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

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Introduction

Introduction

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

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

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

The newly-discovered manuscript in Nepal is related to two other early palm-leaf manuscripts in the National Archives in Kathmandu, MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 and MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079. Klebanov (2010; 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. eleventh century) and Ḏalhaṇa (fl. twelfth century). The version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* commented on by Ḏalhaṇa has formed the basis of modern

¹ A selection of prominent contributions includes: Hoernle 1897; 1906a,b; 1907a,b; Strauss 1934; Singhal et al. 1972–82; P. V. Sharma 1975; Rāy et al. 1980; R. Adriaensen et al. 1984; Yano 1986; HIML; P. V. Sharma 1999–2001a; Valiathan 2007.

² HIML: IB, 311 ff.

³ HIML: IA, 203–389.

⁴ Dimitrov and Tamot 2007.

⁵ Harimoto 2011: 87–88.

⁶ UNESCO 2013.

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

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

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

The present study offers a critical edition and annotated translation of the sixteenth chapter of the *Ślokasthāna*, the first book of the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasamhitā*.¹⁰ This chapter is important in the history of In-

⁷ [Su 1915](#); [Su 1938](#); P. V. Sharma [1999–2001b](#).

⁸ Lariviere [2003](#): xii, cited with agreement by Olivelle ([2005](#): 51) in the context of legal literature and by Bronkhorst ([2016](#): 62–63) in the context of epic literature. See the latter citation for further discussion of Sanskrit text formation between the empires.

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

¹⁰ This book is called the *Sūtrasthāna* in later versions of the *Suśrutasamhitā*. Note that the *Suśrutasamhitā* itself used the name *Ślokasthāna* at several places, e.g., 6.42.61 ([Su 1938](#): 721), 6.65.30 and 31 ([Su 1938](#): 818), usually referring to identifiable passages in that part of the work. The name is also used in the *Ślokasthāna* itself, at 1.1.40 of the Nepalese version.

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

Importance of SS.1.16 in the History of Medicine

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

¹¹ Zysk 1985: 70–71.

¹² Translation by Hoernle (1907b: §43, §100). Further bibliography: HML: IIB, 819.

¹³ Malamoud 1996; Saha 2015.

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surgical purposes.¹⁴ The text gives us a historical window onto a school of professionalised medicine, including surgical practice, that existed almost two millennia ago, and which in its day was perhaps the most advanced school of surgery in the world.

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

Torn ear lobes

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

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

¹⁵ Wilson 1823; Mukhopādhyāya 1913; Deshpande 2000; Wujastyk 2003; Valiathan 2007; Narayana and Thrigulla 2011 and many other studies.

¹⁶ *Suśrutasamhitā* 1.1.15–19 (Su 1938: 4).

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

¹⁸ Majno 1975: 291.

¹⁹ Majno 1975: 290–291; reproduced with permission in Wujastyk 2003: 92–93.

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Rhinoplasty

One of the best-known surgical techniques associated with *Suśrutasamhitā* is rhinoplasty, the repair or rebuilding of a severed nose. The history of this operation was discussed by Wujastyk (2003: 67–70, 99–100), and a translation of the Sanskrit passage from the vulgate edition of the *Suśrutasamhitā* was given.²⁰ This fascinating technique is certainly old in South Asia, having been witnessed by travellers from Marco Polo in the seventeenth century onwards.²¹ Many witnesses, including the most famous, Cruso and Findlay,²² described an operation that differs from *Suśrutasamhitā* in that it takes the grafting skin from the forehead, not the cheek. But the nineteenth-century account of Thorburn is especially interesting, since the technique follows *Suśrutasamhitā* exactly in taking flesh from the cheek, not the forehead.²³

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

The skin flap

It is worth highlighting here a point of critical medical importance: the continued attachment of the skin flap. One of the crucial innovations of the “Hindu Method” of nasal reconstruction, as observed and internationally reported in the eighteenth century, was that the skin flap taken from the face remained partially connected to its original location.²⁵ This ensures the blood flow essential to keeping the skin alive while it heals in its new location. The Sanskrit of the vulgate is ambiguous on this critical point and the wording of the Nepalese version is unclear. However, Ḏalhaṇa

²⁰ See also HIMAL: IB, 327–328, note 186, for further literature and reflections.

²¹ Manucci 1907–8: ii.301.

²² Longmate 1794: 883, 891 f.

²³ Thorburn 1876: 352–3.

²⁴ HIMAL: IB, 328. Ḏalhaṇa also noted cryptically that a rather different version of the text, cast in *śloka* metre, was also known to him from other sources (1.16.27–31 (*Su* 1938: 81a)). Ḏalhaṇa’s variant bears a resemblance to the description of the operation given in printed editions of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* (Utt.18.59–65 (*Ah* 1939: 841))).

²⁵ See Wujastyk 2003: 67–70.

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clarified the meaning of the vulgate here by stating that when reading the expression “connected,” one should understand “connected flesh”.²⁶ He thus indicated that he understood the flesh to be connected to the face.²⁷ Thus, we cannot know definitively at present whether the connection of the flap was known to the redactors of the Nepalese version, although it seems likely. It was probably known to the redactors of the vulgate, and was certainly known to Ḑalhaṇa in the twelfth century.

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

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

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

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

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

If we can assume that the descriptions of ear-surgery and rhinoplasty were part of a single professional tradition of surgical method, then the above passage, in the context of ear-lobe repair, strongly supports the idea

²⁶ *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.16.28 ([Su 1938](#): 81).

²⁷ See p. 55 below.

²⁸ 1.16.11–14 ([Su 1938](#): 78).

²⁹ 1.16.14 ([Su 1938](#): 78): गण्डादुत्पात्य मांसेन सानुबन्धेन जीवता | कर्णपालीमापालेस्तु कुर्यान्निर्लिख्य शास्त्रवित् | Cf. the translation of the whole passage by Wujastyk ([2003](#): 94).

³⁰ 1.16.14 ([Su 1938](#): 78): जीवेति शोणितसहितेनेत्यर्थः।

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that rhinoplastic surgery too was conducted with attention to keeping a living skin flap.

By the late first millennium, had the rhinoplastic technique moved from the professional competence of physicians (*vaidyas*) to that of barber-surgeons (*Ambaṣṭhas* and others)? Or perhaps the influence was in the other direction, and a technique known to practitioners elsewhere in South Asia in the first millennium was integrated into the text of *Suśrutasan̄hitā*. The rhinoplastic description consists of only five verses and they are written in the Upendravajrā metre, which is different from the rest of the chapter. The description's appearance at the very end of the chapter, its terseness, its ornate metre, and the paucity of the commentators' treatment could all be taken as pointing in this direction.

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The Nepalese Version

In the present article and the other publications of our research group, we focus on the study of what we call the ‘Nepalese version’ of the *Suśrutasamhitā*. The primary rationale behind using this designation was outlined by Klebanov,³¹ but we consider it necessary to reflect upon its meaning here, given the conceptual significance that this term occupies in our research. It is possible that in the course of our research, we will refine our understanding of the phenomenon and, consequently, review and modify our current interpretation.

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

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

³¹ Klebanov 2021a: 2–3.

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

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

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

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

³² Rimal and Wujastyk [2022](#).

³³ For a list of known manuscript copies of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, see the sources mentioned in footnote [97](#) below.

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

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

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

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

The Versions of Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḏalhaṇa

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

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

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

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

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

([HIML](#): IB, 496, note 76).

36 [HIML](#): IB, 499, n. 162.

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

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

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स्वेदितोन्मर्दितं कर्णं छेहेनैतेन योजयेत् ॥
 अथानुपद्रवः सम्यग्बलवांशं विचर्धते ॥ १९ ॥
 (यवाऽवगन्धायष्टाहैस्तिलैश्चोद्धर्तनं हितम् ॥
 शतावर्यश्वगन्धाभ्यां पयस्यैरण्डजीवनैः ॥ २० ॥
 तैलं विपकं सक्षीरमभ्यङ्कृतं पालिवर्धनम् ॥)
 कर्णवर्धनार्थं सम्मर्दनयोगिनेहमाह—तत्या गोपेत्यादि । प्रहृदा लह्वादयोऽजपान-
 वर्णात्यः, विकिरा लावादयः, आनुपा गहियादयः । राजसर्पः, वेतसर्पः, दल-
 तैलम्, एवं हि लेहोऽयम् । पयश्चात्र पाकार्थं इवान्तरातुकेशतुर्युणमेव । ये हु पयःस्यावे-
 सर्पिः पठन्ति, तन्मर्ते जलसाध्योऽयम्; अन्ये हु चहुःसेहेनेव पयःस्याध्यं पठन्ति ।
 अलक्षः अक्षेदः, जलशक्तो जलतृपातको भवति ‘जलसुंजा’ इति प्रलिङ्गः । प्रतीचाप-
 ककः । ये लत्र मधुरार्थं पठन्ति पयश्चात् च, तन्मर्ते पयसा क्षीरविदारी । तैलं वेति
 तैलमेव वा ॥ १९-२० ॥

स्वेदितोन्मर्दितं कर्णं छेहेनैतेन योजयेत् ॥
 अथानुपद्रवः सम्यग्बलवांशं विचर्धते ॥ २० ॥
 अस्य तैलयाव चारणमाह,—स्वेदितोन्मर्दितमिलादि ॥ २० ॥
 यवाऽवगन्धायष्टाहैस्तिलैश्चोद्धर्तनं हितम् ॥
 अभ्यक्तस्योद्धर्तनमाह,—यवेत्यादि ॥—
 शतावर्यश्वगन्धाभ्यां पयस्यैरण्डजीवनैः ॥ २१ ॥
 तैलं विपकं सक्षीरमभ्यङ्कृतं पालिवर्धनम् ॥
 कर्णपालिविश्वार्थमपरं तैलमाह,—शतावर्यश्वगन्धाभ्यासि-
 त्यादि । शतावर्यादिकलकेन लेहतुर्याशेन केवलश्चारेण चतुर्गु-
 णेन तैलमत्र पचनीयम् । पयसा अर्कपुणी । जीवनैः काको-
 त्यादिद्रवैः ॥ २१ ॥—

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

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

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

A similar instance of this occurs in the edition of the *Bhānumatī* at *Suśrutasamhitā* 1.16.31 where the editors of the 1939 printed edition included a verse in parenthesis that was commented on by Dalhaṇa but not by Cakra-

³⁹ [Su 1939: 130](#), i.e., अथाप्रदुष्टस्याभिवर्धनार्थम् ... निदध्यात् । It is numbered Su.1.16.19 in Dalhaṇa’s *Nibandhasaṅgraha* ([Su 1938: 79](#)).

⁴⁰ Su.1.16.19–23 in [Su 1939](#), i.e., स्वेदितो ..., यवाश्व ..., तैल ..., तेषाम् ..., वद्ध

⁴¹ 1.16.19–23 ([Su 1938: 79–80](#)).

⁴² [Su 1939: 130–131](#).

⁴³ The editors remarked in a footnote that verses 20–21a were not in the Nepalese manuscript that they consulted ([Su 1939: 130](#), n. 2).

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(नाडीयोगं विनौष्टस्य नासासन्धानवद्विधिम् ॥
य पवमेव जानीयात् स राज्ञः कंतुमर्हति ॥ ३१ ॥)
इति सौश्रुते शब्दयतन्त्रे स्फुरस्थाने कर्णव्यधवन्धविधिर्नाम
पोडशोऽध्यायः ॥ १६ ॥

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

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

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

Cakrapāṇidatta and the Nepalese version

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

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

45 The MS is described in IOLR: vol. 1.5, 928, #2647. The section on p. 29 below describes the sources that the editors used for the 1939 edition.

46 Su 1939: 126.

47 *Suśrutasamhitā* 1.16.6 (Su 1938: 77).

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

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If one looks beyond *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.16, there are instances where the Nepalese version and the root text as read by Cakrapāṇidatta have the same reading, but Ḏalhaṇa mentions it as an alternative that is, “read by others.” For example, *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.1.28 of the Nepalese version has तत्रास्मिज्ञास्ते, which is also the reading commented on by Cakrapāṇidatta.⁴⁹ However, Ḏalhaṇa commented on अस्मिज्ञास्ते and states that “others read तत्रास्मिज्ञास्ते”.⁵⁰ Another example is the reading of पष्ट्या विधानैः in Ḏalhaṇa’s commentary on 1.1.8.1 ([Su 1938](#): 3) that is not in his main text but that he ascribes to “some others.” This reading is likely to be derived from the expression पष्ट्याभिधानैः in the main text of the Nepalese version, and to have been rewritten before Ḏalhaṇa’s time because it was hard to understand.⁵¹

Differences between the Nepalese and Subsequent Versions of SS.1.16

Several differences between the text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* as found in its multiple printed versions and as reconstructed on the basis of the Nepalese MSS have already been pointed out in previous publications. Klebanov ([2021a](#): 27 f) listed differences in the chapter sequence as they affect the overall organization and structuring themes and elements of the text. Others have explored variations in the frame story of the work as a whole.⁵² Klebanov highlighted the interchangeable use of two names of the first book of the text, namely Ślokasthāna and Sūtrasthāna. He also discussed another peculiarity of the Nepalese version, namely the additional verse or prose colophons found at the end of each book and also at the end of each decade of chapters of the work.⁵³

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

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

49 [Su 1939](#): 17.

50 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.1.22 ([Su 1938](#): 5).

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

52 Wujastyk [2013](#); Klebanov [2021a](#): 28–32; Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. [2021](#); Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Rimal, et al. [2021](#): 2–4.

53 Klebanov [2021a](#): 32–44.

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

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

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

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

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

54 Klebanov 2021a: 44–55.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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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

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

Changing Spelling, Sandhi and Syntax

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

commentaries. See the discussion below, p. 31.

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

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

61 For example, उच्चामयित्वा (SS.1.16.21) → प्रान्त्रम्य (1.16.29, Su 1938: 81); अवचूर्णयीत (SS.1.16.21) → उपहरेत् (1.16.29, Su 1938: 81).

62 For example, शोणितबहुत्वनिवेदनायां चान्यदेशविद्धुमिति जानीयात् | निरुपद्रवता तद्देशविद्धुलिङ्गम् | (SS.1.16.3) → शोणितबहुत्वेन वेदनया चान्यदेशविद्धुमिति जानीयात् | निरुपद्रवतया तद्देशविद्धुम् इति | (1.16.4, Su 1938: 76); आमतैलपरिषेकेणोपचरेत् (SS.1.16.6) → आमतैलेन परिषेचयेत् (1.16.7, Su 1938: 77); सुपरिगृहीतं (SS.1.16.10) → सुपरिगृहीतं च कृत्वा (1.16.15, Su 1938: 78); अनेन (SS.1.16.15) → स्त्रेहेनैतेन (1.16.20, Su 1938: 79).

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

Changing Technical Terms

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

63 For example, यहच्छाविद्वायां सिरायाम् (SS.1.16.4) → यहच्छया विद्वासु सिरासु (1.16.5, Su 1938: 76); धान्याम्लकपालचूर्ण (SS.1.16.10) → धान्याम्लं कपालचूर्ण (1.16.20, Su 1938: 78).

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

65 For example, क्षीणाल्प्यमांसः (SS.1.16.12) → क्षीणोऽल्प्यमांसः (1.16.17, Su 1938: 79).

66 For example, सम्वर्द्धितः (SS.1.16.8) → विवर्द्धितः (1.16.9, Su 1938: 77); निवेश्य (SS.1.16.10) → सन्निवेश्य (1.16.15, Su 1938: 78); अवबध्य (SS.1.16.10) → च बद्धा (1.16.15, Su 1938: 78).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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incorporate सन्धान and सन्धि remained the same.⁷⁴

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

Augmenting the Text

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

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

75 Apte: 1385; MW: 917.

76 वधम् (SS.1.16.20) → बद्धम् (SS.1.16.28, Su 1938: 81) and तद्वधशोषं (SS.1.16.23) → तदर्धशोषं (SS.1.16.31, Su 1938: 81).

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

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

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

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

Transposing Words, Verses and Passages

A close comparison of the Nepalese version with the vulgate reveals changes in the order of words, sentences and verses. Examples of such transpositions occur in SS.1.16. In most cases, the changes in word order are insignificant and may be result of different preferences in syntax or even scribal eye-brain-hand miscommunication.⁸² However, the transposition of verses and passages is usually the result of efforts at redacting the text to add new material. A good example of this is the transposition of SS.1.16.17 and SS.1.16.18 in the Nepalese version to 1.16.26 and 1.16.25, respectively, in Dalhaṇa's. It seems that this transposition may have resulted from the insertion of new verses 1.16.23cd–24 and 1.16.26.1–19 in the latter.

80 For example, पीठोपमपालिनिर्वेदिमः (1.16.9, *Su 1938*:77) → पीठोपमपालिरुभयतः क्षीणपुत्रिकाश्रितो निर्वेदिमः (1.16.10, *Su 1938*:77); इतराल्पपालिः संक्षिसः (SS.1.16.9) → उत्सन्नपालिरितराल्पपालिः संक्षिसः (1.16.10); तनुविषमपालिः (SS.1.16.9) → तनुविषमाल्पपालिः (1.16.10).

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

82 For example, अणुस्थूल० (SS.1.16.9) → स्थूलाणु० (1.16.10, *Su 1938*:77); तत्रैते दशकर्ण० (SS.1.16.9) → तत्र दशैते कर्ण० (1.16.10, *Su 1938*:77); नातिगाढन्नातिशिथिलं सूत्रेणवबध्य (SS.1.16.9) → सूत्रेणानवगाढमनतिशिथिलं च बद्धा (1.16.10, *Su 1938*:77); पूर्वन्दक्षिणं कुमारस्य वामङ्ग्न्यायाः | प्रतनुं सूच्या बहलमारया (SS.1.16.2) → प्रतनुकं सूच्या बहलमारया । पूर्वं दक्षिणं कुमारस्य वामङ्ग्न्यायाः (1.16.3, *Su 1938*:76).

The Transmission of the Work

Redacting Recipes and Elaborating on Treatments

Some of the additional text in subsequent versions of the *Suśrutasamhitā* introduces new ingredients in recipes and different procedures in treatments. In many instances, the new material merely clarifies or elaborates on the original but sometimes it changes the recipe or treatment significantly. An example of a suppletion that clarifies the text of the Nepalese version can be seen in 1.16.3 of Ḏalhaṇa's version ([Su 1938: 76](#)), which contains a statement that the physician should insert a wick of cotton after the ear has been pierced.⁸³ This statement anticipates the instructions in the 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 Ḏalhaṇa's version elucidates the role of the wick in the procedure of piercing the ear.

A similar clarification occurs in 1.16.18 of Ḏalhaṇa'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 Ḏalhaṇa's version, the treatment is reiterated at 1.16.18.

In Ḏalhaṇa'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 Ḏalhaṇa's version (1.16.7, [Su 1938: 77](#)) the recipe was rewritten to include sesame seeds.⁸⁴ 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. Ḏalhaṇa'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*)⁸⁵ and 'milk flower' (पयस्या → विदारि⁸⁶). It also has

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

84 यवमधुकमञ्जिष्ठागन्धर्वहस्तमूलैर्मधुघृतप्रगाढैरालेपयेत् (SS.1.16.5) → मधुकैरण्डमूलमञ्जिष्ठायवतिलक-ल्कैर्मधुघृतप्रगाढैरालेपयेत् (1.16.7, [Su 1938: 77](#)).

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

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

The Transmission of the Work

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

1.424f. See GJM supplement 444, 451, IMP 1.187, but IMP 3.1719 = *Ipomoea mauritiana*, Jacq.).

87 अर्काल्के बलातिबलानन्ताविदारीमधुकजलशूकप्रतिवापन्तैलम्पाचयित्वा (SS.1.16.14) → अर्काल्के-बलातिबलानन्तापामार्गाश्वगन्धाविदारिगन्धाक्षीरशुक्लाजलशूकमधुरवर्गपयस्याप्रतिवापं तैलम्बा पाचयित्वा (1.16.19, Su 1938: 79).

The Printed Editions

The Printed Editions

The careful survey of printed editions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* by Meulenbeld lists no fewer than 44 entries.⁸⁸ These range from the first edition by Madhusūdana Gupta (1835) to editions in the 1970s. The number of reprints and editions since that time might almost double that number. Translations begin with Hessler's Latin translation in 1844 and continue up to the present in scores of publications in many languages.⁸⁹

The vulgate

The great ayurvedic scholar Yādavaśarman Trivikrama Ācārya produced three successive editions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* with the commentary of Dalhana, 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.⁹⁰ 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.⁹¹ These sources are described as follow, with an overview in Table 1.

The sources of the 1915 edition

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

88 [HIML](#): IIB, 311–314.

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

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

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

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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 Motilālaśarman. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Covers the *śārīrasthāna*.
- 3 From the personal library of my great friend Sva. Vā. Vaidya Murāra-jīśarman. Extremely old. No commentary. Covers the *śārīrasthāna*.
- 4 Puṇe, BORI library. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Covers the *śārīra-sthāna*.⁹²
- 5 Puṇe, BORI library. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Complete. With some damaged folia.
- 6 Bombay, Asiatic Society. Incomplete.⁹³
- 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 *Suśrutasandīpanabhaṣya* by Professor Hārāṇacandra Cakravārtti. Complete work. This is the 1910 Calcutta edition numbered “t” by Meulenbeld ([HIML](#): IB, 312).⁹⁴
- 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).⁹⁵

The sources of the 1938 edition

- 1 Gwalior, from the library of my great friend Paṇ. Rāmeśvaraśāstrin Śukla. Covers the *sūtra*, *nidāna*, *śārīra*, *cikitsā* and *kalpasthānas*.

⁹² Not one of the three MSS of the *śārīrasthāna* described in H. D. Sharma [1939](#).

⁹³ 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.”

⁹⁴ Bhatṭācārya [1910–7](#).

⁹⁵ Sena et al. [1886–93](#).

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

edition source	1915			1931						1938					
	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3
<i>sthāna</i>															
<i>sū.</i>	●						●	?		○	○	†	●		●
<i>ni.</i>	●			●			●	?		○			●	●	●
<i>śā.</i>	●			●	●	●	●	?		○			●		●
<i>ci.</i>		●					●	?	●	○			●		●††
<i>ka.</i>	●						●	?		○			●		
<i>utt.</i>		●	●	●			●	?		○					

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

- 2 Bikaner, from the library of the Royal Palace, supplied by Paṇ. Candraśekharasāstrin. Contains the commentary *Nyāyacandrikāpañjikāvyākhyā* by Gayadāsa. Covers the *nidānasthāna*. This is almost certainly MS Bikaner Anup 4390.⁹⁶
- 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 Paṇ Nityānandaśarman Joṣī and sent to Ācārya. Covers from the beginning of the work to the end of the ninth chapter of the *cikitsāsthāna*. The siglum for this manuscript in footnotes was ता for तालपत्रपुस्तके.

Evaluation

Estimates show that there are approximately 230 extant manuscript witnesses for the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.⁹⁷ Although many of these manuscripts cover only parts of the whole work, they amount to approximately twenty times the evidence that was used by Ācārya for his vulgate editions.

⁹⁶ See Dominik Wujastyk, "MS Bīkāner AnupLib 4390." *Pandit.* <<http://panditproject.org/entity/108068/manuscript>>.

⁹⁷ This figure is arrived at by summing the MSS mentioned by Raghavan et al. (NCC: vol. 39, 373–375) and in the NGMCP. The real figure could be many scores higher. Cf. the overview at Wujastyk et al. 2020..

The Printed Editions

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

Two sources stand out for their historical importance. The first is no. 3 of 1931, which Ācārya calls "extremely old." It covered the *śārīrasthāna* only, and unfortunately we know nothing of the later history of this manuscript. The second is no. 3 of 1938, which is one of the important Nepalese manuscripts being considered in the present project. Ācārya's remarks and references to Hemarājaśarman's introduction to the *Kāśyapasamhitā* allow us to identify this manuscript as MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333.⁹⁸ The editors of the vulgate, Y. T. Ācārya and N. R. Ācārya, stated that this manuscript covered up to the ninth chapter of the *cikitsāsthāna*, but in fact it covers the whole work.⁹⁹ 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.

⁹⁸ 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.

⁹⁹ Su 1938: 22.

The Printed Editions

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. 4).¹⁰⁰ The text was edited on the basis of the following sources.

For the Bhānumatī

1. A printed edition. Covered the *Bhānumatī* up to chapter Su.sū.40. The siglum was मु for मुद्रित.¹⁰¹
2. A manuscript in the India Office Library library provided through the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune.¹⁰² This manuscript covered the *Bhānumatī* b up to the end of the *sūtrasthāna*. The siglum was ह for हस्तलिखित.¹⁰³

For the Suśrutasamhitā

1. A palm leaf manuscript from Hemarājaśarman's personal library.¹⁰⁴ The siglum was ता for ताडपत्र.
2. His own published edition. The siglum was ड for डल्हणसंस्मतः पाठः.¹⁰⁵
3. Hārāṇacandra Cakravarti's published edition with his own commentary.¹⁰⁶ The siglum was हा.

¹⁰⁰ *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

¹⁰¹ Sena et al. 1886–93. The manuscript on which this edition was based is probably in the library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, and described in H. Sastri and Gui 1895–1917: v. X.1, which is not available to me. See also HIML: IB, 495, n. 57 for mention of this manuscript. The reference at Rama Rao et al. 2005: 217 to CSCL accession number 97 in Bengali script may be this manuscript.

¹⁰² At this time, manuscripts from Britain were routinely lent to scholars in India and vice versa.

¹⁰³ Wujastyk 2021; MS London BL H. T. Colebrooke 908 ([PanditProject #109978](#), consulted on July 03, 2021).

¹⁰⁴ I.e., MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333.

¹⁰⁵ *Su* 1938. It is noteworthy that Ācārya refers to his 1938 edition as representing “the Dalhaṇa recension.”

¹⁰⁶ Bhaṭṭācārya 1910–7.

१ अध्यायः] सुकृतसंहिता ११

चरके—“लाभोपायो हि शत्तानां रसाचीनां रसायनम्” (च. चि. अ. १ पा. १) । पारिशेष्याद्वाजीकरणतत्रम् । अवाजिनं वाजीकृत्वं नित येन तद्वाजीकरणम् । ‘अन्येषामपि दृश्यते’ (पा. अ. ६।३।१३७) इति सीर्वत्तम् । येन वाऽत्यर्थं छीतु व्यज्यते तद्वाजी-करणम् । तहुकं चरके—“येन नारीषु सामर्थ्यं वाजिवल्लभते नरः । ब्रजेच्चाप्यविकं येन वाजीकरणमेव तद्” (च. चि. अ. २, पा. ४) इति ॥ ५ ॥

अथास्य प्रत्येकाङ्गलक्षणसमाप्तः—तत्र, शत्यं नाम विविधतुणकाष्ठ-पाषाणपांशुलोहलोप्तास्थिवालनखपूयास्त्रावदुष्टव्यान्तर्गम्भेशल्योद्धरणा-र्थं घट्या विधानैः, यच्चशत्ताक्षाराद्विप्रणिधानव्यविनिश्चयार्थं च; शत्ताक्षं नामोर्ध्वंजनुगतानां श्रवणनयनवदनव्याणादिसंश्चितानां व्याधी-नामुपशमनार्थं; कायचिकित्सा नाम संवर्बाङ्गसंश्चितानां व्याधीनां ज्वर-रक्तपित्तशोषोन्मादापसारकुप्तमेहातिसारादीनामुपशमनार्थं; भूत-विद्या नाम देवौसुरगन्धवैष्यक्षरक्षःपितृपिशाचनौग्रहाद्युपस्त्रपृच्छेतसां शान्तिकर्मवलिहरणादिग्रहोपशमनार्थं; कौमारभूतं नाम कुमारभर-णधात्रीक्षीरदोपसंशोधनार्थं दुष्टस्तन्यग्रहसमुत्थिनां च व्याधीनामुप-शमनार्थम्; अगदतत्रं नाम सर्पकीटलूतामूष्पकादिदृष्टव्यञ्जनार्थं विविधविद्येसंयोगोपशमनार्थं च; रसायनतत्रं नाम वयःस्थापनमायुर्म-धावलंकरणं रोगापहरणसमर्थं च; वाजीकरणतत्रं नामावपदुष्टक्षीणशु-ष्करेतसामाप्यायैनप्रसादोपचयजनननिमित्तं प्रहर्षणजननार्थं च ॥ ६ ॥

शत्याङ्गविशेषात् ज्ञातुं प्रतिलक्षणं संक्षेपेणाह—अथासेत्यादि । एकमेकमहं प्रति लक्ष-णानां समाप्तः संक्षेपः प्रत्येकाङ्गलक्षणसमाप्तः । तृण्डीनां, तथा दुष्टव्यान्त-र्गत(भृशत्य)स्य उद्धरणार्थमिति प्रत्येकमुद्धरणशब्दः संवृद्ध्यते । दुष्टव्यान्तस्तुणाया-हरणार्थमिलन्त्ये । घट्या विधानैरिति द्वित्रणीयोक्तैरपत्तर्णणायै रक्षविधानान्तैः; दृश्यभूतलक्षणे तृतीया । जनु ग्रीवामूलं, जनुण ऊर्ध्वमूर्धजनु । ग्राणादील्यादिग्रहणचित्तरःकपालादिग्रह-णम् । उत्तरतत्रे प्रतिपादितकमप्राप्त्या ज्वरानन्तरमतीसारः पठितः, तस्यान्ते पाठोऽप्तिसा-स्य सर्वाङ्गीणदोपारब्धलात्, अन्येषामपि तन्मध्यपाठेन सर्वाङ्गीणदोपारब्धलप्रतिपादना-ध्यतिकर्म वदन्ति । शान्तिकर्म वलिहरणादिना ग्रहणां देवादीनामुपशमो यस्तदर्थं; यदि वा ग्रहणं ग्रहो देवानामावेशस्तुपशमार्थम् । दुष्टस्तन्यग्रहसमुत्थितानामिति दुष्टस्तन्येन

१ ‘सर्वशरीरावस्थितानां व्याधीनामुपशमकरणार्थं ज्वरशोफहुश्मरक्तपित्तोन्मादापसार-प्रमेहादीनामादीनां च’ इति ता । २ ‘देवदानव०’ इति ता । ३ ‘विनायकनाग्रहोप-स्त्रैचैतसां’ इति ता । ४ ‘विपवेगोपशमनार्थं’ इति ता । ५ ‘शुक्राप्यायन०’ इति ता । ६ ‘शुणादू-इति सु ।

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

The Printed Editions

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*.¹⁰⁷ 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 Ḏalhaṇa. 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 4).

Ācārya noted in his introduction that the manuscripts containing Ḏalhaṇa's commentary all came together with the root-text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, and thus the main *Suśrutasaṃhitā* text reflected the readings chosen by Ḏalhaṇa. 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 Ḏalhaṇa. In many of these cases it was hard to infer what readings Cakrapāṇidatta had before him. But Ācārya noted that Cakrapāṇidatta had a text before him that had much in common with the text of the Nepalese manuscript.¹⁰⁸

There is compelling evidence that Cakrapāṇidatta's *Bhānumatī* commentary once covered the whole text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.¹⁰⁹ 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.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ HIML: IA, 374–375 and IB, 495–496.

¹⁰⁸ Su 1939: 3–4. See discussion by Klebanov (2021b: 7).

¹⁰⁹ HIML: IA, 375.

¹¹⁰ Cordier 1903: 332.

The Manuscripts



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

The Manuscripts

Our edition is based on the textual evidence of three manuscripts. All three were produced in the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal and preserved in libraries there. Klebanov (2021a: §2.1) provided a comprehensive description of the individual manuscripts, quotes and translates their colophons and thoroughly examines various problems involved in their interpretation. That is why we will present only the key data essential for the study of our edition in the present paper. In referring to the manuscripts, we use the sigla K, N and H, which correspond to the initial letters in the names of the libraries and collection where the respective bundles were discovered.

Siglum K (Fig. 5) The MS has been preserved at the Kaiser Shamsher (KL) library in Kathmandu, accession number KL 699. It was microfilmed and catalogued by the NGMPP/ NGMCP as C 80-7.¹¹¹ The MS comprises 152 palm-leaf folios that originally belonged to several different codicological units written by different scribes.¹¹² 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.¹¹³ The MS is incomplete and contains a large part of the *Suśrutasamhitā* as well as the *Sauśrutanighaṇṭu*.¹¹⁴ The date stated in the colophon at the end of the compendium is verified for Sunday, April 13, 878 CE. However, some controversy is involved in interpreting the exact roles of two persons mentioned in the same

¹¹¹ See http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/C_80-7_Suśrutasamhitā (accessed on October 22, 2021).

¹¹² Bhattacharai (2020: 46) and Klebanov (2021a: 11) agree that four to five scribes were involved in the manuscript's production.

¹¹³ Codicological features of the manuscript, such as the layout, peculiarities of the script, various ornamental and text-dividing symbols and many more, were scrutinized in Bhattacharai (2020).

¹¹⁴ Klebanov (2021a: 11) provided a detailed description of the content.

The Manuscripts

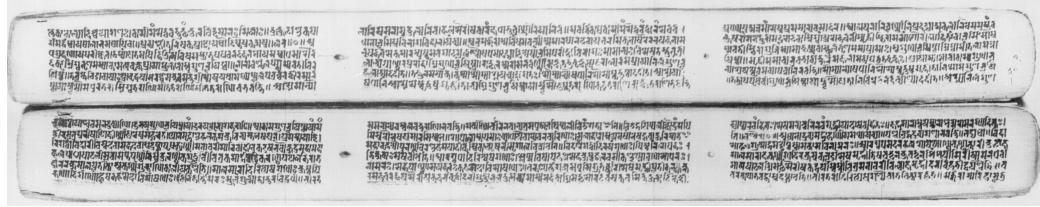


Figure 6: Folios 30r and 30v of MS Kathmandu National Archives 1-1079.

concluding remarks, someone called Śrī Harṣacandra and Vaidya Vasuvarman. Klebanov (2021a: 16) thinks that the former,

...either sponsored the copying enterprise or wrote the manuscript himself, [and that he subsequently] donated it to Vaidya Vasuvarman on the condition that he (Vasuvarman) would study the text and explain it to others. The second condition was that the manuscript should remain in the family and not be given away either for sale or as a pawn. If the manuscript sat unused, it should be returned to Śrī Harṣacandra.¹¹⁵

Siglum N (Fig. 6) This MS is kept at the National Archives Kathmandu (NAK), under accession number 1-1079 क. It was microfilmed twice by the NGMPP as A 45-5(1) and A 1267-11(2).¹¹⁶ 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 *sārīrasthāna*, the actual MS, as a codicological unit, appears complete, that is, no leaf seems to be missing from the originally unitary artefact. Based on paleographic considerations, the MS can be dated tentatively to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

¹¹⁵ Klebanov (2021a: 13–17) gave a translation and study of the colophon, as well as an exposition of different positions related to its interpretation.

¹¹⁶ See [\(accessed on October 22, 2021\)/](http://ngmcp.fdm.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A_45-5_(Suśrutasamhitā))

The Manuscripts

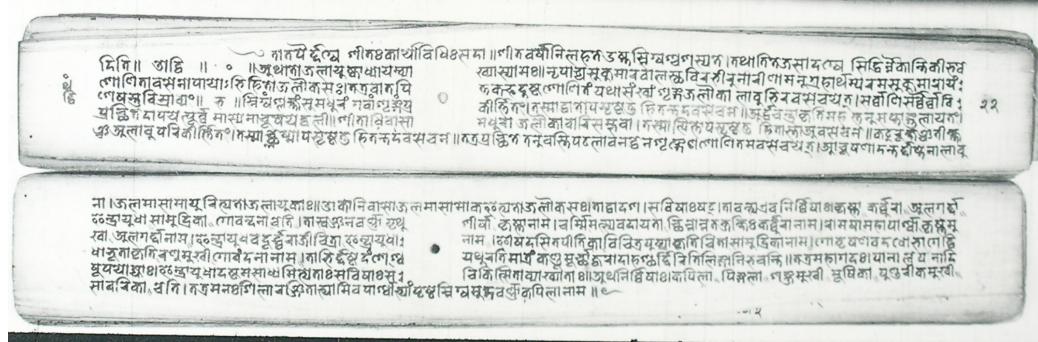


Figure 7: Folios 22v and 23r of MS Kathmandu National Archives 5-333.

Siglum H (Fig. 7) The MS belongs to the historical collection of Hemarāja Śarman (fl. 1878–1953) and is currently kept at the NAK under accession number NAK 5-333. It is microfilmed twice by the NGMPP as B 29-19 and B 30-15, but the latter microfilm is incomplete.¹¹⁷ The manuscript comprises 435 palm-leaf folios, 34 × 5 cm in size, with one string-hole in the middle. It is written in a type of Newari script that is more recent than the one used in N, with approximately six lines per folio. The MS is exceptionally well-preserved and complete, containing the text of the *Suśrutasamhitā* as well as the *Sauśrutanighāṇṭu*. The final colophon identifies the scribe of the MS as Vaidya Amarasimhaka, son of Kamaladatta, and states the date on which he concluded the copying of the text. Both reading, that is, deciphering the actual characters, and interpretation of the concerned passage involve diverging opinions, all of which concur, however, in assigning the MS to the sixteenth century. Klebanov (2021a: 21–26) gives an analytical account of the views expressed in literature, considers further options and puts forward his understanding that the MS was completed on Sunday, July 29, 1543 CE.

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

¹¹⁷ See http://ngmcp.fdm.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/B_29-19_Suśrutasamhitā (accessed on October 22, 2021).

Editorial Principles

Method

The data for the critical edition comes from the witnesses of the Nepalese version, which are MS KL 699, NAK 5-333 and NAK 1-1079. Diplomatic transcriptions of SS.1.16 of these manuscripts have been created by researchers of the [Suśruta Project](#) according to a subset of TEI Guidelines that has been formulated by Charles Li.¹¹⁸ MS NAK 5-333 was transcribed first because its script is relatively easy to read, the scans are clear, and it is the most complete of the manuscript witnesses. Following that, MS KL 699 and MS NAK 1-1079 were transcribed.

The diplomatic transcriptions were uploaded to Li's manuscript collation platform Saktumiva, chapter by chapter as they were completed. An electronic edition of the vulgate of the *Suśrutasamhitā*, that was transcribed, without the commentaries, by Tsutomu Yamashita and Yasutaka Muroya on the basis of Ācārya's 1931 and 1938 Bombay editions has also been included in the collation.¹¹⁹

Saktumiva's collation function standardises punctuation and orthographic variants according to filters which can be turned off or on. These filters enable the editors to ignore दण्ड, numbers and पुष्टिका in the transcripts, as well as orthographic variants, such as ब्र and व्र, certain germinated consonants, and विसर्ग 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 Dalhaṇa were read, and variant readings reported by these commentators were included in notes to the edition. Also, various reference books were consulted, such as Nadkarni (1954) and V. Jośī and N. H. Jośī (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

¹¹⁸ These guidelines are at <https://saktumiva.org/wiki/tei>, accessed 20/10/2021.

¹¹⁹ This electronic edition is also available on the SARIT website; <https://sarit.indology.info/susrutasamhita.xml?view=div>, accessed 20/8/2021. The version at Saktumiva has received several corrections and the intention is to merge these back into the SARIT version eventually.

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by Wujastyk during the seminars as the Project researchers discussed the text's meaning. The transcripts, provisional edition and translation were uploaded to the project's repository at Github on a weekly basis. Therefore, the project's work has been publicly available as it evolves. The software tools used in the project have been described on the project website.¹²⁰

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.¹²¹ This procedure was done with transcripts of several chapters of the Nepalese witnesses, and the results confirmed the editors' provisional stemmatic hypothesis that K and H are more closely related to one another than K and N.¹²² Given the early date of K and the small number of other surviving witnesses of the Nepalese version, the relationship between the manuscripts at our disposal is reasonably clear and, in the case of SS.1.16, the manuscript data was largely confined to N and H owing to a missing folio of K. Rather than have to assess numerous variant readings from a large number of witnesses, the challenge of editing has been to repair the text where it has become corrupt in the few witnesses available to us.

The Edition and Apparatus

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

The editors have assumed that the authors of the Nepalese *Suśrutasamhitā* were familiar with Pāṇinian Sanskrit and, although there are some

¹²⁰ <http://sushrutaproject.org>, consulted 15 September 2022.

¹²¹ 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.

¹²² See section 'Features of the Manuscript Transmission' for further discussion of this.

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non-standard spellings and grammatical forms in the text, there are very few instances of hyper-Sanskritization, Buddhist-hybrid Sanskrit or Epic forms that would suggest that this assumption is unreasonable. Therefore, the editors of SS.1.16 have opted to retain some unusual features of the Sanskrit in MS KL 699 when they are grammatically correct. For example, in external *sandhi*, the class nasal is usually used at the end of a word instead of an *anusvāra* (e.g., 1.16.3, °वाचनस्थात्र्य०), although the *anusvāra* is sometimes used (1.16.15, उदकं धान्याम्ल०). In most cases, the consonant following a रेफ is doubled, but this is not always the case.¹²³ Since these inconsistencies seem inherent to the transmission of the text and may have even been authorial, the critical edition reflects them as they occur in K and, when the testimony of K is not available, the witness most similar to K, which is H.

The Nepalese manuscripts often have an *anusvāra* before a दण्ड at the end of a sentence or verse. Whether these *anusvāras* should be changed to the consonant म् is a moot question because there is no Pāṇinian concept of ‘end-of-sentence’ and his rules on *sandhi* are contingent on the close contact of sounds (*samhitā*). However, it is reasonable to assume that at the end of a verse, paragraph or sentence the speakers would have paused for breath or thought, so *sandhi* should be applied, in which case a final *anusvāra* or class nasal of the following consonant is changed to म्. Nonetheless, this remains an assumption about how the text would be pronounced. Therefore, in a critical edition, inserting *dandas* and changing *anusvāras* to म् before them are subjective decisions by the editors. The scribal use of *dandas* and *anusvāras* in the Nepalese manuscripts can be seen in the digital edition if one switches off the filters for ignoring *dandas* and final *anusvāra* variants.

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

¹²³ Examples of the germination of consonants are कर्ण (1.16.1 ff), मुहूर्त (1.16.2), पूर्व (1.16.2), गन्धर्व (1.16.5), °मूलै॒ मधु० (1.16.5), वर्ति (1.16.6) and पुनर्विष्ट्येत् (1.16.6). Examples where it does not occur in 1.16 are °आर्थम् (1.16.8,19), कुर्यात् (1.16.16, 32), °पालिक्ष्मीर० (1.16.10); °पालिव्यायोजिमः (1.16.10) and दीर्घैक० (1.16.10).

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and the reasons for doing so are given in either the introduction or, in more specific cases, the annotations to the translation.

Printed Edition

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

१-७ अथातः – °विद्वलिङ्गम्] MSS K, H, and N

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

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

५ प्रतनुं] प्रतनू N H

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

The third layer of footnotes contains the variant readings of the vulgate, which have been presented in the same format as the second layer. If a reading of the vulgate has been accepted by the editors against different

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The screenshot shows a digital edition of a text. On the left, there is a line of text in a script font: "d SP, K = ūrvvan dakṣinām kumāra-". To the right of the text, there is a vertical stack of annotations. At the top is a purple bracket containing "A: tataḥ N, H: pratānū". Below this is a yellow bracket containing "A: [ADD] picuvartim A: [OM]". At the bottom is another yellow bracket containing "A: praveśayet ||".

Figure 8: The digital edition of SS.1.16.3

readings in the Nepalese witnesses, the siglum for the vulgate (i.e., A) has been placed next to lemma in the second layer of footnotes.

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

Digital Edition

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

For example, as seen in Figure 8, the apparatus for the words *pratanum sūcyā bahalam ārayā* is on the right side of the display. This entry means that the editors have chosen to read *pratanum*, which the reader must infer is attested by K, whereas A has *tataḥ* and N and H *pratānū*. Witness A has added the word *picuvartim* after *tataḥ*, omitted *sūcyā bahalam*,¹²⁴ and has *praveśayet* instead of *ārayā*, which is attested by all of the Nepalese witnesses.

A popup on a dark background, as shown in Figure 8, displays the manuscript sigla for the witnesses that support the selected reading. The positive apparatus can be expanded by highlighting with the cursor one or

¹²⁴ The omitted words are displayed by hovering the cursor over [OM] adjacent to A in the apparatus.

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

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

more words, and even entire passages or verses, and clicking on the collapsed menu icon. As seen in Figure 9, the positive apparatus of *pratanum sūcyā bahalam ārayā* appears in a pop-up window in which the lemma and variants are aligned according to letters, and the variations are highlighted in yellow.

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

Critical Edition of Sūtrasthāna 16

अथातः कर्णव्यधविधिं व्याख्यास्यामः ॥१॥

- रक्षाभूषणनिमित्तम् बालस्य कर्णौ व्यधयेत् । तौ षष्ठे मासे सप्तमे वा शुक्रपक्षे प्रशस्तेषु
तिथिकरणमुहूर्तनक्षत्रेषु कृतमङ्गलस्वस्तिवाचनं^१ धात्र्यङ्के कुमारम्
उपवेश्याभिसान्त्वयमानो^२ भिषग् वामहस्तेनाकृष्य कर्णन् दैवकृते छिद्रे दक्षिणहस्तेन
५ ऋजु विघ्नेत् । दक्षिणं कुमारस्य वामङ् कन्यायाः । प्रतनुं सूच्या बहलम् आरया ॥२॥
- शोणितबहुत्वे ऽतिवेदनायां चान्यदेशविद्धम् इति जानीयात् । निरुपद्रवता
तदेशविद्धलिङ्गम् ॥३॥
- तत्र यद्यच्छाविद्धायां सिरायाम् अज्ञेन
ज्वरदाहश्वयथुवेदनाग्रन्थिमन्यास्तम्भापतानकशिरोग्रहकर्णशूलानि भवन्ति ॥४॥
- १० दोषसमुदयाद् अप्रशस्तव्यधाद् वा तत्र वर्त्तिम् अपहृत्य

१--७ अथातः--०विद्धलिङ्गम्] MSS K, H, and N

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

^१ व्याख्यास्यामः] व्या K. ^२ सप्तमे] om. N. ^३ ०मङ्गलस्वस्तिवाचनं] A; ०मङ्गलं स्वस्तिवाचनं K, H, N. ^३ धात्र्यङ्के] धात्र्यङ्के K. ^३ कुमारम्] कुमारकम् N. ^५ ऋजु] जुम् N H. ^५ प्रतनुं] प्रतनू N H. ^९ ०श्वयथु०] em.; ०श्वयथु० N; ०श्वयथु० H.

^१ कर्णव्यधविधिं] कर्णव्यधवन्धविधिम् अध्यायं A. ^१ व्याख्यास्यामः] add. यथोवाच भगवान् धन्वन्तरिः ॥ A. ^२ व्यधयेत्] विघ्नेते A. ^२ मासे] मासि A. ^३ धात्र्यङ्के] add. कुमारधराङ्के वा A. ^४ उपवेश्याभिसान्त्वयमानो] उपवेश्य बालकीडनकैः प्रलोभ्याभिसान्त्वयन् A. ^४ कर्णन्] कर्ण A. ^४ छिद्र] छिद्र A. ^४ छिद्रे] add. आदित्यकरावभासिते शनैः शनैर् A. ^५ ऋजु] जुर् A. ^५ विघ्नेत्] add. प्रतनुकं सूच्या बहलम् आरया A. ^५ कन्यायाः] कुमार्याः A. ^५ आरया] add. ततः पिच्चवर्ति प्रवेशयेत् ॥ A. ^६ बहुत्वे] बहुत्वेन A. ^६ ऽतिवेदनायां] वेदनया A. ^६ ०द्रवता] ०द्रवतया A. ^७ ०विद्धलिङ्गम्] ०विद्धम् इति A. ^८ तत्र] तत्राज्ञेन A. ^८ यद्यच्छाविद्धायां] यद्यच्छया विद्धासु A. ^८ सिरायाम्] सिरासु A. ^८ सिरायाम्] add. कालिकामर्मरिकालोहितिकासूपद्रवा भवन्ति । तत्र कालिकायां A. ^९ ज्वर०] ज्वरो ^९ ०दाह०] दाहः ^९ ०श्वयथु०] श्वयथुर् A. ^९ ०वेदना०] add. च भवति मर्मरिकायां वेदना ज्वरो A. ^९ ०ग्रन्थि०] ग्रन्थयश् A. ^९ ०ग्रन्थि०] add. च लोहितिकायां A. ^९ भवन्ति] add. तेषु यथास्वं प्रतिकुर्वीत ॥ क्षिणिद्विषाप्रशस्तसूचीव्यधाद् गाढतरवर्तित्वाद् A. ^{१०} वा] add. यत्र संरम्भो वेदना वा भवति A. ^{१०} अपहृत्य] उपहृत्याशु A.

^१The compound कृतमङ्गलस्वस्तिवाचनं is an emendation based on the similar text at Su.śā.3.2.25.

^२The ātmanepada participle is a permitted form, although the vulgate has the parasmaipada. Dalhaṇa records the alternative reading भक्ष्यविशेषैर् वा before बालकीडनकैः प्रलोभ्य in the vulgate.

यवमधुकमञ्जिष्ठागन्धर्वहस्तमूलैर् म्मधुघृतप्रगाहैर् आलेपयेत् । सुरुद्धज् चैनम् पुनर् विघ्येत् ॥५॥^३

सम्यग्विद्धम् आमतैलपरिषेकेणोपचरेत् । त्र्यहात् त्र्यहाद् वर्त्ति स्थूलतरीङ्^४ कुर्वीत परिषेकज् च तम् एव ॥६॥

५ अथ व्यपगतदोषोपद्रवे कर्ण्ण॑ इलंप्रवर्द्धनार्थं लघुप्रवर्द्धनकम् आमुच्चेत् ॥७॥

एवं सम्वर्द्धितः कर्ण्णश् छिद्यते तु द्विधा नृणाम् ।
दोषतो वाभिघाताद् वा सन्धानान् तस्य मे शृणु ॥८॥

१० तत्र समासेन पञ्चदशसन्धानाकृतयो भवन्ति ।^५ तद् यथा । नेमीसन्धानकः ।
उत्पलभेद्यकः । वल्लूरकः । आसङ्गिमः । गण्डकर्ण्णः । आहार्यः । निर्वैधिमः ।
व्यायोजिमः । कपाटसन्धिकः । अर्द्धकपाटसन्धिकः । सञ्ज्ञिसः । हीनकर्ण्णः ।
वल्लीकर्ण्णः । यष्टीकर्ण्णः । काकौष्ठः । इति । तेषु तत्र पृथुलायतसमोभयपालिर्
नेमीसन्धानकः । वृत्तायतसमोभयपालिर् उत्पलभेद्यकः । हस्ववृत्तसमोभयपालिर्
वल्लूरकर्ण्णकः । अभ्यन्तरदीर्घैकपालिर् आसङ्गिमः । बाह्यदीर्घैकपालिर् गण्डकर्ण्णकः

^१ ०गन्धर्वहस्तमूलैर्] ०गन्धर्वहस्तमूलै N. ^३ ०परिषेकेणोप०] ०परिषेकेणोप० H. ^३ ०तरीङ्] ०तरी N ^५ लघुप्रवर्द्धनकम्] ल् प्रवर्द्धनकम् N; प्रवर्द्धनकम् मै॒ H. ^५ आमुच्चेत्] em.; मुच्चेत् N H. ^६ नृणाम्] नृणा N. ^७] A; दोषटो N H. ^८ ०सन्धाना०] ०सन्धा० N. ^{१०} अर्द्धकपाटसन्धिकः] om. N. ^{११} काकौष्ठः] काकौष्ठमः H. ^{११} इति] ति H. ^{११} ०यतसमो०] A; ०यसमो० H; ०तसमो० N. ^{१२} ०भेद्यः] ०भेद्यः N; ०भेदकः H. ^{१३} वल्लूर०] वल्लूर० N. ^{१३} बाह्य] A; बाह्यक N H.

^१ यवमधुक०] मधुकैरण्डमूल० A. ^१ ०मञ्जिष्ठागन्धर्वहस्तमूलैर्] ०मञ्जिष्ठायवतिलकल्कैर् A. ^१ आलेपयेत्] add. तावद् यावत् सुरुद्ध इति ॥ A. ^२ विघ्येत्] add. विघ्यानं तु पूर्वोक्तम् एव ॥ A. ^३ सम्यग०] तत्र सम्यग० A. ^३ आमतैलपरिषेकेणोपचरेत्] आमतैलेन परिषेचयेत् A. ^३ त्र्यहाद्] add. च A. ^३ ०तरीङ्] ०तरां A ^३ कुर्वीत] दद्यात् A. ^५ इलंप्रवर्द्धनार्थं] ओम् A. ^५ लघुप्रवर्द्धनकम्] लघुव० A ^५ आमुच्चेत्] कुर्यात् ॥ A. ^६ सम्वर्द्धितः] विवर्धितः A. ^७ सन्धानान्] सन्धानं A. ^८ ०दशसन्धानाकृतयो] ०दशकर्णवन्धाकृतयः A. ^८ भवन्ति] om. A. ^८ नेमी०] नेमि० A. ^{१०} ०सन्धिकः] अर्द्ध०] ०सन्धिको इद्ध०A ^{११} यष्टी०] यष्टिं० A. ^{११} काकौष्ठः] काकौष्ठक A. ^{११} तत्र] om. A. ^{१२} नेमी०] नेमि० A. ^{१३} वल्लूर०] वल्लूरकः A.

^३Dalhaṇa (1.16.6) stated that some do not read सुरुद्धज् चैनम् पुनर् विघ्येत्.

^४The unusual form स्थूलतरी is supported by both manuscripts and we have retained it in spite of only meagre evidence for the form in epic Sanskrit.

^५Cakrapāṇi (1.16.9–13) and Dalhaṇa (1.16.10) pointed out that others read पञ्चदशकर्णकृतयः (instead of पञ्चदशसन्धानाकृतयः). Dalhaṇa (1.16.10) also mentioned that some read समुन्नतसमोभयपालिः (instead of वृत्तायतसमोभयपालिर्) and others do not read संक्षिप्तादयः पञ्चासाद्याः.

। अपालिर् उभयतोऽप्य् आहार्यः । पीठोपमपालिर् निर्वेधिमः ।
 अणुस्थूलसमविषमपालिर् व्यायोजिमः । अभ्यन्तरदीर्घैकपालिर् इतराल्पपालिः
 कपाटसन्धिकः । बाह्यदीर्घैकपालिर् इतराल्पपालिश् चार्द्धकपाटसन्धिकः । तत्रैते
 दशकर्ण्णसन्धिविकल्पा बन्ध्या भवन्ति । तेषान् नामभिर् एवाकृतयः प्रायेण व्याख्याताः
 ५ । संक्षिप्तादयः पञ्चासाध्याः । तत्र शुष्कशङ्कुलिर् इतराल्पपालिः संक्षिप्तः ।
 अनधिष्ठानपालिः पर्यन्तयोश् च क्षीणमांसो हीनकर्ण्णः । तनुविषमपालिर् वल्लीकर्ण्णः
 ६ । ग्रन्थितमांसः स्तब्धसिराततसूक्ष्मपालिर् यष्टीकर्ण्णः ।
 निर्मासंक्षिप्ताग्राल्पशोणितपालिः काकौष्ठ इति । बद्धेष्व् अपि दाहपाकस्वावशोफयुक्ता
 न सिद्धिम् उपयान्ति ॥९॥^६

१०

अतोऽन्यतमस्य बन्ध्यज् चिकीर्षुः अग्रोपहरणीयोक्तोपसम्भृतसम्भारः विशेषतश्
 चात्रोपहरेत्^७ सुरामण्डक्षीरम् उदकं धान्यामूकपालचूर्णंज् चेति । ततोऽङ्गनां पुरुषम्

१ उभयतोऽप्य] उभयतो प्य N. २ अणुस्थूल०] अशुस्थूल० H ३ कपाट०] कवाटा० H. ३ चार्द्धकपाट०]
 em.; चार्द्धकवाट० H; चार्द्धकवाप० N. ६ पर्यन्तयोश् च] om. N. ७ ग्रन्थितमांसः] ०ग्रन्थितमान्सः N H. ८
 निर्मास०] A; निमास० N; निर्मान्स० H. ९ ०साव०] ०श्राव० H. १० ०शोफ०] ०सोफ० N. ११ अतो] ततो
 N. ११ ०पहरणीयो०] ०पसंहरणीयो० N. १२ चात्रोपहरेत्] A; चात्रोपहरणीयात् N H. १२ पुरुषम्] पुरुषज्
 N.

१ पीठोपमपालिर्] add. उभयतः क्षीणपुत्रिकाश्रितो A. २ अणुस्थूल०] स्थूलाणु० A. ३ चार्द्ध०] अर्ध० A. ३
 तत्रैते] तत्र A. ४ दशकर्ण्णसन्धिविकल्पा] दशैते कर्णवन्ध्यविकल्पाः A. ४ बन्ध्या भवन्ति] साध्याः A. ४ तेषान्] तेषां A.
 ५ नामभिर्] स्वनामभिर् A. ५ शुष्कशङ्कुलिर्] add. उत्सन्धपालिर् A. ६ च] om. A. ६ ०षमपालिर्]
 ०षमाल्पपालिर् A. ७ ग्रन्थितमांसः] ग्रन्थितमांस० A. ७ ०सिराततसूक्ष्म०] ०सिरासंततसूक्ष्म० A. ८ काकौष्ठ]
 काकौष्ठक A. ९ अपि] add. तु शोफ A. १० ०दाह०] add. ०राग० A. ११ ०पाक०] add. ०पिडका० A. १२
 ०शोफ०] om. A. १० inserted passage] भवन्ति चात्र । यस्य पालिद्वयम् अपि कर्णस्य न भवेद् इह । कर्णपीठं समे
 मव्ये तस्य विच्छा विवर्धयेत् ॥ बाह्यायाम् इह दीर्घायां सन्धिर् आभ्यन्तरो भवेत् । आभ्यन्तरायां दीर्घायां बाह्यसन्धिर् उदाहृतः
 ॥ एकैव तु भवेत् पालिः स्थूला पृथ्वी स्थिरा च या । तां द्विधा पाटयित्वा तु छित्ता चोपरि सन्धयेत् ॥ गण्डाद् उत्पात्य मांसेन
 सानुवन्ध्येन जीवता । कर्णपालीम् आपालेस् तु कुर्यान् निर्लिख्य शास्त्रवित् ॥ A. ११ ऽन्यतमस्य] ऽन्यतमं A. ११
 ०सम्भारः] ०सम्भारं A. १२ सुरामण्डक्षीरम्] सुरामण्ड क्षीरम् A. १२ धान्यामूकपाल०] धान्यामूकं कपाल० A.

^७The vulgate passage inserted between 9 and 10 (from भवन्ति चात्र to शास्त्रवित) was probably also absent in the version of the *Suśrutasanīhitā* commented on by Cakrapāṇi, who cited it in his commentary as being “read by some” in regard to the joins (सन्ध्यान) that they describe.

^८विशेषतश् चात्रोपहरणीयात् of the MSS has been emended to विशेषतश् चात्रोपहरेत् to make sense of the list of ingredients, which is in the accusative case. Also, the repetition of अग्रोपहरणीयात् in the Nepalese version suggests that its second occurrence, which does not make good sense here, is a dittographic error.

वा ग्रथितकेशान्तं लघुभुक्तवन्तम् आसैः सुपरिगृहीतं च कृत्वा बन्धान् उपधार्य
 छेद्यभेद्यलेख्यव्यधनैर् उपपाद्य कर्णणशोणितम् अवेक्ष्यैतद् दुष्टम् अदुष्टम् वेति ततो
 वातदुष्टे धान्याम्लोदकाभ्यां पित्तदुष्टे शीतोदकपयोभ्यां श्लेष्मदुष्टे सुरामण्डोदकाभ्यां
 प्रक्षाल्य कर्णम् पुनर् अवलिखेत् । अनुन्नतम् अहीनम् अविषमज् च कर्णसन्धिन्
 ५ निवेश्य स्थितरक्तं सन्दर्श्य मधुघृतेनाभ्यज्य पिचुप्लोतयोर् अन्यतरेणावगुण्ठ्य
 नातिगाढन् नातिशिथिलं सूत्रेणावबध्य कपालचूर्णेनावकीर्याचारिकम् उपदिशेत् ।
 द्विवर्णीयोक्तेन चान्नेनोपचरेत् ॥१०॥

विघट्टनन् दिवास्वमं व्यायामम् अतिभोजनम् ।
 व्यवायम् अग्निसन्तापम् वाक्श्रमज् च विवर्जयेत् ॥११॥

१० नातिशुद्धरक्तम् अतिप्रवृत्तरक्तं क्षीणरक्तं वा सन्दध्यात् । स हि वातदुष्टे रक्तबद्धो इरुद्धो
 परिपुटनवान् भवति । पित्तदुष्टे गाढपाकरागवान् । श्लेष्मदुष्टे स्तव्यकर्णः कण्डूमान्
 अतिप्रवृत्तस्वावः शोफवान् क्षीणाल्पमांसो न वृद्धिम् उपैति ॥१२॥

स यदा रुद्धो निरुपद्रवः कर्णो भवति तदैनं शनैः शनैर् अभिवर्द्धयेत् । अन्यथा
 संरम्भदाहपाकवेदनावान् भवति । पुनर् अपि छिद्येत् ॥१३॥

१ च कृत्वा] A; om. N H. १ उपधार्य] उपपाद्य H. २ ०शोणितम् अवेक्ष्यैतद्] ०शोणितत अवेक्ष्येतद् N. २
 अदुष्टम्] अदुष्टश N. २ वेति] A; चेति N H. ३ धान्याम्लो] धान्याम्लो० N ३ शीतोदको० N.
 ४ अवलिखेत्] अवलिखेत N. ४ ०सन्धिन्] ०सन्धिं N ५ ०गुण्ठ्य] ०गुण्ठ्यो H. ६ ०गाढन्] ०गाढं N. ६
 ०वध्य] ०वद्ध N. ७ चान्नेनोपचरेत्] उपपाचरेत् N. ८ inserted passage] add. || भ ॥ N. ८ विघट्टनन्]
 विघट्टनं N. ९ अग्निसन्तापम्] आग्निसन्ताप N. ९ विवर्जयेत्] वर्जयेत् N. १० ०शुद्ध०] ०शुद्ध० N. १०
 ०वृत्तरक्तं] ०वृत्तं रक्तं N. १० रक्तबद्धो इरुद्धो] em.; रक्तबद्धो रुद्धो H. ११ ०पुटनवान्] ०पुटवाम्
 N; ०पुटनवाम् H. ११ ०दुष्टे] दुष्टै० N. ११ श्लेष्म०] श्लेष० N. ११ ०कर्णः] ०वर्णः N. १२ ०स्वावः]
 ०स्वावः H. १२ क्षीणाल्प्य०] क्षीणो ल्प्य० N. १३ रुद्धो] रुद्धो N. १४ ०पाकवेदनावान्] ०पाकरागवेदनावान् N;
 ०पाकवेदनावाम् H.

१ बन्धम् A. २ ०व्यधनैर्] add. उपपन्नैर् A. २ अवेक्ष्यैतद्] अवेक्ष्य A. २ ततो] तत्र A. ३
 धान्याम्लोदकाऽ०] धान्याम्लोग्नोदकाऽ० A. ३ ०मण्डोदकाऽ०] ०मण्डोग्नोदकाऽ० A. ४ कर्णम्] कर्णो A. ४ अवलिखेत्
 । अनुन्नतम्] अवलिख्यानुन्नतम् A. ४ ०सन्धिन्] ०सन्धिं A ५ निवेश्य] सन्धिवेश्य A. ५ सन्दध्यात् A.
 ५ सन्दर्श्य] add. ततो A. ६ नातिगाढन्] सूत्रेणावगाढमन् A. ६ नातिं] अतिं A. ६ सूत्रेणावबध्य] च बद्धा
 A. ७ चान्नेनोपचरेत्] च विधानेनोपचरेत् A. ८ inserted passage] भवति चात्र | A. ८ विघट्टनन्] विघट्टनं A.
 १० नातिं] न चाशु० A. १० रक्तबद्धो इरुद्धो] रक्ते रुद्धो० पि A. ११ भवति] om. A. ११ गाढपाकरागवान्]
 दाहपाकरागवेदनावान् A. ११ स्तव्य०] स्तव्यः A. १२ ०वृत्तस्वावः शोफवान्] ०वृत्तरक्ते श्यावशोफवान् A. १२
 क्षीणाल्प्य०] क्षीणो इल्प्य० A. १३ inserted passage] आमतैलेन त्रिरात्रं परिषेचयेत् त्रिरात्राच् च पिचुं परिवर्तयेत्।
 A. १३ रुद्धो] सुरुद्धो A. १३ कर्णो] सवर्णो A. १३ अन्यथा] अतो इन्यथा A. १४ ०पाकवेदनावान्]
 ०पाकरागवेदनावान् A. १४ भवति] om. A. १४ अपि] om. A. १४ छिद्येत्] छिद्यते वा A.

अथाप्रदुष्टस्याभिवर्द्धनार्थम् अभ्यङ्गः । गोधाप्रतुदविष्किरानूपौदकवसामज्जापयस्तैलं
गौरसर्षपजज् च यथालाभं
संभृत्याकार्लक्वलातिवलानन्ताविदारीमधुकजलशूकप्रतिवापन् तैलम् पाचयित्वा
स्वनुगुप्तन् निदध्यात् ॥१४॥^५

स्वेदितो मर्दितङ् कर्णम् अनेन ग्रक्षयेद् बुधः ।
ततो ऽनुपद्रवः सम्यग् बलवांश् च विवर्द्धते ॥१५॥^६

ये तु कर्णा न वर्द्धन्ते स्नेहस्वेदोपपादिताः ।
तेषाम् अपाङ्गे त्व अबहिः कुर्यात् प्रछानम् एव च ॥१६॥^७

आमिताः कर्णबन्धास् तु विज्ञेयाः कुशलैर् इह ।

^१ अथाप्र०] अथास्याः प्र० H. ^१ ०दुष्टस्याभिवर्द्धनार्थम्] ०दुष्टस्याविवर्द्धनार्थम् N. ^३ ०आर्कार्लक्वलातिं] ०आर्का-
लक्वलातिं N. ^३ ०प्रतिवापन्] ०प्रतिवापं N. ^४ ०गुप्तन्] ०गुप्तं N. ^४ ०निदध्यात्] निदध्यात् N. ^५ स्वेदितो]
स्वेदितो N. ^५ अनेन] अने X N. ^६ ततो ऽनुपद्रवः] ततो नुपद्रवः H; ततो नुपद्रवम् N. ^८ अबहिः] अवर्हि N.
^८ कुर्यात्] कुयात् N. ^८ प्रछानम्] प्रछन्नम् H. ^८ तेषाम्...॥१६॥] om. K. ^९ ०बन्धास्] ०बन्धो H. ^९
रु] स्तु H.

^१ अथाप्र०] अथास्याप्र० A. ^१ अभ्यङ्गः] add. तद् यथा A. ^१ ०मज्जापयस्तैलं] ०मज्जानौ पयः सर्पिस् तैलं A.
^३ ०बलानन्तां] ०बलानन्तापामार्गाश्वगन्धा A. ^३ ०विदारीमधुकजलशूक०] ०विदारिगन्धाक्षीरशुक्काजलशूकमधुरवर्ग-
पयस्या० ^३ ०प्रतिवापन्] ०प्रतिवापं A. ^३ तैलम्] add. वा A. ^४ ०गुप्तन्] ०गुप्तं A. ^५ स्वेदितो मर्दितङ्] स्वेदितोमर्दितं A.
^५ अनेन ग्रक्षयेद् बुधः] स्नेहनैतेन योजयेत् A. ^७ inserted passage] यवाश्वगन्धायष्टाहैस् ति-
लैश् चोद्वर्तनं हितम् । शतावर्यश्वगन्धाभ्यां पयस्यैर् अण्डजीवनैः ॥ तैलं विपक्षं सक्षीरम् अभ्यङ्गात् पालिवर्धनम् । A. ^७
स्नेहस्वेदोप०] स्वेदस्नेहोप० A. ^८ अपाङ्गे त्व अबहिः] अपाङ्गदेशो तु A. ^८ च] तु A. ^९ inserted passage]
वाद्यच्छेदं न कुर्वीत व्यापदः स्युस् ततो ध्रुवाः ॥ बद्धमात्रं तु यः कर्ण सहस्रैवाभिवर्धयेत् । आमकोशी समाध्यातः क्षिप्रम् एव
विमुच्यते ॥ A.

^५ Dalhaṇa (1.16.18) noted that some read राजसर्षपजं in the place of गौरसर्षपजं. This reading appears to have been accepted by Cakrapāṇi (1.16.18–20), who glosses राजसर्षपज as श्वेतसर्षप. Cakrapāṇi also said that some read sarpis in the place of पयस्. In the compound beginning with अर्क, Dalhaṇa noted that some read अर्कपुष्पी.

^६ N has a काकपाद after अने, but the missing letter (one would expect 'न') has not been supplied in a margin or elsewhere.

^७ Dalhaṇa (1.16.23) noted that some read तेषाम् अपाङ्गच्छेदं हि कार्यम् आभ्यन्तरं भवेत्.

यो यथा सुनिविष्टः स्यात् तत् तथा योजयेद् भिषक् ॥१७॥ ११

जातरोमा सुवर्त्मा च क्षिष्टसन्धिः समः स्थिरः ।
सुरुद्धो ऽवेदनो यस् तु तं कर्णं वर्द्धयेच् छनैः ॥१८॥

विशेषितायाम् अथ नासिकायां
वक्ष्यामि सन्धानविधिं यथावत् ।
नासाप्रमाणं पृथिवीरुहाणां
पत्रं गृहीत्वा त्वं अवलम्ब्व तस्य ॥१९॥ १२

तेन प्रमाणेन हि गण्डपार्धाद्
उत्कृत्य वध्रं त्वं अथ नासिकाग्रम् ।
विलिख्य चाशु प्रतिसन्दधीत

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१ योजयेद्] योजये N. २ सुवर्त्मा] सुपर्मा N; सुवर्मा H. २ ०सन्धिः] ०सन्धिम् N. ३ तु] em.; तत् N H.
४ नासिकायां] नासिकाया N. ६ ०प्रमाणं] ०प्रमाण० N. ६ ०वीरुहाणां] ०वीरुहाणम् N. ७ पत्रं] पत्र N. ९
वध्रं] वध्र H.

१ सुनिविष्टः] सुविशिष्टः A. १ स्यात्] तं A. १ योजयेद् भिषक्] विनियोजयेत् A. १ *inserted passage*]
(कर्णपाल्यामयान् नृणां पुनर् वक्ष्यामि सुश्रुत ! || कर्णपाल्यां प्रकुपिता वातपित्तकफास् त्रयः ॥ १ ॥ द्विघा वा ऽप्य् अथ
संसृष्टाः कुर्वन्ति विविधा रुजः । विस्कोटः स्तव्यता शोफः पाल्यां दोषे तु वातिके दाहविस्फोटजननं शोफः पाकश् च पैत्तिके
। कण्डूः सध्ययथुः स्तम्भो गुरुत्वं च कफात्मके ॥ ३ ॥ यथादोषं च संशोध्य कुर्यात् तेषां चिकित्सितम् । स्वेदाभ्यङ्गपरीषेकैः
प्रलेपासृग्विमोक्षणैः ॥ ४ ॥ मृद्धीं क्रियां वृंहणीयैर् यथास्वं भोजनैसू तथा । य एवं वेत्ति दोषाणां चिकित्सां कर्तुम् अर्हति ॥ ५ ॥
अत ऊर्ध्वं नामलिङ्गैर् वक्ष्ये पाल्याम् उपद्रवान् ॥ अत्पाटकश् चोत्पुटकः श्यावः कण्डूयुतो भृशम् ॥ ६ ॥ अवमन्थः सकण्डूको
ग्रन्थिको जम्बुलस् तथा ॥ स्वावी च दाहवांशं चैव शृण्व एवां क्रमशः क्रियाम् ॥ ७ ॥ अपामार्गः सर्जरसः पाटलालकुचत्वचौ
॥ उत्पाटके प्रलेपः स्यात् तैलम् एभिश् च पाचयेत् ॥ ८ ॥ शम्पाकशिशुपूतीकान् गोदामेदो ऽथ तद्वसाम् ॥ वाराहं गव्यम्
एणेयं पित्तं सर्पिश् च संसृजेत् ॥ ९ ॥ लेपम् उत्पुटके दद्यात् तैलम् एभिश् च साधितम् ॥ गौरीं सुगन्धां सश्यामाम् अनन्तां
तण्डुलीयकम् १० श्यावे प्रलेपनं दद्यात् तैलम् एभिश् च साधितम् ॥ पाठां रसाञ्जनं क्षीद्रं तथा स्याद् उण्णकाङ्गिकम् ११ दद्याल्
लेपं सकण्डूके तैलम् एभिश् च साधितम् ॥ व्रणीभूतस्य देयं स्याद् इदं तैलं विजानता ॥ १२ ॥ मयुकक्षीरकाकोलीजीवकाद्यैर्
विपाचितम् ॥ गोधावराहसर्पाणां वसाः स्युः कृतबृंहणे ॥ १३ ॥ प्रलेपनम् इदं दद्याद् अवसिच्यावमन्थके ॥ प्रपौण्डरीकं मधुकं
समझां धवम् एव च ॥ १४ ॥ तैलम् एभिश् च संपकं शृणु कण्डूमतः क्रियाम् ॥ सहदेवा विश्वदेवा अजाक्षीरं ससैन्ध्यवम् एतैर्
आलेपनं दद्यात् तैलम् एभिश् च साधितम् ॥ १५ ॥ ग्रन्थिके गुटिकां पूर्वं स्वावयेद् अवपाट्य तु ॥ ततः सैन्धवचूर्णं तु घृष्णा लेपं
प्रदापयेत् ॥ १६ ॥ लिखित्वा तत्सृतं घृष्णा चर्णैर् लोग्रस्य जम्बुले ॥ क्षीरणं प्रतिसार्यैनं शुद्धं संरोपयेत् ततः ॥ १७ ॥ मयुपर्णीं
मधूकं च म मधुकं मधुना सह ॥ लेपः स्वाविणि दातव्यस् तैलम् एभिश् च साधितम् १८ पञ्चवल्कैः समधुकैः पिष्टैस् तैश्च
घृतान्वितैः ॥ जीवकाद्यैः सर्पिष्कैर् दद्यामानं प्रलेपयेत् ॥ १९ ॥) A. ३ यस्] च A. ४ विशेषितायाम्] विशेषितायास्
त्वा A. ४ नासिकायां] नासिकाया A. ९ वध्रं] वध्रं A.

^{११}Dalhana (1.16.26) stated that some read सुनिविष्टः (the reading of the Nepalese version) instead of सुविशिष्टः.

^{१२}Cakrapāṇidatta said that others read नासासन्धानविधिम् here. Dalhana (1.16.27–31) stated that some read, छिन्नां तु नासिकां द्वां वयःस्थस्य शरीरिणः । नासानुरूपं संच्छिद्य पत्रं गण्डे निवेशयेत् ॥

तं साधुबद्धम् भिषग् अप्रमत्तः ॥२०॥

सुसीवितं सम्यग् अतो यथावन्
नाडीद्वयेनाभिसमीक्ष्य नह्येत् ।
उन्नामयित्वा त्व अवचूर्ण्यीत
पत्ताङ्गयष्टीमधुकाञ्जनैश्च ॥२१॥

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संछाय सम्यक् पिचुना ब्रणन् तु
तैलेन सिंचेद् असकृत् तिलानाम् ।
घृतज् च पाय्यः स नरः सुजीर्णे
स्निग्धो विरेच्यः स्वयथोपदेशम् ॥२२॥

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रुद्धज् च सन्धानम् उपागतं वै
तद्वधशेषं तु पुनर् निकृन्तेत् ।
हीनम् पुनर् वर्द्धयितुं यतेत
समज् च कुर्याद् अतिवृद्धमांसम्
॥२३॥ इति ओम् ॥

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१ ऋद्धम्] ०वद्ध० N. २ सुसीवितं] em.; सुसीवित N; सुशीवितं H. २-५ सुसीवित... ॥२१॥] om. K. ५ पत्ताङ्ग०] em.; पत्ताङ्ग० H; पत्ताङ्ग० N. ६ ब्रणन् तु] ब्रण तुन् N. ९ विरेच्यः] A; विरेच्य N H. ९ ०देशम्] ०देशः N. १० सन्धानम्] सन्धाम् N. १० उपागतं] उपागतश् H. १० वै] चै H. ११ ०शेषं] ०सेषन् N. १२ यतेत] यतेतः N. १३ ०मांसम्] ०मान्सम् N. १४ ओम्] om. N. १०-१४ रुद्धज्...ओम्] om. K.

१ तं] तत् A. १ ०वद्धम्] ०वन्धैर् A. २ सुसीवितं] सुसंहितं A. ३ नह्येत्] बद्धा A. ४ उन्नामयित्वा] प्रोन्नम्य चैनाम् A. ४ अवचूर्ण्यीत] अवचूर्ण्येत् तु ५ पत्ताङ्ग०] पत्ताङ्ग० A. ६ ब्रणन् तु] सितेन A. ९ स्वयथो०] स यथो० A. १० वै] स्यात् A. ११ तद्वध०] तद् अर्ध० A १२ हीनम्] हीनां A. १३ समज्] समां A. १३ ०मांसम्] ०मांसाम् A. १४ ओम्] om. A. १५ inserted passage] नाडीयोगं विनौष्ठस्य नासासन्धानवद् विधिम् | य एवम् एव जानीयात् स राज्ञः कर्तुम् अर्हति ॥ A.

Translation of Sūtrasthāna 16

- 1 Now we shall expound the method for piercing the ear.¹²⁵
- 2 One may pierce a child's ears for the purpose of preserving and decorating. During the bright fortnight, when the child is in the sixth or seventh month, on renowned days, half days, hours and constellations, the physician, with a calming presence, sits the boy, who has received a benediction and the recitation of a blessing,¹²⁶ on the lap of a wet-nurse.¹²⁷ Then, he should pull the ear with his left hand and pierce straight through with his right hand at a naturally-occurring cleft.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ The topic of piercing the ear (कन्धनव्यध) is not discussed in the *Carakasamhitā* (HIML: IB, 326, n. 175), but it is mentioned in some texts that followed the *Suśrutasamhitā*, such as the *Kaśāpyasamhitā* (HIML: IIA, 30). Also, the instrument for piercing the ear is described in the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā* 1.26.26 (Ah 1939: 321). In the versions of the text known to Ḏalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76) and Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 125), the heading of this chapter is “the method of piercing and joining the ear” (कर्णव्यधबन्धविधि), instead of the Nepalese version’s “the method of piercing the ear” (कर्णव्यधविधि). The topic of joining the ear (कर्णबन्ध) is discussed in passages 17–20 of the Nepalese version. However, it appears that only subsequent redactors reflected its importance by including it in chapter headings.

The Nepalese version also omits the opening remark on Dhanvantari that appears in subsequent versions of the text. For a discussion of the frame story in the Nepalese version, see Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. 2021. Ḏalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76) and Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 125) state that only the ears of healthy people should be pierced, and they quote the lost authority Bhoja to affirm this: “When piercing the ears of children who are free of disease at these times, their ear flaps and apertures, as well as limbs, increase” (for the Sanskrit, see Su 1938: 76). Some texts use the adjective कर्ण-वेधनी rather than व्यधनी.

¹²⁶ The causative form व्यधयेत् is known in Classical Sanskrit (Whitney 1885: 166).

The compound कृतमङ्गलस्वास्तिवाचनं “who has received a benediction and the recitation of a blessing” is an emendation based on the similar text at 3.2.25 (Su 1938: 346). Cf. also 3.10.8, 24 (Su 1938: 388, 390) that have slightly different formulations.

¹²⁷ The versions of 1.16.3 known to Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 126) and Ḏalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76) have the additional compound कुमारधराङ्के (“on the lap of one who holds the child”) after धात्र्यङ्के. The gender of कुमारधर is made clear by Ḏalhaṇa’s gloss “a man who holds the child.” Also, both versions add बालक्रीडनकैः प्रलोभ्य (“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 Ḏalhaṇa on 1.16.3 (Su 1938: 76), the toys include replica elephants, horses, bulls and parrots. Ḏalhaṇa further mentions that others read भक्ष्यविशेषैर् वा (“or by special treats”) before बालक्रीडनकैः, but we see no trace of these small kindnesses in our witnesses.

¹²⁸ The versions of 1.16.3 of Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 126) and Ḏalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76) add

- For a boy, do the right ear first; for a girl, do the left one. Use a needle on a thin ear; an awl (आरा) on a thick one.¹²⁹
- 3 One may know that it was pierced in the wrong place if there is excess blood or too much pain. The absence of side-effects is a sign that it has been pierced in the right place.¹³⁰
 - 4 In this context, if an ignorant person randomly pierces a duct (सिरा) there will be fever, burning, swelling (श्वयथु), pain, lumps (ग्रन्थि), paralysis of the nape of the neck (मन्यास्तम्भा), convulsions (अपतानक), headache or sharp pain in the ear.¹³¹
 - 5 Having removed the wick (वर्ति) because of the accumulation of humours or an unsatisfactory piercing at that location,¹³² he should smear

that this naturally-occurring cleft is illuminated by a ray of sunshine (आदित्यकरावभासिते).

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

¹²⁹ Dalhana 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” (*Lakṣmaṇatippaṇaka*) 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 *Suśrutasamhitā* that was available to Dalhaṇa in twelfth-century Bengal. See Meulenbeld ([HIML: IA, 386](#)).

¹³⁰ 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.

¹³¹ This passage is significantly augmented in Cakrapāṇidatta’s and Dalhaṇa’s versions, to outline the specific problems caused by piercing three ducts called कालिका, मर्मिका and लोहितिका (1.16.4 ([Su 1939: 126](#)) and 1.16.5 ([Su 1938: 77](#)) respectively). In fact, the order of the problems mentioned in the Nepalese version has been retained in the other versions and divided between each duct. Cakrapāṇidatta’s commentary on 1.16.4 ([Su 1939: 126](#)) cites several verses attributed to Bhoja on the problems caused by piercing these three ducts in the ear flap: ‘लोहितिका, मर्मिका 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 लोहितिका. Pain and lumps are thought to arise from piercing मर्मिका. Piercing कालिका gives rise to swelling, fever and burning.’

¹³² In addition to these reasons, 1.16.6 of Dalhaṇa at 1.16.6 ([Su 1938: 77](#)), added “because of piercing with a painful, crooked and unsatisfactory needle” (कङ्गेषजिह्वाप्रशस्तसूचीव्यधात) and “because of a wick that is too thick” (गाढतरवर्तित्वात). Dalhana was aware of the reading in the Nepalese version because in his commentary on 1.16.6 ([Su 1938: 77](#)) he noted that some read “because of the accumulation of humours” rather than “be-

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it with barley, liquorice, Indian madder (मञ्जिष्ठा), and the root of the castor oil tree (गन्धर्वहस्त), thickened with honey and ghee. And when it has healed well, he should pierce it again.¹³³

- 6 He should treat the properly-pierced ear by sprinkling it with raw sesame oil. After every three days one should make a thicker wick (वर्ति) and do the very same sprinkling.
- 7 Once the ear is free from humours or side-effects, one should put in a light dilator (प्रवर्धनक) in order to enlarge it enough.¹³⁴
- 8 *A person's ear enlarged in this way can split in two, either as a result of the humours¹³⁵ or a blow.*

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

- 9 Here, there are, in brief, fifteen ways of mending the ear flap.¹³⁶ They are as follows: Rim-join (नेमीसन्धानक), Lotus-splittable (उत्पलभेद्यक), Dried Flesh (वलूरक), Fastening (आसङ्गिम), Cheek-ear (गण्डकर्ण), Take away (आहार्य), Ready-Split (निर्वेधिम), Multi-joins (व्यायोजिम), Door-hinge (कपाटसन्धिक), Half door-hinge (अर्धकपाटसन्धिक), Compressed (संक्षिप्त), Reduced-ear (हीनकर्ण), Creeper-ear (वलीकर्ण), Stick-ear (यष्टीकर्ण), and Crow's lip (काकौष्ठ).¹³⁷

cause of piercing with a painful, crooked and unsatisfactory needle or because of a wick that is too thick." On the concept of humoral accumulation (समुदाय), see the important analysis by Meulenbeld (1992).

¹³³ The description of the drug is ambiguous: the word "root" could be taken with each plant, or just with the last. The vulgate reads just "castor oil root" so we assume that is the traditional interpretation.

¹³⁴ Cakrapāṇidatta on 1.16.6 ([Su 1939: 127](#)) and Ḏalhaṇa on 1.16.8 ([Su 1938: 77](#)) pointed out that the dilator can be made of wood, such as that of the prickly chaff flower (अपामर्ग), the neem tree (निम्ब) and the cotton plant (कार्पास). Ḏalhaṇa added that it can also be made of lead (सीसक) and should have the shape of the datura flower (धत्तूरपुष्प). The manuscripts have variant readings for लघुप्रवर्धनकम् आमुच्चेत् at this point that include a scribal emendation, none of which construe plausibly. It is possible that the unusual verb form आ+√मुच् puzzled the scribes and caused the implausible scribal readings and emendations.

¹³⁵ Ḏalhaṇa on 1.16.9 ([Su 1938: 77](#)) notes that the word दोष here can refer to either a humour, such as wind (वात), as we have understood it, or a disease generated from a humour.

¹³⁶ The Nepalese version uses the word सन्धान 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 Ḏalhaṇa's version ([Su 1938: 77](#)) uses the term बन्ध here and at the very beginning of the chapter (i.e., 1.16.1) to introduce the topic of repairing the ear.

¹³⁷ For an artist's impression of these different kinds of joins in the ear flap, see Majno

In this context, among these,

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

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

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

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

“Cheek-ear” (गण्डकर्ण): one flap is longer on the outside.¹³⁸

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

“Ready-split” (निर्वेधिम): the flaps are like a dais (पीठ).

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

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

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

These ten options (विकल्प) for joins (सन्धि) of the ear should be bound. They can mostly be explained as resembling their names.¹³⁹ The five from compressed (संक्षिप्त) on are incurable.¹⁴⁰ 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 (ग्रन्थित) flesh and the flaps are stretched thin and have stiff (स्तब्ध) ducts (सिरा). “Crow-lip” has a flap without flesh with

¹³⁷ 1975: 290 (reproduced as Figure 3.2 in Wujastyk 2003: 154).

¹³⁸ For an artist’s impression of this join, see Majno 1975: 291 (reproduced as Figure 3.3 in Wujastyk 2003: 155).

¹³⁹ Cakrapāṇidatta on 1.16.9–13 (Su 1939: 128–129) and Dalhaṇa 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 (नेमीसन्धानक) is similar to the join of the rim of a wheel (चक्रधारा).

¹⁴⁰ Dalhaṇa 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.

compressed (संक्षिप्त) tips and little blood. Even when they are bound up, they do not heal because they are hot, inflamed, suppurating (स्राव), or swollen.¹⁴¹

- 10 A person wishing to perform a join of any of these should therefore have supplies specially prepared according to the recommendations of the “Preparatory Supplies” chapter.¹⁴² And in this regard, he should particularly gather¹⁴³ decanted liquor (सुरामण्ड), milk, water, fermented rice-water (धान्याम्ल), and powdered earthenware crockery (कपालचूर्ण).¹⁴⁴

Next, having made the woman or man tie up the ends of their hair, eat lightly and be firmly held by qualified attendants, the physician considers the joins (बन्ध) and then applies them by means of cutting (छेद्य), splitting (भेद्य), scarification (लेख्य), or piercing (व्यधन).¹⁴⁵ Next, he should examine the blood of the ear to know whether it is tainted (दुष्ट) or not. If it is tainted by wind, the ear should be bathed with fermented rice-water (धान्याम्ल) and water; if tainted by choler, then cold water and milk should be used; if tainted by phlegm, then decanted liquor (सुरामण्ड) and water should be used, and then he should scarify it again.

¹⁴¹ The version of 1.16.11–13 known to Dalhaṇa (*Su* 1938: 78) has four verses (श्लोक) 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 *Suśrutasamhitā* known to Cakrapāṇidatta. He cites the verses separately in his commentary, the *Bhānumatī* (*Su* 1939: 128–129), introducing each one as ‘some people read’ (के चित् पठन्ति). However, in Trikamajī Ācārya’s edition of the *Sūtrasthāna* of the *Bhānumatī*, the root text is largely identical to the one commented on by Dalhaṇa (*Su* 1938), even in instances like this where Cakrapāṇidatta’s commentary indicates that he was reading a different version of the *Suśrutasamhitā*. See further the discussion on p. 7 above.

¹⁴² *Suśrutasamhitā* 1.5 (*Su* 1938: 18–23), probably verse 6 especially that lists the equipment and medications that a surgeon should have ready.

¹⁴³ The reading in the Nepalese manuscripts of विशेषतश् चाग्रोपहरणीयात् has been emended to विशेषतश् चात्रोपहरेत् to make sense of the list of ingredients, which is in the accusative case. Also, the repetition of अग्रोपहरणीयात् in the Nepalese version suggests that its second occurrence, which does not make good sense here, is a dittographic error.

¹⁴⁴ The term कपालचूर्ण is unusual. Dalhaṇa (*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.

¹⁴⁵ There are syntactic difficulties in this sentence. We have adopted the reading in Dalhaṇa’s version (*Su* 1938: 78), which has च कृत्वा following सुपरिगृहीतं. It is likely that a verb, such as कृत्वा, dropped out of the Nepalese transmission.

After arranging the join in the ear so that it is neither proud, depressed, nor uneven, and observing that the blood has stopped, one should anoint it with honey and ghee, bandage each ear with cotton (पिंचु) and gauze (प्लोट), and bind it up with a thread, neither too tightly nor too loosely. Then, the physician should sprinkle earthenware powder on it and provide medical advice (आचारिक). And he should supplement with food as taught in the “Two Wound” chapter.¹⁴⁶

- 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.¹⁴⁷ For when the ear is tainted by wind, then it is obstructed by blood (रक्तबद्ध), unhealed and will peel. When tainted with cholera, it becomes pinched (गाढ), septic (पाक) and red. When tainted by phlegm, it will be stiff (स्तब्ध) and itchy. It has excessively copious suppuration (स्राव) and is puffed up (शोफ). It has a small amount of wasted (क्षीण) flesh and it will not grow.¹⁴⁸
- 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 (संरभ्म), 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 (गोधा), scavenging (प्रतुद) and seed-eating (विष्क्रि) birds, and creatures that live in marshes or water (आनूपौदक),¹⁴⁹ fat, marrow, milk, and sesame oil, and white mustard oil.¹⁵⁰ Then cook the oil with an admixture

¹⁴⁶ *Suśrutasamhitā* 4.1 (*Su* 1938: 396–408).

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

¹⁴⁸ In his edition of *Suśrutasamhitā*, 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’ (आमतैलेन त्रिरात्रं परिषेचयेत् त्रिरात्राच् च पिंचु परिवर्तयेत्).

¹⁴⁹ For such classifications, see Zimmermann (1999) and Smith (1994).

¹⁵⁰ Dalhana’s version of 1.16.19 (*Su* 1938: 79) includes ghee (सर्पिस्). However, Dalhana’s remarks on this passage and Cakrapāṇidatta’s on 1.16.18 (*Su* 1939: 130) indicate that they knew a version of this recipe, perhaps similar to the Nepalese one, that did not

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(प्रतिवाप) of the following: purple calotropis (अर्क), white calotropis (अलर्क), country mallow (बला), ‘strong Indian mallow’ (अतिबला), country sarsaparilla (अनन्ता), beggarweed (विदारि), liquorice (मधुक) and hornwort (जलशूक → जलनीलिका¹⁵¹).¹⁵² This should then be deposited in a well-protected spot.

- 15 *The wise man who has been sweated should rub the massaged (मर्दित) ear with it.*
*Then it will be free of complications, and will enlarge properly and be strong.*¹⁵³
- 16 *Ears which do not enlarge even when sweated and oiled, should be scarified at the edge of the hole (अपाङ्ग), but not outside it.*¹⁵⁴
- 17 *In this tradition, experts know countless repairs to ears. So a physician who is very intent (सुनिविष्ट) on working in this way may repair (योजयेद्) them.*¹⁵⁵

include ghee. Dalhaṇa also noted that others simply read four oils, beginning with fat and without milk, whereas Cakrapāṇidatta said that some say it is made with four oils and milk.

¹⁵¹ Ceratophyllum demersum, L. This name is not certain. In fact, Dalhaṇa on 1.16.19 ([Su 1938: 79](#)) notes that some people interpret it as a poisonous, hairy, air-breathing, underwater creature.

¹⁵² The version of 1.16.19 known to Dalhana ([Su 1938: 79](#)) adds several ingredients to this admixture, including अपामार्ग, अश्वगन्धा, क्षीरशुक्ला, मधुरवर्ग and पयस्या. Also, it has विदारि-गन्धा instead of विदारि. When commenting on 1.16.19, Dalhaṇa ([Su 1938: 79](#)) notes that some do not read मधुरवर्ग and पयस्या. Therefore, there were probably other versions of this recipe with fewer ingredients, as seen in the Nepalese version.

¹⁵³ For these aims (i.e., healing and enlarging the ear), the text known to Dalhaṇa ([Su 1938: 79](#)) has an additional verse and a half describing an ointment for rubbing the ear (उद्भर्तन) and sesame oil (तैल) 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 *Suśrutasamhitā* known to him may not have included them.

¹⁵⁴ Dalhaṇa’s version of 1.16.23 ([Su 1938: 79–80](#)) adds another hemistich that states more explicitly that the scarification should not be done on the outside of hole as it will cause derangement.

¹⁵⁵ 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 Dalhaṇa ([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 (मिश्रकचिकित्स) (SS 5.25), which does indeed begin with

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- 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.*¹⁵⁶
- 19 *Now I shall describe the proper method of making a repair when a nose is severed. First, take from the trees a leaf the same size as the man's nose and hang it on him.*
- 20 *Next, having cut a slice of flesh (वध्र),¹⁵⁷ with the same measurements, off the cheek, the end of the nose is then scarified.¹⁵⁸ Then the undistracted (अप्रमत्त) physician, should quickly put it back together so that it is well joined (साधुबद्ध).*
- 21 *Having carefully observed that it has been sewn up properly, he should then fasten it along with two tubes.¹⁵⁹ Having caused it to be raised,¹⁶⁰ the powder of sappanwood (पत्ताङ्ग),¹⁶¹ liquorice and Indian barberry.¹⁶² should be sprinkled on it.*
- 22 *The wound should be covered properly with cotton (पिचू) and should be moistened repeatedly with sesame oil. Ghee should be given to*

a discussion of the disease परिपोट. Dalhaṇa goes on to say that some believe that these verses were not composed by sages and, therefore, do not read them.

¹⁵⁶ The order of verses 17 and 18 are reversed in Dalhaṇa's version (*Su 1938*: 80).

¹⁵⁷ The version of 1.16.28b known to Dalhaṇa (*Su 1938*: 81) reads "bound, connected (बद्धम्)" instead of "slice of flesh (वध्र)." 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).

¹⁵⁸ 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, Dalhaṇa (*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.

¹⁵⁹ Dalhaṇa noted that the two tubes should be made of reed (नल) or the stalk of the leaf of castor oil plant (एरण्डपत्रनाल) (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.

¹⁶⁰ The Sanskrit term उत्तामयित्वा in 1.16.21 is non-Pāṇinian.

¹⁶¹ Caesalpinia sappan, L. For पत्ताङ्ग there are manuscript variants पत्ताङ्ग (MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333) and पत्तङ्ग (MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079). Also, MS Kathmandu KL 699 (f. 14r:1) has पत्तङ्ग in a verse in 1.14 (cf. 1.14.36 (*Su 1938*: 66)). The text known to Dalhaṇa has पतङ्ग (1.16.29 (*Su 1938*: 81)) and this term is propagated in modern dictionaries.

¹⁶² Berberis aristata, DC. Dalhaṇa understands it as elixir salve (रसाङ्गन) (*Su 1938*: 81).

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- the man to drink. His digestion being complete, he should be oiled and purged in accordance with the instructions specific to him.¹⁶³
- 23 And once healed and really come together, what is left of that slice of flesh (वध्र) should then be trimmed.¹⁶⁴ If it is reduced (हीन), however, one should make an effort to stretch it, and one should make its overgrown flesh smooth.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ The expression स्वयथोपदेश is ungrammatical but supported in all available witnesses.

¹⁶⁴ The vulgate transmission has lost the word वध्र and replaced it with अर्ध “half,” which makes little sense in this surgical context.

¹⁶⁵ Dalhaṇa accepted a verse following this, 1.16.32 (*Su* 1938: 81), which points out that the procedure for joining the nose is similar to that of joining the lips without fusing the ducts. He noted that earlier teachers did not think this statement on the nose and lips was made by sages, but he included it because it was accepted by Jejjata, Gayadāsa and others, although they did not comment on it because it was easy to understand. Cakrapāṇidatta also did not comment on this additional verse (*Su* 1939: 133).

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations

- Ah 1939 Kumṭe, Aṇṇā Moreśvara, Navare, Kṛṣṇāśāstrī, and Parādkar, Hariāśāstrī (1939) (eds.), श्रीमद्भाग्मटविरचितम् अष्टाङ्गहृदयम्, श्रीमद्भुण्डत्विरचितया सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरारब्यया व्याख्यया, हेमाद्रिप्रणीतया आयुर्वेदरसायनाहृद्या टीकया च समुलसितम् = *The Astāṅgahṛidaya* (6th edn., Mumbayyām: Nirṇayasāgara Press), [ark:/13960/t3tt6967d](#).
- Anup *Anup Sanskrit Library* (n.d.).
- Anup *Anup Sanskrit Library* (n.d.).
- Apte Apte, Vaman Shivaram (1992), *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Company), ISBN: 4-653-00038-7; Reprinted from Gode and Karve 1957–9.
- AS *Asiatic Society* (n.d.).
- As 1980 Āṭhavale, Anamta Dāmodara (1980) (ed.), *Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgrahaḥ Śrīmad Vṛddhavāgbhaṭaviracitāḥ Induvyākhyāsaḥitaḥ* (Pune: Maheśa Anamta Āṭhavale, Śrīmad Ātreya Prakāśanam), [ark:/13960/t9773bb9z](#).
- Bhela 1921 Mookerjee, Ashutosh and Ananta Krishna Shastri, Vedāntabisharad (1921) (eds.), *The Bhela Samhita. Sanskrit Text* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta), [ark:/13960/t3sv3157j](#); Based on two copies made of the Thanjavur codex unicus (MS Thanjavur TMSSML 10773, Burnell 1880: 63–4, P. P. S. Sastri 1933: #11085).
- Bhela 2000 Krishnamurthy, K. H. (2000), *Bhela-saṃhitā. Text with English Translation, Commentary and Critical Notes* (Haridas Ayurveda Series, 8; Varanasi: Chaukhamba Visvabharati).
- BL *British Library* (n.d.).
- Ca. 1941 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1941) (ed.), महर्षिणा पुनर्बसुनोपदिष्टा, तच्छिष्येणाप्निवेशेन प्रणीता, चरकद्वबलाभ्यां प्रतिसंस्कृता चरकसंहिता, श्रीचक्रपाणिदत्तविरचितया आयुर्वेददीपिकाव्याख्यया संवलिता (3rd edn., Mumbayyām: Nirṇaya Sagara Press), [URL](#), accessed 01/01/2018.
- HIML Meulenbeld, Gerrit Jan (1999–2002), *A History of Indian Medical Literature*, 5 vols. (Groningen: E. Forsten), ISBN: 9069801248.

ABBREVIATIONS

IOLR	Eggeling, Julius et al. (1887–1935), <i>Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office</i> (London: Secretary of State for India).
KL	<i>Kaiser Library</i> (n.d.).
MW	Monier-Williams, Monier, Leumann, E., Cappeller, C., et al. (1899), <i>A Sanskrit–English Dictionary Etymologically and Philosophically Arranged, New Edition</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press); 1970 reprint.
NAK	<i>National Archives of Kathmandu</i> (n.d.).
NCC	Raghavan, V. et al. (1949–), <i>New Catalogus Catalogorum, an Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit and Allied Works and Authors</i> , 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 .
NK	Nadkarni, K. M. (1982a), <i>Dr. K. M. Nadkarni's Indian Materia Medica, with Ayurvedic, Unani-tibbi, Siddha, Allopathic, Homeopathic, Naturopathic & Home Remedies, Appendices & Indexes ... in Two Volumes</i> , ed. A. K. Nadkarni, 2 vols. (3 ed., revised and enlarged by A. K. Nadkarni, Bombay: Popular Prakashan), ISBN: 8171541429, URL .
RORI	<i>Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute</i> (n.d.).
Su 1889	Bhaṭṭācāryya, Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara (1889) (ed.), सुश्रुतः. सूत्र-निदान-शारीर-चिकित्सा-कल्पोत्तर-तन्त्र-कल्पित आयुर्वेद. भगवता धन्वन्तरिणोपदिष्टः सुश्रुतनामधेयेन तच्छिष्येण विरचितः (3rd edn., Calcutta: Saratī Press), ark : / 13960 / t1nh6j09c ; HIML: IB, 311, edition b.
Su 1915	Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1915) (ed.), सुश्रुतसंहिता, सुश्रुतेन विरचिता, वैद्यवरश्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहारब्यव्याख्याया समुल्लसिता, आचार्योपाह्वेन त्रिविक्रमात्मजेन यादवशर्मणा संशोधिता = <i>The Sushrutasamhita of Sushruta, the Nibandhasangraha Commentary</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

- of Shri Dalhaṇāchārya* (Mumbayyāṁ: Nirṇayasāgaramudrā-yantrālaye), [ark:/13960/t3sv0mt50](#), accessed 29/07/2020; [HIML](#): IB, 312 edition *v.
- Su 1931 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1931) (ed.), सुश्रुत-संहिता, वैद्यवरश्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहारब्धव्याख्यया समुल्लसिता, महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता, सूत्र-निदान-शारीर-चिकित्सा-कल्पस्थानोत्तरतन्त्रात्मकः. आचार्योपाहेन त्रिविक्रमात्मजेन यादवशर्मणा संशोधिता = *The Sushrutasaṁhitā of Sushruta with the Nibandhasaṅgraha Commentary of Shree Dalhaṇāchārya* (2nd edn., Mumbayyāṁ: Pāṇḍurāṅga Jāvajī at the Nirṇayasāgaramudrā-yantrālaye), [ark:/13960/t9j41sg94](#), accessed 09/06/2020; [HIML](#): IB, 312 edition *v.
- Su 1938 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (1938) (eds.), श्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहारब्धव्याख्यया निदानस्थानस्य श्रीगयदासाचार्यविरचितया न्यायचन्द्रिकारब्धपञ्जिकाव्याख्यया च समुल्लसिता महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता (3rd edn., Bombay: Nirṇayasāgara Press), [ark:/13960/t09x0sk1h](#); [HIML](#): IB, 313, edition cc ('the vulgate').
- Su 1938² Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (2004) (eds.), महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता, श्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहारब्धव्याख्यया निदानस्थानस्य श्री-गयदासाचार्यविरचितया न्यायचन्द्रिकारब्धपञ्जिकाव्याख्यया च समुल्लसिता (Vārāṇasī: Caukhambhā Kṛṣṇadāsa Akādamī); Reprint of the third, 1938 edition ([Su 1938](#)).
- Su 1939 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama and Śarman, Nandakiśora (1939) (eds.), सुश्रुतसंहितायाः सूत्रस्थानम् श्रीचक्रपाणिदत्तविरचितया भानुमतीव्याख्याया समेतम् = *Sushrut-saṁhitā (sūtra Sthān) with Bhānumatī Commentary by Chakrapāṇi Datta with Introduction by Gaṇanāth Sen* (Śrīsvāmi Lakṣmīrāma Nidhi Granthamālā = Shrī Swāmī Lakshmī 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.), महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता (मूलमात्रा). पाठान्तर-परिशिष्टादिभिः संवलिता = *the Suśrutasaṁhitā*

	<i>of Suśruta with Various Readings, Notes and Appendix etc.</i> (Mumbāi: Nirṇayasāgarākhyamudraṇālaye), URL .
TMSSML	<i>Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji Saraswati Mahal Library</i> (n.d.).
Viṣṇudh.	Śarman, Madhusūdana and Śarman, Mādhavaprasāda (1912) (eds.), <i>विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणम्</i> = [Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa] (Mumbai: Khemarāja Śrīkr̥ṣṇadāsa at the Śrīvenkaṭeśvara Steam Press), ark :/ 13960 / t6qz6fr23 ; Lithograph format. Edited on the basis of a manuscript belonging to the astrologer Sudhākaraśarman of the Varanasi Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā.

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- Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikramācārya and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (1945) (eds.), महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता (मूलमात्रा). पाठान्तरपरिशिष्टादिभिः संवलिता = *the Suśrutasamhitā of Suśruta with Various Readings, Notes and Appendix etc.* (Mumbāi: Nirṇayasāgarākhyamudraṇālaye), [URL](#).

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