarṇa*), Creeper-ear (*vallīkarṇa*), Stick-ear (*yaṣṭīkarṇa*), and Crow's lip (*kākauṣṭha*).⁹⁴

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.

-
- 90 The manuscripts support the reading *sthūlatarīm* that is either a non-standard form or a scribal error.
 - 91 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*).
 - 92 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.
 - 93 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.
 - 94 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).

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

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

“Cheek-ear” (*gaṇḍakarṇa*): one flap is longer on the outside.⁹⁵

“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.⁹⁶ The five from compressed (*saṃkṣipta*) on are incurable.⁹⁷ 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 (*stabdhā*) 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.⁹⁸

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

96 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*).

97 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.

98 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

- 10 A person wishing to perform any of these joins should therefore have supplies prepared according to the recommendations of the ‘Preparatory Supplies’ chapter.⁹⁹ And in this regard, he should particularly gather¹⁰⁰ decanted liquor (*surāmaṇḍa*), milk, water, fermented rice-water (*dhānyāmla*), and powdered earthenware crockery (*kapālacūrṇa*).¹⁰¹

Next, having made the woman or man tie up the ends of their hair, eat lightly and be firmly held by qualified attendants, one considers the joins (*bandha*) and then applies them by means of cutting (*chedya*), splitting (*bhedya*), scarification (*lekhya*), or piercing (*vyadhana*).¹⁰² Next, he should examine the blood of the ear to know whether it is tainted (*duṣṭa*) or not. If it is tainted by wind, the ear should be bathed with fermented rice-water (*dhānyāmla*) and water; if tainted by choler, then cold water and milk should be used; if tainted by phlegm, then decanted liquor (*surāmaṇḍa*) and water should be used, and then he should scarify it again.

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

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

- 99 *Suśrutasamhitā* 1.5 (Su 1938: 18–23), probably verse 6 especially, that lists the equipment and medications that a surgeon should have ready.
- 100 The reading in the Nepalese manuscripts of *viśeṣataś cāgropaharaṇīyāt* has been emended to *viśeṣataś cātropaharet* to make sense of the list of ingredients, which is in the accusative case. Also, the repetition of *agropaharaṇīyāt* in the Nepalese version suggests that its second occurrence, which does not make good sense here, is a dittographic error.
- 101 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.
- 102 There are syntactic difficulties in this sentence. We have adopted the reading in Ḍalhaṇa’s version (Su 1938: 78), which has *ca kṛtvā* following *supariḅhṛtaṃ*. It is likely that a verb, such as *kṛtvā*, dropped out of the Nepalese transmission.

- should be sprinkled on, and medical advice (*ācārika*) given. And he should supplement with food as taught in the ‘Two Wound’ chapter.¹⁰³
- 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.¹⁰⁴ For when the ear is tainted by wind, then it is obstructed by blood (*raktabaddha*), unhealed and will peel. When tainted with choler, it becomes pinched (*gāḍha*), septic (*pāka*) and red. When tainted by phlegm, it will be stiff (*stabdha*) and itchy. It has excessively copious suppuration (*srāva*) and is *śopha* (*puffed up*). It has a small amount of wasted (*kṣīṇa*) flesh and it will not grow.¹⁰⁵
- 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,¹⁰⁶ fat, marrow, milk, and sesame oil, and white mustard oil.¹⁰⁷ 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*) and

103 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 4.1 (Su 1938: 396–408).

104 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 *nāśuddha-* in the Nepalese recension would yield the same meaning as the Ḍalhaṇa’s version.

105 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 trirātram pariṣecayet trirātrāc ca picuṃ parivartayet*).

106 For such classifications, see Zimmermann (1999) and Smith (1994).

107 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.

- hornwort (*jalaśūka* → *jalanīlikā*¹⁰⁸).¹⁰⁹ This 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.¹¹⁰
- 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.¹¹¹
- 17 In this tradition, experts know countless repairs to ears. So a physician who is very intent (*suniviṣṭa*) on working in this way may repair (*yojayed*) them.¹¹²
- 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.¹¹³
- 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.

108 *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.

109 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 *vidārigandhā* 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 ingredients, as seen in the Nepalese version.

110 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.

111 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.

112 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 *paripoṭa*. Ḍalhaṇa goes on to say that some believe that these verses were not composed by sages and, therefore, do not read them.

113 The order of verses 17 and 18 are reversed in Ḍalhaṇa's version (Su 1938: 80).

- 20 Next, having cut a slice of flesh (*vadhra*)¹¹⁴ with the same measurements off the cheek, the end of the nose is then scarified.¹¹⁵ Then the diligent (*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.¹¹⁶ Then, having lifted them up,¹¹⁷ the powder of sappanwood (*pattāṅga*),¹¹⁸ liquorice and Indian barberry.¹¹⁹ 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.¹²⁰
- 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.¹²¹

añjana

114 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).

115 Or 1.16.20 could be mean, ‘... off the cheek, it is fixed to the end of the nose, which has been scarified.’ Unfortunately, the Sanskrit of the Nepalese version is not unambiguous on the important point of whether or not the flap of grafted skin remains connected to its original site on the cheek. However, Ḍalhaṇa (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.

116 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.

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

118 *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.

119 *Berberis aristata*, DC. Ḍalhaṇa understands it as elixir salve (*rasāñjana*) (Su 1938: 81).

120 The expression *svayathopadeśa* is ungrammatical but supported in all available witnesses.

121 Ḍalhaṇa accepts a verse following this, which points out that the procedure for joining

Abbreviations

- Ah 1939 Kumṭe, Anṇā Moreśvara, Navare, Kṛṣṇaśāstrī, and Parādkar, Hariśāstrī (1939) (eds.), *śrīmadvāgbhaṭaviracitam aṣṭāṅga-hṛdayam, śrīmadaruṇadattaviracitayā sarvāṅgasundarā-khyayā vyākhyayā, hemādripranītayā āyurvedarasāyanā-hvayā ṭikayā ca samullasitam* = *The Astāṅgaḥṛdaya* (6th edn., Mumbayyām: Nirṇayasāgara Press), [ark:/13960/t3tt6967d](http://13960/t3tt6967d).
- Anup *Anup Sanskrit Library* (n.d.).
- AS *Asiatic Society* (n.d.).
- As 1980 Āṭhavale, Anaṃta Dāmodara (1980) (ed.), *Aṣṭāṅgasan̄grahaḥ. Śrīmad Vṛddhavāgbhaṭaviracitaḥ Induvyākhyāsahitaḥ* (Pune: Maheśa Anaṃta Āṭhavale, Śrīmad Ātreya Prakāśanam), [ark:/13960/t9773bb9z](http://13960/t9773bb9z).
- Bhela 1921 Mookerjee, Ashutosh and Ananta Krishna Shastri, Vedantabisharad (1921) (eds.), *The Bhela Samhita. Sanskrit Text* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta), [ark:/13960/t3sv3157j](http://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.), *maharṣiṇā punarvasunopadiṣṭā, tacchiṣyenāgniveśena pranītā, carakadṛḍhabalābhyāṃ pratisaṃskṛtā carakasamhitā, śrīcakrapāṇidattaviracitayā āyurvedadīpikāvyākhyayā saṃvalitā* (3rd edn., Mumbayyām: Nirṇaya Sagara Press), URL, accessed 01/01/2018.

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).

- 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.), *suśrutaḥ. sūtra-nidāna-śārīra-cikitsā-kalpottara-tantra-kalpita āyurveda. bhagavatā dhanvantariṇopadiṣṭaḥ suśrutānāmādheyena tacchiṣyeṇa viracitaḥ* (3rd edn., Calcutta: Saratī Press), [ark:/13960/t1nh6j09c](#); HIML: IB, 311, edition b.
- Su 1915 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1915) (ed.), *suśrutasaṃhitā, suśrutena viracitā, vaidyavaraśrīḍalhaṇācāryaviracitayā nibandhasaṃgrahākhyavyākhyayā samullasitā, ācāryopāhvena trivikramātmajena yādavaśarmaṇaḥ saṃśodhitā* = *The Sushrutasamhita of Sushruta, the Nibandhasangraha Commentary of Shri Dalhaṇācārya* (Mumbayyām: Nirṇayasāgaramudrāyantrālaye), [ark:/13960/t3sv0mt50](#), accessed 29/07/2020; HIML: IB, 312 edition *v.
- Su 1931 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1931) (ed.), *suśrutasaṃhitā, vaidyavaraśrīḍalhaṇācāryaviracitayā nibandhasaṃgrahākhyavyākhyayā samullasitā, maharṣiṇā suśrutena viracitā, sūtra-nidāna-śārīra-cikitsā-kalpasthānottaratāntrātmakaḥ. ācāryopāhvena trivikramātmajena yādavaśarmaṇaḥ saṃśodhitā* = *The Sushrutasamhita of Sushruta with the Nibandhasangraha Commentary of Shree Dalhaṇācārya* (2nd edn., Mumbayyām:

- Pāṇḍuraṅga Jāvajī at the Nirṇayasāgaramudrāyantrālaye), ark:/13960/t9j41sg94, accessed 09/06/2020; [HIML](http://HIML.org): IB, 312 edition *v.
- Su 1938 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (1938) (eds.), *śrīḍalhaṇācāryaviracitayā nibandha-saṃgrahākhyavyākhyayā nidānasthānasya śrīgayadāsā-cāryaviracitayā nyāyacandrikākhyapañjikāvyākhyayā ca samullasitā maharṣiṇā suśrutena viracitā suśrutasamhitā* (3rd edn., Bombay: Nirṇayasāgara Press), [ark : / 13960 / t09x0sk1h](http://ark:/13960/t09x0sk1h); [HIML](http://HIML.org): IB, 313, edition cc ('the vulgate').
- Su 1938² Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (2004) (eds.), *maharṣiṇā suśrutena viracitā suśrutasamhitā, śrīḍalhaṇācāryaviracitayā nibandha-saṃgrahākhyavyākhyayā nidānasthānasya śrīgayadāsā-cāryaviracitayā nyāyacandrikākhyapañjikāvyākhyayā ca samullasitā* (Vārāṇasī: Caukhambhā Kṛṣṇadāsa Akādāmī); Reprint of the third, 1938 edition ([Su 1938](http://Su1938.org)).
- Su 1939 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama and Śarman, Nandakiśora (1939) (eds.), *suśrutasamhitāyāḥ sūtrasthānam. śrīcakrapāṇidattaviracitayā bhānumatīvyākhyayā sametam = Sushrut-saṃhitā (sūtra Sthān) with Bhānumatī Commentary by Chakrapāṇi Datta with Introduction by Gaṇanāth Sen* (Śrīsvāmī Lakṣmīrāma Nidhi Granthamālā = Shrī Swāmī Lakshmi Rām Trust Series, 1; [Jaipur]: Śyāmasundara Śarman), ark:/13960/t54g0d12m; Printed at the Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay.
- Su 1945 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikramācārya and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (1945) (eds.), *maharṣiṇā suśrutena viracitā suśrutasamhitā (mūlamātrā). pāṭhāntara-pariśiṣṭādibhiḥ saṃvalitā = the Suśrutasamhitā of Suśruta with Various Readings, Notes and Appendix etc.* (Mumbāi: Nirṇayasāgarākhyamudraṇālaye), URL.
- TMSSML *Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji Saraswati Mahal Library* (n.d.).

Viṣṇudh. Śarman, Madhusūdana and Śarman, Mādhavaprasāda (1912) (eds.), *viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇam* = [*Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*] (Mumbai: Khemarāja Śrīkrṣṇadāsa at the Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press), [ark :/ 13960 / t6qz6fr23](https://nnp.srujanika@gmail.com/ark:/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: [20](#)

London BL H. T. Colebrooke 908: [23](#)

Kathmandu KL 699: [28](#), [34](#)

Mumbai AS B.D.109: [19](#)

Kathmandu NAK 1-1079: [28](#), [34](#)

Mumbai AS B.I.3: [19](#)

Kathmandu NAK 5-333: [21](#), [23](#), [28](#), [34](#)

Thanjavur TMSSML 10773: [35](#)

References

Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1941) (ed.), *maharṣiṇā punarvasunopadiṣṭā, tacchiṣyenāgniveśena praṇītā, carakadr̥ḍhabalābhyām pratisaṃskṛtā carakasamhitā, śrīcakrapāṇidattaviracitayā āyurvedadīpikāvyaḥkhyayā saṃvalitā* (3rd edn., Mumbayyām: Nirṇaya Sagara Press), [URL](#), accessed 01/01/2018.

Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikramācārya and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (1945) (eds.), *maharṣiṇā suśrutena viracitā suśrutasaṃhitā (mūla-mātrā). pāṭhāntara-pariśiṣṭādibhiḥ saṃvalitā* = *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](https://doi.org/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](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:uk:2019-06-01-13960-t03x8vz7b).
- Bhaṭṭācārya, Candrakānta (1910–7) (ed.), *suśrutasamhitā prathamakhaṇḍam sūtrasthānātmakam...hārāṇacandrakravartikavirājaviracitasuśrutārthasandīpanabhāṣya-sametam...candrakānta bhaṭṭācārya-pramukhaiḥ saṃśodhitam* = [The *Suśrutasamhitā* with the Commentary *Suśrutārthasandīpanabhāṣya* by Hārāṇacandra Cakravarti] (Kalikātā: Satya Press); Edition "t" in [HIML](https://www.himl.org/): IB, 312.
- Birch, Jason et al. (2021), 'Further Insight into the Role of Dhanvantari, the Physician to the Gods, in the *Suśrutasamhitā*', *Academia Letters*. doi: [10.20935/AL2992](https://doi.org/10.20935/AL2992).
- Breton, P. (1826), 'On the Native Mode of Couching', *Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta*, 2: 341–82, [ark:/13960/t3dz8nn5t](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:uk:2019-06-01-13960-t3dz8nn5t), [URL](https://www.himl.org/), accessed 02/06/2021.
- Bronkhorst, Johannes (2021), 'Patañjali's Āryāvarta = Śuṅga realm?', *Academia Letters*. doi: [10.20935/al291](https://doi.org/10.20935/al291); Article 291.
- Bronner, Yigal (2021) (ed.), 'The Pandit Project' (30 Sept.), [URL](https://www.himl.org/).
- 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](https://doi.org/10.4000/jtei.1520), [URL](https://www.himl.org/), 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](https://www.himl.org/), 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](https://nopr.scribd.org/ark:/13960/t4xh86j61); Bheḷas-amhitā 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](https://nopr.scribd.org/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), 'Récents découvertes de mss. médicaux sanscrits dans l'Inde (1898–1902)', *Muséon, Nouvelle Série*, 4: 321–52, [ark : / 13960 / t26b2j457](https://nopr.scribd.org/ark:/13960/t26b2j457), accessed 02/01/2020; Reprinted in Roṣu 1989: 539–70.
- Coult, 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 Banarsidass), 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.
- Gaṇapatiśāstrī, T. (1920–5), *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpaḥ* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 70; Anantaśayane: Rājakiyamudraṇayantrālaye), ark:/13960/t4pk5sj0j.
- 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.
- Harimoto, Kengo (2011), 'In Search of the Oldest Nepalese Manuscript', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 84/1–4: 85–106, ISSN: 0392-4866, [URL](https://doi.org/10.1017/s0041977x0014580x), accessed 08/09/2019.
- (2014), 'Nepalese Manuscripts of the Suśrutasaṃhitā', *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu)*, 62/3: 23–29 (1087–1093). DOI: [10.4259/ibk.62.3_1087](https://doi.org/10.4259/ibk.62.3_1087), [URL](https://doi.org/10.4259/ibk.62.3_1087), accessed 08/09/2019.
- (pre-published), '[Preliminary Edition of the Nepalese MSS of the Suśrutasaṃhitā, 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](https://doi.org/10.18732/h2ht0h).
- Hemarāja Śarman (1938) (ed.), *kāśyapasamhitā (vṛddhajīvakīyaṃ tantraṃ vā) maharṣiṇā māricakaśyapenopadiṣṭā ... hemarājaśarmanā likhitena viśṛtena upodghātena sahita ... satyapāla bhiṣagā kṛtayā vidyotiniṁ hindīvyākhyayā ... samullasitā* (1st edn., Mumbai: Nirṇayasāgara Press), [URL](https://doi.org/10.18732/h2ht0h), 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 Ayurvédas: Id Est Medicinæ 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](#).
- 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, Veṇīmādhavaśāstri and Joṣī, Nārāyaṇa Harī (1968), *Āyurvedīya Mahākośaḥ arthāt Āyurvedīya Śabdakośaḥ Saṃskṛta–Saṃskṛta* (Mumbai: Mahārāṣṭra Rājya Sāhitya āṇi Saṃskṛti Maṇḍala), [URL](#).
- Kangle, R. P. (1969), *The Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* (2nd edn., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass), ISBN: 81-208-0042-7, [ark:/13960/t3gz6qh1s](#), accessed 23/09/2021.
- 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 Suśrutasamhitā (1): A Study of Three Nepalese Manuscripts', to be published in *eJIM: Electronic Journal of Indian Medicine*, [URL](#), accessed 09/09/2019.

- Klebanov, Andrey (2021*b*), '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.
- Kuist, James M. (1982), *The Nichols File of The Gentleman's Magazine* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), ISBN: 0-299-08480-9, [ark:/13960/t53g2ct2z](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-63862-p0051-9).
- 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-rs-04](https://doi.org/10.21037/atm-2019-rs-04), URL, accessed 02/11/2020.
- Lienhard, Siegfried (1978), 'On the Meaning and Use of the Word Indra-gopa', *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 the late John Symons of the Wellcome Library who identified the author 'B. L.' as the journalist Barak Longmate. See also Kuist 1982: 87.
- 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](https://doi.org/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 Vijayarākṣita 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-/mūrč', *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](#), accessed 29/01/2018; Vol.2: [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](#).

- Nadkarni, K. M. (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](#).
- Narayana, Ala and Thrigulla, Saketh Ram (2011), 'Tangible Evidences of Surgical Practice in Ancient India', *Journal of Indian Medical Heritage*, 16: 1–18, [URL](#), accessed 02/06/2021.
- NGMCP (2014), 'Nepal-german Manuscript Cataloguing Project. Online Title List and Descriptive Catalogue', Universität Hamburg and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, [URL](#).
- Oberlies, Thomas (2003), *A Grammar of Epic Sanskrit* (Indian Philology and South Asian Studies, 5; Berlin: De Gruyter), ISBN: 9783110144482. DOI: [10.1515/9783110899344](#).
- Olivelle, Patrick (2013), *King, Governance, and Law in Ancient India: Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. a New Annotated Translation* (New York: Oxford University Press), ISBN: 9780199891825. DOI: [10.1093/acprof:osobl/9780199891825.003.0001](#).
- 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](#).
- Pandey, Anshuman (2012), 'Proposal to Encode the Newar Script in ISO/IEC 10646', [URL](#).
- Pārśvanātha Śāstrī, Vardhamāna (1940) (ed.), *ugrādityācāryakṛta kalyāṇakāraka (rāṣṭrabhāṣānuvādasahita) = The Kalyāṇa-kārakam of Ugrādityacharya, Edited with Introduction, Translation, Notes, Indexes and Dictionary* (Sakhārāma Nemacanda Gramthamālā, 129; Solāpura: Seṭha Goviṃdajī Rāvajī Doṣī), [ark:/13960/t2q617g4d](#).
- Pass, Gregory (2003), *Descriptive Cataloging of Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance, and Early Modern Manuscripts* (Chicago: American Library Association), ISBN: 0-8389-8218-2, [URL](#).

- 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](#).
- Price, Kenneth M. (2013), 'Electronic Scholarly Editions', in Ray Siemens and Susan Schreiban (eds.), *A Companion to Digital Literary Studies* (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd), 434–50. doi: [10.1002/9781405177504.ch24](#), [URL](#), 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](#); 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](#).
- Rhys Davids, Thomas William and Stede, William (1921–5), *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* (London: The Pali Text Society), [URL](#).
- 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, Kamasāstra, Vaidya & Jyotisa*, nos. 10650–11737 (Srirangam: Sri Vani Vilas Press), [ark:/13960/t3nw8bc12](#).
- 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](#); Breton 1826: 358–363 cites Scott's description of cataract couching.

- Sena, Gaṅgāprasād et al. (1886–93) (eds.), *suśrutasaṃhitā...dallanācāryya-kṛta-nivandha-saṃgraha, cakrapāṇidatta-kṛta-bhānumatī-ṭīkā...vaṅgānuvāda...imreji pratiśabda* (Calcutta: Maṇirāma Press); Edition "g" in [HIML](#): 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](#), 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.), *bodhāyanagr̥hyasūtram The Bodhāyana Grihyasutra* (Mysore: University of Mysore), [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. Rākshashkālī (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](#), 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.), *Sauśrutaniḥṣaṇṭuḥ: granthāḍau viṣṭṛtena granthavaiśiṣṭyaparakāśakenopodghātena avasāne ca dravyāṇām anekabhāṣānām āvalī- paryāyasaṅgrahābhyāṁ samalaṅkṛtaḥ Suśrutasaṁhitāyāṁ prayuktānām auśadhadravyāṇām paryāya-guṇakarmavarnātmako pūrvagraṇthaḥ* (Belajhūḍī, Ḍāṇ: Mahendrasaṁskṛtavīśvavidyālayaḥ).
- 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](#).
- 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://doi.org/10.13960/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.

- Zysk, Kenneth G. (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

the 'sweet' savour

- *madhuravarga*: 15

'strong indian mallow'

- *atibalā*: 32

a slice of flesh

- *vadhra*: 12

ācārika

- medical advice:

32

admixture

- *prativāpa*: 32

āhārya

- take away: 29

alarka

- white calotropis:

32

anantā

- country

sarsaparilla: 32

apāmarga

- prickly chaff

flower: 29

apāmārga

- prickly

chaff-flower: 15

apāṅga

- edge of the hole:

33

apatānaka

- convulsions: 28

apramatta

- diligent: 34

ārā

- awl: 28

ardhakapāṭasandhika

- half door-hinge:

29

arka

- purple calotropis:

32

āsāṅgima

- fastening: 29

aśvagandhā

- withania: 15

atibalā

- 'strong indian

mallow': 32

awl

- *ārā*: 28

baddham

- bound, connected:

34

balā

- country mallow:

32

bandha

- joins: 12, 31

bandha, sandhāna, sandhi

- joining: 12

beggarweed

- *vidāri*: 32

- *vidārigandhā*: 15

bhedya

- splitting: 31

blessings pronounced

- *svastivācana*: 27

bound, connected

- *baddham*: 34

cakradhārā

- rim of a wheel: 30

castor oil tree

- *gandharvahaṣṭa*: 29

chedya

- cutting: 31

cheek-ear

- *gaṇḍakarṇa*: 29

compressed

- *saṃkṣipta*: 30

compressed

- *saṃkṣipta*: 29

convulsions

- *apatānaka*: 28

cotton

- *picu*: 31

cotton plant

- *kārpāsa*: 29

country mallow

- *balā*: 32

country sarsaparilla

- *anantā*: 32

creeper-ear

- *vallīkarṇa*: 29

crow's lip

- *kākaṣṭha*: 29

cutting

- *chedya*: 31

dais

- *pīṭha*: 30

datura flower

- *dhattūrapuṣpa*: 29

decanted liquor

- *surāmaṇḍa*: 31

dhānyāmla

- fermented

rice-water: 31

dhattūrapuṣpa

- datura flower: 29

dilator

- *pravardhanaka*: 29

diligent

- *apramatta*: 34

door-hinge

- *kapāṭasandhika*: 29

dried flesh

- *vallūraka*: 29

duct

- *sirā*: 28

ducts

- *sirā*: 30

duṣṭa

- tainted: 31

edge of the hole

- *apāṅga*: 33

elixir salve

- *rasāñjana*: 34

eraṇḍapatranāla

- stalk of the leaf of
castor oil plant: 34

fastening
- āsaṅgima: 29

fermented rice-water
- dhānyāmla: 31

fever
- jvara: 13

gāḍha
- pinched: 32

gaṇḍakarṇa
- cheek-ear: 29

gandharvahasta
- castor oil tree: 29

gauze
- prota: 31

ghee
- sarpis: 32

giant potato
- kṣīraśuklā: 15

godhā
- monitor lizard: 32

granthi
- lumps: 28

granthita
- lumpy: 30

half door-hinge
-
ardhakapāṭasandhika:
29

hīna
- reduced: 34

hīnakarṇa
- reduced-ear: 29

indian madder
- mañjiṣṭhā: 28

inflamed
- saṅrambha: 32

joining
- bandha, sandhāna,
sandhi: 12

joins
- bandha: 12, 31
- sandhāna: 29
- sandhi: 30

jvara
- fever: 13

kākauṣṭha
- crow's lip: 29

kapālacūrṇa
- powdered
earthenware
crocery: 31

kapāṭasandhika
- door-hinge: 29

kaṇnavyadha
- piercing the ear:
27

kārpāsa
- cotton plant: 29

kṛtamaṅgala
- received a
benediction: 27

kṣīṇa
- wasted: 32

kṣīraśuklā
- giant potato: 15

lead
- sīsaka: 29

lekhyā
- scarification: 31

liquorice
- madhuka: 32

lotus-splittable
- utpalabhedyaka: 29

lumps
- granthi: 28

lumpy
- granthita: 30

madhuka
- liquorice: 32

madhuravarga
- the 'sweet'
savour: 15

mañjiṣṭhā
- indian madder: 28

manyāstambhā
- paralysis of the
nape of the neck: 28

mardita
- massaged: 33

massaged
- mardita: 33

may repair
- yojayed: 33

medical advice
- ācārika: 32

milk flower
- vidāri: 15

miśrakacikitsa
- various
treatments: 33

monitor lizard
- godhā: 32

multi-joins
- vyāyojima: 29

nala
- reed: 34

neem tree
- nimba: 29

nemīsandhānaka
- rim-join: 30

nemīsandhānakaḥ
- rim-join: 29

nimba
- neem tree: 29

nirvedhima
- ready-split: 29

obstructed by blood
- raktabaddha: 32

ointment for rubbing
the ear
- udvartana: 33

options
- vikalpa: 30

pain
- vedanā: 13

pāka
 - septic: 32
 paralysis of the nape of the neck
 - *manyāstambhā*: 28
pattāṅga
 - sappanwood: 34
picu
 - cotton: 31
 piercing the ear
 - *kaṛṇavyadha*: 27
 piercing
 - *vyadhana*: 31
 pinched
 - *gāḍha*: 32
pīṭha
 - dais: 30
 powdered earthenware
 crockery
 - *kapālacūrṇa*: 31
prativāpa
 - admixture: 32
pratuda
 - scavenging: 32
pravardhanaka
 - dilator: 29
 prickly chaff flower
 - *apāmarga*: 29
 prickly chaff-flower
 - *apāmārga*: 15
prota
 - gauze: 31
puffed up
 - śopha: 32
 purple calotropis
 - *arka*: 32
raktabaddha
 - obstructed by blood: 32
rasāñjana
 - elixir salve: 34
 ready-split
 - *nirvedhima*: 29
 received a benediction
 - *kṛtamaṅgala*: 27

reduced
 - *hīna*: 34
 reduced-ear
 - *hīnakarṇa*: 29
 reed
 - *nala*: 34
 rim of a wheel
 - *cakradhārā*: 30
 rim-join
 - *nemīsandhānaka*: 30
 rim-join
 - *nemīsandhānakaḥ*: 29
sādhubaddha
 - well joined: 34
saṃkṣipta
 - compressed: 30
 - compressed: 29
saṃrambha
 - inflamed: 32
sandhāna
 - joins: 29
sandhi
 - joins: 30
 sappanwood
 - *pattāṅga*: 34
sarpis
 - ghee: 32
 scarification
 - *lekhya*: 31
 scavenging
 - *pratuda*: 32
 seed-eating
 - *viṣkīra*: 32
 septic
 - *pāka*: 32
 sesame oil
 - *taila*: 33
sirā
 - duct: 28
 - ducts: 30
sīsaka
 - lead: 29
 slice of flesh

- *vadhra*: 34
 śopha
 - *puffed up*: 32
 splitting
 - *bhedya*: 31
srāva
 - suppurating: 30
 - suppuration: 32
stabdha
 - stiff: 30, 32
 stalk of the leaf of castor oil plant
 - *eraṇḍapatranāla*: 34
 stick-ear
 - *yaṣṭīkarṇa*: 29
 stiff
 - *stabdha*: 30, 32
sunivīṣṭa
 - very intent: 33
 suppurating
 - *srāva*: 30
 suppuration
 - *srāva*: 32
surāmaṇḍa
 - decanted liquor: 31
svastivācana
 - blessings pronounced: 27
śvayathu
 - swelling: 28
 swelling
 - *śvayathu*: 28
taila
 - sesame oil: 33
 tainted
 - *duṣṭa*: 31
 take away
 - *āhārya*: 29
udvartana
 - ointment for rubbing the ear: 33
utpalabhedyaka

- lotus-splittable: 29
vadhra
- a slice of flesh: 12
- slice of flesh: 34
vallīkarṇa
- creeper-ear: 29
vallūraka
- dried flesh: 29
various treatments
- *miśrakacikitsa*: 33
varti
- wick: 28f
vāta
- wind: 29
vedanā

- pain: 13
very intent
- *suniviṣṭa*: 33
vidāri
- beggarweed: 32
- milk flower: 15
vidārigandhā
- beggarweed: 15
vikalpa
- options: 30
viṣkira
- seed-eating: 32
vyadhana
- piercing: 31
vyāyojima
- multi-joins: 29

wasted
- *kṣīṇa*: 32
well joined
- *sādhubaddha*: 34
white calotropis
- *alarka*: 32
wick
- *varti*: 28f
wind
- *vāta*: 29
withania
- *aśvagandhā*: 15
yaṣṭīkarṇa
- stick-ear: 29
yojayed
- may repair: 33

Todo list

■ HELP with Refs in footnote 1.	3
■ ref	3
■ see my comments in the input file	5
■ Perhaps, it is worth mentioning (pace. Meul) the comment by Ḍalhaṇa –discussed in fn 113– which indicates that he knew the grafted skin had to be connected. And this is not clear in the mūla.	6
■ refs	12
■ Perhaps, Dr Madhu could add a comment on whether these ad- ditional ingredients would change the effects of the treatment in any significant way?	15
■ Add reference in the fn for the article on samudāya	28
■ añjana	34