

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

Dominik Wujastyk     Jason Birch     Andrey Klebanov  
Madhu K. Parameswaran     Madhusudan Rimal  
Deepro Chakraborty     Harshal Bhatt     Vandana Lele  
Paras Mehta

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# Preface

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# 1 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> Many more translations have appeared in recent decades and reprints of the early twentieth-century editions continue to be reprinted frequently.

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.<sup>3</sup>

In January 2007, a manuscript of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* in the Kaiser Library, Kathmandu, previously unknown to contemporary scholarship, was brought to international attention by Dimitrov and Tamot.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> The manuscript has been declared by UNESCO to be part of the Memory of the World.<sup>6</sup>

The newly-discovered manuscript in Nepal is related to two other early palm-leaf manuscripts in the National Archives in Kathmandu,

<sup>1</sup> The edition princeps was that of Gupta (1835–6). A selection of prominent studies includes: Hoernle 1897; 1906a,b; 1907a,b; Strauss 1934; Singhal et al. 1972–82; P. V. Sharma 1975; Rây et al. 1980; R. Adriaensen et al. 1984; Yano 1986; HIML; P. V. Sharma 1999–2001a; Valiathan 2007; and Meulenbeld’s magnum opus HIML.

<sup>2</sup> HIML: IB, 311 ff.

<sup>3</sup> HIML: IA, 203–389.

<sup>4</sup> Dimitrov and Tamot 2007.

<sup>5</sup> Harimoto 2011: 87–88.

<sup>6</sup> UNESCO 2013.

MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 and MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079. Klebanov 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.<sup>7</sup> Generally speaking, the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasamhitā* is shorter and sometimes clearer than the versions commented on by Cakrapāṇidatta (fl. eleventh century) and Ḏalhaṇa (fl. twelfth century). The version of the *Suśrutasamhitā* commented on by Ḏalhaṇa has formed the basis of modern printed editions and translations, such as those of Yadavaśarman Trivikramātmaja Ācārya and others.<sup>8</sup> 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 *Uttaratanaṭra* 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.<sup>9</sup>

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 *Uttaratanaṭra*, and before the text was fixed as a result of the authority of the major commentators, Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḏalhaṇa.<sup>10</sup> It is in this sense

<sup>7</sup> Klebanov 2010; 2021a.

<sup>8</sup> Su 1915; Su 1938; P. V. Sharma 1999–2001b. Note that Ācārya himself referred to this text as “Ḏalhaṇa’s version” (see footnote 18 below).

<sup>9</sup> 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.

<sup>10</sup> The roles of earlier commentators including Jejjaṭa, Gayadāsa and Candraṭa in closing the text and influencing Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḏalhaṇa remains an open research problem.

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*.<sup>11</sup> This chapter is important in the history of Indian medicine because of its discussion of surgical methods for repairing torn ears and severed noses. In addition to discussing the manuscripts and published editions used in this new edition, the introduction of this study addresses some of the challenges of editing the Nepalese manuscripts and the salient differences between the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasamhitā* 1.16 and the text as known to Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa. The notes to the edition incorporate alternative readings mentioned by the commentators. The annotations to the translation discuss the following topics: instances where the text is uncertain; non-standard spellings and syntax; the meaning of technical and obscure terms; relevant remarks by the commentators; ambiguities in the identification of medical ingredients, in particular, plant names; and the additional compounds, verses and passages in Ḍalhaṇa’s version of the text. In short, this is a pilot study for undertaking a complete edition and translation of the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasamhitā*.

## Importance of SS.1.16 in the History of Medicine

Simple forms of surgery have a long history in South Asia. In works datable to at least 1200 BCE we learn how a reed was used as a catheter to cure urine retention.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> The Brāhmaṇa literature of the only slightly later period contained more detailed descriptions of animal butchery in the context of religious sacrifice that involved

<sup>11</sup> 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.

<sup>12</sup> Zysk 1985: 70–71.

<sup>13</sup> Translation by Hoernle (1907b: §43, §100). Further bibliography: [HIML: IIB](#), 819.

the enumeration of internal organs and bones.<sup>14</sup> This exemplifies an early Sanskrit vocabulary for internal parts of bodies. However, this is not the same as anatomical dissection, whose methods and intentions are quite different. As Keith pointed out long ago, the enumeration of the bones in the *Brāhmaṇas* was derived from correspondences with the numbering of various verse forms, not from anatomical observation.<sup>15</sup> With the *Suśrutasamhitā*, we find ourselves in the presence of something quite different and far more sophisticated from the medical point of view, where the body was studied specifically for medical and surgical purposes.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> The author of the *Suśrutasamhitā* claimed that surgery was the most ancient and most efficacious of the eight branches of medical knowledge.<sup>18</sup> Anecdotal discussion with contemporary surgeons suggests that many details in the descriptions could only have been written by a practising surgeon: it is beyond reasonable doubt that elaborate surgical techniques were a reality amongst those whose practices were recorded in the *Suśrutasamhitā*.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Malamoud 1996; Saha 2015.

<sup>15</sup> Keith 1908.

<sup>16</sup> Zysk 1986. The *Carakasamhitā* too has brief descriptions of surgical techniques, but the *Suśrutasamhitā* goes into greater detail.

<sup>17</sup> Wilson 1823; Mukhopādhyāya 1913; V. Deshpande 2000; Wujastyk 2003; Valiathan 2007; Narayana and Thrigulla 2011 and many other studies.

<sup>18</sup> *Suśrutasamhitā* 1.1.15–19 (Su 1938: 4).

<sup>19</sup> Leffler et al. (2020) provide a detailed discussion of the *Suśrutasamhitā*'s surgical technique in the case of ophthalmic cataract, with references for further reading. The manuscript account by Jack (1884) provides a fascinating quantitative comparison of traditional couching operations with his contemporary nineteenth-century methods (MS London Wellcome 3007).

## Torn ear lobes

The *Suśrutasamhitā*'s description of the repair of torn ear lobes is unique for its time.<sup>20</sup> 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".<sup>21</sup> The different types of mutilated ear lobe that the *Suśrutasamhitā* described are not always easy to understand from the Sanskrit: the illustrations supplied in Majno's text greatly help with the visualization of the most likely scenarios.<sup>22</sup>

## 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 has been discussed by Wujastyk, and a translation of the Sanskrit passage from the vulgate edition of the *Suśrutasamhitā* was given.<sup>23</sup> This fascinating technique is certainly old in South Asia, having been witnessed by travellers from Niccolo Manucci in the seventeenth century onwards.<sup>24</sup> Many witnesses, including the most famous, Cruso and Findlay,<sup>25</sup> described an operation that differs from *Suśrutasamhitā* in that it takes the grafting skin from the forehead, not the cheek. But the nineteenth-century operation witnessed by Thorburn is especially interesting, since the technique followed the *Suśrutasamhitā* exactly in taking flesh from the cheek, rather than the forehead.<sup>26</sup>

As noted by Meulenbeld, none of the extant commentators – Jejjāta, Gayadāsa, Cakrapāṇi or Ḏalhaṇa – explained the technique in any detail beyond short lexical glosses.<sup>27</sup> This suggests that the commentators may not all have known the technique at first-hand.

<sup>20</sup> 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.

<sup>21</sup> Majno 1975: 291.

<sup>22</sup> Majno 1975: 290–291; reproduced with permission in Wujastyk 2003: 92–93.

<sup>23</sup> Wujastyk 2003: 67–70, 99–100. See also HML: IB, 327–328, note 186, for further literature and reflections.

<sup>24</sup> Manucci 1907–8: v. 2, 301.

<sup>25</sup> Longmate 1794: 883, 891 f.

<sup>26</sup> Thorburn 1876: 352–353.

<sup>27</sup> HML: IB, 328. Ḏalhaṇa noted cryptically, on 1.16.27–31 (Su 1938: 81a), that a rather different version of the text, cast in *śloka* metre, was also known to him from other

## 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.<sup>28</sup> This ensured the blood flow essential to keeping the skin alive while it healed in its new location.<sup>29</sup> The Sanskrit of the vulgate is ambiguous on this critical point and the wording of the Nepalese version is unclear. However, Dalhaṇa clarified the meaning of the vulgate here by stating that when reading the expression “connected,” one should understand “connected flesh”.<sup>30</sup> He thus indicated that he understood the flesh to be connected to the face.<sup>31</sup> 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 Dalhaṇa 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.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup>

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

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sources. Dalhaṇa’s variant bears a resemblance to the description of the operation given in printed editions of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* at Utt.18.59–65 (Ah 1939: 841).

<sup>28</sup> See Wujastyk 2003: 67–70.

<sup>29</sup> This surgical innovation distinguished the “Hindu Method” from sixteenth-century European methods associated with Gaspar Tagliacozzo and others (see, e.g., Carpe 1816: *passim*).

<sup>30</sup> *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.16.28 (Su 1938: 81).

<sup>31</sup> See p. 60 below.

<sup>32</sup> 1.16.11–14 (Su 1938: 78).

<sup>33</sup> 1.16.14 (Su 1938: 78): गण्डादुत्पाट्य मांसेन सानुवन्धेन जीवता । कर्णपालीमापालेस्तु कुर्यान्निर्लिख्य शास्त्र-  
वित्। Cf. the translation of the whole passage by Wujastyk (2003: 94).

"Living" [flesh] means "together with blood".<sup>34</sup>

Thus, Dalhaṇa's comment gives us unequivocal evidence for the concept of a living skin flap in the twelfth century, and it is almost certain that this is also what the text of the *Suśrutasamhitā* intended by the word "living." The one remaining historical problem is that these specific verses, 1.16.11–14, are not present in the Nepalese version of the text. That suggests that they were part of a different tradition of practice with a verse literature that was integrated into the vulgate text of the *Suśrutasamhitā* at a time after the Nepalese version as recorded in 878 CE, but at the latest by the time of Dalhaṇa in the twelfth century.

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

By the late first millennium, had the rhinoplastic technique moved from the professional competence of scholar-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 *Suśrutasamhitā*. The rhinoplastic description consists of only five verses and they are written in the Upendravajrā metre, which is different from the rest of the chapter. The description's appearance at the very end of the chapter, its terseness, its ornate metre, and the paucity of the commentators' treatment could all be taken as pointing in this direction.

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34 1.16.14 (Su 1938:78): जीवेति शोणितसहितेनेत्यर्थः।



## 2 The Transmission of the Work

### 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,<sup>1</sup> 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 script which was not used outside of the region.

Furthermore, we speak of a single “version” because these manuscripts attest to a specific 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 first postulated by Klebanov (2010) and later reiterated 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

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<sup>1</sup> Klebanov 2021a: 2–3.

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 relevant textual excerpts with four printed editions, alternative readings reported by several commentators, parallel passages in other texts, and with a number of additional manuscripts of the *Suśrutasamhitā*. This analysis demonstrated that the text of the *Suśrutasamhitā* supported by the Nepalese MSS of our study differs evidentially from all these other sources. But the mere fact of Nepalese provenance does not guarantee that a manuscript transmits the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasamhitā*. For example, Klebanov also established that in spite of its Nepalese provenance, MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1146,<sup>2</sup> does not support the “Nepalese version” and need not be taken into consideration when reconstructing the readings of the latter’s hyparchetype. Thus, we do not feel that it is justified to use the technical term “Nepalese recension,” since at least two recensions of the work are preserved in manuscripts from Nepal. Nevertheless, we wish to indicate the provenance of the oldest witnesses. However, more than two hundred manuscripts of the *Suśrutasamhitā* are preserved in different libraries across South Asia and until they have been studied and placed into a stemmatic relationship with our present witnesses, any hard assumption about the regional character of the transmission line remains premature.<sup>3</sup> What can be said with certainty is that the Nepalese version preserves many archaic features of an early version of the *Suśrutasamhitā* and that some of these features have already been identified in other manuscripts of this work have been studied briefly.

Our research group builds upon the above hypothesis about the existence of a distinct Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasamhitā* and concentrates primarily on the study of this text in its own right and, additionally, frequent comparison to the version of the *Suśrutasamhitā* promulgated by the late medieval commentator Dalhana and recorded in the widely-used Su 1938. The present study of SS 1.16 also considers the readings found in Su 1939, that reflects Cakrapāṇidatta’s readings, and incorporates various observations made by both medieval commentators, Cakrapāṇidatta and Dalhana, into the notes of the edition and some annotations of the transla-

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<sup>2</sup> Rimal and Wujastyk 2022.

<sup>3</sup> For a list of known manuscript copies of the *Suśrutasamhitā*, see the sources mentioned in footnote 10 below.

tion.

The current study and several earlier publications furnish a catalogue of uniform features that are characteristic of the Nepalese version and set it apart from the vulgate version.<sup>4</sup> These features of the Nepalese version 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 appear to represent an archaic version of the *Suśrutasamhitā*. This is partly because they preserve a version of the text that appears to be less edited, that is, slightly more idiosyncratic and original in expression, that in turn suggests that it precedes later editorial intervention, according to the principle of *lectio difficilior potior*. We also assign a high historical value to many Nepalese readings because they constitute an internally more consistent and coherent text that is at times further supported by external testimonia.

Additionally, we want to make it clear that we do not think that the Nepalese version provides a so-called original text of the *Suśrutasamhitā*. Rather, the Nepalese version is a witness to a hyparchetype, not the archetype, of the *Suśrutasamhitā*. The Nepalese version 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 that is reproduced in most printed editions of the . The oldest reconstructable text will only come into focus when all surviving witnesses for the work have been 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 *Uttaratatantra*, that has a somewhat independent character.

To summarize: the evidence arising from our studies to this point leads us to think that the Nepalese MSS of this study 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,

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<sup>4</sup> Earlier publications include Harimoto 2011; Wujastyk 2013b; Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. 2021; Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Rimal, et al. 2021.

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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. Both versions differ significantly from the Nepalese version.<sup>5</sup> Ḏalhaṇa was aware of Cakrapāṇidatta’s work and reiterated many of his predecessor’s remarks, so the interpretation of the root text by these two commentators is, broadly speaking, consistent.<sup>6</sup> Ḏalhaṇa also had several manuscripts of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* available to him, as we know because he frequently mentioned their variant readings.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to the fine-grained issues raised by the relationship between these commentators, there are added issues introduced by the way the editors of the printed versions of these commentaries handled the texts. The most obvious difficulty is that Y. T. Ācārya and N. Śarman’s text of the *Sūtrasthāna* as commented on by Cakrapāṇidatta ([Su 1939](#)) simply duplicated the main text of that section from Y. T. Ācārya and N. R. Ācārya’s edition of Ḏalhaṇa’s commentary ([Su 1938](#)).<sup>8</sup> This duplication of the root text in the two books creates the entirely misleading impression that both commentators had the same *Suśrutasaṃhitā* text before them.<sup>9</sup> However, there

<sup>5</sup> See [HIML: IA](#) 374–379 on these authors. Meulenbeld already noted that “the text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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* ([HIML: IB](#), 496, note 76).

<sup>6</sup> [HIML: IB](#), 499, n. 162.

<sup>7</sup> See [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).

<sup>8</sup> 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 राजसर्प whereas Ḏalhaṇa glossed गौरसर्प. The editors reflected this in the root texts of the *Bhānumatī* ([Su 1939](#): 130) and *Nibandhasaṅgraha* ([Su 1938](#): 79) respectively.

<sup>9</sup> A similar situation exists with the edition of the *Yogaśūtravivaraṇa* by Rama Sastri and Krishnamurthi Sastri ([1952](#)) that is printed with the base text of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* taken the edition of Āgāśe and Āpaṭe ([1904](#)) which is significantly different from that

is much evidence, including in the chapter treated in the present study, that this was not the case.

To give a concrete example, Ḏalhaṇa commented on four verses, SS 1.16.11–14, as part of his root text, that Cakrapāṇidatta cited separately only in his commentary.<sup>10</sup> Cakrapāṇidatta had introduced each verse with “some people say” (केचित्पठन्ति). This clearly indicated that these verses were not in the version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* upon which he was commenting. But a century or so later they had become part of the main text that was read by Ḏalhaṇa. In spite of this, the editors Y. T. Ācārya and N. Śarman included these verses in their 1939 edition of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* with Cakrapāṇidatta’s commentary as if they had been part of the main text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that Cakrapāṇidatta read. Such cases make it hard to maintain clarity about the fact that these two important commentators were responding to different versions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

Another example of these issues is the fact that Cakrapāṇidatta did not acknowledge or comment on some verses that appear in what we might call “Ḍalhaṇa’s version” of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. This is an *argumentum ex silentio*. After all, it is possible that he may not have remarked on a verse because its meaning was clear. But in some cases, the commentarial convention of citing the first words of a new verse or passage leads us to suspect the absence of a verse in the root text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

For example, there is a prose passage at SS 1.16.18 that Cakrapāṇidatta commented on in his *Bhānumati* (Fig. 2.1, left).<sup>11</sup> It is followed by several verses also in the main text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that elaborate on the content of the prose passage.<sup>12</sup> Ḏalhaṇa commented on these explanatory verses (Fig. 2.1, right), citing keywords that show they all formed part of the main text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that was before him.<sup>13</sup> However, Cakrapāṇidatta’s older commentary showed no awareness of the first few verses in this group, SS 1.16.19–21ab.<sup>14</sup> Apparently, they were *not* part of the text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* as he knew it. In spite of that, the editors printed these verses in their edition of Cakrapāṇidatta’s work as if they were indeed part

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on which Śāṅkara was commenting (Maas 2013: 77–78).

<sup>10</sup> Su 1938: 78 and Su 1939: 128–129 respectively.

<sup>11</sup> Su 1939: 130, i.e., अथाप्रदुष्टस्याभिवर्धनार्थम् ... निदध्यात्। It is numbered Su.1.16.19 in Ḏalhaṇa’s *Nibandhasaṅgraha* (Su 1938: 79).

<sup>12</sup> SS 1.16.19–23 in Su 1939, i.e., स्वेदितो ..., यवाश्व ..., तैलं ..., तेषाम् ..., वद्ध ....

<sup>13</sup> 1.16.19–23 (Su 1938: 79–80).

<sup>14</sup> Su 1939: 130–131.

सेदितोन्मदितं कर्णं खेहैनेतेन योजयेत् ॥  
 अथानुपद्रवः सम्यग्बलचांश्च विवर्धते ॥ १९ ॥  
 ( यथाश्वगन्धायष्ट्राहैस्तिलैश्चोद्धरतेन हितम् ॥  
 शतावर्यश्वगन्धाभ्यां पयस्वैरण्डजीवनैः ॥ २० ॥  
 तैलं विपक्षं सक्षीरमभ्यङ्गात् पालिवर्धनम् ॥ )  
  
 कर्णवर्धनार्थं सम्मर्दनयोगेतेहमाह—तथा गोवेदादि । प्रहुदा लह्वादयोजपान-  
 वक्ष्याः, विकिरा लावादयः, आनुपा गहियादयः । राजसर्पः वेतसर्पः, तत्स-  
 तैलम्, एवं हि लेहोऽथम् । पयश्चात्र पाकार्थं इवान्तरात्तुचेष्टार्थुणमेव । ये हु पयस्याने  
 सार्पः पठन्ते, तन्मते जलाश्चोदयम्; अन्ये हु चतुःखेहैनेव पयःस्थार्थं पठन्ते ।  
 अलक्षः अर्कमेदः, जलक्षो जलतृणासको भवति ‘जलतृणा’ हस्ति प्रविद्दः । प्रतीवापः  
 कल्पः । ये तत्र सधुरागं पठन्ति पयसां च, तन्मते पयसा शीरविदारी । तैलं वेति  
 तैलमेव वा ॥ १९-२० ॥

सेदितोन्मदितं कर्णं खेहैनेतेन योजयेत् ॥  
 अथानुपद्रवः सम्यग्बलचांश्च विवर्धते ॥ २० ॥  
 अथ तैलस्यावचारणमाह,—सेदितोन्मदितमिल्यादि ॥ २० ॥  
 यथाश्वगन्धायष्ट्राहैस्तिलैश्चोद्धरतेन हितम् ॥  
 अभ्यक्षस्योद्दर्तनमाह,—यवेद्यादि ॥—  
  
 शतावर्यश्वगन्धाभ्यां पयस्वैरण्डजीवनैः ॥ २१ ॥  
 तैलं विपक्षं सक्षीरमभ्यङ्गात् पालिवर्धनम् ॥  
 कर्णपालिविद्यर्थमपरं तैलमाह,—शतावर्यश्वगन्धाभ्यामि-  
 ल्यादि । शतावर्यादिककेन लेहचतुर्थांशेन केवलक्षीरेण चतुर्थ-  
 गेन तैलमत्र पचारीयम् । पयसा अर्कपुण्डी । जीवनैः काको-  
 ल्यादिदत्यैः ॥ २१ ॥—

Figure 2.1: The text as it appears in Cakrapāṇi (left) and Ḏalhaṇa (right) ([Su 1939: 130](#), [Su 1938: 79](#)).

( नाडीयोगं विनौष्ठस्य नासासन्धानवद्विधिम् ॥  
 य एवमेव जानीयात् स राज्ञः कंतुर्मर्हति ॥ ३१ ॥ )  
 इति सौश्रुते शब्दयतन्त्रे सूत्रस्याने कर्णव्यधवन्धविधिर्नाम  
 पोडशोऽन्ध्यायः ॥ १६ ॥

Figure 2.2: *Suśrutasamhitā* 1.16.31 in the 1939 printed edition.

of the *Suśrutasamhitā* known to him. Incidentally, the editors remarked in a footnote that verses 20–21a were not in the Nepalese manuscript that they consulted. This shows that the version of the *Suśrutasamhitā* that Cakrapāṇidatta knew is similar to the Nepalese version, at least in this particular case.<sup>15</sup>

A similar instance occurs in the edition of the *Bhānumatī* at SS 1.16.31, where the editors of the 1939 printed edition included a verse in parenthesis that was commented on by Ḏalhaṇa but not by Cakrapāṇidatta (see Fig. 2.2).<sup>16</sup> This verse was almost certainly not in the text of the *Suśrutasamhitā* known to Cakrapāṇidatta. The manuscript on which the editors'

<sup>15</sup> [Su 1939: 130](#), n. 2.

<sup>16</sup> The verse begins नाडीयोगं विनौष्ठस्य. It is printed in the vulgate as 1.16.32 ([Su 1938: 81](#)), with Ḏalhaṇa's commentary. It is printed in parentheses as 1.16.31 in the edition of the *Bhānumatī* ([Su 1939: 133](#)).

edition of Cakrapāṇidatta's *Bhānumatī* commentary was mainly based, MS London BL H. T. Colebrooke 908, does not include the root text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, it requires a careful reading of the commentary itself to reverse-engineer, as it were, what its author, Cakrapāṇidatta, was seeing in the manuscripts of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that he had before him in the eleventh century. But there is no evidence that they included the verses SS 1.16.19—21ab and 31 that are printed in the [Su 1939](#) edition as if they were present to Cakrapāṇidatta.

## Cakrapāṇidatta and the Nepalese version

We have already seen one case where Cakrapāṇidatta's version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* was more similar to the older Nepalese version than to the later version of Ḏalhaṇa. There is more evidence for this. For example, SS 1.16.5 of the Nepalese version begins with the compound दोषसमुद्यात्; Cakrapāṇidatta began his comment on this passage by glossing this very expression. By contrast, Ḏalhaṇa's version inserted two compounds, क्षिरजिह्वाप्रशस्तसूचीव्यधात् and गाढतर्वर्तित्वात्, before this.<sup>18</sup> It appears that Cakrapāṇidatta was not aware of the compounds that Ḏalhaṇa saw in his later version, but was indeed reading a text similar to the Nepalese version.<sup>19</sup>

If one looks beyond SS 1.16, there are further instances where the Nepalese version and the root text as read by Cakrapāṇidatta have the same reading, but Ḏalhaṇa mentioned it as an alternative that is, “read by others.” For example, the Nepalese version of SS 1.1.22 begins तत्रास्मिज्ञास्ते..., which is also the reading commented on by Cakrapāṇidatta.<sup>20</sup> However, Ḏalhaṇa commented on अस्मिज्ञास्ते and stated that “others read तत्रास्मिज्ञास्ते”.<sup>21</sup>

Another example is the reading of पष्टा विधानैः in Ḏalhaṇa's commentary

<sup>17</sup> This observation is based on an examination of the opening passage MS London BL H. T. Colebrooke 908. The MS is described in [IOLR](#): v. 1.5, 928, #2647. The section “The 1939 Edition,” on p. [31](#) below, describes the sources that the editors used for that edition.

<sup>18</sup> 1.16.6 ([Su 1938](#): 77).

<sup>19</sup> 1.16.5 ([Su 1939](#): 126–127).

<sup>20</sup> 1.1.20 (*sic*) ([Su 1939](#): 17).

<sup>21</sup> 1.1.22 ([Su 1938](#): 5).

on SS 1.1.8.1 that is not in his main text but that he ascribes to “some others”.<sup>22</sup> This reading is likely to be derived from the expression षष्ठाभिधानैः in the main text of the Nepalese version, and to have been rewritten before Dalhaṇa’s time because it was hard to understand.<sup>23</sup>

## Differences between the Nepalese and later versions of SS 1.16

Several differences between the text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* as reconstructed on the basis of the Nepalese MSS and as found in its multiple contemporary printed editions have already been pointed out in previous publications. For example, Klebanov listed differences in the chapter sequences as they affect the overall organization and structuring of themes and elements of the text.<sup>24</sup> Others have explored variations in the frame story of the work as a whole.<sup>25</sup> Klebanov discussed the interchangeable use of two titles for the first book of the text, namely “Ślokasthāna” and “Sūtrasthāna.” He also discussed another feature of the Nepalese version, namely the additional colophons found at the end of each book and also at the end of each decade of chapters of the work.<sup>26</sup>

### The greater internal coherence of the Nepalese version

In an exemplary investigation of textual variants in the Nepalese version, Harimoto studied the classification of snakes in SS 5.4 and revealed that the Nepalese version preserves a text that is internally more consistent and coherent than the versions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* found in different printed sources.<sup>27</sup>

Klebanov contributed some further general remarks and examples of substantive differences between the Nepalese and vulgate versions, and

<sup>22</sup> 1.1.8.1 ([Su 1938](#): 3).

<sup>23</sup> See the discussion by Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Rimal, et al. ([2021](#): 4–5).

<sup>24</sup> Klebanov [2021a](#): 27 f.

<sup>25</sup> Wujastyk [2013b](#); Klebanov [2021a](#): 28–32; Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. [2021](#); Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Rimal, et al. [2021](#): 2–4.

<sup>26</sup> Klebanov [2021a](#): 32–44.

<sup>27</sup> Harimoto [2011](#): 101–104.

provided two more case studies.<sup>28</sup> The first dealt with the list of skin lesions associated with urinary disease.<sup>29</sup> Their signs and pathogenesis are described in the *Nidānasthāna* and their treatment in the *Cikitsāsthāna*.<sup>30</sup> This list of skin lesions exemplifies a case where the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasanhitā* is internally more coherent than that commented on by Ḏalhaṇa. The incoherence of Ḏalhaṇa'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.<sup>31</sup>

The second case study by Klebanov focussed on the variation in the list of bodily winds (प्राण) in SS 3.4.<sup>32</sup> This discussion too relied upon Gayadāsa's learned remarks. He commented on a version of the *Suśrutasanhitā* corresponding to the Nepalese version and reported an alternative reading and its interpretation preferred by another ancient commentator, Jejjāta (fl. ca. 650 – c. 750). It is Jejjāta's reading that is known to modern readers of the *Suśrutasanhitā* from the vulgate version of the text.

As the present study demonstrates, many features pertaining to the actual content of the Nepalese version continue to come to light as we proceed with our study of the manuscripts. On the whole, these observations indicate that many features of the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasanhitā* are likely to go back to an early state of the work that was common to other versions of the compendium. However, there are also 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 unlikely that they will be attested in MSS from other regions, when a study of those is done. When evaluating the Nepalese readings historically, it is necessary to keep in mind that there is plentiful evidence that Ḏalhaṇa's version of the text also included extremely early readings and variants, suggesting that some of the readings accepted by Ḏalhaṇa were ancient, if not original. Each case has to be weighed, and we are not yet in a position to make definitive judgments about the early divergence of textual recensions.

<sup>28</sup> Klebanov 2021a: 44–55.

<sup>29</sup> प्रमेहपिटका in the Nepalese spelling.

<sup>30</sup> *Suśrutasanhitā* 2.6 (Su 1938: 289–294) and 4.12 (Su 1938: 454–455) respectively.

<sup>31</sup> 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. The reverse is more likely, although we are still uncertain of whether Gayadāsa was aware of the Nepalese version. Being from Bengal, it is not unlikely that he knew it.

<sup>32</sup> Klebanov 2021a.

The detailed comparison that follows 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 in Dalhaṇa's version to standardise, simplify or clarify the language that appears in the Nepalese version, to add and redact information, and introduce changes to recipes and therapies. Examples from 1.16 have been provided to demonstrate these general observations which, we expect, will be supported by a larger survey of the text.

## Transpositions

Figure 2.3 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 in the vulgate. 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 predecessors 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, but Dalhaṇa's comments prompted him to place them in parentheses.<sup>33</sup> Be this as it may, this large block of verses is not present in the Nepalese version.

One can also see in Figure 2.3 that verses 17 and 18 of the Nepalese version were transposed in the redaction of Dalhaṇa's version, where 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 *Suśrutasaṅhitā*.

Apart from the addition of verses, the redacting of the version known

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<sup>33</sup> 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 *Suśrutasaṅhitā* in other parts of India. For example, they are present in MS Hyderabad Osmania 137-3(b).

Nepalese version Ḏalhaṇa'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 2.3: A Comparison of verses in 1.16 of the Nepalese and Ḏalhaṇa's versions.

to Ḏalhaṇa involved many small, yet sometimes significant, changes that are described below.<sup>34</sup>

### Changing Spelling, Sandhi and Syntax

Later commentators like Ḏalhaṇa often made efforts to standardise, simplify or improve the language of the Nepalese version. Such changes include the standardising of spelling,<sup>35</sup> sandhi,<sup>36</sup> and verbal forms,<sup>37</sup> as well

34 The present study focusses on the commentary of Ḏalhaṇa, but many of the same investigations could be made with regard to the surviving parts of the other early commentaries. See the discussion below, p. 33.

35 For example, पत्ताङ्ग (SS 1.16.21) → पतङ्ग (1.16.29, Su 1938: 81). For more information on this, see footnote 36 to the translation.

36 For example, ऋस्तेन ऋजु (SS 1.16.2) → ऋस्तेन जु (1.16.3, Su 1938: 76).

37 For example, उन्नामयित्वा (SS 1.16.21) → प्रान्नम्य (1.16.29, Su 1938: 81); अवचूर्णयीत (SS 1.16.21) → उपहरेत (1.16.29, Su 1938: 81).

as interventions to simplify and clarify syntax.<sup>38</sup> These efforts often involved splitting compounds.<sup>39</sup> In some instances, these changes improved the grammar,<sup>40</sup> or altered the meaning.<sup>41</sup> However, some prefixes of verbal forms,<sup>42</sup> case endings,<sup>43</sup> and indeclinables were changed for less apparent reasons.<sup>44</sup> There is also a tendency to replace uncommon words with generic ones,<sup>45</sup> add indeclinables,<sup>46</sup> omit the verb “to be” at the end of sentences,<sup>47</sup> and introduce verses after a prose passage with the phrase भवति चात्र.<sup>48</sup>

## Technical Terms

There is evidence of standardising and altering technical terminology in versions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* subsequent the Nepalese one. Two examples of this in *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.16 are the terms for “joins” (बन्ध) and “a slice of flesh” (वध्र). The Nepalese version uses three terms for “joining” splits in the ear flaps and the flesh of nose (बन्ध, सन्धान, सन्धि). Redactors of subsequent versions appear to have tried to standardise this terminology by

- 38 For example, शोणितबहुत्वनिवेदनायां चान्यदेशविद्धमिति जानीयात्। निरुपद्रवता तदेशविद्धलिङ्गम्। (SS 1.16.3) → शोणितबहुत्वेन वेदनया चान्यदेशविद्धमिति जानीयात्। निरुपद्रवतया तदेशविद्धम् 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) → स्थैर्य-नैतेन (1.16.20, Su 1938: 79).
- 39 For example, यद्यच्छाविद्धायां सिरायाम् (SS 1.16.4) → यद्यच्छया विद्धासु सिरासु (1.16.5, Su 1938: 76); धान्यामुकपालचूर्णं (SS 1.16.10) → धान्यामुकं कपालचूर्णं (1.16.20, Su 1938: 78).
- 40 For example, सुरामण्डशीरम् (SS 1.16.10) → सुरामण्डं क्षीरम् (1.16.15, Su 1938: 78).
- 41 For example, क्षीणाल्प्यमांसः (SS 1.16.12) → क्षीणोऽल्प्यमांसः (1.16.17, Su 1938: 79).
- 42 For example, सम्बद्धितः (SS 1.16.8) → विवर्द्धितः (1.16.9, Su 1938: 77); निवेश्य (SS 1.16.10) → सन्निवेश्य (1.16.15, Su 1938: 78); अवव्य (SS 1.16.10) → च वद्धा (1.16.15, Su 1938: 78).
- 43 For example, मासे (SS 1.16.2) → मासि (1.16.3, Su 1938: 76).
- 44 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).
- 45 For example, प्रक्षयेत् (SS 1.16.15) → योजयेत् (1.16.20, Su 1938: 79); नयेत् (SS 1.16.21) → वद्धा (1.16.29, Su 1938: 81).
- 46 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).
- 47 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)).
- 48 For example, [absent] (SS 1.16.11) → भवति चात्र (1.16.16, Su 1938: 79).

replacing सन्धान and सन्धि with बन्ध in prose passages.<sup>49</sup> However, the use of the term सन्धान was retained in verses, perhaps because of the metrical challenges of making such a change or perhaps because the verses had greater traditional authority. Also, the names of joins which incorporate सन्धान and सन्धि remained the same.<sup>50</sup>

The Nepalese version contains the rather obscure term वंश for the slice of flesh that a surgeon cuts from the cheek in order to construct a new nose.<sup>51</sup> Modern dictionaries define वंश as a leathern strap or a slice of bacon,<sup>52</sup> the latter of which is more indicative of its meaning in the Nepalese version. This word was written out of subsequent versions,<sup>53</sup> and it was not mentioned as an alternative reading by either Cakrapāṇidatta or Dalhana, which suggests that its use and meaning may not have been known to them. However, वंश was used by the author of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā* in the context of rhinoplasty, so it likely to be the correct reading in the Nepalese version.<sup>54</sup>

## Augmenting the Text

Apart from adding whole passages and verses (as seen in Figure 2.3), 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,<sup>55</sup> and phrases added to elaborate on diseases and treatments.<sup>56</sup> In partic-

49 For example, पञ्चदशसन्धानाकृतयः (SS 1.16.9) → पञ्चदशवन्धानाकृतयः (see 1.16.10 (*Su 1938*: 77)); दशकर्णसन्धिविकल्प्यः (SS 1.16.9) → कर्णवन्धिविकल्प्यः (see 1.16.10 (*Su 1938*: 77)).

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

51 SS 1.16.20 and 23.

52 *Apte*: 1385; *MW*: 917.

53 वंशम् (SS 1.16.20) → वञ्चम् (SS 1.16.28, *Su 1938*: 81) and तद्वप्तशेषं (SS 1.16.23) → तद्वप्तशेषं (SS 1.16.31, *Su 1938*: 81).

54 Utt.18.62 (*Ah 1939*: 841). This may suggest some independence between the text of the *Suśrutasamhitā* as transmitted to its direct commentators and as transmitted to Vāgbhaṭa. The word वंश is old, occurring, also in the form वंशि, from the *Atharvaveda* onwards (Mayrhofer 1986–2001: v. 2, 521–522).

55 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).

56 For example, घात्तङ्के (SS 1.16.2) → घात्तङ्के कुमारधराङ्के वा (1.16.3); [absent] (SS 1.16.2) → बालकीडनकैः प्रलोभ्य (1.16.3); [absent] (SS 1.16.3) → पिचुवर्ति प्रवेशयेत् (1.16.5).

ular, 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 additional characteristics,<sup>57</sup> and a list of four symptoms associated with incurable joins in the Nepalese version (SS 1.16.19) was increased to six in Ḏalhaṇa'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 Ḏalhaṇa (1.16.5, [Su 1938: 76–77](#)) classifies these symptoms according to three ducts called कालिका, मर्मरिका and लोहितिका, which results in some repetition of the symptoms mentioned.<sup>58</sup>

## 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.<sup>59</sup> However, the transpos-

57 For example, पीठोपमपालिर्निर्विधिमः (1.16.9, [Su 1938: 77](#)) → पीठोपमपालिरुभयतः क्षीणपुत्रिकाश्रितो निर्विधिमः (1.16.10, [Su 1938: 77](#)); इतराल्पपालिः संक्षिप्तः (SS 1.16.9) → उत्सन्नपालिरितराल्पपालिः संक्षिप्तः (1.16.10); तनुविषमपालिः (SS 1.16.9) → तनुविषमाल्पपालिः (1.16.10).

58 In Ḏalhaṇa'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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* known to Cakrapāṇidatta (1.16.4, [Su 1939: 126](#)) because he mentions that some read classifications of ducts at this point in the text and he cites verses from Bhoja on कालिका, मर्मरिका and लोहितिका, but he does not gloss or comment on the passage known to Ḏalhaṇa.

59 For example, अपुस्थूल० (SS 1.16.9) → स्थूलाण्ज० (1.16.10, [Su 1938: 77](#)); तत्रैते दशकर्ण० (SS 1.16.9) → तत्र दशैते कर्ण० (1.16.10, [Su 1938: 77](#)); नातिगाढन्नातिशिथिलं सूत्रेणाववध्य (SS 1.16.9) → सूत्रेणानवगाढमनतिशिथिलं च वद्धा (1.16.10, [Su 1938: 77](#)); पूर्वन्दक्षिणं कुमारस्य वामङ्गन्यायाः | प्रतनुं सूच्या बहलमारया (SS 1.16.2) → प्रतनुं सूच्या बहलमारया। पूर्व दक्षिणं कुमारस्य वामङ्गन्यायाः (1.16.3, [Su 1938: 76](#)).

ition 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 Ḏalhaṇa's. It seems that this transposition may have resulted from the insertion of new verses 1.16.23cd–24 and 1.16.26.1–19 in the latter.

## Redacting Recipes and Elaborating on Treatments

Some of the additional text in subsequent versions of the *Suśrutasaṅhitā* 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.<sup>60</sup> 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 Ḏalhaṇa's version at 1.16.18 (Su 1938: 70),<sup>61</sup> which reiterates the cure for an ear tainted by a humour that was described earlier in 1.16.7.<sup>62</sup> The reiteration is quite apt because it follows a passage that outlines the various symptoms of ear disease arising from each of the three humours.<sup>63</sup> 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.

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 ointment that should be applied to a pierced ear that has not healed. In Ḏalhaṇa's version, the recipe was rewritten to include

<sup>60</sup> For example, [absent] (SS 1.16.2) → पिञ्चवर्ति प्रवेशयेत् (1.16.3, Su 1938: 76).

<sup>61</sup> Corresponding to SS 1.16.13 in the Nepalese version, lines 50–51 of the edition.

<sup>62</sup> SS 1.16.6 in the Nepalese version, lines 13–14 of the edition.

<sup>63</sup> Ḏalhaṇa 1.16.17 (Su 1938: 79), corresponding to Nepalese SS 1.16.12, lines 46–49 of the edition.

sesame seeds.<sup>64</sup> 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 of the admixture has five additional ingredients, namely, *prickly chaff-flower*, *Withania*, *milk-white*, *sweet plants* and *Indian ipecac*.<sup>65</sup> It also has *beggarweed* instead of *Indian kudzu*.<sup>66</sup>

The general tendency in redacting a recipe from the Nepalese version was to preserve most ingredients of the original and to add new ones.

## Comparative therapeutics

For at least two reasons, it is interesting to compare the text materials of the *Suśrutasamhitā* 1.16 with parallel materials found in other texts, including the *Carakasamhitā*, the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, and the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā*. The latter two works, both ascribed to Vāgbhaṭa, can safely be dated to a period after the composition of the *Suśrutasamhitā* but before the commentator Ḏalhaṇa, thus throwing light on a period of development for which witnesses are limited and also also broadly the period at which the Nepalese version was current. Secondly, the manner in which Vāgbhaṭa's works incorporate and modify materials from the *Suśrutasamhitā* can help us to understand how recipes and therapies evolved within specific lines of textual transmission.

The materials presented in *Suśrutasamhitā* 1.16 are parallel to those in two chapters of the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, namely Uttarasthāna, chapters 1 and 22, titled “*bālopacaraṇīya*” and “*karṇarogapratīṣedha*,” and *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā*, Uttarasthāna 1 and 18 with the same chapter names.<sup>67</sup>

First, let us take up the end of passage 2 (line 6) in the edition of the Nepalese version below, corresponding to SS 1.16.3 ([Su 1938: 76](#)) in Ḏalhaṇa's version. The Nepalese version says nothing, while Ḏalhaṇa's version says “one should insert a cloth wick” (पिचुवर्ति प्रवेशयेत्). A little later,

64 Nepalese version SS 1.16.5 (lines 11–12): यवमधुकमञ्जिष्ठागन्धर्वहस्तमूलैर्मधुघृतप्रगाढैरालेपयेत् which become, in Ḏalhaṇa 1.16.7 ([Su 1938: 77](#)): मधुकैरण्डमूलमञ्जिष्ठायवतिलकल्कैर्मधुघृतप्रगाढैरालेपयेत्.

65 Ḏalhaṇa's version 1.16.7 ([Su 1938: 77](#)).

66 Nepalese version SS 1.16.14 (lines 52–54): अर्कालर्कबलातिबलानन्ताविदारीमधुकजलशूकप्रतिवाप-न्तैलम्पाचयित्वा which become, in Ḏalhaṇa 1.16.19 ([Su 1938: 79](#)): अर्कालर्कबलातिबलानन्तापामार्गाश्वगन्धाविदारिगन्धाक्षीरशुक्राजलशूकमधुरवर्गपयस्याप्रतिवापं तैलम्वा पाचयित्वा.

67 [As 1980: 619–629](#) and 734–744 and [Ah 1939: 777–781](#) and 837–841, respectively.

both versions say, “one should remove the wick”.<sup>68</sup> It seems likely that the editor of Dalhaṇa’s version added the initial phrase about inserting the wick because it seemed necessary to say that the wick was applied before being removed. The older Nepalese version seems slightly less coherent on this point, but is perhaps represents an earlier recension on the principle of *lectio difficilior potior*. Both the *Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgraha* and the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā* describe first inserting a thread in the pierced earlobe and subsequently replacing it every third day.<sup>69</sup> In this respect, they agree with Dalhaṇa’s version.

Secondly, it is interesting to consider again the recipe prescribed to treat the vitiation of humours in the pierced ear, mentioned above. A slightly modified recipe is found in the *Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgraha* 6.1.63 (As 1980: 626), but the same is not present in *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā*. As pointed out above, Dalhaṇa’s version adds a paste of sesame seeds (*tilakalka*) to the recipe attested by the Nepalese version. In the parallel version of recipe found in the printed editions of *Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgraha*, honey (मधु) is missing, but ghee (आज्ज्य) is found. However, when checking the manuscripts of the *Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgraha*, one of them,<sup>70</sup> reads आद्यैः instead of आज्ज्यैः (यवैरण्डजटायष्टीमञ्जिष्ठाज्ज्यैः प्रलेपयेत्). Interestingly, the paste of sesame seeds (*devtilakalka*) of Dalhaṇa’s version is not present in the *Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgraha* and is replaced by *devjaṭā*, which is most probably spikenard.

Since the paste of sesame seeds (तिलकल्क) is the main differentiating factor between the recipe versions attested by the Nepalese version and Dalhaṇa’s version, a general review of the contexts its use in the major texts may be enlightening. References for the paste of sesame seeds (तिलकल्क) are found in the texts shown in Table 2.1. Among them, references with the combination of the paste of sesame seeds (तिलकल्क), ghee (घृत) and honey (मधु) are not rare either, with four instances each in *Suśrutasamhitā* and *Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgraha* and two instances in *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā*. A combination of the paste of sesame seeds, ghee and honey has also been specifically quoted as a healing recipe.<sup>71</sup>

68 तत्र वर्त्तिमपहृत्य in the Nepalese version (line 11), and the less clear तत्र वर्त्तिमुपहृत्य in Dalhaṇa’s version (1.16.6 (Su 1938: 77)).

69 6.1.58 (As 1980: 626) and 6.1.36 (Ah 1939: 780) respectively.

70 MS Mumbai, Asiatic Society 162, catalogue no. BD 263/1-6

71 See, e.g., *Suśrutasamhitā* 1.11.22ab (Su 1938: 49), *Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgraha* 1.38.21 (As 1980: 249–250) and *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā* 1.30.34 (Ah 1939: 357).

<i>Text</i>	<i>Instances of sesame seed paste</i>
<i>Carakasañhitā</i>	6
<i>Suśrutasañhitā</i>	11
<i>Aṣṭāṅgasañgraha</i>	16
<i>Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasañhitā</i>	4

Table 2.1: Sesame seed paste (तिलकल्क) in different texts.

Another matter of interest is the combination of ghee and honey. We find many instances where this unique combination alone or in combination with other drugs is used in a variety of clinical contexts including those prescribed for the healing of ulcers or surgical wounds.<sup>72</sup>

This material evidence points to the general trend from the older Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasañhitā* to the more recent version of *Dalhaṇa* that recipes start with an intact central core of a few drugs, here consisting of ghee and honey, that is transmitted to the later versions of texts but supplemented by later physicians resulting in ever larger recipes in subsequent versions of the text.

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<sup>72</sup> E.g., *Aṣṭāṅgasañgraha* 1.37.30 (As 1980: 246) for क्षतकण्ठ and *Aṣṭāṅgasañgraha* 4.17.22 (As 1980: 517) for healing of the surgical wound in उदररोग.

## 3 The Printed Editions

The careful survey of printed editions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* by Meulenbeld lists no fewer than 44 entries.<sup>1</sup> 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 began with Hessler's Latin translation in 1844 and continue up to the present in scores of publications in many languages.<sup>2</sup>

### The vulgate

The great ayurvedic scholar Yādavaśarman Trivikrama Ācārya produced three successive editions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* with the commentary of Ḏalhaṇa, in 1915, 1931 and 1938. These editions, especially the last, are generally considered the most scholarly and reliable editions of the work, and have been constantly reprinted up to the present day.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> These sources were described by Ācārya as follows; we provide an overview in Table 3.1.

### The sources of the 1915 edition

- 1 Calcutta, Royal Asiatic Society. Covers the *sūtra*, *nidāna*, *sārīra* and *kalpa sthānas*.

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<sup>1</sup> [HIML](#): IIB, 311–314.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., Zysk 1984; [HIML](#): IIB, 314–315.

<sup>3</sup> See also the studies of these editions by Klebanov (2021a:§1.2) and Wujastyk (2013b:143–144).

<sup>4</sup> The following account is paraphrased from Y. T. Ācārya and N. R. Ācārya's own account of their sources ([Su](#) 1938: 22).

- 2 Jaipur, Pandit Gaṅgādharabhaṭṭāśarman, lecturer at the Royal Sanskrit University. Covers the *cikitsāsthāna* and the *uttaratatantra*.
- 3 Bundi, my great friend the royal physician Paṇḍīt Śrīprasādaśarman  
Covers the *uttaratatantra*.

### The sources of the 1931 edition

- 1 Vārāṇasī, professor of literature, the great Gaurīnāthapāṭhaka. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Covers the *nidānasthāna* and *uttaratatantra*.
- 2 Ahmedabad. My friend Sva. Vā. Vaidya Raṇachodālāla Motīlālaśarman. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Covers the *śārīrasthāna*.
- 3 From the personal library of my great friend Sva. Vā. Vaidya Murāra-jīśarman. Extremely old. No commentary. Covers the *śārīrasthāna*.
- 4 Puṇe, BORI library. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Covers the *śārīrasthāna*.<sup>5</sup>
- 5 Puṇe, BORI library. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Complete. With some damaged folia.
- 6 Bombay, Asiatic Society. Incomplete.<sup>6</sup>
- 7 Varanasi, the private library of Vaidya Tryambakaśāstrī. Covers the *cikitsāsthāna*. The variant readings of this MS were compiled by Prof.
- 8 A printed edition together with the commentary *Sūśrutasandīpanabhāṣya* by Professor Hārāṇacandra Cakravārtti. Complete work. This is the 1910 Calcutta edition numbered “t” by Meulenbeld.<sup>7</sup>
- 9 A printed edition of the first 43 chapters of the *sūtrasthāna*, printed in Bengali script, with the commentaries *Bhānumatī*, *Nibandhasaṅgraha*, edited by Vijayaratnasena and Niśikāntasena. This is the 1886 Calcutta edition numbered “g” by Meulenbeld.<sup>8</sup>

### The sources of the 1938 edition

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

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

6 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.”

7 HIML: IB, 312; Bhaṭṭācārya 1910–7.

8 HIML: IB, 311; Sena et al. 1886–93.

<i>edition</i>	1915			1931						1938					
<i>source</i>	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.

Table 3.1: The sources of Yādavaśarman T. Ācārya’s three editions: manuscript coverage (●) and print coverage (○).

- 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.<sup>9</sup>
  - 3 Kathmandu, located in the private library of the Royal Guru Hemarāja Śarman. An extremely old palm-leaf manuscript. Readings from this MS were compiled by 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*.<sup>10</sup> Although most 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.

<sup>9</sup> See Dominik Wujastyk, “MS Bīkāner AnupLib 4390.” *Pandit*. <<http://panditproject.org/entity/108068/manuscript>>.

<sup>10</sup> This figure is arrived at by summing the MSS mentioned by Raghavan et al. (NCC:v. 39, 373–375) and in the NGMCP. The real figure could be many scores higher. Cf. the overview at Wujastyk et al. 2020.

While the descriptions provided by Ācārya of his source materials seems at first to be moderately comprehensive, Table 3.1 reveals the underlying paucity of textual sources for these editions. At first, it appears that fifteen manuscripts were consulted. However, we quickly see that two of the sources were other people's printed editions, and one of those covered less than a quarter of the work (no. 9 of 1931). That reduces the manuscript base to 13 manuscripts. Ācārya does not appear to have seen two of the manuscripts at all, having been sent collations prepared for him by others (7 of 1931 and 3 of 1938). Thus, Ācārya's final edition was based on the personal consultation of eleven partial manuscripts. One of them remains unidentified (6 of 1931). Only a single manuscript covers the whole of the *Suśrutasamhitā*, no. 5 of the 1931 edition. Manuscript 1 of 1938 is the next most complete, but it omits the *uttaratantra*, which comprises a third of the work. Manuscript 1 of the 1915 edition is third in size, but it still omits both of the longest chapters, and thus offers less than half the work. For the rest, the evidence is spotty, with each part of the work being supported by only between four and eight manuscripts, excluding the printed editions.

Two sources stand out for their historical importance. The first is no. 3 of 1931, which Ācārya calls "extremely old." It covered the *śārīrasthāna* only, and unfortunately we know nothing of the later history of this manuscript. The second is no. 3 of 1938, which is one of the important Nepalese manuscripts being considered in the present project. Ācārya's remarks and references to Hemarājaśarman's introduction to the *Kāśyapasamhitā* allow us to identify this manuscript as MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps the editors only received collations for this portion of the manuscript and did not know that it was a witness for the whole work.

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<sup>11</sup> Su 1938: 22; Hemarāja Śarman 1938: 56–57. Discussed by Klebanov (2021a: §1.1, 2.3). See also HIML: IIB, 25–41; Wujastyk 2003: 161–169.

<sup>12</sup> Su 1938: 22.

## 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. 3.1).<sup>13</sup> The text was edited on the basis of the following sources.

### For the Bhānumatī

1. A printed edition. Covered the *Bhānumatī* up to chapter Su.sū.40. The siglum was मु for मुद्रित.<sup>14</sup>
2. A manuscript in the India Office Library library provided through the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune.<sup>15</sup> This manuscript covered the *Bhānumatī* up to the end of the *sūtrasthāna*. The siglum was ह for हस्तलिखित.<sup>16</sup>

### For the Suśrutasamhitā

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

<sup>13</sup> [Su 1939](#). The description of the sources below is based on Yādavaśarman T. Ācārya's remarks in his introduction (pp. 3–4). See also the remarks on this edition by Klebanov ([2021b:7](#)). On the Swami Laxmi Ram centre, see Hofer [2007](#)

<sup>14</sup> Sena et al. [1886–93](#). The manuscript on which this edition was based is probably in the library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, and described in H. Sastri and Gui [1895–1917](#): v. X.1, which is not available to me. See also [HIML](#): IB, 495, n. 57 for mention of this manuscript. The reference at Rama Rao et al. [2005](#): 217 to CSCL accession number 97 in Bengali script may be this manuscript.

<sup>15</sup> At this time, manuscripts from Britain were routinely lent to scholars in India and vice versa.

<sup>16</sup> Wujastyk [2021 b](#); MS London BL H. T. Colebrooke 908 ([PanditProject #109978](#), consulted on July 03, 2021).

<sup>17</sup> I.e., MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333.

<sup>18</sup> [Su 1938](#). It is noteworthy that Ācārya refers to his 1938 edition as representing “the Dalhaṇa version.”

## १ अध्यायः ]

## सुश्रुतसंहिता

११

चरके—“लभोपयो हि शस्तानां रसादीनां रसायनम्” ( च. चि. अ. १ पा. १ ) । पारिशेष्याद्वाजीकरणतत्त्वम् । अवाजिनं वाजीदुर्बेन्ति येन तद्वाजीकरणम् । ‘अन्येषामपि दृश्यते’ ( पा. अ. ६।३।१३७ ) इति वीर्धलम् । येन वाऽत्यर्थं छीषु व्यज्यते तद्वाजी-करणम् । तदुक्तं चरके—“येन नारीषु सामर्थ्यं वाजिवलभते नरः । व्रजेष्वाप्यधिकं येन वाजीकरणमेव तद्” ( च. चि. अ. २, पा. ४ ) इति ॥ ५ ॥

अथास्य प्रत्येकाङ्गलक्षणसमासः—तत्र, शल्यं नाम विविधरुणकाष्ठ-पाषाणपांशुलोहलोष्टास्थिवालनखपूयास्त्रावदुष्ट्रवणान्तर्गंभेशल्योद्धरणा-र्थं षष्ठ्या विधानैः, यच्चशस्त्रक्षाराद्विप्रणिधानवणविनिश्चयार्थं च; शा-लाक्यं नामोर्ध्वंजनुगतानां श्रवणनयनवदनभ्राणादिसंभितानां व्याधी-नामुपशमनार्थं; कायचिकित्सा नाम सर्वाङ्गसंधितानां व्याधीनां ज्वर-रक्तपित्तशोषोन्मादापस्मारकुष्ठमेहातिसारादीनामुपशमनार्थं; भूत-विद्या नाम देवौसुरगन्धर्वयक्षरक्षःपितृपिशाचनैग्रहाद्युपसृष्टचेतसां शान्तिकर्मवलिहरणादिग्रहोपशमनार्थं; कौमारभूत्यं नाम कुमारभर-णधात्रीक्षीरदोपसंशोधनार्थं दुष्टस्तन्यग्रहसमुत्थिनां च व्याधीनामुप-शमनार्थम् ; अगदतत्रं नाम सर्पकीटलूतामूषकादिदृष्टविषव्यक्षनार्थं विविधविर्खंसंयोगोपशमनार्थं च; रसायनतत्रं नाम वयःश्वापनमायुर्मे-धावलकरणं रोगापहरणसमर्थं च; वाजीकरणतत्रं नामावपदुष्टक्षीणशु-ष्करेतसामाप्यायेनप्रसादोपचयजननिसितं प्रदृष्टंजननार्थं च ॥ ६ ॥

शल्याङ्गविशेषात् ज्ञातुं प्रतिलक्षणं संक्षेपेणाह—अथायेत्यादि । एकमेकमर्हं प्रति लक्ष-णानां समासः संक्षेपः प्रत्येकाङ्गलक्षणसमासः । तृणादीनां, तथा दुष्ट्रवणाय, तथाऽन्तर्गत(भैशल्य)स्य उद्धरणार्थमिति प्रत्येकमुद्धरणशब्दः संवृद्धते । दुष्ट्रवणस्यान्तस्तुणाद्य-हरणार्थमित्यन्ये । षष्ठ्या विधानैरिति द्वितीयोक्तरपर्तपर्णादै रक्षाविधानान्तैः; इस्तंभूतलक्षणे तृतीया । जनु ग्रीवामूलं, जनुण ऊर्ध्वमूर्धजनु । प्राणादीत्यादिग्रहणाच्छरःकपालादिग्रह-णम् । उत्तरतत्रे प्रतिपादितकमप्राप्त्या ज्वरानन्तरमतीसारः पठितः, तस्यान्ते पाठेऽतिसारस्य सर्वाङ्गीणदोपारव्यत्वात्, अन्येषामपि तन्मध्यपाठेन सर्वाङ्गीणदोपारव्यत्वलप्रतिपादना-व्यतिक्रमं चदन्ति । शान्तिकर्मवलिहरणादिना ग्रहाणां देवादीनामुपशमो यस्तदर्थः; यदि वा ग्रहणं ग्रहो देवानामावेचास्तुपशमार्थम् । दुष्टस्तन्यग्रहसमुत्थितानामिति दुष्टस्तन्येन

१ ‘सर्वंशरीरावस्थितानां श्वाधीनांमुपशमकरणार्थं ज्वरशोफगुच्छरक्तपित्तोन्मादापसार-प्रमेहादीसारादीनां च’ इति ता. । २ ‘देवदानव०’ इति ता. । ३ ‘०विनायकनागग्रहोप-सृष्टचेतसा’ इति ता. । ४ ‘०विष्वेगोपशमनार्थं’ इति ता. । ५ ‘शुक्राप्यायन०’ इति ता. । ६ ‘शुणादीनां शल्यान्तानां’ इति मु. ७ ‘अन्ये तु तस्मान्ते पाठेन’ इति पा० । ८ ‘ग्रहणाद०’ इति मु. ।

Figure 3.1: A page of the 1939 *Bhānumati* edition, showing the variant readings in the footnotes.

3. Hārāṇacandra Cakravarti's published edition with his own commentary.<sup>19</sup> The siglum was ଶ.

## Evaluation

The main innovation of this publication was to present the only surviving part of the commentary on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* by the great eleventh-century medical scholar Cakrapāṇidatta, namely the *Bhānumatī*.<sup>20</sup> A secondary purpose was to present the text of the *sūtrasthāna* as read in MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333, that had recently been brought to the editors' attention. In their judgement, the Kathmandu manuscript presented a text that was closer to what Cakrapāṇidatta had before him than the text according to 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 3.1).

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.<sup>21</sup>

There is compelling evidence that Cakrapāṇidatta's *Bhānumatī* commentary once covered the whole text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.<sup>22</sup> The loss of the rest of the work ranks amongst the greatest disasters in Āyurvedic literature. Remarkably, the whole *Bhānumatī* may still have existed in the early twentieth century. In 1903, Palmyr Cordier reported being privately informed of a complete copy of the work in a personal manuscript collection in Benares.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Bhaṭṭācārya 1910–7.

<sup>20</sup> HIML: IA, 374–375 and IB, 495–496.

<sup>21</sup> Su 1939: 3–4. See discussion by Klebanov (2021b: 7).

<sup>22</sup> HIML: IA, 375.

<sup>23</sup> Cordier 1903: 332.



## 4 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.

**MS Kathmandu KL 699, siglum K** This manuscript has been preserved at the Kaiser Shamsher (KL) library in Kathmandu, accession number KL 699.<sup>2</sup> See Fig. 4.1 It was microfilmed and catalogued by the NGMPP/ NGMCP as C 80-7.<sup>3</sup> The MS comprises 152 palm-leaf folios that originally belonged to several different codicological units written by different scribes.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> The MS is incomplete and contains a large part of the *Suśrutasamhitā* as well as the *Sauśrutanighaṇṭu*.<sup>6</sup> The date stated in the colophon at the end of the compendium is verified for Sunday, April 13, 878 ce. However, some

<sup>1</sup> See also Harimoto 2010; 2011; 2014.

<sup>2</sup> See also the description by Klebanov (2021a: §2.1).

<sup>3</sup> See [http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/C\\_80-7\\_Suśrutasamhitā](http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/C_80-7_Suśrutasamhitā) (accessed on October 22, 2021).

<sup>4</sup> Bhattacharai (2020: 46) and Klebanov (2021a: 11) agree that four to five scribes were involved in the manuscript's production.

<sup>5</sup> 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).

<sup>6</sup> Klebanov (2021a: 11) provided a detailed description of the content.



Figure 4.1: Folio 17r of MS Kathmandu Kaiser Library 699.



Figure 4.2: Folios 30r and 30v of MS Kathmandu National Archives 1-1079.

controversy is involved in interpreting the exact roles of two persons mentioned in the same 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.<sup>7</sup>

**MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079, siglum N** This MS is kept at the National Archives Kathmandu (NAK), under accession number 1-1079 क.<sup>8</sup> See Fig. 4.2. It was microfilmed twice by the NGMPP as A 45-5(1)

<sup>7</sup> Klebanov (2021a: 13–17) gave a translation and study of the colophon, as well as an exposition of different positions related to its interpretation.

<sup>8</sup> See also the description by Klebanov (2021a: §2.2).

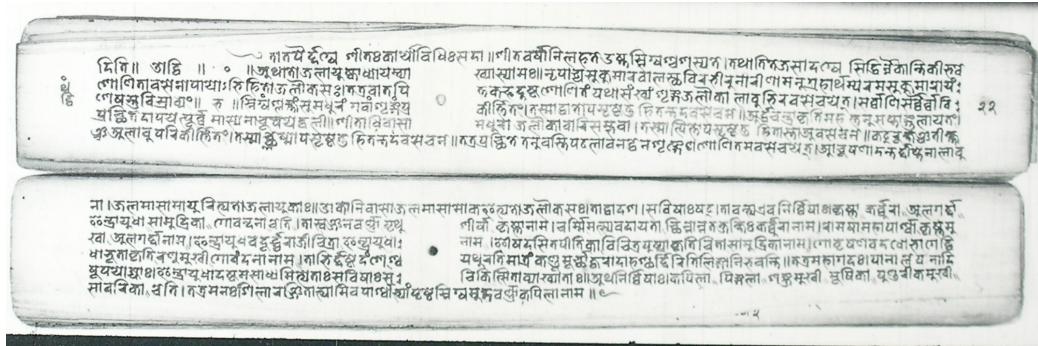


Figure 4.3: Folios 22v and 23r of MS Kathmandu National Archives 5-333.

and A 1267-11(2).<sup>9</sup> The MS comprises 65 palm-leaf folios, 56 × 5 cm in size, with two string holes each, and it is bundled together in a composite manuscript with at least one other medical work. The text is written in a variety of Newari script, with ca. seven lines per folio. Although the text contained in the MS does not cover the entire *Suśrutasamhitā* and breaks off abruptly in the second chapter of the *śārīrasthāna*, the actual MS, as a codicological unit, appears complete, that is, no leaf seems to be missing from the originally unitary artefact. Based on paleographic considerations, the MS can be dated tentatively to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

**MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333, siglum H** This MS belonged to the historical collection of Hemarāja Śarman (fl. 1878–1953) and is currently kept at the NAK under accession number NAK 5-333.<sup>10</sup> See Fig. 4.3. It has been microfilmed twice by the NGMPP as B 29-19 and B 30-15, but the latter microfilm is incomplete.<sup>11</sup> The manuscript comprises 435 palm-leaf folios, 34 × 5 cm in size, with one string-hole left of centre. It is written in a type of Newari script that is more recent than that of N, with approximately six lines per folio. The MS is exceptionally well preserved. Most importantly for the present project, the MS supports

9 See [http://ngmcp.fdm.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A\\_45-5\\_\(Suśrutasamhitā\)](http://ngmcp.fdm.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A_45-5_(Suśrutasamhitā)) (accessed on October 22, 2021).

10 See also the description by Klebanov (2021a: §2.3).

11 See [http://ngmcp.fdm.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/B\\_29-19\\_Suśrutasamhitā](http://ngmcp.fdm.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/B_29-19_Suśrutasamhitā) (accessed on October 22, 2021).

the complete *Suśrutasamhitā* and the *Sauśrutanighaṇṭu*. The final colophon identifies the scribe of the MS as Vaidya Amarasiṁhaka, son of Kamaladatta, and states the date on which he concluded the copying of the text. Both reading the colophon, that is, deciphering the actual characters, and the 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) gave an analytical account of the views expressed in literature, considered further options, and proposed that the MS was completed on Sunday, July 29, 1543.

## Editorial Principles

### Method

The data for the critical edition comes from the witnesses of the Nepalese version, described above. 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup>

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 पृष्ठिका in the

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<sup>12</sup> These guidelines are at <https://saktumiva.org/wiki/tei>, accessed 20/10/2021.

<sup>13</sup> 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.

transcripts, as well as orthographic variants, such as ब and ब̄, 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 Cakrapānidatta 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 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.<sup>14</sup>

## 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.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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

<sup>14</sup> <http://sushrutaproject.org>, consulted 15 September 2022.

<sup>15</sup> 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.

<sup>16</sup> See section 'Features of the Manuscript Transmission' for further discussion of this.

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 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, ०वाचनन्यात्य०), although the *anusvāra* is sometimes used (1.16.15, उदकं धान्यामू०). In most cases, the consonant following a रेष is doubled, but this is not always the case.<sup>17</sup> 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 ः is a moot question because there is no formal Pāṇinian concept of 'end-of-sentence' and his rules on *sandhi* are contingent on the close contact of sounds (*samhitā*).<sup>18</sup> However, it is reasonable to assume that at the end of a verse, paragraph or sentence the speakers would have

<sup>17</sup> Examples of the germination of consonants are कण्णि (1.16.1 ff), मुहूर्त् (1.16.2), पूर्व (1.16.2), गन्धर्व (1.16.5), ०मूलैर् मधु० (1.16.5), वर्ति (1.16.6) and पुनर्विच्छेत् (1.16.6). Examples where it does not occur in 1.16 are ०आर्थम् (1.16.8, 19), कुर्यात् (1.16.16, 32), ०पालिर्वल्लूर० (1.16.10); ०पालिव्यायोजिमः (1.16.10) and दीर्घक० (1.16.10).

<sup>18</sup> Pāṇini 1.4.109 परः सन्निकर्षः सहिता, *et passim*.

d<sub>NE</sub>, k<sub>EM</sub> kumārasya vāmañ kanyāy  
 pratānum sūcyā bahalam ārayā ||2||

( A: tataḥ N, H: pratānū )  
 A: [ADD] picuvarṭī A: [OM]  
 A: praveśayet ||

Figure 4.4: The digital edition of SS.1.16.3

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 ḥ. Nonetheless, this remains an assumption about how the text would be pronounced. Therefore, in a critical edition, inserting *dandas* and changing *anusvāras* to ḥ 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, and the reasons for doing so are given in either the introduction or, in more specific cases, the annotations to the translation.

## Digital Edition

The editors are producing both printed and digital editions of the Nepalese *Suśrutasaṅhitā*. Since the print and digital environments differ markedly, each edition has its own format.

Instructions for reading the digital edition have been provided by Li at [Saktumiva](#). 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 intelligently truncates variants where possible.

For example, as seen in Figure 4.4, 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 *pratanū*. Witness A has added the word *picuvartim* after *tataḥ*, omitted *sūcyā bahalam*,<sup>19</sup> 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 4.4, displays the manuscript sigla for the witnesses that support the selected reading, which is labelled “NE” (“New Edition”). As seen in Figure 4.5, 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. The positive apparatus can be expanded by highlighting one or more words, and even entire passages or verses, and clicking on the collapsed menu icon.

<b>SP:</b> pratanum	sūcyā bahalam ārayā
<b>A:</b> tataḥ [ADD] picuvartim [OM]	praveśayet
<b>K:</b> pratanum	sūcyā bahalam ārayā
<b>N:</b> pratanū	sūcyā bahalam ārayā
<b>H:</b> pratanū	sūcyā bahalam ārayā

Figure 4.5: The witnesses to a selected passage of SS.1.16.3

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

The digital form of the edition is “soft,” in the sense that editorial work on the files that generate the critical text is potentially continuous, adding

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<sup>19</sup> The omitted words are displayed by hovering the cursor over [OM] adjacent to A in the apparatus.

ever greater refinement and precision. And, especially, as more manuscript witnesses come to light and are transcribed, the edition is open to continuous enrichment.

## Printed Edition

The printed edition of SS.1.16 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 – ०विद्वलिङ्गम् ] MSS K, H, and N

The above entry means that a textual passage beginning with अथातः on line 1 and ending with ०विद्वलिङ्गम् 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 indicates 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. Text deleted by a scribe is shown underscored by double lines, and the scribe's substitution is appended in quotation marks.

There are minor notational variations between the online digital edition and the printed edition presented here. For example, a scribal "crow's foot" mark (काकपद), often indicating a marginal insertion, is displayed in the digital edition as,

N: ane~~X~~ ]

and in print as

‡ अनेन] अने X N.

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

The fourth layer of footnotes notes includes various testimonia and notes. The testimonia mainly consists of the variant readings noted by the commentators Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḟalhaṇa. Those known to Gayadāsa 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.

In the printed edition below, the numbering of passages has been adjusted to follow the text of the Nepalese version of the work. The numbering of the corresponding passages in the vulgate is presented in small digits in the right margin.

## 5 Critical edition of Sūtrasthāna 16

अथातः कर्णव्यधविधिं व्याख्यास्यामः ॥ १ ॥

1.16.1

रक्षाभूषणनिमित्तम्बालस्य कर्णो व्यधयेत्। तौ षष्ठे मासे सप्तमे वा शु-  
क्रपक्षे प्रशस्तेषु तिथिकरणमुहूर्तनक्षत्रेषु कृतमङ्गलस्वस्तिवाचनं<sup>१</sup> धात्र्य-  
ङ्के कुमारमुपवेश्याभिसान्त्वयमानो<sup>२</sup> भिषग्वामहस्तेनाकृष्य कर्णन्दैवकृते  
छिद्रे दक्षिणहस्तेन ऋजु विध्येत्। दक्षिणं कुमारस्य वामङ्गन्यायाः। प्रतनुं  
सूच्या बहलमारया ॥ २ ॥

1.16.3

Witnesses

१--८ अथातः--०विद्वलिङ्गम्] MSS K, H, and N

MS variants

१ व्याख्यास्यामः] व्या K. २ सप्तमे] om. N. ३ ०मङ्गलस्वस्तिवाचनं] A; ०मङ्गलं स्वस्तिवाचनं K, H, N. ३-४ धात्र्यङ्के] धात्र्यङ्के K. ४ कुमार] कुमारकम् N. ५ ऋजु] जुम् N H. ५ प्रतनुं] प्रतनू N H.

Variants from Su 1938

१ कर्णव्यधविधिं] कर्णव्यधबन्धविधिमध्यायं A. १ व्याख्यास्यामः] add. यथोवाच भगवान्धन्वन्तरिः॥ A. २ व्य-  
धयेत्] विध्येते A. २ मासे] मासि A. ३-४ धात्र्यङ्के] add. कुमारधराङ्के वा A. ४ मुपवेश्याभिसान्त्वयमानो] उपवेश्य वालकीडनकैः प्रलोभ्याभिसान्त्वयन् A. ४ कर्णन्] कर्ण A. ५ छिद्रे] छिद्र A. ५ छिद्रे] add. आदि-  
त्यकरावभासिते शनैः शनैर् A. ५ ऋजु] जु A. ५ विध्येत्] add. प्रतनुकं सूच्या बहलमारया A. ५ कन्यायाः] कुमार्याः A. ६ आरया] add. ततः पिचुवर्ति प्रवेशयेत्॥ A.

Notes

<sup>१</sup>The compound कृतमङ्गलस्वस्तिवाचनं is an emendation based on the similar text at 3.2.25 (Su 1938: 346).

<sup>२</sup>The ātmanepada participle is a permitted form, although the vulgate has the *parasmaipada*. Dalhaṇa, on 1.16.3 (Su 1938: 76), recorded the alternative reading भक्ष्यविशेषैर्वा before वालकी-डनकैः प्रलोभ्य in the vulgate.

शोणितबहुत्वेऽतिवेदनायां चान्यदेशविद्धमिति जानीयात्। निरुपद्रवता  
तदेशविद्धलिङ्गम् ॥ ३ ॥

1.16.4

१० तत्र यद्यच्छाविद्धायां सिरायामज्जेन ज्वरदाहश्यथुवेदनाग्रन्थिमन्या-  
स्तम्भापतानकशिरोग्रहकण्णशूलानि भवन्ति ॥ ४ ॥

1.16.5

दोषसमुदयादप्रशस्तव्यधाद्वा तत्र वर्त्तिमपहृत्य यवमधुकमञ्जिष्ठागन्ध-  
व्वहस्तमूलैर्मर्मधुघृतप्रगाढैरालेपयेत्। सुरूढश्वैनम्पुनर्विध्येत् ॥ ५ ॥ <sup>३</sup>

1.16.6

११ सम्यग्विद्धमामतैलपरिषेकेणोपचरेत् । अ्यहात्यहाद्वर्त्ति स्थूलतरीङ्  
कुर्वीत परिषेकश्च तमेव ॥ ६ ॥

1.16.7

१२ अथ व्यपगतदोषोपद्रवे कण्णैलंप्रवर्द्धनार्थं लघुप्रवर्द्धनकमामुच्चेत्  
॥ ७ ॥

1.16.8

## Witnesses

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

## MS variants

९ ०श्यथु०] em.; ०श्यथु० N; ०श्यथु० H. ११-१२ ०गन्धव्वहस्तमूलै०] ०गन्धव्वहस्तमूलै० N. १३ ०परिषेके-  
णोप०] ०परिषेकणोप० H. १३ ०तरीङ्] ०तरी० N १५ लघुप्रवर्द्धनकम्] ल प्रवर्द्धनकमो० N; प्रवर्द्धनकमा० “मै” H.  
१५-१६ आमुच्चेत्] em.; मुच्चेत् N H.

## Variants from Su 1938

७ बहुत्वे] बहुत्वेन A. ७ ऽतिवेदनायां] वेदनया A. ७ ०द्रवता] ०द्रवतया A. ८ ०विद्धलिङ्गम्] ०विद्धमिति A.  
९ तत्र] तत्राज्जेन A. ९ यद्यच्छाविद्धायां] यद्यच्छाविद्धासु A. ९ सिरायाम्] सिरासु A. ९ सिरायाम्] add.  
कालिकामर्मरिकालोहितिकासूपद्रवा भवन्ति। तत्र कालिकायां A. ९ ज्वर०] ज्वरो ९ ०दाह०] दाहः ९ ०श्यथु०]  
श्यथु० A. ९ ०वेदना०] add. च भवति मर्मरिकायां वेदना ज्वरो A. ९ ०ग्रन्थिं०] ग्रन्थयश् A. ९ ०ग्रन्थिं०] add.  
च लोहितिकायां A. १० भवन्ति] add. तेषु यथास्वं प्रतिकुर्वीत॥ क्षिणिज्ञाप्रशस्तसूचीव्याद्वाढतरवर्तित्वाद् A. ११  
वा] add. यत्र संरभ्मो वेदना वा भवति A. ११ अपहृत्य] उपहृत्याशु A. ११-१२ यवमधुक०] मधुकैरण्डमूल० A.  
११-१२ ०मञ्जिष्ठागन्धव्वहस्तमूलै०] ०मञ्जिष्ठायवतिलकल्कैर् A. १२ आलेपयेत्] add. तावद्यावत्सुरूढ इति॥ A. १२  
विध्येत्] add. विधानं तु पूर्वोक्तमेव॥ A. १३ सम्यग०] तत्र सम्यग० A. १३ आमतैलपरिषेकेणोपचरेत्] आमतैलेन  
परिषेचयेत् A. १३ अ्यहाद्] add. च A. १३ ०तरीङ्] ०तरा० A. १४ कुर्वीत] दद्यात् A. १५ ०लंप्रवर्द्धनार्थ०]  
om. A. १५ लघुप्रवर्द्धनकम्] लघुव० A. १५-१६ आमुच्चेत्] कुर्यात्॥ A

## Notes

<sup>३</sup>Dalhana, on 1.16.6 (Su 1938: 77), stated that some do not read सुरूढश्वैनम्पुनर्विध्येत्.

<sup>४</sup>The unusual form स्थूलतरी० is supported by both manuscripts and we have retained it in spite of only meagre evidence for the form in epic Sanskrit.

एवं सम्बद्धितः कर्णशिष्यते तु द्विधा नृणाम्।  
दोषतो वाभिधाताद्वा सन्धानान्तस्य मे शृणु ॥८॥

1.16.9

तत्र समासेन पञ्चदशसन्धानाकृतयो भवन्ति ।<sup>५</sup> तद्यथा । नेमीसन्धा-  
नकः । उत्पलभेद्यकः । वल्लूरकः । आसङ्गिमः । गण्डकर्णः । आहार्यः ।  
निर्वेधिमः । व्यायोजिमः । कपाटसन्धिकः । अर्द्धकपाटसन्धिकः । सङ्गि-  
सः । हीनकर्णः । वल्लीकर्णः । यष्टीकर्णः । काकौषः । इति । तेषु तत्र  
पृथुलायतसमोभयपालिन्मीसन्धानकः । वृत्तायतसमोभयपालिरुत्पलभे-  
द्यकः । हस्ववृत्तसमोभयपालिर्वल्लूरकर्णकः । अभ्यन्तरदीर्घैकपालिरास-  
ङ्गिमः । बाह्यदीर्घैकपालिर्गण्डकर्णकः । अपालिरुभयतोऽप्याहार्यः । पी-  
ठोपमपालिर्निर्वेधिमः । अणुस्थूलसमविषमपालिर्व्यायोजिमः । अभ्यन्त-  
रदीर्घैकपालिरितराल्पपालिः कपाटसन्धिकः । बाह्यदीर्घैकपालिरितराल्प-  
पालिश्चार्द्धकपाटसन्धिकः । तत्रैते दशकर्णसन्धिविकल्पा बन्ध्या भवन्ति ।  
तेषान्नामभिरेवाकृतयः प्रायेण व्याख्याताः । संक्षिप्तादयः पञ्चासाध्याः । तत्र

## MS variants

१७ नृणाम् ] नृणा N. १८ ] A; दोषटो N H. १९ ०सन्धाना० ] ०सन्धा० N. २१ अर्द्धकपाटसन्धिकः ] om. N.  
२२ काकौषः ] काकौषभः H. २२ इति ] ति H. २३ ०यतसमो० ] A; ०यसमो० H; ०तसमो N. २४ ०भेद्यकः ]  
०भेदः N; ०भेदकः H. २४ वल्लूर० ] वल्लूर० N. २५ बाह्य ] A; बाह्यैक N H. २६ अणुस्थूल० ] अशुस्थूल० H  
२७ कपाट० ] कपाटा० H. २८ चार्द्धकपाट० ] em.; वार्द्धकवाट० H; चार्द्धकवाप० N.

## Variants from Su 1938

१७ सम्बद्धितः ] विवर्धितः A. १८ सन्धानान् ] सन्धानं A. १९ ०दशसन्धानाकृतयो ] ०दशकर्णवन्धाकृतयः A. १९  
भवन्ति ] om. A. २० नेमी० ] नेमि० A. २१ ०सन्धिकः । अर्द्ध० ] ०सन्धिको ०र्द्ध० A २२ यष्टी० ] यष्टिं A.  
२२ काकौषः ] काकौषक A. २२ तत्र ] om. A. २३ नेमी० ] नेमि० A. २४ वल्लूर० ] वल्लूरकः A. २५-२६  
पीठोपमपालिर् ] add. उभयतः क्षीणपुत्रिकाश्रितो A. २६ अणुस्थूल० ] स्थूलाणु० A. २८ चार्द्ध० ] अर्ध० A. २८  
तत्रैते ] तत्र A. २८ दशकर्णसन्धिविकल्पा ] दशैते कर्णवन्धविकल्पाः A. २८ बन्ध्या भवन्ति ] साध्याः A. २९  
तेषान् ] तेषां A. २९ नामभिर् ] स्वनामभिर् A.

## Notes

<sup>५</sup>Cakrapāṇidatta, on 1.16.9–13 (Su 1939: 128), and Ḑalhaṇa, on 1.16.10 (Su 1938: 78), pointed out that others read पञ्चदशकर्णकृतयः (instead of पञ्चदशसन्धानाकृतयः). At the same place, Ḑalhaṇa also mentioned that some read समुन्नतसमोभयपालिः (instead of वृत्तायतसमोभयपालिः) and others do not read संक्षिप्तादयः पञ्चासाध्याः.

३० शुष्कशङ्कुलिरितराल्पपालिः संक्षिप्तः। अनधिष्ठानपालिः पर्यन्तयोश्च क्षी-  
णमांसो हीनकर्ण्णः। तनुविषमपालिर्वल्लीकर्ण्णः। ग्रन्थितमांसः स्तब्धसि-  
राततसूक्ष्मपालिर्यष्टीकर्ण्णः। निर्माससंक्षिप्ताग्राल्पशोणितपालिः काकौष्ठ  
इति। बद्धेष्वपि दाहपाकस्नावशोफयुक्ता न सिद्धिमुपयान्ति ॥९॥<sup>६</sup>

1.16.10

३५ अतोऽन्यतमस्य बन्धश्चिकीर्षुः अग्रोपहरणीयोक्तोपसमृतसम्भारः  
विशेषतश्चात्रोपहरेत्<sup>७</sup> सुरामण्डक्षीरमुदकं धान्यामूकपालचूर्णं च्छ्रेति। त-  
तोऽङ्गनां पुरुषम्वा ग्रथितकेशान्तं लघुभुक्तवन्तमासैः सुपरिगृहीतं च कृत्वा  
बन्धानुपधार्य छेद्यभेद्यलेख्यव्यधनैरुपपाद्य कर्णशोणितमवेक्ष्यैतदुष्टमदु-  
ष्टम्वेति ततो वातदुष्टे धान्यामूलोदकाभ्यां पित्तदुष्टे शीतोदकपयोभ्यां श्लेष्मदुष्टे

## MS variants

३० पर्यन्तयोश्च ] om. N. ३१ ग्रन्थितमांसः ] ०ग्रन्थितमान्सः N H. ३२ निर्मास० N; निर्मास० H. ३३ ०स्नाव० ] ०श्वाव० H. ३३ ०शोफ० ] ०सोफ० N. ३५ ] ततो N. ३५ ०पहरणीयो० ] ०पसंहरणीयो० N. ३६ चात्रोपहरेत्] A; चात्रोपहरणीयात् N H. ३७ पुरुषम्] पुरुषज् N. ३७ च कृत्वा] A; om. N H. ३८ उपधार्य] उपपाद्य H. ३८ ०शोणितमवेक्ष्यैतद्] ०शोणितत अवेक्ष्यैतद् N. ३८-३९ अदुष्टम्] अदुष्टश् N. ३९ वेति] A; चेति N H. ३९ धान्यामूल०] धान्यामूल० N ३९ शीतोदक०] शीतोदक० N.

## Variants from Su 1938

३० शुष्कशङ्कुलिर्] add. उत्सन्नपालिर् A. ३० च] om. A. ३१ ०षमपालिर्] ०षमाल्पपालिर् A. ३१ ग्रन्थित-  
मांसः] ग्रन्थितमांस० A. ३१-३२ ०सिराततसूक्ष्म०] ०सिरासंततसूक्ष्म० A. ३२ काकौष्ठ] काकौष्ठक A. ३३ अपि] add. तु शोफ A. ३३ ०दह०] add. ०राग० A. ३३ ०पाक०] add. ०पिडका० A. ३३ ०शोफ०] om. A.  
३४ inserted passage] भवन्ति चात्र। यस्य पालिद्वयमपि कर्णस्य न भवेदिह। कर्णपीठं समे मध्ये तस्य विज्ञा विवर्धयेत्॥  
बाह्यायामिह दीर्घायां सन्धिराभ्यन्तरो भवेत्। आभ्यन्तरायां दीर्घायां बाह्यसन्धिरुदाहृतः॥ एकैव तु भवेत्पालिः स्थूला पृथ्वी  
स्थिरा च या। तां द्विघा पाटविता तु छिन्ना चोपरि सन्धयेत्॥ गण्डादुत्पात्य मांसेन सानुवर्णेन जीवता। कर्णपालीमापालेस्तु  
कुर्यान्निर्लिख्य शास्त्रवित्॥ A. ३५ अतोऽन्यतमस्य] ०न्यतम् A. ३५ ०सम्भारः] ०सम्भारं A. ३६ सुरामण्डक्षीरम्] सुरामण्डं क्षीरम् A. ३६ धान्यामूल०] धान्यामूल० कपाल० A. ३८ बन्धन्] बन्धम् A. ३८ ०व्यधनैर्] add.  
उपपन्नैर् A. ३८ अवेक्ष्यैतद्] अवेक्ष्य A. ३९ ततो] तत्र A. ३९ धान्यामूलोदक०] धान्यामूलोदक० A.

## Notes

<sup>६</sup>The vulgate passage inserted between 9 and 10 (from भवन्ति चात्र to शास्त्रवित्) was probably also absent in the version of the *Suśrutasamhitā* commented on by Cakrapāṇi, who cited it in his commentary as being “read by some” in regard to the joins (सन्ध्यान) that they describe (1.16.9–13 (*Su* 1939: 128)).

<sup>७</sup>विशेषतश्चात्रोपहरणीयात् of the MSS has been emended to विशेषतश्चात्रोपहरेत् 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.



ज्ञापयस्तैलं गौरसर्षपजन्न यथालाभं संभृत्याकार्लक्बलातिवलानन्तावि-  
दारीमधुकजलशूकप्रतिवापन्तैलम्पाचयित्वा स्वनुगुप्तन्निदध्यात् ॥ १४ ॥<sup>c</sup>

1.16.19

५५

स्वेदितो मर्दितङ्कण्ठमनेन म्रक्षयेद्वृधः ।  
ततोऽनुपद्रवः सम्यग्बलवांश्च विवर्जते ॥ १५ ॥<sup>९</sup>

1.16.20

ये तु कण्ठा न वर्जन्ते स्नेहस्वेदोपपादिताः ।  
तेषामपाङ्गे त्वबहिः कुर्यात्प्रछानमेव च ॥ १६ ॥<sup>१०</sup>

1.16.22cd--23ab

अमिताः कण्ठं बन्धास्तु विज्ञेयाः कुशलैरिह ।

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MS variants

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५३-५४ ०आर्कालक्बलाति० ] ०आर्कालक्बलाति० N. ५३-५४ ०प्रतिवापन्] ०प्रतिवापं N. ५४ ०गुप्तं N. ५४ निदध्यात्] निदध्यात् N. ५५ स्वेदितो] स्वेदितो N. ५५ अनेन] अने X N. ५६ ततोऽनुपद्रवः] ततो नुपद्रवः H; ततो नुपद्रवम् N. ५८ अबहिः] अवर्हि N. ५८ कुर्यात्] कुयात् N. ५८ प्रछानम्] प्रछन्नम् H. ५९ ०बन्धास्] ०बन्धो H. ५९ तु] स्तु H.

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Variants from Su 1938

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५३-५४ ०बलानन्ताऽ] ०बलानन्तापामार्गाश्वगन्धा A. ५३-५४ ०विदारीमधुकजलशूकः] ०विदारिगन्धाक्षीरशुक्राज-  
लशूकमधुरवर्गपयस्या० ५३-५४ ०प्रतिवापन्] ०प्रतिवापं A. ५४ तैलम्] add. वा A. ५४ ०गुप्तन्] ०गुप्तं A.  
५५ स्वेदितो मर्दितङ्क] स्वेदितान्मर्दितं A. ५५ अनेन म्रक्षयेद्वृधः] स्नेहनैतेन योजयेत् A. ५७ inserted passage] यवाश्वगन्धायष्टाहौस्तिलैश्चोद्वर्तनं हितम्। शतावर्यश्वगन्धाभ्यां पयस्यैरण्डजीवनैः॥ तैलं विपकं सक्षीरमभ्यङ्गात्पालिवर्धनम्। A. ५७ स्नेहस्वेदोपो०] स्वेदस्नेहोपो० A. ५८ अपाङ्गे त्वबहिः] अपाङ्गदेशो तु A. ५८ च] तु A. ५९ inserted  
passage] वाह्यच्छेदं न कुर्वीत व्यापदः स्युस्तो ध्रुवाः॥ बद्धमात्रं तु यः कर्णं सहस्राभिवर्धयेत्। आमकोशी समाधातः क्षिप्रमेव विमुच्यते॥ A.

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Notes

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<sup>c</sup>Dalhaṇa, on 1.16.19 (Su 1938: 79), noted that some read राजसर्षपं in the place of गौरसर्षपं. This reading appears to have been accepted by Cakrapāṇi, who glossed राजसर्षपं as श्वेतसर्षप (1.16.18-20 (Su 1939: 130)). Cakrapāṇi also said that some read sarpis in the place of पयस्. In the compound beginning with अर्क, Dalhaṇa noted that some read अर्कपुष्णी.

<sup>९</sup>N has a काकपाद after अने, but the missing letter (one would expect 'न') has not been supplied in a margin or elsewhere.

<sup>१०</sup>Dalhaṇa, on 1.16.23 (Su 1938: 80), noted that some read तेषामपाङ्गच्छेदं हि कार्यमाभ्यन्तरं भवेत्.



उत्कृत्य वशं त्वथ नासिकाग्रम् ।  
विलिरव्य चाशु प्रतिसन्दधीत  
तं साधुबद्धमिषगप्रमत्तः ॥ २० ॥

७०

1.16.28

सुसीवितं सम्यगतो यथावन्  
नाडीद्वयेनाभिसमीक्ष्य नह्येत् ।  
उन्नामयित्वा त्ववचूर्णयीत  
पत्ताङ्गयष्टीमधुकाञ्जनैश्च ॥ २१ ॥

७१

1.16.29

संछाद्य सम्यक्पिचुना ब्रणन्तु  
तैलेन सिंचेदसकृत्तिलानाम् ।  
घृतञ्च पाय्यः स नरः सुजीण्णे  
स्तिंधो विरेच्यः स्वयथोपदेशम् ॥ २२ ॥

८०

1.16.30

रूदञ्च सन्ध्यानमुपागतं वै  
तद्वध्रशोषं तु पुनर्निकृन्तेत् ।  
हीनम्पुनर्वद्धयितुं यतेत  
समञ्च कुर्यादतिवृद्धमांसम् ॥ २३ ॥

1.16.31

इति ओम् ॥

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MS variants

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६८ वशं ] वन्ध H. ७० वद्धम् ] वद्ध० N. ७१ सुसीवितं ] em.; सुसीवित N; सुसीवितं H. ७४ पत्ताङ्ग० ] em.; पत्ताङ्ग० H; पत्ताङ्ग० N. ७५ ब्रणन्तु ] ब्रण तुन् N. ७८ विरेच्यः ] A; विरेच्य N H. ७८ वदेशम् ] वदेशः N. ७९ सन्ध्यानम् N. ७९ उपागतं ] उपागतश् H. ७९ वै ] चै H. ८० वशोषं ] वसेष्ण N. ८१ यतेत ] यतेतः N. ८२ वमांसम् ] वमांसम् N. ८३ ओम् ] om. N.

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Variants from Su 1938

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६८ वशं ] वद्धं A. ७० तं ] तत् A. ७० वद्धम् ] वद्धैर् A. ७१ सुसीवितं ] सुसंहितं A. ७२ नह्येत् ] वद्धा A. ७३ उन्नामयित्वा ] प्रोन्नम्य चैनाम A. ७३ अवचूर्णयीत ] अवचूर्णयेत् ७४ पत्ताङ्ग० ] पत्ताङ्ग० A. ७५ ब्रणन्तु ] सितेन A. ७८ स्वयथो० ] स यथो० A. ७९ वै ] स्यात् A. ८० तद्वध० ] तदर्घ० A. ८१ हीनम् ] हीनां A. ८२ समज् ] समां A. ८२ वमांसम् ] वमांसम् A. ८३ ओम् ] om. A. ८४ inserted passage ] नाडीयोगं विनौष्ठस्य नासासन्ध्यानवद्विधिम्। य एवमेव जानीयात्स राङ्गः कर्तुमर्हति॥ A.

## 6 Translation of Sūtrasthāna 16

- 1 Now we shall expound the method for piercing the ear.<sup>1</sup>
- 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,<sup>2</sup> on the lap of a wet-nurse.<sup>3</sup> Then, he should pull the ear with his left hand and pierce

<sup>1</sup> 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. Dalhana ([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-वेघनी rather than वेघनी.

- 2 The causative form व्यधयेत् is known in Classical Sanskrit (Whitney 1885: 166). The compound कृतमङ्गलवस्तिवाचनं “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.
- 3 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 बालकीडनकैः प्रलोभ्य (“having enticed with

straight through with his right hand at a naturally-occurring cleft.<sup>4</sup> For a boy, do the right ear first; for a girl, do the left one. Use a needle on a thin ear; an awl on a thick one.<sup>5</sup>

- 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.<sup>6</sup>
- 4 In this context, if an ignorant person randomly pierces a duct there will be fever, burning, swelling, pain, lumps, paralysis of the nape of the neck, convulsions, headache or sharp pain in the ear.<sup>7</sup>

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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 बालकीडनकैः, but we see no trace of these small kindnesses in our witnesses.

- 4 The versions of 1.16.3 of Cakrapāṇidatta ([Su 1939: 126](#)) and Ḏalhaṇa ([Su 1938: 76](#)) add 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.
- 5 Ḏalhaṇa 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 Ḏalhaṇa in twelfth-century Bengal. See Meulenbeld ([HIML: IA, 386](#)).
- 6 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.
- 7 This passage is significantly augmented in Cakrapāṇidatta's and Ḏalhaṇa'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.'

- 5 Having removed the wick (वर्ति) because of the accumulation of humours or an unsatisfactory piercing at that location,<sup>8</sup> he should smear it with barley, liquorice, Indian madder, and the root of the castor oil tree, thickened with honey and ghee. And when it has healed well, he should pierce it again.<sup>9</sup>
- 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 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.<sup>10</sup>
- 8 *A person's ear enlarged in this way can split in two, either as a result of the humours<sup>11</sup> or a blow.*  
*Listen to me about the ways of joining it can have.*
- 9 Here, there are, in brief, fifteen ways of mending the ear flap.<sup>12</sup> They are as follows: Rim-join (नेमीसन्धानक), Lotus-splittable (उत्पलभेदक), Dried Flesh (वहूरक), Fastening (आसङ्गिम), Cheek-ear (गण्डकर्ण), Take away (आ-

8 In addition to these reasons, 1.16.6 of Ḏalhaṇa at 1.16.6 ([Su 1938:77](#)), added “because of piercing with a painful, crooked and unsatisfactory needle” (क्षिरजिह्वाप्रशस्तसूचीव्यधात्) and “because of a wick that is too thick” (गाढतरवर्तित्वात्). Ḏalhaṇa 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 “because of piercing with a painful, crooked and unsatisfactory needle or because of a wick that is too thick.” On the concept of humoral accumulation (समुदाय), see the important analysis by Meulenbeld ([1992](#)).

9 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.

10 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, the neem tree and the cotton plant. Ḏalhaṇa added that it can also be made of lead and should have the shape of the datura flower. 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.

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

12 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.

हार्य), Ready-Split (निर्वेधिम), Multi-joins (व्यायोजिम), Door-hinge (कपाटसन्धिक), Half door-hinge (अर्धकपाटसन्धिक), Compressed (संक्षिप्त), Reduced-ear (हीनकर्ण), Creeper-ear (वल्लीकर्ण), Stick-ear (यष्टीकर्ण), and Crow's lip (काकौष्ठ).<sup>13</sup>

In this context, among these,

Rim-join:	both flaps are wide, long, and equal.
Lotus-splittable:	both flaps are round, long, and equal.
Dried flesh:	both flaps are short, round, and equal.
Fastening:	one flap is longer on the inside.
Cheek-ear:	one flap is longer on the outside. <sup>14</sup>
Take-away:	the flaps are missing, in fact, on both sides.
Ready-split:	the flaps are like a dais (पीठ).
Multi-joins:	one flap is small, the other thick, one flap is equal, the other unequal.
Door-hinge:	the flap on the inside is long, the other is small.
Half door-hinge:	the flap on the outside is long, the other is small.

These ten options for joins of the ear should be bound. They can mostly be explained as resembling their names.<sup>15</sup> The five from compressed (संक्षिप्त) on are incurable.<sup>16</sup> 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 flesh and the flaps are stretched thin and have stiff ducts. “Crow-lip” has a flap without flesh with compressed tips and little blood. Even when they are bound

<sup>13</sup> For an artist’s impression of these different kinds of joins in the ear flap, see Majno 1975: 290 (reproduced as Figure 3.2 in Wujastyk 2003: 154).

<sup>14</sup> For an artist’s impression of this join, see Majno 1975: 291 (reproduced as Figure 3.3 in Wujastyk 2003: 155).

<sup>15</sup> Cakrapāṇidatta on 1.16.9–13 (Su 1939: 128–129) and Ḏalhaṇa 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).

<sup>16</sup> Ḏalhaṇa 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.

up, they do not heal because they are hot, inflamed, suppurating, or swollen.<sup>17</sup>

- 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.<sup>18</sup> And in this regard, he should particularly gather<sup>19</sup> decanted liquor (सुरामण्ड), milk, water, fermented rice-water, and powdered earthenware crockery (कपालचूर्ण).<sup>20</sup> 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 and then applies them by means of cutting, splitting, scarification, or piercing.<sup>21</sup> Next, he should examine the blood of the ear to know whether it is tainted or not. If it is tainted by wind, the ear should be bathed with fermented rice-water and water; if tainted by choler, then cold water and milk should be used; if tainted by phlegm, then decanted liquor and water should be used, and then he should scarify it again.

After arranging the join in the ear so that it is neither proud, depressed, nor uneven, and observing that the blood has stopped, one should

17 The version of 1.16.11–13 known to Ḑalhaṇa ([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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* known to Cakrapāṇidatta. He cites the verses separately in his commentary, the *Bhānumatī* ([Su 1939: 128–129](#)), introducing each one as ‘some people read’ (के चित्पठन्ति). However, in Trikamajī Ācārya’s edition of the *Sūtrasthāna* of the *Bhānumatī*, the root text is largely identical to the one commented on by Ḑalhaṇa ([Su 1938](#)), even in instances like this where Cakrapāṇidatta’s commentary indicates that he was reading a different version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. See further the discussion on p. 6 above.

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

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

20 The term कपालचूर्ण is unusual. Ḑalhaṇa ([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.

21 There are syntactic difficulties in this sentence. We have adopted the reading in Ḑalhaṇa’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.

anoint it with honey and ghee, bandage each ear with cotton and gauze (स्लोत), 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.<sup>22</sup>

- 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.<sup>23</sup> For when the ear is tainted by wind, then it is obstructed by blood, unhealed and will peel. When tainted with choler, it becomes pinched (गाढ), septic and red. When tainted by phlegm, it will be stiff and itchy. It has excessively copious suppuration and is swollen. It has a small amount of wasted (क्षीण) flesh and it will not grow.<sup>24</sup>
- 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 (संरम्भ), 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, scavenging and seed-eating birds, and creatures that live in marshes or water,<sup>25</sup> fat, marrow, milk, and sesame oil, and white mustard oil.<sup>26</sup> Then cook the oil with an admixture of the following: purple calotropis, white calotropis, heart-leaf sida, country mallow, country sarsaparilla,

<sup>22</sup> *Suśrutasamhitā* 4.1 (Su 1938: 396–408).

<sup>23</sup> 1.16.17 of Dalhaṇa’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.

<sup>24</sup> 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 त्रिरात्रे परिषेचयेत्तिरात्राच्च पिञ्चु परिवर्तयेत्).

<sup>25</sup> For such classifications, see the analyses by Zimmermann (1999) and Smith (1994).

<sup>26</sup> Dalhaṇa’s version of 1.16.19 (Su 1938: 79) includes ghee. 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 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.

**Indian kudzu, liquorice, and hornwort.**<sup>27</sup> This should then be deposited in a well-protected spot.

- 15 *The wise man who has been sweated should rub the massaged ear with it. Then it will be free of complications, and will enlarge properly and be strong.*<sup>28</sup>
- 16 *Ears which do not enlarge even when sweated and oiled, should be scarified at the edge of the hole, but not outside it.*<sup>29</sup>
- 17 *In this tradition, experts know countless repairs to ears. So a physician who is very intent on working in this way may repair them.*<sup>30</sup>
- 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.*<sup>31</sup>
- 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 (वृश्च),<sup>32</sup> with the same measurements, off the*

27 The version of of this verse known to Ḏalhaṇa (vulgate (*Su* 1938:79)) adds several ingredients to this admixture, including **prickly chaff-flower**, **Withania**, **milk-white**, **sweet plants** and **Indian ipecac**. Also, it has **beggarweed** instead of **Indian kudzu**. When commenting on 1.16.19, Ḏalhaṇa (*Su* 1938:79) noted that some do not read **sweet plants** and **Indian ipecac**. Therefore, at his time there were other versions of this recipe circulating, with fewer ingredients, as seen in the Nepalese version.

28 For these aims (i.e., healing and enlarging the ear), the text known to Ḏalhaṇa (*Su* 1938:79) had an additional verse and a half describing an ointment for rubbing the ear and sesame oil cooked with various medicines for massage. Cakrapāṇidatta (*Su* 1939:131) did not comment on these verses, nor verse 15 of the Nepalese version, and so the version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* known to him may not have included them.

29 Ḏalhaṇa's version of 1.16.23 (*Su* 1938:79–80) added another hemistich that stated more explicitly that the scarification should not be done on the outside of hole as it will cause derangement.

30 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 Ḏalhaṇa (*Su* 1938:80) stated 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 a discussion of the disease **परिपोट**. Ḏalhaṇa went on to say that some believe that these verses were not composed by sages and, therefore, do not read them.

31 The order of verses 17 and 18 is reversed in Ḏalhaṇa's version (*Su* 1938:80).

32 The version of 1.16.28b known to Ḏalhaṇa (*Su* 1938:81) reads “bound, connected (ब-द्धम्)” instead of “slice of flesh (वृश्च).” This is a critical variant from the surgical point of view. If the slice remains connected, it will have a continuing blood supply. This

- cheek, the end of the nose is then scarified.<sup>33</sup> Then the undistracted physician, should quickly put it back together so that it is well joined.*
- 21 *Having carefully observed that it has been sewn up properly, he should then fasten it along with two tubes.<sup>34</sup> Having caused it to be raised,<sup>35</sup> the powder of sappanwood,<sup>36</sup> liquorice and Indian barberry should be sprinkled on it.<sup>37</sup>*
- 22 *The wound should be covered properly with cotton and should be moistened repeatedly with sesame oil. Ghee should be given to the man to drink. His digestion being complete, he should be oiled and purged in accordance with the instructions specific to him.<sup>38</sup>*
- 23 *And once healed and really come together, what is left of that slice of flesh (वध) should then be trimmed.<sup>39</sup> If it is reduced, however, one should make an effort to stretch it, and one should make its overgrown flesh smooth.<sup>40</sup>*

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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).

- 33 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, Ḏalhaṇa (Su 1938: 81) clarified 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.
- 34 Ḏalhaṇa noted that the two tubes should be made of reed or the stalk of the leaf of castor oil plant (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.
- 35 The Sanskrit term उन्नामयित्वा in 1.16.21 is non-Pāṇinian.
- 36 For पत्ताङ्ग (sappanwood) 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 पत्ताङ्ग in a verse in 1.14 (cf. 1.14.36 (Su 1938: 66)). The text known to Ḏalhaṇa has पतङ्ग (1.16.29 (Su 1938: 81)) and this term is propagated in modern dictionaries.
- 37 Ḏalhaṇa glossed अङ्गन as रसाङ्गन, *elixir salve* (Su 1938: 81).
- 38 The expression स्वयथोपदेश is ungrammatical but supported in all available witnesses.
- 39 The vulgate transmission has lost the word वध and replaced it with अर्ध “half,” which makes little sense in this surgical context.
- 40 Ḏalhaṇa accepted a verse following this, 1.16.32 (Su 1938: 81), which pointed 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 Jejjāta, 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

ARK references can be found by prefixing the resolver "<http://n2t.net>,"  
e.g., <http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t3tt6967d>.

Ah 1939	Kumṭe, Aṇṇā Moreśvara, Navare, Kṛṣṇāśāstrī, and Parādkar, Hariśāstrī (1939) (eds.), श्रीमद्भाग्भटविरचितम् अष्टाङ्गहृदयम्, श्रीमद्रुणदत्तविरचितया सर्वाङ्गसुन्दराख्यया व्याख्यया, हेमाद्रिप्रणीतया आयुर्वेदरसायनाह्या टीकया च समुल्लिसितम् = <i>The Astāṅgahṛidaya</i> (6th edn., Mum̄bayyām: Nirṇayasāgara Press), <a href="http://ark:/13960/t3tt6967d">ark:/13960/t3tt6967d</a> .
Anup	<i>Anup Sanskrit Library</i> (n.d.).
Anup	<i>Anup Sanskrit Library</i> (n.d.).
Apte	Apte, Vaman Shivaram (1992), <i>The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Company), ISBN: 4-653-00038-7; Reprinted from Gode and Karve 1957–9.
AS	<i>Asiatic Society</i> (n.d.).
As 1980	Āṭhavale, Anamta Dāmodara (1980) (ed.), <i>Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgrahāḥ</i> . Śrīmad Vṛddhavāgbhaṭaviracitāḥ Induvyākhyāsahitāḥ (Puṇe: Maheśa Anamta Āṭhavale, Śrīmad Ātreya Prakāśanam), <a href="http://ark:/13960/t9773bb9z">ark:/13960/t9773bb9z</a> .
Bhela 1921	Mookerjee, Ashutosh and Ananta Krishna Shastri, Vedantabisharad (1921) (eds.), <i>The Bhela Samhita. Sanskrit Text</i> (Calcutta: University of Calcutta), <a href="http://ark:/13960/t3sv3157j">ark:/13960/t3sv3157j</a> ; 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 पुनर्वसुनोपदिष्टा, तच्छब्देणाभ्निवेशेन प्रणीता, चरकदृढबलाभ्यां प्रतिसंस्कृता चरकसंहिता, श्रीचकपाणिदत्तविरचितया आयुर्वेददीपिकाव्याख्या संवलिता (3rd edn., Mumbaiyyām: Nirnaya Sagara Press), [ark:/13960/t48q2f20n](#).
- HIML Meulenbeld, Gerrit Jan (1999–2002), *A History of Indian Medical Literature*, 5 vols. (Groningen: E. Forsten), ISBN: 9069801248.
- IOLR Eggeling, Julius et al. (1887–1935), *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (London: Secretary of State for India), [ark:/13960/s2kbk5zcr9](#).
- KL Kaiser Library (n.d.).
- MN Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1932) (ed.), महामतिश्रीमाधवकरप्रणीतं माधवनिदानम् श्रीविजयरक्षितश्रीकण्ठदत्ताभ्यां विरचितया मधुकोशारव्यव्याख्या, श्रीवाचस्पतिवैद्यविरचितया आतङ्कदर्पणव्याख्याया विशिष्टांशेन च समुद्भुसितम् = *Mādhavanidāna* by *Mādhavakara* with the Two Commentaries, *Madhukosha* by *Vijayarakshita* & *Śrīkanthadatta* and *Ātankadarpaṇa* by *Vāchaspati Vaidya* (3rd edn., Bombay: Nirnaya Sagara Press), [ark:/13960/t66452x0h](#); Reprinted Varanasi: Chowkhamba, 1986.
- MW Monier-Williams, Monier, Leumann, E., Cappeller, C., et al. (1899), *A Sanskrit–English Dictionary Etymologically and Philologically Arranged, New Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press); 1970 reprint.

- NAK                    *National Archives of Kathmandu* (n.d.).
- NCC                    Raghavan, V. et al. (1949–), *New Catalogus Catalogorum, an Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit and Allied Works and Authors*, 39 vols. (Madras University Sanskrit Series; Madras: University of Madras); v.1: revised edition, 1968. Searchable at <https://vmlt.in/ncc/>.
- NGMCP                NGMCP (2014), “Nepal-german Manuscript Cataloguing Project. Online Title List and Descriptive Catalogue,” Universität Hamburg and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, URL: <http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/>.
- RORI                  *Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute* (n.d.).
- Su 1889               Bhaṭṭācāryya, Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara (1889) (ed.), सुश्रुतः. सूत्र-निदान-शारीर-चिकित्सा-कल्पोत्तर-तत्त्व-कल्पित आयुर्वेद. भगवता धन्वन्तरिणोपदिष्टः सुश्रुतनामधेयेन तच्छिष्येण विरचितः (3rd edn., Calcutta: Saratī Press), ark:/13960/t1nh6j09c; HML: IB, 311, edition b.
- Su 1915               Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1915) (ed.), सुश्रुतसंहिता, सुश्रुतेन विरचिता, वैद्यवरश्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहारब्धव्याख्यया समुद्धसिता, आचार्योपाहेन त्रिविक्रमात्मजेन यादवशर्मणा संशोधिता = *The Sushrutasamhitā of Sushruta, the Nibandhasangraha Commentary of Shri Dalhaṇāchārya* (Mumbayyāṁ: Nirṇayasāgaramudrāyantrālaye), ark:/13960/t3sv0mt50, accessed 29/07/2020; HML: IB, 312 edition \*v.
- Su 1931               Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1931) (ed.), सुश्रुतसंहिता, वैद्यवरश्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहारब्धव्याख्यया समुद्धसिता, महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता, सूत्र-निदान-शारीर-चिकित्सा-कल्पस्थानोत्तरतत्त्वात्मकः. आचार्योपाहेन त्रिविक्रमात्मजेन यादवशर्मणा संशोधिता = *The Sushrutasamhitā of Sushruta with the Nibandhasangraha Commentary of Shree Dalhaṇāchārya* (2nd edn.,

Mumbayyām: Pāñduraṅga Jāvajī at the Nirṇaya-sāgaramudrāyantrālaye), [ark : / 13960 / t9j41sg94](#), accessed 09/06/2020; [HIML](#): IB, 312 edition \*v.

Su 1938

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Su 1938<sup>2</sup>

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# Glossary and Index of Medical Substances

beggarweed (*vidārigandhā*) → *śālaparnī*.  
Desmodium gangeticum (L.) DC. See  
**Dymock**: v. 1, 428, **GJM1**: 602, cf.  
**Nadkarni**: #1192; **ADPS**: 382, 414 and  
**AVS**: v. 2, 319, 4.366 are confusing,  
24, 59

country mallow (*atibalā*) Abutilon  
indicum, (L.) Sweet, but may be other  
kinds of mallow, e.g., Sida rhombifolia,  
L.. See **Nadkarni**: #11, **IGP**: 1080,  
**Nadkarni**: #2300, **ADPS**: 71, 77, 58

country sarsaparilla (*anantā*)  
Hemidesmus indicus, (L.) R. Br. See  
**ADPS**: 434, **AVS**: v. 3, 141–5,  
**Nadkarni**: #1210. But see **GVDB**: 13 for  
complications that may suggest that it  
is to be equated with *sārivā*, which may  
sometimes be *Cryptolepis* or  
*Ichnocarpus frutescens* R. Br.  
(**GVDB**: 429–431), 58

elixir salve (*rasāñjana*) → *añjana*, q.v., 60

giant potato (*kṣīravidārī*) possibly →  
kṣīraśukla. Ipomoea mauritiana, Jacq.  
See **ADPS**: 510, **AVS**: v. 3, 222, **AVS**: v. 3,  
1717 ff, 95, 96

heart-leaf sida (*balā*) Sida cordifolia, Linn.  
See **ADPS**: 71, **Nadkarni**: #2297, 58

Holostemma creeper (*jīvanti*) →  
*sūryavallī*? Holostemma ada-kodien,  
Schultes. See **ADPS**: 195, **AVS**: v. 3, 167,  
**Nadkarni**: #1242, **AVS**: v. 3, 1619, 96

hornwort (*jalaśūka*) ← *jalanilikā*.

Ceratophyllum demersum, L. See  
**AVS**: v. 2, 56, **IGP**: 232. Singh and  
Chunekar (**GVDB**: 166) suggest  
pondweed. Dalhaṇa noted on 1.16.19  
(**Su 1938**: 79) that some people  
interpret it as a poisonous, hairy,  
air-breathing, underwater creature, 59

Indian barberry (*añjana*) → *rasāñjana*,  
*dāruharidrā*. Berberis aristata, DC.  
**Dymock**: v. 1, 65, **Nadkarni**: #685,  
**GJM1**: 562, **IGP**: 141, 60

Indian ipecac (*payasyā*) Uncertain.  
Possibly *Tylophora indica* (Burm.f.)  
Merr. Perhaps a synonym of  
sun-flowered, giant potato, purple  
roscoea, and plants like asthma plant  
and Gulf sandmat (**GVDB**: 237–238),  
24, 59, 96

Indian kudzu (*vidārī*) → *payasyā*. *Pueraria*  
*tuberosa* (Willd.) DC. See **ADPS**: 510,  
**AVS**: v. 1, 792 f, **AVS**: v. 4, 391; not  
**Dymock**: v. 1, 424 f. See **GJM2**: 444, 451,  
**AVS**: v. 1, 187, but **AVS**: v. 3, 1719 =  
Ipomoea mauritiana, Jacq, 24, 59

liquorice (*madhuka*) *Glycyrrhiza glabra*, L.  
See **AVS**: v. 3, 84, **Nadkarni**: #1136, 59

liquorice (*yāṣṭīmadhuka*) *Glycyrrhiza*  
*glabra*, L. **AVS**: v. 3, 84,  
**Nadkarni**: #1136, **GVDB**: 329 f., 60

milk-white (*kṣīraśuklā*) An unidentified  
plant. **GVDB**: 126: see purple roscoea  
and giant potato, 24, 59, 96

- plants like asthma plant and Gulf sandmat (*kṣīriṇī*) various milky plants, perhaps including *Euphorbia hirta* Linn. (asthma plant) and *E. microphylla* Heyne (Gulf sandmat) (GVDB: 127), 95
- pondweed (*śaivāla*) *Zannichellia palustris* L. or *Zannichellia palustris* L. Sometimes identified with *dūrvā*. GVDB: 409, 95
- prickly chaff-flower (*apāmārga*) *Achyranthes aspera*, L. See GJM1: 524 f, AVS: v. 1, 39, ADPS: 44 f, AVS: v. 3, 2066 f, Dymock: v. 3, 135, 24, 59
- purple calotropis (*arka*) *Calotropis gigantea*, (L.) R. Br. See ADPS: 52, AVS: v. 1, 341, Nadkarni: #427, Wren et al. 1994: 57, Chopra's IDG: 305–308, 58
- purple roscoea (*kṣīrakākoli*) GVDB: 89 notes that many physicians use *Roscoea procera* Wall. in this context. But the identification is uncertain. Possibly connected to milk-white or giant potato., 95
- sappanwood (*pattāṅga*) Also *pattāṅga*.
- Caesalpinia sappan, L. AVS: v. 1, 323, K&B: v. 2, 847 f, GVDB: 234, 60
- spikenard (*jaṭāmāṇīśī*) *Nardostachys jatamansi* DC GVDB: 163, etc, 25
- sun-flowered (*arkapusī*) Maybe identical to Indian ipecac, giant potato and similar sweet, milky plants. See GVDB: 24, 127, 238, 441, 443 for discussion. For discussion in the context of Holostemma creeper, see ADPS: 195 and AVS: v. 3, 171. The etymology of the name suggests *Helianthus annus* Linn., but this plant is native to the Americas., 95
- sweet plants (*madhuravarga*) The sweet plants are enumerated at SS 1.42.11. See also GVDB: 127, 24, 59
- white calotropis (*alarka*) *Calotropis procera*, (Ait.) R. Br. See Nadkarni: #428, Chopra, GIMP: 46b, Chopra's IDG: 305–308, 58
- Withania (*aśvagandhā*) *Withania somnifera* (L.) Dunal. See AVS: v. 5, 409 f, Dymock: v. 2, 566 f., Chevallier 150, 24, 59