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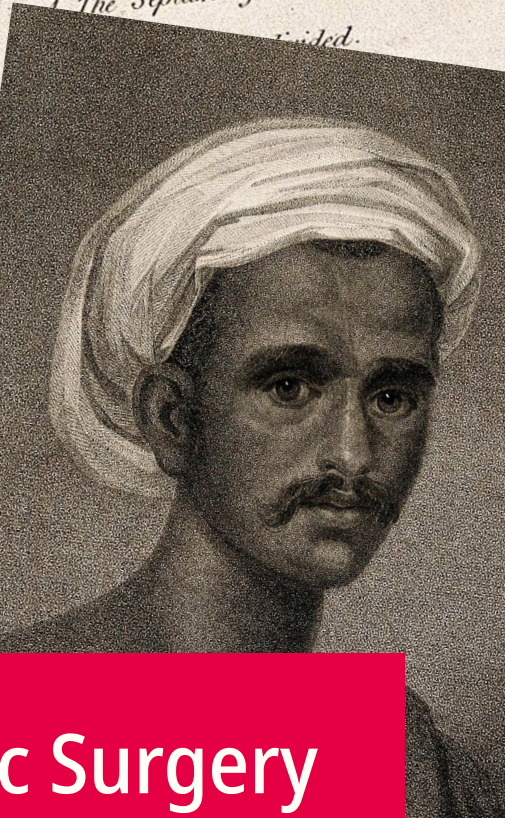
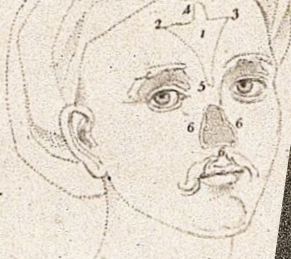
Skin taken from the forehead.
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and goes along the upper lip. The skin is now
so that a nose is formed with a double hold
water, and
four days,
more disfecti
the 10th day
and look

OPERATIO

The Septum of the new nose.
vided.



On the Plastic Surgery of the Ears and Nose

The Nepalese Version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*

D. Wujastyk, J. Birch, A. Klebanov,
M. K. Parameswaran, M. Rimal,
D. Chakraborty, H. Bhatt,
V. Lele, P. Mehta

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Madhu K. Parameswaran, Madhusudan Rimal,
Deepro Chakraborty, Harshal Bhatt,
Vandana Lele, Paras Mehta



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Contents

Preface	vii
1 Introduction	1
Importance of SS.1.16 in the History of Medicine	3
Torn ear-lobes	5
Rhinoplasty	5
The skin flap	6
2 The Transmission of the Work	9
The Nepalese Version	9
The Versions of Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa	12
Cakrapāṇidatta and the Nepalese version	15
Differences between the Nepalese and later versions	
of <i>Suśrutasamhitā</i> 1.16	16
The greater internal coherence of the Nepalese version	16
Transpositions	18
Changing Spelling, Sandhi and Syntax	19
Technical Terms	20
Augmenting the Text	21
Transposing Words, Verses and Passages	22
Redacting Recipes and Elaborating on Treatments	23
Comparative therapeutics	24
3 The Printed Editions	27
The vulgate	27
The sources of the 1915 edition	27
The sources of the 1931 edition	28
The sources of the 1938 edition	29
Evaluation	29
The 1939 edition	31

Sources for the Bhānumatī	31
Sources for the Suśrutasaṃhitā	31
Evaluation	33
4 The Manuscripts	35
Editorial Principles	39
Method	39
Stemma	40
The Edition and Apparatus	41
Digital Edition	43
Printed Edition	44
5 Critical Edition of Sūtrasthāna 16	47
6 Translation of Sūtrasthāna 16	57
Introduction	57
Translation	58
Abbreviations	67
Index of Manuscripts	71
Bibliography	73
Botanical Sourcebooks	85
Glossary	87

Preface

The *Compendium of Suśruta* (Sanskrit: *Suśrutasaṃhitā*) is a world classic of ancient medicine, comparable in age and importance to the Hippocratic Corpus and the Huangdi Neijing. It is a substantial treatise, written in the Sanskrit language, that presents a systematic, scholarly form of medicine for diagnosing and treating the many ailments that patients presented in South Asia two thousand years ago. *The Compendium* is a text written by physicians for physicians and is one of the founding treatises of the indigenous medical system of India, Ayurveda. As such, it still informs indigenous medical practice in India and Ayurvedic complementary and alternative medicine internationally.

Amongst historians of medicine, *The Compendium* is perhaps most famous for its passages describing remarkable forms of surgery. These techniques were used in South Asia and beyond: *The Compendium's* method of couching for cataract circulated in China in the seventh century and a form of facial plastic surgery described in *The Compendium* was witnessed by British surgeons in India in the eighteenth century and subsequently formed the basis of certain types of facial reconstruction as practised even today.

In 2007, a previously unknown manuscript of *The Compendium* from the uncatalogued collections of the Kaiser Library in Kathmandu was announced in a scholarly publication.¹ This manuscript, MS Kathmandu KL 699, is datable to 878 CE, almost a thousand years before any other known manuscript of the work. Furthermore, it became clear that two other manuscripts in Kathmandu were close copies of KL 699, albeit from later dates.

These exciting discoveries provide a kind of time machine by which we can directly examine the medical thought of Nepalese physicians of the ninth century. We can also start to see the changes

1 Dimitrov and Tamot 2007.

and additions to the text that have happened in the last millennium. Almost all of these later changes to the text have tended to obscure its clarity and directness, banalizing the language and inflating the recipes. Through the critical study of MS Kathmandu KL 699 and its companions we are beginning to recover an older, more authentic and more meaningful version of this medical classic.

This book presents a single chapter from *The Compendium* that is of unique interest to medical history. The book also lays out the basic parameters and methods of the project that will also apply to future publications. The members of the Suśruta Project have already read, edited and translated several other chapters. These materials are already available in digital format through the project website.² It is our intention to continue to publish both digitally and in print. We are currently preparing a critical edition and annotated translation of the *Kalpasthāna*, *The Compendium's* book on plant and animal poisons and their remedies.

Beyond the present funded project, the important work of editing and translating the other five books of the treatise remains for the future. Therefore the present book aims to establish an academically sound model for disseminating this older version of *The Compendium* to an international audience that will pave the way for future editions of the rest of the work.

When one sees an authorial collaboration such as the present book, it is natural to be curious about who did what. The bulk of the words of this book were co-written by myself and Jason Birch. Andrey Klebanov contributed an important section describing the manuscripts; Madhu K. Paramesvaran wrote about the evolution of recipes through time. The text of the translation was a fully collaborative effort, arising out of weekly seminar meetings that we all attended and to which we all contributed. Usually, Jason or I would present a first draft, and that was discussed word by word, together with re-visiting difficult manuscript readings and refining the critical edition. Additionally, Vandana Lele, Harshal Bhatt, Madhusudan Rimal, Deepro Chakraborty and Paras Mehta all spent many hours carefully transcribing the old Nepalese manuscripts so that the text could be edited using the methods of Digital Humanities. The book could not have been written without the participation of the whole project team.

2 Wujastyk et al. 2021–.

I would like to thank project participants who have also contributed to other aspects the project at different times, including Jane Allred, Devayani Shenoy and Gauri Vyaghrambhare.

The publisher's referees, Vitus Angermeier and Philipp Maas, contributed comments and corrections that have improved the book: my sincere thanks to them for their knowledge and precision.

On a personal note, I would like to thank my friends and former colleagues from the University of Vienna, especially Karin Preisendanz, Philipp Maas and Alessandro Graheli, from whom I learned and continue to learn so much about Indology and textual criticism, and my wife Dagmar Wujastyk, discussions with whom inform and improve all my scholarly efforts.

The project owes its existence to Canada's Social Science and Humanities Research Council who have generously funded the work through an Insight Grant. I am grateful to my academic home, the University of Alberta, for hosting and supporting the project.

— Dominik Wujastyk
L-Imgarr, 2023

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.³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵

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.⁶ 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.⁷ The manuscript has been declared by UNESCO to be part of the Memory of the World.⁸

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

3 The editio princeps was that of Gupta (1835–36). 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; Adriaensen et al. 1984; Yano 1986; P. V. Sharma 1999–2001; Valiathan 2007; and Meulenbeld’s magnum opus HIML.

4 HIML: IB, 311 ff.

5 HIML: IA, 203–389.

6 Dimitrov and Tamot 2007.

7 Harimoto 2011: 87–88.

8 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.⁹ Generally speaking, the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* is shorter and sometimes clearer than the versions commented on by Cakrapāṇidatta (fl. eleventh century) and Ḍalhaṇa (fl. twelfth century). The version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* commented on by Ḍalhaṇa has formed the basis of modern printed editions and translations, such as those of Yadavaśarman Trivikramātmaja Ācārya and others.¹⁰ Some of the changes in the text between the Nepalese version and what we might call “Ḍalhaṇa’s 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 *Uttaratantra* or last part of the work.¹¹ 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.¹²

In the case of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, 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 *Uttaratantra*, and before the text was fixed as a result of the authority of the major commentators, Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa.¹³ It is

9 Klebanov 2010; 2021a.

10 Su 1915; Su 1938; P. V. Sharma 1999–2001. Note that Ācārya himself referred to this text as “Ḍalhaṇa’s version” (see footnote 130 below).

11 For discussion of “the vulgate,” represented by Su 1938, see p. 27 below.

12 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.

13 The roles of earlier commentators including Jejjāṭa, Gayadāsa and Candraṭa in

in this sense that we use the expression, “Ḍalhaṇa’s version,” when referring to the vulgate text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.¹⁴ 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ The Brāhmaṇa literature of the only slightly later period

closing the text and influencing Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa remains an open research problem.

14 This book is called the *Sūtrasthāna* in later versions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. Note that the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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.

15 Zysk 1985: 70–71.

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

contained more detailed descriptions of animal butchery in the context of religious sacrifice that involved the enumeration of internal organs and bones.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ With the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, 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.¹⁹ 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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.²⁰ The author of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* claimed that surgery was the most ancient and most efficacious of the eight branches of medical knowledge.²¹ 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.²²

17 Malamoud 1996; Saha 2015.

18 Keith 1908.

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

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

21 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.1.15–19 (*Su* 1938: 4).

22 Leffler et al. (2020) provide a detailed discussion of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*'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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* described otoplasty for the repair of torn earlobes.²³ A similar, but not identical, procedure was described by Celsus in the early first century CE.²⁴ Majno, writing as a practising surgeon, noted that,²⁵

...through the habit of stretching their earlobes, the Indians became masters in a branch of surgery that Europe ignored for another two thousand years.

The different types of mutilated ear-lobe that the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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.²⁶

Rhinoplasty

One of the best-known surgical techniques associated with the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* was given.²⁷ This fascinating technique is certainly old in South Asia, having been witnessed by travellers from Niccolo Manucci in the seventeenth century onwards.²⁸ Many witnesses, including the most famous, Cruso and Findlay,²⁹ described an operation that differs from *Suśrutasaṃhitā* in that it takes the grafting skin from the forehead, not the cheek. But the operation witnessed by Thorburn in the nineteenth century is especially interesting, since the technique followed the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* exactly in taking flesh from the cheek, rather than the forehead.³⁰

23 Shiffman 2013: 43 briefly summarized early otoplasty history. The comprehensive study of ears in the history of Indian culture by Bollée (2010) oddly omits reference to *Suśrutasaṃhitā*'s surgery, although it mentions the text's description of ear diseases.

24 *De Medicina*, book VII, ¶8–9 (Spencer 1935–38: 3, 359–365).

25 Majno 1975: 291.

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

27 Wujastyk 2003: 67–70, 99–100. See also HIML: IB, 327–328, note 186, for further literature and reflections. Once again, a similar but simpler technique was described by Celsus in *De Medicina* book VII, ¶10 (Spencer 1935–38: 3, 365–367).

28 Manucci 1907–08: 2, 301.

29 Longmate 1794: 883, 891 f.

30 Thorburn 1876: 352–353.

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.³⁷

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

“Living” [flesh] means “together with blood”.³⁸

Thus, Ḍalhaṇa’s comment gives us unequivocal evidence for the concept of a living skin flap in the twelfth century, and it is almost certain that this is also what the text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* intended by the word “living.”

There is one remaining historical problem. These specific verses, 1.16.11–14, are not present in the Nepalese version of the text. This suggests that they were part of a different tradition of practice with a verse literature that was integrated into the vulgate text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* at a time after the Nepalese version as recorded in 878 CE, but at the latest by the time of Ḍalhaṇa in the twelfth century.³⁹

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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. 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

37 1.16.14 (Su 1938: 78): गण्डादुत्पाद्य मांसेन सानुबन्धेन जीवता । कर्णपालीमापालेस्तु कुर्यान्निलिख्य शास्त्रवित्! Cf. the translation of the whole passage by Wujastyk (2003: 94).

38 1.16.14 (Su 1938: 78): जीवेति शोणितसहितेनेत्यर्थः।

39 Another theoretical possibility is that what we have termed “a different tradition of practice” was in fact a separate ancient version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that predated the Nepalese version and that included these verses. Study of more manuscripts of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* may throw light on this issue, but it is unlikely that dated witnesses older than MS Kathmandu KL 699 will come to light, and this means that an older, separate transmission will necessarily remain a hypothetical construct.

– where text can be added easily –, its terseness, its ornate metre, and the paucity of the commentators' treatment could all be taken as pointing in this direction.

2 The Transmission of the Work

The Nepalese Version

In the present study and the other publications of our research group, we focus on the study of what we call the ‘Nepalese version’ of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. The primary rationale behind using this designation was outlined by Klebanov,⁴⁰ 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 this designation 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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 by him (2021b) as the result of a systematic analysis of two complete chapters, SS 1.3 and SS 1.15, and several shorter excerpts from the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* transmitted in the Nepalese manuscripts. On the one hand, these studies highlighted that all three MSS preserve a highly uniform text with very few variations, virtually all of which can be explained as standard scribal er-

40 Klebanov 2021a: 2–3.

rors 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. This analysis demonstrated that the text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. For example, Klebanov also established that in spite of its Nepalese provenance, MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1146,⁴¹ 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 versions of the work are preserved in manuscripts from Nepal. Also, the word "recension" suggests conscious editorial intervention at some point in the transmission, for which we do not yet have evidence.⁴² At the same time, we do wish to indicate the provenance of the oldest witnesses.

More than two hundred manuscripts of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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.⁴³ What can be said with certainty is that the Nepalese version preserves many archaic features of an early transmission of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and that some of these features have already been identified in other manuscripts of this work and have been studied briefly.

Our research group builds upon the above hypothesis about the existence of a distinct Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and concentrates primarily on the study of this text in its own right and, additionally, frequently compares it with the version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* promulgated by the late medieval commentator Ḍalhaṇa and recorded in the widely-used [Su 1938](#). The present study of SS 1.16 also considers the readings found in [Su 1939](#),

41 Rimal and Wujastyk 2022.

42 Editorial terminology in this area is not absolute: "recension," "version" and "redaction" are sometimes used interchangeably, or differently in various communities of scholars. See Roelli and Macé 2015: 164 ff.

43 For a list of known manuscript copies of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, see the sources mentioned in footnote 122 below.

that reflects Cakrapāṇidatta's readings, and incorporates various observations made by both medieval commentators, Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa, into the notes of the edition and some annotations of the translation.

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.⁴⁴ 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. This is partly because they preserve a version of the text that appears to be less edited, that is, more rudimentary in content and original in expression, that in turn suggests that it precedes later editorial intervention. 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. Rather, the Nepalese version is a witness to a hyparchetype, not the archetype, of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. The Nepalese version provides us with an intermediary node in the history of this work between the oldest reconstructable text and the vulgate version that was known to Ḍalhaṇa in the twelfth century and that is reproduced in most printed editions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. 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 *Uttaratantra*, that has a somewhat independent character.

44 Earlier publications include Harimoto 2011; Wujastyk 2013; Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. 2021; Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Rimal, et al. 2021.

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 a single line of textual transmission that goes back to a hyparchetype that predates the composition of all major commentaries on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and that, due to its regional character, has suffered relatively little contamination. We term this hyparchetype the “Nepalese version.”

The Versions of Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa

The commentaries of Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa, titled *Bhānumatī* and *Nibandhasaṅgraha* respectively, are based on similar but not identical versions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. Both versions differ significantly from the Nepalese version.⁴⁵ Ḍalhaṇa 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.⁴⁶ Ḍalhaṇa also had several manuscripts of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* available to him, as we know because he frequently mentioned their variant readings.⁴⁷

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 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 Ḍalhaṇa’s commentary (*Su 1938*).⁴⁸ This duplication of the root text in the two books cre-

45 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).

46 HIML: IB, 499, n. 162.

47 See HIML: IA, 377. Meulenbeld drew attention to Ḍalhaṇa’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, Ḍalhaṇa noted that certain readings known to the earlier commentators Jejjaṭa and Gayadāsa were, “not to be found in current manuscripts” (स च वर्तमानपुस्तकेषु न दृश्यते).

48 There are a few exceptions where Cakrapāṇidatta glossed a word or compound that is different to the one glossed by Ḍalhaṇa. For example, in SS 1.16.18, Cakrapāṇidatta glossed राजसर्प whereas Ḍalhaṇa glossed गौरसर्प. The editors reflected this in the root texts of the *Bhānumatī* (*Su 1939*: 130) and *Nibandhasaṅgraha* (*Su 1938*: 79) respectively.

ates the entirely misleading impression that both commentators had the same *Suśrutasaṃhitā* text before them.⁴⁹ However, there is much evidence, including in the chapter treated in the present study, that this was not the case.

To give a concrete example, Ḍalhaṇa commented on four verses, SS 1.16.11–14, as part of his root text, that Cakrapāṇidatta cited separately only in his commentary.⁵⁰ 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 Ḍalhaṇa. In spite of this, the editors Y. T. Ācārya and 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 for the reader to clearly see that these two important commentators were responding to different versions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

Furthermore, the duplication of the root text is questionable in instances where Cakrapāṇidatta did not acknowledge or comment on some verses that appear in what we might call “Ḍalhaṇa’s version” of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. In some cases, this is an *argumentum ex silentio* because it is possible that Cakrapāṇidatta may not have remarked on a verse when its meaning was obvious. However, in other cases, the commentarial convention of citing the first words of a new verse or passage suggests 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 *Bhānumatī* (Fig. 2.1, left).⁵¹ It is followed by several verses also in the main text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that elaborate on the content of the prose passage.⁵² Ḍalhaṇa commented on these explanatory verses (Fig. 2.1, right), citing keywords that show they all formed part of the main text of the *Suśrutasaṃ-*

49 A similar situation exists with the edition of the *Yogasūtravivaraṇa* by Rama Sastri and Krishnamurthi Sastri (1952) that is printed with the base text of the *Pātāñjalayogaśāstra* taken the edition of Āgāṣe and Āpaṭe (1904) which is significantly different from that on which Śaṅkara was commenting (Maas 2013: 77–78).

50 Su 1938: 78 and Su 1939: 128–129 respectively.

51 Su 1939: 130, i.e., अथाप्रदुष्टस्याभिवर्धनार्थम् ... निदध्यात्। It is numbered Su.1.16.19 in Ḍalhaṇa’s *Nibandhasaṅgraha* (Su 1938: 79).

52 SS 1.16.19–23 in Su 1939, i.e., स्वेदितो ..., यवाश्च ..., तैलं ..., तेषाम् ..., वद्ध

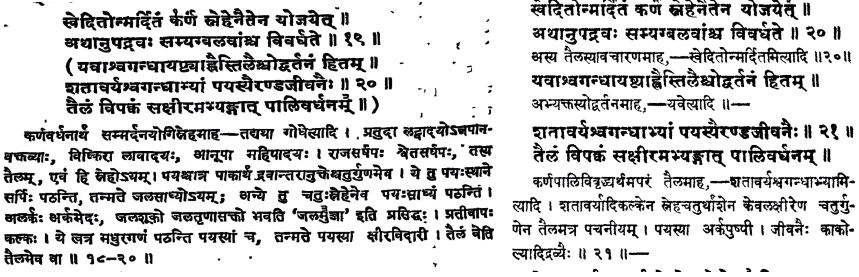


Figure 2.1: The text as it appears in Cakrapāṇi (left) and Ḍalhaṇa (right) (Su 1939: 130, Su 1938: 79).

hitā that was before him.⁵³ However, Cakrapāṇidatta's older commentary showed no awareness of the first few verses in this group, SS 1.16.19–21ab.⁵⁴ 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 of the text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that Cakrapāṇidatta knew is similar to the Nepalese version, at least in this particular case.⁵⁵

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 Ḍalhaṇa but not by Cakrapāṇidatta (see Fig. 2.2).⁵⁶ This verse was almost certainly not in the text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* known to Cakrapāṇidatta. The manuscript on which the editors' 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*.⁵⁷ Therefore, it requires a careful reading of the commentary itself to reverse-engineer,

53 1.16.19–23 (Su 1938: 79–80).

54 Su 1939: 130–131.

55 Su 1939: 130, n. 2.

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

57 This observation is based on an examination of the opening passage MS London BL H. T. Colebrooke 908. The MS is described in IOLR: 1.5, 928, #2647. The section "The 1939 Edition," on p. 31 below, describes the sources that the editors used for that edition.

(नाडीयोगं विनोद्यस्य नासासन्धानवद्विधिम् ॥
 य एवमेव जानीयात् स राज्ञः कर्तुमर्हति ॥ ३१ ॥)
 इति सौश्रुते शल्यतन्त्रे सूत्रस्थाने कर्णव्यधवन्धविधिर्नाम
 षोडशोऽध्यायः ॥ १६ ॥

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

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 Ḍalhaṇa. There is more evidence for this. For example, SS 1.16.5 of the Nepalese version begins with the compound दोषसमुदयात्; Cakrapāṇidatta began his comment on this passage by glossing this very expression. By contrast, Ḍalhaṇa’s version inserted two compounds, क्लिष्टजिह्वाप्रशस्तसूचीव्यधात् and गाढतरवर्तित्वात्, before this.⁵⁸ It appears that Cakrapāṇidatta was not aware of the compounds that Ḍalhaṇa saw in his later version, but was indeed reading a text similar to the Nepalese version.⁵⁹

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 Ḍalhaṇa mentioned it as an alternative that is, “read by others.” For example, the Nepalese version of SS 1.1.22 begins तत्रास्मिञ्छास्त्रे..., which is also the reading commented on by Cakrapāṇidatta.⁶⁰ However, Ḍalhaṇa commented on अस्मिञ्छास्त्रे and stated that “others read तत्रास्मिञ्छास्त्रे”.⁶¹

Another example is the reading of षष्ठ्या विधानैः in Ḍalhaṇa’s commentary on SS 1.1.8.1 that is not in his main text but that he ascribes

58 1.16.6 (*sic*) ([Su 1938](#): 77).

59 1.16.5 ([Su 1939](#): 126–127).

60 1.1.20 (*sic*) ([Su 1939](#): 17).

61 1.1.22 ([Su 1938](#): 5).

to “some others”.⁶² This reading is likely to be derived from the expression षष्ठ्याभिधानैः in the main text of the Nepalese version, and to have been rewritten before Ḍalhaṇa’s time because it was hard to understand.⁶³

Differences between the Nepalese and later versions of *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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.⁶⁴ Others have explored variations in the frame story of the work as a whole.⁶⁵ Klebanov discussed the interchangeable use of two titles for the first book of the text, namely “*Ślokaśhāna*” 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.⁶⁶

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.⁶⁷

Klebanov contributed some further general remarks and examples of substantive differences between the Nepalese and vulgate versions, and provided two more case studies.⁶⁸ The first dealt with the list of skin lesions associated with urinary disease.⁶⁹ Their

62 1.1.8.1 (*Su* 1938: 3).

63 See the discussion by Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Rimal, et al. (2021: 4–5).

64 Klebanov 2021a: 27 f.

65 Wujastyk 2013; Klebanov 2021a: 28–32; Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. 2021; Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Rimal, et al. 2021: 2–4.

66 Klebanov 2021a: 32–44.

67 Harimoto 2011: 101–104.

68 Klebanov 2021a: 44–55.

69 प्रमेहपिटका in the Nepalese spelling.

signs and pathogenesis are described in the *Nidānasthāna* and their treatment in the *Cikitsāsthāna*.⁷⁰ This list of skin lesions exemplifies a case where the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasamhitā* is internally more coherent than that commented on by Ḍalhaṇa. The first commentator to identify the problem in this passage that gave rise to the incoherence we see in Ḍalhaṇa's text was Gayadāsa (fl. ca. 1000), who proposed a textual conjecture that corresponds to the reading of the Nepalese version.⁷¹ It looks as if Gayadāsa had both a text corresponding to the Nepalese version as well as the less coherent version in the manuscripts before him; although he proposed the reading of the Nepalese version, by Ḍalhaṇa's time the less coherent version had become the accepted version of the text.

The second case study by Klebanov focussed on the variation in the list of bodily winds (ऋण) in SS 3.4.⁷² This discussion too relied upon Gayadāsa's learned remarks. He commented on a version of the *Suśrutasamhitā* corresponding to the Nepalese version and reported an alternative reading and its interpretation preferred by another ancient commentator, Jejjāṭa (fl. ca. 650 – c. 750). It is Jejjāṭa's reading that is known to modern readers of the *Suśrutasamhitā* 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 *Suśrutasamhitā* 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 Ḍalhaṇa's version of the text also included extremely early readings and variants, suggesting that some of the readings accepted by Ḍalhaṇa were ancient,

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

71 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.

72 Klebanov 2021a: 52–55.

if not original. Each case has to be weighed, and we are not yet in a position to make definitive judgements about the early divergence of textual recensions.

The detailed comparison that follows of 1.16 of the Nepalese version with Ḍalhaṇa's *Nibandhasaṅgraha* unfolded as the chapter was edited. The differences appear to emanate largely from attempts in Ḍalhaṇa'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

Table 2.1 reveals the extent to which 1.16 of the Nepalese version was redacted to create the one known by Ḍalhaṇa. In this particular case, twenty-seven verses have been added 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 Ḍalhaṇa. These verses cover additional diseases of the ear-lobes, with their treatment and complications. Although Ḍalhaṇa 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 Ḍalhaṇa's comments prompted him to place them in parentheses.⁷³ Be this as it may, this large block of verses is not present in the Nepalese version.

One can also see in Table 2.1 that verses 17 and 18 of the Nepalese version were transposed in the redaction of Ḍalhaṇa'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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

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

Table 2.1: A Comparison of verses in 1.16 of the Nepalese and Ḍalhaṇa's versions.

Nepalese version	Ḍalhaṇa'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

Apart from the transposition and addition of verses, the redacting of the version known to Ḍalhaṇa involved many small, yet sometimes significant, changes that are described below.⁷⁴

Changing Spelling, Sandhi and Syntax

The language of later commentators like Ḍalhaṇa is more standardised, simplified or improved in comparison with the language that we find in the more archaic Nepalese version. Such differences include the standardising of spelling,⁷⁵ sandhi,⁷⁶ and verbal forms,⁷⁷ as well as interventions to simplify and clarify syntax.⁷⁸ These ef-

74 The present study focusses on the commentary of Ḍalhaṇa, 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.

75 For example, पत्ताङ्ग (SS 1.16.21) → पतङ्ग (1.16.29, Su 1938: 81). For more information on this, see footnote 203 to the translation.

76 For example, ०हस्तेन ऋजु (SS 1.16.2) → ०हस्तेन जु (1.16.3, Su 1938: 76).

77 For example, उन्नामयित्वा (SS 1.16.21) → प्राप्नम्य (1.16.29, Su 1938: 81); अवचूर्णयीत (SS 1.16.21) → उपहरेत् (1.16.29, Su 1938: 81).

78 For example, शोणितबहुत्वेनवेदनायां चान्यदेशविद्धमिति जानीयात् । निरुपद्रवता तद्देशविद्धलिङ्गम् । (SS 1.16.3) → शोणितबहुत्वेन वेदनया चान्यदेशविद्धमिति जानीयात् । निरुपद्रवतया तद्देशविद्धम् इति ।

forts often involved splitting compounds.⁷⁹ In some instances, these changes improved the grammar,⁸⁰ or altered the meaning.⁸¹ However, some prefixes of verbal forms,⁸² case endings,⁸³ and indeclinables were changed for less apparent reasons.⁸⁴ There is also a tendency to replace uncommon words with generic ones,⁸⁵ to add indeclinables,⁸⁶ to omit the verb “to be” at the end of sentences,⁸⁷ and to introduce verses after a prose passage with the phrase भवति चात्र.⁸⁸

Technical Terms

There is evidence of standardising and altering technical terminology in versions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* subsequent to the Nepalese one. Two examples of this in *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.16 are the terms for “joins” (बन्ध) and “a slice of flesh” (वघ्न). 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 replacing सन्धान and सन्धि with बन्ध in prose passages.⁸⁹ However, the use of the term सन्धान was retained in verses, perhaps because of the metrical challenges of

-
- (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) → स्नेहेनैतेन (1.16.20, Su 1938: 79).
- 79 For example, यदृच्छाविद्वायां सिरायाम् (SS 1.16.4) → यदृच्छया विद्वासु सिरासु (1.16.5, Su 1938: 76); धान्याल्लकपालचूर्णं (SS 1.16.10) → धान्याल्लं कपालचूर्णं (1.16.20, Su 1938: 78).
- 80 For example, सुरामण्डक्षीरम् (SS 1.16.10) → सुरामण्डं क्षीरम् (1.16.15, Su 1938: 78).
- 81 For example, क्षीणाल्पमांसः (SS 1.16.12) → क्षीणोऽल्पमांसः (1.16.17, Su 1938: 79).
- 82 For example, सम्बद्धितः (SS 1.16.8) → विवद्धितः (1.16.9, Su 1938: 77); निवेश्य (SS 1.16.10) → सन्निवेश्य (1.16.15, Su 1938: 78); अवबध्य (SS 1.16.10) → च बद्धा (1.16.15, Su 1938: 78).
- 83 For example, मासे (SS 1.16.2) → मासि (1.16.3, Su 1938: 76).
- 84 Example of indeclinables include 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).
- 85 For example, भ्रक्षयेत् (SS 1.16.15) → योजयेत् (1.16.20, Su 1938: 79); नद्येत् (SS 1.16.21) → बद्धा (1.16.29, Su 1938: 81).
- 86 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).
- 87 The words भवति or भवन्ति are omitted four times in Ḍalhaṇa’s version (1.16.10 (twice), 1.16.17 and 1.16.18 (Su 1938: 77, 79)).
- 88 For example, [absent] (SS 1.16.11) → भवति चात्र (1.16.16, Su 1938: 79).
- 89 For example, पञ्चदशसन्धानाकृतयः (SS 1.16.9) → पञ्चदशबन्धाकृतयः (see 1.16.10 (Su 1938: 77)); दशकर्णसन्धिविकल्पाः (SS 1.16.9) → कर्णबन्धविकल्पाः (see 1.16.10 (Su 1938: 77))

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.⁹⁰

The Nepalese version contains the rather obscure term वघ्न for the slice of flesh that a surgeon cuts from the cheek in order to construct a new nose.⁹¹ Modern dictionaries define वघ्न as a leathern strap or a slice of bacon,⁹² the latter of which is more indicative of its meaning in the Nepalese version. This word was written out of subsequent versions,⁹³ and it was not mentioned as an alternative reading by either Cakrapāṇidatta or Ḍalhaṇa, which suggests that its use and meaning may not have been known to them. However, वघ्न was used by the author of the *Aṣṭāṅgahr̥dayasaṃhitā* in the context of rhinoplasty, so it likely to be the correct reading in the Nepalese version.⁹⁴

Augmenting the Text

Apart from adding whole passages and verses (as seen in Table 2.1), redactors of subsequent versions augmented the text by expanding existing compounds and inserting new compounds and words. Within the microcosm of 1.16, adjectives and adverbs were inserted to clarify statements,⁹⁵ and phrases added to elaborate on diseases and treatments.⁹⁶ In particular, the characteristics and number of symptoms of a disease, as well as their reasons for arising, tend to increase in subsequent versions. For example, the Nepalese version (SS 1.16.5) said that the wick in a newly pierced ear should be removed because of aggravated humours or a culpable piercing whereas the version known to Ḍalhaṇa (1.16.6 (*Su* 1938:77))

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

91 SS 1.16.20 and 23.

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

93 वघ्नम् (SS 1.16.20) → बद्धम् (SS 1.16.28, *Su* 1938:81) and तद्वघ्नशेषं (SS 1.16.23) → तदघ्नशेषं (SS 1.16.31, *Su* 1938:81).

94 Utt.18.62 (*Ah* 1939:841). This may suggest some independence between the text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* as transmitted to its direct commentators and as transmitted to Vāgbhaṭa. The word वघ्न is old, occurring, also in the form वघ्न, from the *Atharvaveda* onwards (*EWA*: 2, 521–522).

95 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).

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

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 Ḍalhaṇa's version have additional characteristics,⁹⁷ and a list of four symptoms associated with incurable joins in the Nepalese version (SS 1.16.19) was increased to six in Ḍalhaṇa's version (1.16.10 (Su 1938: 77)). Also, models of classifying symptoms were introduced in subsequent versions. For example, the Nepalese version (SS 1.16.4) lists the symptoms of mistakenly piercing a duct in the ear whereas the version known to Ḍalhaṇa (1.16.5, Su 1938: 76–77) classifies these symptoms according to three ducts called कालिका, मर्मरिका and लोहितिका, which results in some repetition of the symptoms mentioned.⁹⁸

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 the result of different preferences in syntax or even scribal eye-brain-hand miscommunication.⁹⁹ However, the transposition of verses and passages is usually the result of efforts at redacting the text to add new material. A good example of this is the transposition of SS 1.16.17 and SS 1.16.18 in the Nepalese version to 1.16.26 and 1.16.25, respectively, in Ḍalhaṇa'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.

97 For example, पीठोपमपालिर्निर्वेधिमः (1.16.9, Su 1938: 77) → पीठोपमपालिरुभयतः क्षीणपुत्रिकाश्रितो निर्वेधिमः (1.16.10, Su 1938: 77); इतराल्यपालिः संक्षिप्तः (SS 1.16.9) → उत्सन्नपालिरितराल्यपालिः संक्षिप्तः (1.16.10); तनुविषमपालिः (SS 1.16.9) → तनुविषमाल्यपालिः (1.16.10).

98 In Ḍalhaṇa'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 Ḍalhaṇa.

99 For example, अणुस्थूलं (SS 1.16.9) → स्थूलाणुं (1.16.10, Su 1938: 77); तत्रैते दशकर्णं (SS 1.16.9) → तत्र दशैते कर्णं (1.16.10, Su 1938: 77); नातिगाढन्नातिशिथिलं सूत्रेणावबध्य (SS 1.16.9) → सूत्रेणानवगाढमनतिशिथिलं च बद्धा (1.16.10, Su 1938: 77); पूर्वन्दक्षिणं कुमारस्य वामङ्कन्यायाः । प्रतनुं सूच्या बहलमारया (SS 1.16.2) → प्रतनुकं सूच्या बहलमारया । पूर्वं दक्षिणं कुमारस्य वामङ्कन्यायाः (1.16.3, Su 1938: 76).

Redacting Recipes and Elaborating on Treatments

Some of the additional text in subsequent versions of the *Suśruta-saṃhitā* 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 SS 1.16.3 of Ḍalhaṇa's version (Su 1938: 76), which contains a statement that the physician should insert a wick of cotton after the ear has been pierced.¹⁰⁰ 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 Ḍalhaṇa's version elucidates the role of the wick in the procedure of piercing the ear.

A similar clarification occurs in Ḍalhaṇa's version at 1.16.18 (Su 1938: 70),¹⁰¹ which reiterates the cure for an ear tainted by a humour that was described earlier in SS 1.16.7.¹⁰² 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.¹⁰³ The author of the Nepalese version probably assumed that, after reading SS 1.16.12, the reader would refer back to SS 1.16.6 for the cure of an ear affected by a humour. However, in Ḍalhaṇa's version, the treatment is reiterated.

In Ḍalhaṇa's version of SS 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 Ḍalhaṇa's version, the recipe was rewritten to include sesame seeds.¹⁰⁴ A more significant change occurs in another recipe for an admixture of an oil that is supposed to be rubbed into a healthy ear to enlarge it. Ḍalhaṇa's version of the admixture has five additional ingredients, namely, **prickly chaff-**

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

101 Corresponding to SS 1.16.13 in the Nepalese version, lines 59–61 of the edition below, p. 52.

102 Nepalese version SS 1.16.6, lines 16–17 of the edition below, p. 48.

103 Ḍalhaṇa 1.16.17 (Su 1938: 79), corresponding to Nepalese SS 1.16.12, lines 55–58 of the edition below, p. 52.

104 Nepalese version SS 1.16.5 (lines 13–15, p. 48 below): यवमधुकमज्जिष्ठागन्धर्वहस्तमूलैर्मधुघृतप्रगाढैरालेपयेत् which become, in Ḍalhaṇa 1.16.7 (Su 1938: 77): मधुकैरण्डमूलमज्जिष्ठावतिलकल्कैर्मधुघृतप्रगाढैरालेपयेत्.

flower, *Withania*, milk-white, sweet plants and Indian ipecac.¹⁰⁵ It also has beggarweed instead of Indian kudzu.¹⁰⁶

The general tendency in re-formulating a recipe from the Nepalese version in later versions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.16 with parallel materials found in other texts, including the *Carakasāṃhitā*, *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, and *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*. The latter two works, both ascribed to Vāgbhaṭa, can safely be dated to a period after the composition of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* but before the commentator Ḍalhaṇa, thus throwing light on a period of development for which witnesses are limited and 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* can help us to understand how recipes and therapies evolved within specific lines of textual transmission.

The materials presented in *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.16 are parallel to those in two chapters of the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, namely *Uttarasthāna*, chapters 1 and 2, titled “*bālopacaraṇīya*” and “*karnarogapratīṣedha*,” and *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*, *Uttarasthāna* 1 and 18 with the same chapter names.¹⁰⁷

First, let us return to the comments on the insertion of a wick that were mentioned above (p.23). The Nepalese version says nothing, while Ḍalhaṇa's version says “one should insert a cloth wick” (पिचुवर्ति प्रवेशयेत्). A little later, both versions say, “one should remove the wick”.¹⁰⁸ It seems likely that the editor of Ḍalhaṇa'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

105 Ḍalhaṇa's version 1.16.7 (Su 1938: 77).

106 Nepalese version SS 1.16.14 (lines 62–65, pp. 52–53): अर्कालर्कबलातिबलानन्ताविदारीमधुकजलशूकप्रतिवापन्तैलम्पाचयित्वा which become, in Ḍalhaṇa 1.16.19 (Su 1938: 79): अर्कालर्कबलातिबलानन्तापामार्गाश्वगन्धाविदारिगन्धाक्षीरशुक्लाजलशूकमधुरवर्गपयस्याप्रतिवापं तैलम्पाचयित्वा.

107 As 1980: 619–629 and 734–744 and Ah 1939: 777–781 and 837–841, respectively.

108 तत्र वर्तिमपहृत्य in the Nepalese version (line 13), and the less clear तत्र वर्तिमुपहृत्य in Ḍalhaṇa's version (1.16.6 (Su 1938: 77)).

is perhaps represents an earlier version of the text on the principle of *lectio difficilior potior*. Both the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* and the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* describe first inserting a thread in the pierced ear-lobe and subsequently replacing it every third day.¹⁰⁹ In this respect, they agree with Ḍalhaṇa'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 *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* 6.1.63 (*As* 1980: 626), but the same is not present in *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*. As pointed out above, Ḍalhaṇa's version adds a paste of sesame seeds (तिलकल्क) to the recipe attested by the Nepalese version. In the parallel version of the recipe found in the printed editions of *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, honey (मधु) is missing, but ghee (आज्य) is found. However, when checking the manuscripts of the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, one of them reads आचैः instead of आज्यैः(यवैरण्डजटायष्टीमञ्जिष्ठाज्यैः प्रलेपयेत्).¹¹⁰ Interestingly, the paste of sesame seeds (तिलकल्क) of Ḍalhaṇa's version is not present in the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* and is replaced by जटा, which is most probably *spikenard*.

Since the paste of sesame seeds is the main differentiating factor between the recipe versions attested by the Nepalese version and Ḍalhaṇa's version, a general review of the contexts of its use in the major texts may be enlightening. References for the paste of sesame seeds are found in the texts shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Sesame seed paste (तिलकल्क) in different texts.

Text	Instances of sesame seed paste
<i>Carakasamhitā</i>	6
<i>Suśrutasaṃhitā</i>	11
<i>Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha</i>	16
<i>Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā</i>	5

Among them, references with the combination of the paste of sesame seeds, ghee and honey are not rare either, with four instances each in *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* and two instances in *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*. A combination of the paste of sesame seeds,

109 6.1.58 (*As* 1980: 626) and 6.1.36 (*Ah* 1939: 780) respectively.

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

ghee and honey has also been specifically quoted as a general healing recipe.¹¹¹

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.¹¹²

This material evidence points to the general historical trend that medicines in the older Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasamhitā* present a central core recipe, consisting of a few drugs, that develops with ever-increasing complexity in the more recent versions of Ḍalhaṇa and later authors.

111 E.g., *Suśrutasamhitā* 1.11.22ab (Su 1938: 49), *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* 1.38.21 (As 1980: 249–250) and *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā* 1.30.34 (Ah 1939: 357).

112 E.g., *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* 1.37.30 (As 1980: 246) for क्षतकण्ठ and *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* 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 *Suśrutasamhitā* by Meulenbeld lists no fewer than 44 entries.¹¹³ These range from the first edition by Madhusūdāna 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 **hess-1855** and continue up to the present in scores of publications in many languages.¹¹⁴

The vulgate

The great ayurvedic scholar Yādavaśarmaṇ Trivikrama Ācārya produced three successive editions of the *Suśrutasamhitā* with the commentary of Ḍalhana, 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.¹¹⁵ 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.¹¹⁶ 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*, *śārīra* and *kalpa sthānas*.

¹¹³ HIML: IIB, 311–314.

¹¹⁴ E.g., Zysk 1984; HIML: IIB, 314–315.

¹¹⁵ See also the studies of these editions by Klebanov (2021a: §1.2) and Wujastyk (2013: 143–144).

¹¹⁶ 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 Gaṅgādharabhaṭṭaśarman, lecturer at the Royal Sanskrit University. Covers the *cikitsāsthāna* and the *uttaratantra*.
- 3 Bundi, my great friend the royal physician Paṃ. Śrīprasādaśarman. Covers the *uttaratantra*.

The sources of the 1931 edition

- 1 Vārāṇasī, professor of literature, the great Gaurīnāthapāṭhaka. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Covers the *nidānasthāna* and *uttaratantra*.
- 2 Ahmedabad. My friend Sva. Vā. Vaidya Raṇachoḍalāla Motilālaśarman. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Covers the *śārīrasthāna*.
- 3 From the personal library of my great friend Sva. Vā. Vaidya Murārajīśarman. Extremely old. No commentary. Covers the *śārīrasthāna*.
- 4 Puṇe, BORI library. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Covers the *śārīrasthāna*.¹¹⁷
- 5 Puṇe, BORI library. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Complete. With some damaged folia.
- 6 Bombay, Asiatic Society. Incomplete.¹¹⁸
- 7 Varanasi, the private library of Vaidya Tryambakaśāstrī. Covers the *cikitsāsthāna*. The variant readings of this MS were compiled by Prof. Guruprasādaśāstrī and supplied to Ācārya.
- 8 A printed edition together with the commentary *Suśrutasaṅgītanabhāṣya* by Professor Hārāṇacandra Cakravārtti. Complete work. This is the 1910 Calcutta edition numbered “t” by Meulenbeld.¹¹⁹
- 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.¹²⁰

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

118 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.”

119 HIML: IB, 312; Bhaṭṭācārya 1910–17.

120 HIML: IB, 311; Sena et al. 1886–93.

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

edition source	1915			1931									1938		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3
<i>sthāna</i>															
<i>sū.</i>	●							●	?		○	○ [†]	●		●
<i>nī.</i>	●			●				●	?		○		●	●	●
<i>śā.</i>	●				●	●	●	●	?		○		●		● ^{††}
<i>cī.</i>		●						●	?	●	○		●		● ^{††}
<i>ka.</i>	●							●	?		○		●		
<i>utt.</i>		●	●	●				●	?		○				

[†] Covers chapters 1–43 only. ^{††} Covers chapters 1–9 only.

The sources of the 1938 edition

- 1 Gwalior, from the library of my great friend Paṃ. Rāmeśvaraśāstrin Śukla. Covers the *sūtra*, *nidāna*, *śārīra*, *cikitsā* and *kalpasthānas*.
- 2 Bikaner, from the library of the Royal Palace, supplied by Paṃ. Candraśekharaśāstrin. Contains the commentary *Nyāyacandrikāpañjikāvyaḥkhyā* by Gayadāsa. Covers the *nidānasthāna*. This is almost certainly MS Bikaner Anup 4390.¹²¹
- 3 Kathmandu, located in the private library of the Royal Guru Hemarāja Śarman. An extremely old palm-leaf manuscript. Readings from this MS were compiled by Paṃ Nityānandaśarman Jośī and sent to Ācārya. Covers 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*.¹²² Although most of these manu-

¹²¹ See Wujastyk 2023.

¹²² This figure is arrived at by summing the MSS mentioned by Raghavan et al. (NCC: 39, 373–375) and in the NGMCP. The real figure could be many scores higher. Cf. the overview at Wujastyk et al. 2020.

scripts cover only parts of the whole work, they amount to approximately twenty times the evidence that was used by Ācārya for his vulgate editions.

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 witnesses. 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, 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 sections, 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 *śā-rīrasthāna* only, and unfortunately we know nothing of the later history of this manuscript. The second is no. 3 of 1938, which is one of the important Nepalese manuscripts being considered in the present project. Ācārya's remarks and references to Hemarājaśarman's introduction to the *Kāśyapasaṃhitā* allow us to identify this manuscript as MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333.¹²³ 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.¹²⁴ 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.

123 *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.

124 *Su* 1938: 22.

The 1939 edition

In 1939, Yādavaśarman Trivikrama Ācārya and Nandakiśora Śarman co-edited an edition of the *sūtrasthāna* of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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).¹²⁵ The text was edited on the basis of the following sources.

Sources for the *Bhānumatī*

1. A printed edition. Covered the *Bhānumatī* up to chapter Su.sū.40. The siglum was मु for मुद्रित.¹²⁶
2. A manuscript in the India Office Library library provided through the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune.¹²⁷ This manuscript covered the *Bhānumatī* up to the end of the *sūtrasthāna*. The siglum was ह for हस्तलिखित.¹²⁸

Sources for the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*

1. A palm leaf manuscript from Hemarājaśarman's personal library.¹²⁹ The siglum was त for ताडपत्र.
2. His own published edition. The siglum was ड for डल्हणसंमतः पाठः.¹³⁰
3. Hārāṇacandra Cakravartī's published edition with his own commentary.¹³¹ The siglum was हा.

125 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

126 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 yet available to our project. See also HIML: IB, 495, n. 57 for mention of this manuscript. The reference at Rama Rao et al. 2005: 217 to CACL accession number 97 in Bengali script may be this manuscript.

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

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

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

130 Su 1938. It is noteworthy that Ācārya refers to his 1938 edition as representing "the Ḍalhaṇa version."

131 Bhaṭṭācārya 1910–17.

१ अध्यायः]

सुश्रुतसंहिता

११

चरके—“लभोपायो हि शस्तानां रसादीनां रसायनम्” (च. चि. अ. १ पा. १) । पारिशेष्याद्वाजीकरणतन्त्रम् । अवाजिनं वाजीकुर्वन्ति येन तद्वाजीकरणम् । ‘अन्येषामपि दृश्यते’ (पा. अ. ६।३।१३७) इति वीर्घलम् । येन वाऽत्यर्थं जीषु व्यज्यते तद्वाजीकरणम् । तदुक्तं चरके—“येन नारीषु सामर्थ्यं वाजिवल्लभते नरः । ब्रजेच्चाप्यधिकं येन वाजीकरणमेव तत्” (च. चि. अ. २, पा. ४) इति ॥ ५ ॥

अथास्य प्रत्येकाङ्गलक्षणसमासः—तत्र, शल्यं नाम विविधतृणकाष्ठपाषाणपांशुलोहलोष्टास्थिवालनखपूयास्त्रावदुष्टव्रणान्तर्गर्भशल्योद्धरणार्थं षष्ठ्या विधानैः, यन्त्रशस्त्रक्षाराग्निप्रणिधानव्रणविनिश्चयार्थं च; शालाक्यं नामोर्ध्वजत्रुगतानां श्रवणनयनवदनघ्राणादिसंश्रितानां व्याधीनामुपशमनार्थं; कायचिकित्सा नाम सर्वाङ्गसंश्रितानां व्याधीनां ज्वररक्तपित्तशोषोन्मादापसारकुष्ठमेहातिसारादीनामुपशमनार्थं; भूतविद्या नाम देवांसुरगन्धर्वैयक्षरक्षःपितृपिशाचनैः प्राणग्रहाद्युपसृष्टचेतसां शान्तिकर्मबलिहरणादिग्रहोपशमनार्थं; कौमारभृत्यं नाम कुमारभरणधात्रीक्षीरदोषसंशोधनार्थं दुष्टस्तन्यग्रहसमुत्थिनां च व्याधीनामुपशमनार्थम्; अगदतन्त्रं नाम सर्पकीटलूतामूषकादिदुष्टविषव्यञ्जनार्थं विविधविर्षसंयोगोपशमनार्थं च; रसायनतन्त्रं नाम वयःस्थापनमायुर्मेधाबलंकरणं रोगापहरणसमर्थं च; वाजीकरणतन्त्रं नामाल्पदुष्टक्षीणशुष्करेतसामाप्यायनप्रसादोपचयजनननिमित्तं प्रहर्षणजननार्थं च ॥ ६ ॥

शल्यान्निवेशोपात्तं ज्ञातुं प्रतिलक्षणं संक्षेपेणाह—अथास्येत्यादि । एकमेकमङ्गं प्रति लक्षणानां समासः संक्षेपः प्रत्येकाङ्गलक्षणसमासः । तृणादीनां, तथा दुष्टव्रणस्य, तथाऽन्तर्गत(र्भशल्य)स्य उद्धरणार्थमिति प्रत्येकमुद्धरणशब्दः संबध्यते । दुष्टव्रणस्यान्तस्त्वृणाद्याहरणार्थमित्यन्ये । षष्ठ्या विधानैरिति द्वित्रणीयोक्तैरपतर्पणार्थै रक्षाविधानान्तैः; इत्थंभूतलक्षणे तृतीया । जत्रु प्रीवामूलं, जत्रुण ऊर्ध्वमूर्ध्वजत्रु । प्राणाधीत्यादिग्रहणाच्छिरःकपालादिग्रहणम् । उत्तरतन्त्रे प्रतिपादितक्रमप्राप्त्या ज्वरानन्तरमतीसारः पठितः, तस्यान्ते पाठोऽतिसारस्य सर्वाङ्गीणदोषारब्धत्वात्, अन्येषामपि तन्मध्यपाठेन सर्वाङ्गीणदोषारब्धत्वप्रतिपादानाद्यतिक्रमं वदन्ति । शान्तिकर्म बलिहरणादिना ग्रहाणां देवादीनामुपशमो यस्तदर्थः; यदि वा ग्रहणं ग्रहो देवानामावेशस्तदुपशमार्थम् । दुष्टस्तन्यग्रहसमुत्थितानामिति दुष्टस्तन्येन

१ ‘सर्वशरीरावस्थितानां व्याधीनामुपशमकरणार्थं ज्वरशोफयुग्मरक्तपित्तोन्मादापसारप्रमेहातिसारादीनां च’ इति ता. । २ ‘देवदानव’ इति ता. । ३ ‘विनायकनागग्रहोपसृष्टचेतसा’ इति ता. । ४ ‘विषवेगोपशमनार्थं’ इति ता. । ५ ‘शुक्राप्यायन’ इति ता. । ६ ‘तृणादीनां शल्यान्तानां’ इति सु. ७ ‘अन्ये तु तस्यान्ते पाठेन’ इति पा० । ८ ‘ग्रहणाद्’ इति सु. ।

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

Evaluation

The main innovation of this publication was to present the only surviving part of the commentary on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* by the great eleventh-century medical scholar Cakrapāṇidatta, namely the *Bhānumatī*.¹³² A secondary purpose was to present the text of the *sūtrasthāna* as read in MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333, that had recently been brought to the editors' attention. In their judgement, the Kathmandu manuscript presented a text that was closer to what Cakrapāṇidatta had before him than the text according to Ḍalhaṇa. In spite of this, the editors largely reproduced the root text of Ḍalhaṇa's version. 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 his readings at the level of individual words and sentences (see Figure 3.1).

Ācārya noted in his introduction that the manuscripts containing Ḍalhaṇa's commentary all came together with the root-text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, and thus the main *Suśrutasaṃhitā* text reflected the readings chosen by Ḍalhaṇa. But the manuscripts of the *Bhānumatī* contained the commentary alone, without the root-text, and had many explanations based on different readings of the root-text than those of Ḍalhaṇa. In many of these cases it was hard to 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.¹³³

There is compelling evidence that Cakrapāṇidatta's *Bhānumatī* commentary once covered the whole text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.¹³⁴ 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.¹³⁵

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

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

134 HIML: IA, 375.

135 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.¹³⁶ That is why we will present only the key data essential for the study of our edition in the present book. 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 or owners, and have become canonical.

K MS Kathmandu KL 699 (fig. 4.1) is preserved at the Kaiser Shamsher (KL) library in Kathmandu.¹³⁷ It was microfilmed and catalogued by the NGMPP/ NGMCP as C 80-7.¹³⁸ The MS comprises 152 palm-leaf folios that originally belonged to several different codicological units written by different scribes.¹³⁹ 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.¹⁴⁰ The MS is incomplete and contains a large part of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* as well as the *Sauśrutaniḥaṅṭu*.¹⁴¹ The date stated in the colophon at the end of the compendium is verified for Sunday, April 13, 878 CE. However, physical damage to the manuscript folio containing the colophon means that it is no longer possible to interpret it definitively. In particular, two persons

¹³⁶ See also Harimoto 2010; 2011; 2014.

¹³⁷ See also the description by Klebanov (2021a: §2.1).

¹³⁸ See the description in the online NGMCP catalogue, Harimoto 2013.

¹³⁹ Bhattarai (2020: 46) and Klebanov (2021a: 11) agree that four to five scribes were involved in the manuscript's production.

¹⁴⁰ Codicological features of the manuscript, including the layout, peculiarities of the script, and various ornamental and text-dividing symbols were studied by Bhattarai (2020).

¹⁴¹ Klebanov (2021a: 11) provided a detailed description of the content.

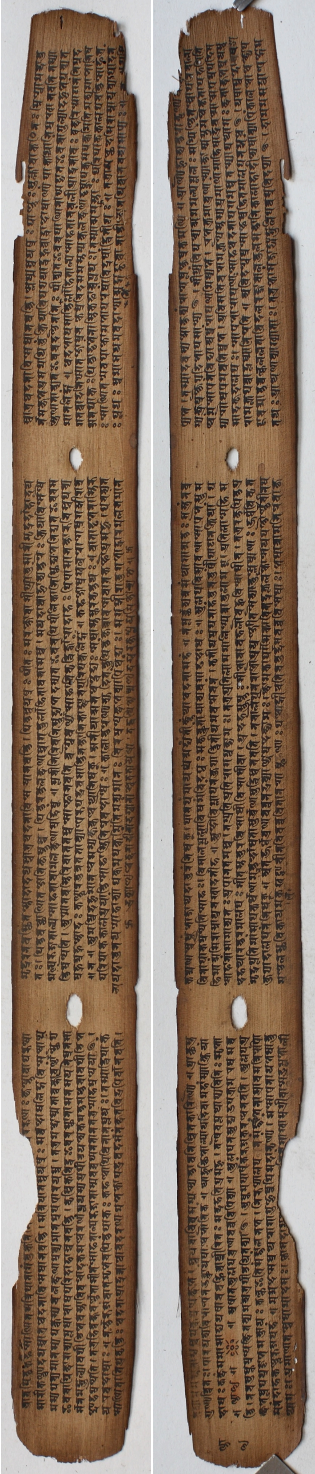


Figure 4.1: Folios 17r and 17v of MS Kathmandu KL 699 (K).

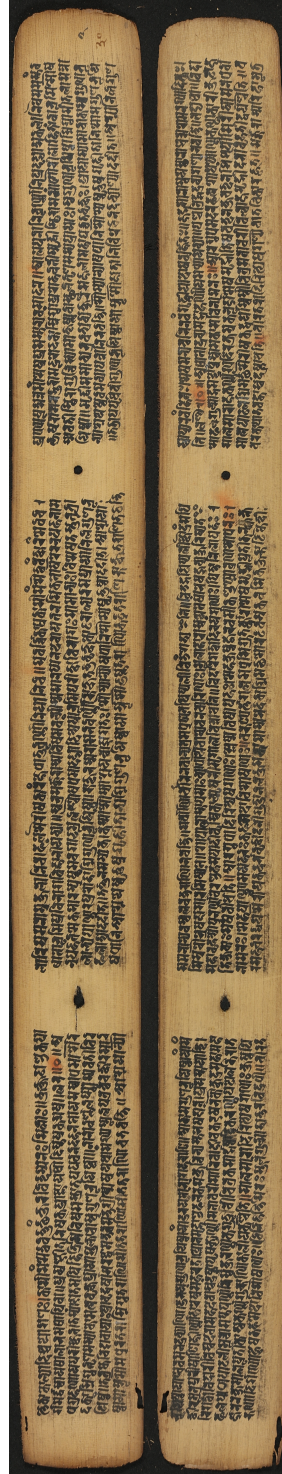


Figure 4.2: Folios 30r and 30v of MS Kathmandu NAK 1/1079 (N).

are mentioned in the concluding remarks, someone called Śrī Harṣacandra and Vaidya Vasuvarman, but their roles are not perfectly clear. 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.¹⁴²

N MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079 (fig. 4.2) is kept at the National Archives Kathmandu (NAK), under accession number 1/1079 ऋ.¹⁴³ It was microfilmed twice by the NGMPP as A 45-5(1) and A 1267-11(2),¹⁴⁴. In 2023 the project was able to purchase higher-quality colour digital images of the manuscript from the NAK. The manuscript 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 scripts, with seven lines per folio on average. Although the text contained in the manuscript does not cover the entire *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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 manuscript can be dated tentatively to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

H MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 (fig. 4.3) formerly belonged to the historical collection of Hemarāja Śarman (fl. 1878–1953).¹⁴⁵ It is now held by the National Archives Kathmandu and was microfilmed twice by the NGMPP as B 29-19 and B 30-15, but the latter microfilm is incomplete.¹⁴⁶ The manuscript comprises 435 palm-leaf folios, 34 × 5 cm in size, with one string-hole

¹⁴² Klebanov (2021a: 13–17) provided a translation and study of the colophon, as well as an exposition of different positions related to its interpretation.

¹⁴³ See also the description by Klebanov (2021a: §2.2).

¹⁴⁴ See the description in the NGMCP database by Acharya (2012).

¹⁴⁵ See also the description by Klebanov (2021a: §2.3).

¹⁴⁶ See the NGMCP description by Klebanov (2012).

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 manuscript is exceptionally well preserved. Of vital value for the present project, the manuscript supports the complete *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and the *Sauśrutaniḥḥaṇṭu*. The final colophon identifies the scribe of the manuscript as Vaidya Amarasimhaka, 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 and tailored for the Saktumiva platform.¹⁴⁷ MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 was transcribed first because its script is relatively easy to read, the scans are clear, it is the most complete of the manuscript witnesses, and its text is extremely close to that of MS Kathmandu KL 699. Following that, MS Kathmandu KL 699 and MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079 were transcribed.

The diplomatic transcriptions were uploaded to Li's manuscript collation platform called Saktumiva, chapter by chapter as they were completed.¹⁴⁸ An electronic edition of the vulgate of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, 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 on the Saktumiva platform and is available for collation.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ See Wujastyk 2021–, TEI Consortium 2010 and Li 2017–: “TEI Tagging”.

¹⁴⁸ See the Saktumiva interface Li 2017–.

¹⁴⁹ This electronic edition is also available on the SARIT website (Wujastyk et al. 2008–: sub “Suśrutasaṃhitā”). The version at Saktumiva has received several

Saktumiva’s collation function standardises punctuation and orthographic variants according to filters which can be turned off or on.¹⁵⁰ These filters enable the editors to ignore *daṇḍas*, numbers and floral punctuation marks (*puṣṭikā*) in the transcripts, as well as orthographic variants, such as ञ and ण, certain germinated consonants, and *visarga* variants. On the basis of the automatic collation, Jason Birch created a provisional edition of SS.1.16, which the project’s researchers read together at weekly seminars. Manuscript images were routinely checked to verify the transcripts, particularly when a reading was uncertain; the commentaries of Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa were read, and variant readings reported by these commentators were included in notes to the edition. Also, various reference books were consulted, to elucidate the meaning of technical terms and identify relevant information in other medical works.¹⁵¹

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.¹⁵² 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.¹⁵³

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.¹⁵⁴ The resulting NEXUS file can be read by phylogenetic software to build a stemmatic tree.¹⁵⁵ This procedure was done with transcripts of several chapters of the Nepalese witnesses, and the results confirmed the editors’ preliminary stemmatic hypothesis that K and H are more closely related to one another

corrections and the intention is to merge these back into the SARIT edition eventually.

150 On the rationale for implementing text-critical principles as algorithms, see Li 2017 and Li 2018: §4.4.

151 Particularly valuable reference resources included V. Joṣī and N. H. Joṣī (*Ay-Mahā*), Meulenbeld (*HIML*), and the literature on materia medica cited on pp. 85 ff. below.

152 Wujastyk 2021–.

153 Wujastyk et al. 2021–: “The toolbox”.

154 Li 2022a.

155 This process is discussed in greater detail by Li (2022b).

than K and N.¹⁵⁶ 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 having to assess numerous variant readings from a large number of witnesses, the challenge of editing has been to repair the text where it has become corrupt in the few witnesses available to us.

The Edition and Apparatus

The critical edition of SS.1.16 in this article retains many of the peculiarities of MS Kathmandu KL 699 because the editors have endeavoured to present to the reader a hyparchetype of the text that was transmitted by this ninth-century manuscript. Therefore, the Sanskrit has been standardised as little 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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.¹⁵⁷ Therefore, the editors of SS.1.16 have opted to retain some perhaps unfamiliar features of the Sanskrit in MS Kathmandu 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, *वाचनन्धात्र्य०*), although the *anusvāra* is sometimes used (1.16.15, *उदकं धान्याल्ल०*). In

¹⁵⁶ See chapter 2 above for further discussion.

¹⁵⁷ On the contrary, the text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* sometimes retains legitimate Pāṇinian forms that are rare or unknown elsewhere in Sanskrit literature. For example, the term *kārmuka* “effective,” formed by P.5.1.103, is virtually unknown in classical Sanskrit, and is said even by the authors of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* to occur uniquely as an adjective describing a bow. Yet it occurs in both the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (1.41.5 (*Su* 1938: 182)) and the *Carakasaṃhitā* (1.26.13 (*Ca.* 1941: 138)), describing “effective” drug substances. Cf. the observation by M. Deshpande (1988: 118) that other rare Pāṇinian usages in the early Sanskrit medical texts provide evidence that, “... in all likelihood there was a dialect of Sanskrit closer to Pāṇini’s time and region in which [such peculiar Pāṇinian usage existed]. This peculiarity did not exist in most other dialects of Sanskrit.”

most cases, the consonant following a रेफ is doubled, but this is not always the case.¹⁵⁸ 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 *daṇḍa* at the end of a sentence or verse. Whether these *anusvāras* should be changed to the consonant ऋ 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 (*saṃhitā*).¹⁵⁹ However, it is reasonable to assume that at the end of a verse, paragraph or sentence the speakers would have paused for breath or thought, so *sandhi* should be applied, in which case a final *anusvāra* or class nasal of the following consonant is changed to ऋ. Nonetheless, this remains an assumption about how the text would be pronounced. Therefore, in a critical edition, inserting *daṇḍas* and changing *anusvāras* to ऋ before them are subjective decisions by the editors. The scribal use of *daṇḍas* and *anusvāras* in the Nepalese manuscripts can be seen in the digital edition if one switches off the filters for ignoring *daṇḍas* 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.

158 Examples of the germination of consonants are कर्ण (1.16.1 ff), मुहूर्त्त (1.16.2), पूर्व (1.16.2), गन्धर्व्व (1.16.5), ंमूलेर् म्मद्यु (1.16.5), वर्त्ति (1.16.6) and पुनर्विध्येत (1.16.6).

Examples where it does not occur in 1.16 are ०आथंम् (1.16.8,19), कुर्यात् (1.16.16, 32), ०पालिर्वहूर (1.16.10); ०पालिर्व्यायोजिमः (1.16.10) and दीर्घेक (1.16.10).

159 Pāṇini 1.4.109 परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता, *et passim*.

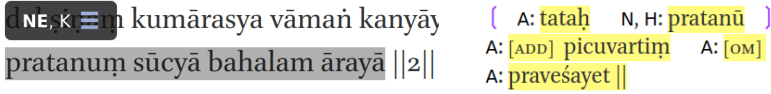


Figure 4.4: The digital edition of SS.1.16.3

Digital Edition

The editors are producing both printed and digital editions of the Nepalese *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. 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 *pratanuṃ sūcyā bahalam ārayā* is on the right side of the display. This entry means that the editors have chosen to read *pratanuṃ*, 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*,¹⁶⁰ 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 *pratanuṃ 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.

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

¹⁶⁰ The omitted words are displayed by hovering the cursor over [OM] adjacent to A in the apparatus.

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

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

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 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 on p. 47:

१-९ अथातः – ०विद्धलिङ्गम्] MSS K, H, and N

The above entry means that a textual passage beginning with अथातः on line 1 and ending with ०विद्धलिङ्गम् on line 9 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, on p. 47:

६ प्रतनुं] प्रतनू N H

This entry means that on line six 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: aneX]

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 includes various testimonia and notes. The testimonia mainly consists of the variant readings noted by the commentators Cakrapāṇidatta and Ḍalhaṇa. 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 कर्णौ व्यधयेत्। तौ षष्ठे मासे
सप्तमे वा शुक्लपक्षे प्रशस्तेषु तिथिकरणमुहूर्त्तनक्षत्रेषु कृतम-
ङ्गलस्वस्तिवाचनं^१ धात्र्यङ्के कुमारमुपवेश्याभिसान्त्वयमानो^२
भिषग्वामहस्तेनाकृष्य कर्णन्दैवकृते छिद्रे दक्षिणहस्तेन ऋजु
विध्येत्। पूर्वन्दक्षिणं कुमारस्य वामङ्गन्यायाः। प्रतनुं सूच्या
बहलमारया ॥ २ ॥

1.16.3

Witnesses

१-९ अथातः-०विद्धलिङ्गम्] MSS K, H, and N

MS variants

१ व्याख्यास्यामः] व्या K. ३ सप्तमे] *om.* N. ३-४ ०मङ्गलस्वस्तिवाचनं] A; ०मङ्गलं
स्वस्तिवाचनं K, H, N. ४ धात्र्यङ्के] धात्र्यङ्को K. ४ कुमार] कुमारकम् N. ५ ऋजु]
र्जुम् N H. ६ प्रतनुं] प्रतनू N H.

Variants from Su 1938

१ कर्णव्यधविधिं] कर्णव्यधवन्धविधिमध्यायं A. १ व्याख्यास्यामः] *add.* यथोवाच भग-
वान्धन्वन्तरिः ॥ A. २ व्यधयेत्] विध्येते A. २ मासे] मासि A. ४ धात्र्यङ्के] *add.*
कुमारधराङ्के वा A. ४ मुपवेश्याभिसान्त्वयमानो] उपवेश्य बालक्रीडनकैः प्रलोभ्याभिसान्त्व-
यन् A. ५ कर्णनं] कर्णं A. ५ छिद्रे] छिद्रं A. ५ छिद्रे] *add.* आदित्यकरावभासिते
शनैः शनैर् A. ५ ऋजु] र्जु A. ६ विध्येत्] *add.* प्रतनुकं सूच्या बहलमारया A. ६
कन्यायाः] कुमार्याः A. ६-७ प्रतनुं सूच्या बहलमारया] ततः पिचुवर्तिं प्रवेशयेत् ॥ A.

Notes

^१The compound कृतमङ्गलस्वस्तिवाचनं is an emendation based on the sim-
ilar text at 3.2.25 (Su 1938: 346).

^२The *ātmanepada* participle is a permitted form, although the vulgate
has the *parasmaipada*. Ḍalhaṇa, on 1.16.3 (Su 1938: 76), recorded the
alternative reading भक्ष्यविशेषैर्वा before बालक्रीडनकैः प्रलोभ्य in the vulgate.

- शोणितबहुत्वेऽतिवेदनायां चान्यदेशविद्धमिति जानी-
यात्। निरुपद्रवता तद्देशविद्धलिङ्गम् ॥ ३ ॥ 1.16.4
- १० तत्र यदृच्छाविद्धायां सिरायामज्ञेन ज्वरदाहश्वयथुवे-
दनाग्रन्थिमन्यास्तम्भापतानकशिरोग्रहकर्णशूलानि
भवन्ति ॥ ४ ॥ 1.16.5
- दोषसमुदयादप्रशस्तव्यधाद्वा तत्र वर्त्तिमपहत्य यवमधुक-
मञ्जिष्ठागन्धर्वहस्तमूलैर्मधुघृतप्रगाढैरालेपयेत्। सुरूढञ्चैन-
१५ म्पुनर्विध्येत् ॥ ५ ॥ ३ 1.16.6
- सम्यग्विद्धमामतैलपरिषेकेणोपचरेत् । त्र्यहात्त्र्यहाद्वर्त्ति
स्थूलतरीङ् कुर्वीत परिषेकञ्च तमेव ॥ ६ ॥ 1.16.7
- अथ व्यपगतदोषोपद्रवे कर्णोऽलंप्रवर्द्धनार्थं लघुप्रव-
र्द्धनकमामुञ्चेत् ॥ ७ ॥ 1.16.8

MS variants

१० ०श्वयथु०] *em.*; ०श्वयथुरु N; ०श्वयथुर H. १३-१४ ०गन्धर्वहस्तमूलैर्] ०गन्दर्वह-
स्तमूलै N. १६ ०परिषेकेणोप०] ०परिषेकणोप० H. १७ ०तरीङ्] ०तरी N १८-१९
लघुप्रवर्द्धनकम्] ल प्रवर्द्धनकामो N; प्रवर्द्धनकामा "मै" H. १९ आमुञ्चेत्] *em.*; मुञ्चेत् N
H.

Variants from Su 1938

८ बहुत्वे] बहुत्वेन A. ८ ऽतिवेदनायां] वेदनाया A. ९ ०द्रवता] ०द्रवतया A. ९ ०वि-
द्धलिङ्गम्] ०विद्धमिति A. १० तत्र यदृच्छाविद्धायां सिरायामज्ञेन] तत्राज्ञेन यदृच्छया विद्धासु
सिरासु कालिकामर्मरिकालोहितिकास्पद्रवा भवन्ति। तत्र कालिकायां A. १० ज्वर०] ज्वरो
१० ०दाह०] दाहः १० ०श्वयथु०] श्वयथुर् A. १०-११ ०वेदना०] *add.* च भवति मर्म-
रिकायां वेदना ज्वरो A. ११ ०ग्रन्थि०] ग्रन्थयश A. ११ ०ग्रन्थि०] *add.* च लोहितिकायां
A. १२ भवन्ति] *add.* तेषु यथास्वं प्रतिकुर्वीत ॥ क्लिष्टजिह्वाप्रशस्तसूचीव्यधाद्गाढतरवर्तित्वाद्
A. १३ वा] *add.* यत्र संरम्भो वेदना वा भवति A. १३ अपहत्य] उपहत्यासु A. १३-१४
यवमधुक०] मधुकैरण्डमूल० A. १३-१४ ०मञ्जिष्ठागन्धर्वहस्तमूलैर्] ०मञ्जिष्ठावतिलक-
लैर् A. १४ आलेपयेत्] *add.* तावद्यावत्सुरूढ इति ॥ A. १५ विध्येत्] *add.* विधानं तु
पूर्वोक्तमेव ॥ A. १६ सम्यग०] तत्र सम्यग० A. १६ आमतैलपरिषेकेणोपचरेत्] आमतै-
लेन परिषेचयेत् A. १६ त्र्यहाद्] *add.* च A. १७ ०तरीङ्] ०तरां A. १७ कुर्वीत] दद्यात्
A. १८ ऽलंप्रवर्द्धनार्थं] *om.* A. १८-१९ लघुप्रवर्द्धनकम्] लघुव० A. १९ आमुञ्चेत्]
कुर्यात् ॥ A

Notes

^३Dalhana, on 1.16.6 (Su 1938: 77), stated that some do not read सुरूढ-
ञ्चैनम्पुनर्विध्येत्.

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

२०

एवं सम्बद्धितः कर्णश्छिद्यते तु द्विधा नृणाम्।

दोषतो वाभिघाताद्वा सन्धानान्तस्य मे शृणु ॥ ८ ॥

1.16.9

२५

३०

तत्र समासेन पञ्चदशसन्धानाकृतयो भवन्ति।^५ तद्यथा।
नेमीसन्धानकः। उत्पलभेद्यकः। वल्लूरकः। आसङ्गिमः। ग-
ण्डकपर्णः। आहार्यः। निर्व्वेधिमः। व्यायोजिमः। कपाटस-
न्धिकः। अर्द्धकपाटसन्धिकः। सङ्क्षिप्तः। हीनकर्णः। वल्ली-
कर्णः। यष्टीकर्णः। काकौष्ठः। इति। तेषु तत्र पृथुलायतस-
मोभयपालिर्नेमीसन्धानकः। वृत्तायतसमोभयपालिरुत्पलभे-
द्यकः। ह्रस्ववृत्तसमोभयपालिर्वल्लूरकर्णकः। अभ्यन्तरदी-
र्घैकपालिरासङ्गिमः। बाह्यदीर्घैकपालिर्गण्डकपर्णकः। अपा-
लिरुभयतोऽप्याहार्यः। पीठोपमपालिर्निर्व्वेधिमः। अणुस्थूल-
समविषमपालिर्व्यायोजिमः। अभ्यन्तरदीर्घैकपालिरितराल्प-
पालिः। कपाटसन्धिकः। बाह्यदीर्घैकपालिरितराल्पपालिश्चार्द्ध-
कपाटसन्धिकः। तत्रैते दशकर्णसन्धिविकल्पा बन्ध्या भव-
न्ति। तेषान्नामभिरेवाकृतयः प्रायेण व्याख्याताः।

MS variants

२० नृणाम्] नृणा N. २१ दोषतो] A; दोषटो N H. २२ ०सन्धाना०] ०सन्धा० N. २५
अर्द्धकपाटसन्धिकः] om. N. २६ काकौष्ठः] काकौष्ठमः H. २६ इति] ति H. २६-२७
०यतसमो०] A; ०यसमो० H; ०तसमो N. २८ ०भेद्यकः] ०भेद्यः N; ०भेदकः H. २८
वल्लूर०] वल्लूर० N. २९ बाह्य] A; बाह्यैक N H. ३०-३१ अणुस्थूल०] अशुस्थूल० H
३२ कपाट०] कवाटा० H. ३२-३३ चार्द्धकपाट०] em.; चार्द्धकवाट० H; चार्द्धकवाप० N.

Variants from Su 1938

२० सम्बद्धितः] विवर्द्धितः A. २१ सन्धानान्] सन्धानं A. २२ ०दशसन्धानाकृतयो]
०दशकर्णबन्धाकृतयः A. २२ भवन्ति] om. A. २३ नेमी०] नेमि० A. २५ ०सन्धिकः।
अर्द्ध०] ०सन्धिको ऽर्द्ध० A. २६ यष्टी०] यष्टि० A. २६ काकौष्ठः] काकौष्ठक A. २६
तत्र] om. A. २७ नेमी०] नेमि० A. २८ वल्लूर०] वल्लूरकः A. ३० पीठोपमपालिर्]
add. उभयतः क्षीणपुत्रिकाश्रितो A. ३०-३१ अणुस्थूल०] स्थूलाणु० A. ३२-३३ चार्द्ध०]
अर्ध० A. ३३ तत्रैते] तत्र A. ३३ दशकर्णसन्धिविकल्पा] दशैते कर्णबन्धिविकल्पाः A.
३३-३४ बन्ध्या भवन्ति] साध्याः A. ३४ तेषान्] तेषां A. ३४ नामभिर्] स्वनामभिर्
A.

Notes

^५Cakrapānidatta, on 1.16.9-13 (Su 1939: 128), and Ḍalhaṇa, on 1.16.10 (Su 1938: 78), pointed out that others read पञ्चदशकर्णकृतयः (instead of पञ्चदशसन्धानाकृतयः). At the same place, Ḍalhaṇa also mentioned that some read समुन्नतसमोभयपालिः (instead of वृत्तायतसमोभयपालिर्) and others do not read संक्षिप्तादयः पञ्चासाध्याः.

३५ संक्षिप्तादयः पञ्चासाध्याः। तत्र शुष्कश-
 ष्कलिरितराल्पपालिः संक्षिप्तः। अनधिष्ठानपालिः पर्य-
 न्तयोश्च क्षीणमांसो हीनकर्णः। तनुविषमपालिर्वल्लीकर्णः।
 ग्रन्थितमांसः स्तब्धसिराततसूक्ष्मपालिर्यष्टीकर्णः। नि-
 ४० र्म्मांससंक्षिप्ताग्राल्पशोणितपालिः काकौष्ठ इति। बद्धेष्वपि
 दाहपाकस्त्रावशोफयुक्ता न सिद्धिमुपयान्ति ॥ ९ ॥^६

1.16.10

अतोऽन्यतमस्य बन्धञ्चिकीर्षुः अग्रोपहरणीयोक्तोपस-
 म्भृतसम्भारः विशेषतश्चात्रोपहरेत्^७ सुरामण्डक्षीरमुदकं धा-
 न्याम्लकपालचूर्णञ्चेति।

MS variants

३६-३७ पर्यन्तयोश्च] *om.* N. ३८ ग्रन्थितमांसः] अग्रन्थितमान्सः N H. ३८-३९ निर्-
 मांसं] A; निमांसं N; निर्मान्सं H. ४० ंस्त्राव०] ंश्राव० H. ४० ंशोफ०]
 ंसोफ० N. ४१ अतो] ततो N. ४१ ंहरणीयो] ंसंहरणीयो N. ४२ चात्रोप-
 हरेत्] A; चाग्रोपहरणीयात् N H.

Variants from Su 1938

३५-३६ शुष्कशष्कलिर] *add.* उत्सन्नपालिर] A. ३६-३७ च] *om.* A. ३७ ंषमपा-
 लिर] ंषमाल्पपालिर] A. ३८ ग्रन्थितमांसः] ग्रथितमांसं A. ३८ ंसिराततसूक्ष्मं]
 ंसिरासंततसूक्ष्मं A. ३९ काकौष्ठ] काकौष्ठक A. ३९ अपि] *add.* तु शोफ A. ४०
 ंदाहं] *add.* ंरागं A. ४० ंपाकं] *add.* ंपिडकां A. ४० ंशोफं] *om.* A.
 ४१ *inserted passage*] भवन्ति चात्र। यस्य पालिद्वयमपि कर्णस्य न भवेदिह। कर्णपीठं समे
 मध्ये तस्य विद्धा विवर्धयेत्॥ बाह्यायामिह दीर्घायां सन्धिराभ्यन्तरो भवेत्। आभ्यन्तरायां दीर्घा-
 यां बाह्यसन्धिरुदाहृतः॥ एकैव तु भवेत्पालिः स्थूला पृथ्वी स्थिरा च या। तां द्विधा पाटयित्वा तु
 लित्त्वा चोपरि सन्धयेत्॥ गण्डादुत्पाद्य मांसेन सानुबन्धेन जीवता। कर्णपालीमापालेस्तु कुर्यान्नि-
 लिख्य शास्त्रवित्॥ A. ४१ ऽन्यतमस्य] ऽन्यतमं A. ४२ सम्भारः] ंसम्भारं A. ४२
 सुरामण्डक्षीरम्] सुरामण्डं क्षीरम् A. ४२-४३ धान्याम्लकपालं] धान्याम्लं कपालं A.

Notes

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

^७विशेषतश्चात्रोपहरणीयात् of the MSS has been emended to विशेषतश्चात्रोपहरेत् to make sense of the list of ingredients, which is in the accusative case. This अग्रोपहरणीयात् in the MSS may be a dittographic error.

४५ ततोऽङ्गनां पुरुषम्वा ग्रथितकेशान्तं लघुभुक्तवन्तमाप्तैः सु-
 परिगृहीतं च कृत्वा बन्धानुपधार्य छेद्यभेद्यलेख्यव्यधनैरुपपाद्य
 कर्णाशोणितमवेक्ष्यैतद्दुष्टमदुष्टम्वेति ततो वातदुष्टे धान्यास्रोद-
 काभ्यां पित्तदुष्टे शीतोदकपयोभ्यां श्लेष्मदुष्टे सुरामण्डोदका-
 ५० भ्यां प्रक्षाल्य कर्णम्पुनरवलिखेत्। अनुन्नतमहीनमविषमञ्च
 कर्णासन्धिनिवेश्य स्थितरक्तं सन्दर्श्य मधुघृतेनाभ्यज्य पि-
 च्चुप्तोतयोरन्यतरेणावगुण्ठ्य नातिगाढन्नातिशिथिलं सूत्रेणाव-
 बध्य कपालचूर्णेनावकीर्याचारिकमुपदिशेत्। द्विव्रणीयोक्तेन
 चान्नेनोपचरेत् ॥ १० ॥

1.16.15

विघट्टनन्दिवास्वप्नं व्यायाममतिभोजनम् ।
 व्यवायमग्निसन्तापम्वाक्श्रमञ्च विवर्जयेत् ॥ ११ ॥

1.16.16

MS variants

४४ पुरुषम्] पुरुषम् N. ४५ च कृत्वा] A; om. N.H. ४५ उपधार्य] उपपाद्य H. ४६
 शोणितमवेक्ष्यैतद्] शोणिततमवेक्ष्यैतद् N. ४६ अदुष्टम्] अदुष्टम् N. ४६ वेति] A;
 चेति N.H. ४६-४७ धान्यास्रो] धान्यास्रो N. ४७ शीतोदक] शीतोदको N. ४८
 अवलिखेत्] अवलिखेत् N. ४९ सन्धिन्] सन्धिन् N. ५० गुण्ठ्य] गुण्ठ्यो H. ५०
 गाढन्] गाढं N. ५०-५१ बध्य] बद्ध N. ५१-५२ चान्नेनोपचरेत्] उपपोचरेत् N.
 ५२ ॥ १० ॥] add. म N. ५३ विघट्टनन्] विघट्टनं N. ५४ अग्निसन्तापम्] आग्निसन्ताप
 N. ५४ विवर्जयेत्] वर्जयेत् N.

Variants from Su 1938

४५ बन्धान्] बन्धम् A. ४५ व्यधनैर्] add. उपपन्नैर् A. ४६ अवेक्ष्यैतद्] अवेक्ष्य A.
 ४६ ततो] तत्र A. ४६-४७ धान्यास्रोदका] धान्यास्रोष्णोदका A. ४७-४८ मण्डो-
 दका] मण्डोष्णोदका A. ४८ कर्णम्] कर्णो A. ४८ अवलिखेत्] अनुन्नतम्] अव-
 लिख्याननुन्नतम् A. ४९ सन्धिन्] सन्धिन् A. ४९ निवेश्य] सन्निवेश्य A. ४९ सन्दर्श्य]
 सन्दर्घ्यात् A. ४९ सन्दर्श्य] add. ततो A. ५० नातिगाढन्] सूत्रेणानवगाढमन् A. ५०
 नाति] अति A. ५०-५१ सूत्रेणावबध्य] च बद्ध A. ५२ चान्नेनोपचरेत्] च विधाने-
 नोपचरेत् A. ५२ ॥ १० ॥] add. भवति चात्र। A. ५३ विघट्टनन्] विघट्टनं A.

५५ नातिशुद्धरक्तमतिप्रवृत्तरक्तं क्षीणरक्तं वा सन्दध्यात्। स
हि वातदुष्टे रक्तबद्धोऽरूढो परिपुटनवान्भवति। पित्तदुष्टे गाढ-
पाकरागवान्। श्लेष्मदुष्टे स्तब्धकर्णः कण्डूमानतिप्रवृत्तस्त्रावः
शोफवान्क्षीणाल्पमांसो न वृद्धिमुपैति ॥ १२ ॥

1.16.17

६० स यदा रूढो निरुपद्रवः कर्णो भवति तदैव शनैः शनैर-
भिवर्द्धयेत्। अन्यथा संरम्भदाहपाकवेदनावान्भवति। पुनरपि
छिद्येत ॥ १३ ॥

1.16.18

अथाप्रदुष्टस्याभिवर्द्धनार्थमभ्यङ्गः। गोधाप्रतुदविष्किरानू-
पौदकवसामज्जापयस्तैलं गौरसर्षपजञ्च यथालाभं

MS variants

५५ ०शुद्धं] ०सुद्धं N. ५५ ०वृत्तरक्तं] ०वृत्तं रक्तं N. ५६ रक्तबद्धोऽरूढो] *em.*; र-
क्तबद्धो रूढो N; रक्तबद्धो रूढो H. ५६ ०पुटनवान्] ०पुटवाम् N; ०पुटनवाम् H. ५६
०दुष्टे] ०दुष्टै N. ५७ श्लेष्मं] श्लेषं N. ५७ ०कर्णः] ०वर्णः N. ५७ ०स्त्रावः]
०श्रावः H. ५८ क्षीणाल्पं] क्षीणो ल्पं N. ५९ रूढो] रूढो N. ६० ०पाकवेदना-
वान्] ०पाकरागवेदनावान् N; ०पाकवेदनावाम् H. ६२ अथाप्रं] अथास्याः प्रं H. ६२
०दुष्टस्याभिवर्द्धनार्थम्] ०दुष्टस्याविवर्द्धनार्थम् N.

Variants from Su 1938

५५ नातिं] न चाशुं A. ५६ रक्तबद्धोऽरूढो] रक्ते रूढोऽपि A. ५६ भवति] *om.* A.
५७ गाढपाकरागवान्] दाहपाकरागवेदनावान् A. ५७ स्तब्धं] स्तब्धः A. ५७-५८ ०वृ-
त्तस्त्रावः शोफवान्] ०वृत्तरक्ते श्यावशोफवान् A. ५८ क्षीणाल्पं] क्षीणोऽल्पं A. ५९
inserted passage] आमतैलेन त्रिरात्रं परिषेचयेत्त्रिरात्राच्च पित्तं परिवर्तयेत्। A. ५९ रूढो]
सुरूढो A. ५९ कर्णो] सवर्णो A. ६० अन्यथा] अतोऽन्यथा A. ६० ०पाकवेदना-
वान्] ०पाकरागवेदनावान् A. ६० भवति] *om.* A. ६० अपि] *om.* A. ६१ छिद्येत]
छिद्यते वा A. ६२ अथाप्रं] अथास्याप्रं A. ६२ अभ्यङ्गः] *add.* तद्यथा A. ६२-६३
०मज्जापयस्तैलं] ०मज्जानौ पयः सर्पिस्तैलं A.

६५	संभृत्यार्कालर्कबलातिबलानन्ताविदारीमधुकजलशूकप्रति- वापन्तैलम्पाचयित्वा स्वनुगुप्तनिदध्यात् ॥ १४ ॥ ^८	1.16.19
	स्वेदितो मर्दितङ्गुणमनेन म्रक्षयेद्बुधः । ततोऽनुपद्रवः सम्यग्बलवांश्च विवर्द्धते ॥ १५ ॥ ^९	1.16.20
	ये तु कण्णां न वर्द्धन्ते स्नेहस्वेदोपपादिताः । तेषामपाङ्गे त्वबहिः कुर्यात्प्रछानमेव च ॥ १६ ॥ ^{१०}	1.16.22cd -23ab

MS variants

६४ °आर्कालर्कबलाति°] °आर्कालकवलाति° N. ६४-६५ प्रतिवापन्तै] °प्रतिवापं N. ६५ °गुप्तं] °गुप्तं N. ६५ निदध्यात्] निदध्यात् N. ६६ स्वेदितो] स्वदितो N. ६६ अनेन] अने N. ६७ ततोऽनुपद्रवः] ततो नुपद्रवः H; ततो नुपद्रवम् N. ६९ अबहिः] अवर्हि N. ६९ कुर्यात्] कुर्यात् N. ६९ प्रछानम्] प्रछन्नम् H.

Variants from Su 1938

६४ °बलानन्ता°] °बलानन्तापामार्गाश्वगन्धा A. ६४ °विदारीमधुकजलशूक°] °विदारि-
गन्धाक्षीरशुक्लाजलशूकमधुरवर्गपयस्या° ६४-६५ प्रतिवापन्तै] °प्रतिवापं A. ६५ तैलम्]
add. वा A. ६५ °गुप्तं] °गुप्तं A. ६६ स्वेदितो मर्दितङ्] स्वेदितोन्मर्दितं A. ६६ अनेन
म्रक्षयेद्बुधः] स्नेहनैतेन योजयेत् A. ६८ *inserted passage*] यवाश्वगन्धायष्टाहैस्तिलैश्चो-
द्वर्तनं हितम् । शतावर्षश्वगन्धाभ्यां पयस्यैरण्डजीवनैः ॥ तैलं विपक्वं सक्षीरमभ्यङ्गात्पालिवर्धनम् ।
A. ६८ स्नेहस्वेदोप°] स्वेदस्नेहोप° A. ६९ अपाङ्गे त्वबहिः] अपाङ्गदेशे तु A. ६९ च]
तु A.

Notes

^८Dalhana, on 1.16.19 (Su 1938: 79), noted that some read राजसर्षपजं in the place of गौरसर्षपजं. This reading appears to have been accepted by Cakrapāṇi, who glossed राजसर्षपज as श्वेतसर्षप (1.16.18–20 (Su 1939: 130)). Cakrapāṇi also said that some read sarpiṣ in the place of पयस. In the compound beginning with अर्क, Dalhana noted that some read अर्कपुष्पी.

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

^{१०}Dalhana, on 1.16.23 (Su 1938: 80), noted that some read तेषामपाङ्गच्छेद्यं हि कार्यमाभ्यन्तरं भवेत्.

७०

अमिताः कर्णबन्धास्तु विज्ञेयाः कुशलैरिह ।
यो यथा सुनिविष्टः स्यात्तत्तथा योजयेद्द्विषक् ॥ १७ ॥ ११

1.16.26.1

जातरोमा सुवर्त्मा च श्लिष्टसन्धिः समः स्थिरः ।
सुरूढोऽवेदनो यस्तु तं कर्णं वर्द्धयेच्छनैः ॥ १८ ॥

1.16.25

MS variants

७० ंबन्धासु] ंबन्धो H. ७० तु] स्तु H. ७१ योजयेद्] योजये N. ७३ सुवर्त्मा] सुपर्मा N; सुवर्म्मा H. ७३ ंसन्धिः] ंसन्धिम N. ७४ तु] em.; तत् N H.

Variants from Su 1938

७० *inserted passage*] बाह्यच्छेदं न कुर्वीत व्यापदः स्युस्ततो ध्रुवाः ॥ बद्धमात्रं तु यः कर्णं सहसैवाभिवर्धयेत्। आमकोशी समाध्मातः क्षिप्रमेव विमुच्यते ॥ A. ७१ सुनिविष्टः] सुविशिष्टः A. ७१ स्यात्] तं A. ७१ योजयेद्द्विषक्] विनियोजयेत् A. ७१ *inserted passage*] (कर्णपाल्यामयावृणां पुनर्वक्ष्यामि सुश्रुत ! ॥ कर्णपाल्यां प्रकुपिता वातपित्तकफास्त्रयः ॥ १ ॥ द्विधा वाऽप्यथ संसृष्टाः कुर्वन्ति विविधा रुजः। विस्फोटः स्तब्धता शोफः पाल्यां दोषे तु वातिके दाहविस्फोटजननं शोफः पाकश्च पैत्तिके। कण्डूः सश्वयथुः स्तम्भो गुरुत्वं च कफात्मके ॥ ३ ॥ यथादोषं च संशोध्य कुर्यात्तेषां चिकित्सितम्। स्वेदाभ्यङ्गपरीषेकैः प्रलेपासुग्विमोक्षणैः ॥ ४ ॥ मूर्द्ध्नी क्रियां बृंहणीर्यैर्यथास्वं भोजनैस्तथा। य एवं वेत्ति दोषाणां चिकित्सां कर्तुमर्हति ॥ ५ ॥ अत ऊर्ध्वं नामलिङ्गैर्वक्ष्ये पाल्यामुपद्रवान् ॥ अत्पाटकश्चोत्पटकः श्यावः कण्डूयुतो भृशम् ॥ ६ ॥ अवमन्थः सकण्डूको ग्रन्थिको जम्बुलस्तथा ॥ स्नावी च दाहवांश्रैव शृण्वेषां क्रमशः क्रियाम् ॥ ७ ॥ अपामार्गः सर्जरसः पाटलाकुचत्वचौ ॥ उत्पाटके प्रलेपः स्यात्तैलमेभिश्च पाचयेत् ॥ ८ ॥ शम्पाकशिशुपूतीकान्गो-दामेदोऽथ तद्वसाम् ॥ बाराहं गव्यमैणैर्यं पित्तं सर्पिश्च संसृजेत् ॥ ९ ॥ लेपमुत्पटके दद्यात्तैलमेभिश्च साधितम् ॥ गौरीं सुगन्धां सश्यामामनन्तां तण्डुलीयकम् ॥ १० ॥ श्यावे प्रलेपनं दद्यात्तैलम् एभिश्च साधितम् ॥ पाठां रसाञ्जनं क्षौद्रं तथा स्यादुष्णकाञ्जिकम् ॥ ११ ॥ दद्याल्लेपं सकण्डूके तैलमेभिश्च साधितम् ॥ ब्रणीभूतस्य देयं स्यादिदं तैलं विजानता ॥ १२ ॥ मधुकक्षीरकाकोलीजीवकाद्यैर्विपाचितम् ॥ गोधावराहसर्पाणां वसाः स्युः कृतबृहणे ॥ १३ ॥ प्रलेपनमिदं दद्यादवसिच्यावमन्थके ॥ प्रपोण्डरीकं मधुकं समङ्गं धवमेव च ॥ १४ ॥ तैलमेभिश्च संपक्वं शृणु कण्डूमतः क्रियाम् ॥ सह-देवा विश्वदेवा अजाक्षीरं ससैन्धवमेतैरालेपनं दद्यात्तैलम् एभिश्च साधितम् ॥ १५ ॥ ग्रन्थिके गुटिकां पूर्वं स्नावयेदवपाठ्य तु ॥ ततः सैन्धवचूर्णं तु घृष्ट्वा लेपं प्रदापयेत् ॥ १६ ॥ लिखित्वा तत्सुतं घृष्ट्वा चूर्णैर्लोघ्रस्य जम्बुले ॥ क्षीरेण प्रतिसार्येनं शुद्धं संरोपयेत्ततः ॥ १७ ॥ मधुपर्णीं मधुकं च म मधुकं मधुना सह ॥ लेपः स्नाविणि दातव्यस्तैलमेभिश्च साधितम् ॥ १८ ॥ पञ्चवल्केः समधुकेः लिष्टैस्तैश्च घृतान्वितैः ॥ जीवकाद्यैः ससर्पिष्कैर्दह्यमानं प्रलेपयेत् ॥ १९ ॥ A. ७४ यस्तु] च A.

Notes

^{११} Dalhana, on 1.16.26 (Su 1938: 80), stated that some read सुनिविष्टः (i.e., the reading of the Nepalese version) instead of सुविशिष्टः.

- ७५ विश्लेषितायामथ नासिकायां
वक्ष्यामि सन्धानविधिं यथावत् ।
नासाप्रमाणं पृथिवीरूहाणां
पत्रं गृहीत्वा त्ववलम्बि तस्य ॥ १९ ॥^{१२} 1.16.27
- ८० तेन प्रमाणेन हि गण्डपार्श्वार्द्ध
उत्कृत्य वध्रं त्वथ नासिकाग्रम् ।
विलिख्य चाशु प्रतिसन्दधीत
तं साधुबद्धमिषगप्रमत्तः ॥ २० ॥ 1.16.28
- ८५ सुसीवितं सम्यगतो यथावन्
नाडीद्वयेनाभिसमीक्ष्य नह्येत् ।
उन्नामयित्वा त्ववचूर्णयीत
पत्ताङ्गयष्टीमधुकाञ्जनेश्च ॥ २१ ॥ 1.16.29
- ९० संछाद्य सम्यक्पिचुना व्रणन्तु
तैलेन सिञ्चेदसकृत्तिलानाम् ।
घृतञ्च पाय्यः स नरः सुजीर्णो
स्निग्धो विरेच्यः स्वयथोपदेशम् ॥ २२ ॥ 1.16.30

MS variants

७५ नासिकायां] नासिकाया N. ७७ ०प्रमाणं] ०प्रमाण० N. ७७ ०वीरूहाणां] ०वीरु-
हाणम् N. ७८ पत्रं] पत्र N. ८० वध्रं] वन्ध्र H. ८२ ०बद्धम्] ०बद्ध० N. ८३
सुसीवितं] em.; सुसीवित N; सुशीवितं H. ८६ पत्ताङ्ग०] em.; पत्ताङ्ग० H; पत्तङ्ग० N.
८७ व्रणन्तु] व्रण तु N. ९० विरेच्यः] A; विरेच्य N H. ९० ०देशम्] ०देशः N.

Variants from Su 1938

७५ विश्लेषितायाम्] विश्लेषितायास्त्व A. ७५ नासिकायां] नासिकाया A. ८० वध्रं] बद्ध
A. ८२ तं] तत् A. ८२ ०बद्धम्] ०बन्धैर् A. ८३ सुसीवितं] सुसंहितं A. ८४
नह्येत्] बद्ध A. ८५ उन्नामयित्वा] प्रोन्नम्य चैनाम् A. ८५ अवचूर्णयीत] अवचूर्णयेत्
८६ पत्ताङ्ग०] पतङ्ग० A. ८७ व्रणन्तु] सितेन A. ९० स्वयथो] स यथो A.

Notes

^{१२}Cakrapāṇidatta, on 1.16.26 (Su 1939: 133), said that others read ना-
सासन्धानविधिम् here. Dalhaṇa, on 1.16.27–31 (Su 1938: 81), stated that
some read, छिन्नं तु नासिकां दृष्ट्वा वयःस्थस्य शरीरिणः। नासानुरूपं संच्छिद्य पत्रं गण्डे
निवेशयेत्॥

रूढञ्च सन्धानमुपागतं वै
 तद्वध्रशेषं तु पुनर्निकृन्तेत्।
 हीनम्पुनर्वर्द्धयितुं यतेत
 समञ्च कुर्यादतिवृद्धमांसम् ॥ २३ ॥
 इति ओम् ॥

1.16.31

९५

MS variants

११ सन्धानम्] सन्धाम् N. ११ उपागतं] उपागतश्च H. ११ वै] चै H. १२ शेषं]
 शेषन् N. १३ यतेत] यतेतः N. १४ मांसम्] मान्सम् N. १५ ओम्] om. N.

Variants from Su 1938

११ वै] स्यात् A. १२ तद्वध्रं] तदर्धं A. १३ हीनम्] हीनां A. १४ समञ्च] समां A.
 १४ मांसम्] मांसाम् A. १५ ओम्] om. A. १६ inserted passage] नाडीयोगं
 विनौष्ठस्य नासासन्धानवद्विधिम्। य एवमेव जानीयात्स राज्ञः कर्तुमर्हति ॥ A.

6 Translation of Sūtrasthāna 16

Introduction

Notable earlier translations of the vulgate text of this chapter include those of Hessler (Latin, 1844–55), Hoernle (1897) Bhisagrātna (1907–16), Singhal et al. (1972–82), Ōjihara (Japanese, 1974) and P. V. Sharma (1999–2001).¹⁶¹

The topic of piercing the ear (कर्णव्यध) is not discussed in the *Carakasamhitā*,¹⁶² but it is mentioned in some texts that followed the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, such as the *Kāśyapasaṃhitā*.¹⁶³ Also, the instrument for piercing the ear is described in the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*.¹⁶⁴ In the versions of the text known to Ḍalhaṇa and Cakrapāṇidatta,¹⁶⁵ 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 the study by Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. (2021).

In the following translation, most Sanskrit passages are in prose. Those in verse are indented in the translation.

161 See also Zysk 1984: 288–291.

162 HIML: IB, 326, n. 175.

163 HIML: IIA, 30.

164 1.26.26 (Ah 1939: 321).

165 Su 1938: 76 and Su 1939: 125, respectively.

Translation

- 1 Now we shall expound the method for piercing the ear.¹⁶⁶
- 2 One may pierce a child's ears for the purposes of protection and decoration. During a bright fortnight, in the sixth or seventh month, on one of the notable 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,¹⁶⁷ on the lap of a wet-nurse.¹⁶⁸ Then, he should pull the ear with his left hand and pierce straight through with his right hand at a naturally-occurring cleft.¹⁶⁹ 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.¹⁷⁰

166 When commenting on this statement, Ḍalhaṇa (*Su 1938*: 76) and Cakrapāṇidatta (*Su 1939*: 125) observed that only the ears of healthy people should be pierced, and they quoted 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" (1.16.1 (*Su 1938*: 76)).

Some texts use the adjective कर्ण-वेधनी rather than ष्यधनी.

167 The causative form व्यधयेत् is known in Classical Sanskrit (Whitney 1885: 166). The compound कृतमङ्गलस्वस्तिवाचनं "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.

168 The versions of 1.16.3 known to Cakrapāṇidatta (*Su 1939*: 126) and Ḍalhaṇa (*Su 1938*: 76) have the additional compound कुमारधराङ्के ("on the lap of one who holds the child") after धाय्ङ्के. The gender of कुमारधर is made clear by Ḍalhaṇa's gloss "a man who holds the child." Also, both versions add बालक्रीडनकैः प्रलोभ्य ("having enticed with children's toys") to indicate that the child should be tempted with toys to stay on the assistant's lap. According to Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.3 (*Su 1938*: 76), the toys include replica elephants, horses, bulls and parrots. Ḍalhaṇa further mentions that others read भक्ष्यविशेषैर्वा ("or by special treats") before बालक्रीडनकैः, but we see no trace of these small kindnesses in our witnesses.

169 The versions of 1.16.3 of Cakrapāṇidatta (*Su 1939*: 126) and Ḍalhaṇa (*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 because of 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 absolutes.

170 Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.3 (*Su 1938*: 76) clarifies that the awl is a shoe-maker's knife for piercing leather. He also cites the authority of "the notes of Lakṣmaṇa" (*Lakṣmaṇaṭippanāka*) on the issue of the thickness of the needle. *The Notes of Lakṣmaṇa* is not known from any earlier or contemporary sources and was presumably a collection of glosses on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that was available to Ḍalhaṇa in twelfth-century Bengal. See Meulenbeld (*HIML*: IA, 386).

- 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.¹⁷¹
- 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.¹⁷²
- 5 Having removed the wick (वर्ति) because of the accumulation of humours or an unsatisfactory piercing at that location,¹⁷³ 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.¹⁷⁴
- 6 He should treat the properly-pierced ear by sprinkling it with raw sesame oil. After every three days one should make a thicker

171 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.

172 This passage was significantly augmented in Cakrapānidatta's and Ḍalhaṇa's versions. They outlined the specific problems caused by piercing three ducts called कालिका, मर्मिका and लोहितिका, "blacky," "little killer," "little red" (1.16.4 (Su 1939: 126) and 1.16.5 (Su 1938: 77) respectively). The sequential order of these problems as mentioned in the Nepalese version was retained in the other versions and divided between each duct. Cakrapānidatta cited several verses attributed to Bhoja on the problems caused by piercing these three ducts in the ear flap: "लोहिता, मर्मरी and कृष्णा are the ducts situated in the ear-lobes. 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 लोहिता. Pain and lumps are thought to arise from piercing मर्मरी. Piercing कालिका gives rise to swelling, fever and burning." (Su 1939: 126). The slight instability of vocabulary in this passage is interesting, and the term मर्मरी in particular suggests a possible connection to the theory of मर्मन् (on which, see Sieler 2015: 30–39), or to the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*'s idea that vessels in the body are distinguished by colour (e.g., SS 3.7.18 (Su 1938: 377), see Wujastyk 2022: 405).

173 In addition to these reasons, Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.6 (Su 1938: 77) added "because of piercing with a painful, crooked and unsatisfactory needle" (क्लिष्टजिह्वाप्रशस्तसूचीव्यधात्) and "because of a wick that is too thick" (गाढतरवर्तित्वात्). Ḍalhaṇa 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).

174 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.

- wick and do the very same sprinkling.¹⁷⁵
- 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.¹⁷⁶
- 8 A person's ear enlarged in this way can split in two, either as a result of the humours¹⁷⁷ or a blow.¹⁷⁸
Listen to me about the ways of joining it can have.
- 9 Here, there are, in brief, fifteen ways of mending the ear flap.¹⁷⁹ They are as follows: Rim-join (नेमीसन्धानक), Lotus-splittable (उत्पलभेद्यक), Dried Flesh (वल्लूरक), Fastening (आसङ्गिम), Cheek-ear (गण्डकर्ण), Take away (आहार्य), Ready-Split (निर्वेधिम), Multi-joins (व्यायोजिम), Door-hinge (कपाटसन्धिक), Half door-hinge (अर्धकपाटसन्धिक), Compressed (संक्षिप्त), Reduced-ear (हीनकर्ण), Creeper-ear (वल्लरीकर्ण), Stick-ear (यष्टीकर्ण), and Crow's lip (काकौष्ठ).¹⁸⁰
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. ¹⁸¹

175 Describing ear and nose operations similar to those here, Celsus described the use of a quill (Latin *pinna*) where the Sanskrit authors use a cotton wick (*De Medicina* VII ¶10–11, Spencer 1935–38: 3, 366–367).

176 Cakrapāṇidatta on 1.16.6 (*Su* 1939: 127) and Ḍalhaṇa 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 tree cotton. Ḍalhaṇa added that it can also be made of lead and should have the shape of the *datura* flower. The manuscripts have variant readings for लघुप्रवर्धनकमामुञ्चेत् at this point that include a scribal emendation, none of which construe plausibly. It is possible that the unusual verb form आ+√मुञ्च puzzled the scribes and caused the implausible scribal readings and emendations.

177 Ḍalhaṇa 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.

178 We translate नृणाम् as “person’s,” not “men’s” following Pāṇini 1.2.67 पुमान् स्त्रिया.

179 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 Ḍalhaṇa’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.

180 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).

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

- 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.¹⁸² The five from compressed (संक्षिप्त) on are incurable.¹⁸³ 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 up, they do not heal because they are hot, inflamed, suppurating, or swollen.¹⁸⁴

- 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.¹⁸⁵

182 Cakrapāṇidatta on 1.16.9–13 (Su 1939:128–129) and Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.10 (Su 1938:77–78) provide examples of how the names of these joins describe their shapes. For example, the rim-join (नेमीसन्धानक) is similar to the join of the rim of a wheel (चक्रधारा).

183 Ḍalhaṇa on 1.16.10 (Su 1938:77–78) mentions that some do not read the statement that only five are incurable, and they understand the causes of unsuccessful joins given below (i.e., heat, inflammation, suppuration and swelling) as also pertaining to the first ten when they do heal.

184 The version of 1.16.11–13 known to Ḍalhaṇa (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 Trikamaḃi Ācārya’s edition of the *Sūtrasthāna* of the *Bhānumatī*, the root text is largely identical to the one commented on by Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938), even in instances like this where Cakrapāṇidatta’s commentary indicates that he was reading a different version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. See further the discussion on p. 6 above.

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

And in this regard, he should particularly gather¹⁸⁶ top layer of fermented liquor, milk, water, fermented rice-water, and powdered earthenware crockery (कपालचूर्ण).¹⁸⁷

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.¹⁸⁸ 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 the top layer of fermented 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 anoint it with honey and ghee, bandage each ear with tree cotton and gauze (झोत), 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.¹⁸⁹

- 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.¹⁹⁰ For when the ear is tainted by wind, then

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

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

188 There are syntactic difficulties in this sentence. We have adopted the reading in Ḍalhaṇa’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.

189 Suśrutasaṃhitā 4.1 (Su 1938: 396–408).

190 1.16.17 of Ḍalhaṇa’s version (Su 1938: 79) reads “impure” for the Nepalese “too pure,” which would appear to make better medical sense. Emending the text to नाशुद्ध- for नातिशुद्ध- in the Nepalese version would yield the same meaning as Ḍalhaṇa’s version.

- it is obstructed by blood, unhealed and will peel. When tainted with cholera, 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.¹⁹¹
- 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 of the following: the fat and marrow of monitor lizard, of scavenging and seed-eating birds, and of creatures that live in marshes or water,¹⁹² and milk, sesame oil, and white mustard oil.¹⁹³ Then cook the oil with an admixture of the following: purple calotropis, white calotropis, heart-leaf sida, country mallow, country sarsaparilla, Indian kudzu, liquorice, and hornwort.¹⁹⁴ 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.¹⁹⁵

191 In his edition of *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, Ācārya (Su 1938: 79 n. 1) includes in parentheses the following treatment for these conditions, which according to a footnote is not found in the palm-leaf manuscript he used: 'One should sprinkle it with raw sesame oil for three days and one should renew the cotton bandage after three days' (आमत्तैलेन त्रिरात्रं परिषेचयेत्त्रिरात्राच्च पिचुं परिवर्तयेत्).

192 For such classifications, see the analyses by Zimmermann (1999) and Smith (1994).

193 Ḍalhaṇa's version of 1.16.19 (Su 1938: 79) includes ghee. However, Ḍalhaṇa'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. Ḍalhaṇa 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.

194 The version of this verse known to Ḍalhaṇa (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, Ḍalhaṇa (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.

195 For these aims (i.e., healing and enlarging the ear), the text known to Ḍalhaṇa (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. Cakra-

- 16 Ears which do not enlarge even when sweated and oiled, should be scarified at the edge of the hole, but not outside it.¹⁹⁶
- 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.¹⁹⁷
- 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.¹⁹⁸
- 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 (वज्र),¹⁹⁹ with the same measurements, off the cheek, the end of the nose is then scarified.²⁰⁰ Then the undistracted physician, should quickly put it back together so that it is well joined.

pāṇidatta (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.

196 Ḍalhaṇa'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 the hole as it will cause derangement.

197 After verse 17, the 1938 edition of Ācārya (Su 1938: 80) has in parentheses nineteen verses on diseases of the ear-lobes, treatments and complications. It is possible that these verses were in some of the witnesses used by Ācārya to construct the text as they occur in other manuscripts, such as MS Hyderabad Osmania 137-3(b). However, Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 132) and Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938: 80) 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. Ḍalhaṇa went on to say that some believe that these verses were not composed by sages and, therefore, do not read them.

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

199 The version of 1.16.28b known to Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938: 81) reads "bound, connected (बद्धम्)" instead of "slice of flesh (वज्र)." This is a critical variant from the surgical point of view. If the slice remains connected, it will have a continuing blood supply. This is one of the effective techniques that so astonished surgeons witnessing a similar operation in Pune in the eighteenth century (see Wujastyk 2003: 67–70).

200 Or 1.16.20 could mean, '... off the cheek, it is fixed to the end of the nose, which has been scarified.' Unfortunately, the Sanskrit of the Nepalese version is not unambiguous on the important point of whether or not the flap of grafted skin remains connected to its original site on the cheek. However, Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938: 81) 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.

- 21 Having carefully observed that it has been sewn up properly, he should then fasten it along with two tubes.²⁰¹ Having caused it to be raised,²⁰² the powder of sappanwood,²⁰³ liquorice and Indian barberry should be sprinkled on it.²⁰⁴
- 22 The wound should be covered properly with tree 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.²⁰⁵
- 23 And once healed and really come together, what is left of that slice of flesh (वघ्न) should then be trimmed.²⁰⁶ If it is reduced, however, one should make an effort to stretch it, and one should make its overgrown flesh smooth.²⁰⁷

201 Ḍalhaṇa noted that the two tubes should be made of reed or the stalk of the leaf of the 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.

202 The Sanskrit term उन्नामयित्वा in 1.16.21 is non-Pāṇinian.

203 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 Ḍalhaṇa has पत्तङ्ग (1.16.29 (Su 1938: 81)) and this term is propagated in modern dictionaries.

204 Ḍalhaṇa glossed अञ्जन as रसाञ्जन, elixir salve (Su 1938: 81).

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

206 The vulgate transmission has lost the word वघ्न and replaced it with अर्ध "half," which makes little sense in this surgical context.

207 Ḍalhaṇa 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 Jejjāṭa, 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

- Ah 1939 Kumṭe, Aṅṅā Moreśvara, Navare, Kṛṣṇasāstrī, and Parādkar, Hariśāstrī (1939) (eds.), श्रीमद्वाग्भटविरचितम् अष्टाङ्गहृदयम्, श्रीमदरुणदत्तविरचितया सर्वाङ्गसुन्दराख्यया व्याख्यया, हेमाद्रिप्रणीतया आयुर्वेदरसायनाह्वया टीकया च समुल्लसितम् = *The Astāṅgahrīdaya* (6th edn., Mumbayyām: Nirṇaya-sāgara Press), <https://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t3tt6967d>.
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- EWA Mayrhofer, Manfred (1986-2001), *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag), ISBN: 3-533-03826-2.

- 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), <https://n2t.net/ark:/13960/s2kbbk5zcrq9>.
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Index of Manuscripts

(The numbers after the colon refer to pages in the present book.)

Bikaner Anup 4390: 29

Hyderabad Osmania 137-3(b): 18, 64

Kathmandu KL 699: vii, viii, 1, 7, 17, 35f, 39, 41, 59, 65

Kathmandu NAK 1-1079: 2, 37, 39, 59, 65

Kathmandu NAK 1-1146: 10

Kathmandu NAK 1/1079: 36

Kathmandu NAK 5-333: 2, 30f, 33, 37ff, 59, 65

London BL H. T. Colebrooke 908: 14, 31

London Wellcome 3007: 4

Mumbai AS B.D.109: 28

Mumbai AS B.I.3: 28

Mumbai, Asiatic Society 162: 25

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Glossary

Numbers after the final colon refer to pages in this book.

The symbol → means “another name for.”

beggarweed (*vidārigandhā*) →

śālaparnī. *Desmodium*

gangeticum (L.) DC. See

Dymock: 1, 428, **GJM1**: 602,

cf. **NK**: 1, #1192; **ADPS**: 382,

414 and **AVS**: 2, 319, 4.366

are confusing: 24, 63

castor oil tree (*gandharvohasta*)

→ *eraṇḍa*. **GVDB**: 135,

K&B: 3, 2277: 59

castor-oil (*eraṇḍa*) *Ricinus*

communis, L. See **NK**: 1,

#2145, **Chopra**: 214: 65

country mallow (*atibalā*)

Abutilon indicum, (L.)

Sweet, but may be other

kinds of mallow, e.g., *Sida*

rhombifolia, L.. See **NK**: 1,

#11, **IGP**: 1080, **NK**: 1, #2300,

ADPS: 71, 77: 63

country sarsaparilla (*anantā*)

Hemidesmus indicus, (L.) R.

Br. See **ADPS**: 434,

AVS: 3, 141–5, **NK**: 1, #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. Rr.

(**GVDB**: 429-431): 63

datura (*dhattūra*) *Datura metel*,

L. See **AVS**: 2, 305 (cf.

Abhidhānamañjarī), **NK**: 1,

#796 ff. **Potter**_{rev}: 292 f,

ADPS: 132: 60

elixir salve (*rasāñjana*) → *añjana*.

See **Indian barberry**: 65

fermented rice-water

(*dhānyāmla*) → *kāñjī*, *kāñjikā*,

sauvīra. **GVDB**: 458, **NK**: 2,

appendix VI, #18: 62

giant potato (*kṣīravidārī*)

possibly → *kṣīraśukla*. *Ipmoea*

mauritiana, Jacq. See

ADPS: 510, **AVS**: 3, 222,

AVS: 3, 1717 ff: 88, 89

heart-leaf sida (*balā*) *Sida*

cordifolia, Linn. See

ADPS: 71, **NK**: 1, #2297: 63

Holostemma creeper (*jīvantī*)

→ *sūryavallī*? *Holostemma*

ada-kodien, Schultes. See

ADPS: 195, **AVS**: 3, 167, 169,

NK: 1, #1242: 88

- horned pondweed (*śaivāla*) also *śaivāla*, *śevāra*. *Zannichellia palustris* L. The uncertainties of this identification are discussed by Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 409). Sometimes identified with scutch grass (*dūrvā*) (GVDB: 409). Identified as *Ceratophyllum demersum* Linn. (“hornwort”) by AVS: 2, 56–57x : 88
- hornwort (*jalaśūka*) → *jalanīlikā*. *Ceratophyllum demersum*, L. See AVS: 2, 56, IGP: 232. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 166) suggest **horned pondweed**. Ḍalhaṇa noted on 1.16.19 (Su 1938: 79) that some people interpret it as a poisonous, hairy, air-breathing, underwater creature : 63
- Indian barberry (*añjana*) → *rasañjana*, *dāruharidrā*. *Berberis aristata*, DC. Dymock: 1, 65, NK: 1, #335, GJM1: 562, IGP: 141 : 65, 87
- Indian ipecac (*payasyā*)
Uncertain. Possibly *Tylophora indica* (Burm.f.) Merr. Perhaps a synonym of **panacea twiner**, **giant potato**, **purple roscoea**, and plants like **asthma plant** and **Gulf sandmat** (GVDB: 237–238). Also “curds” when not a plant : 24, 63, 88
- Indian kudzu (*vidārī*) → *payasyā*. *Pueraria tuberosa* (Willd.) DC. See ADPS: 510, AVS: 1, 792 f, AVS: 4, 391; not Dymock: 1, 424 f. See GJM2: 444, 451, AVS: 1, 187, but AVS: 3, 1719 = *Ipomoea mauritiana*, Jacq : 24, 63
- Indian madder (*mañjiṣṭhā*)
Rubia cordifolia, L. See IGP, Chopra: 215, GVDB: 289 : 59
- liquorice (*madhuka*) see *yaṣṭīmadhuka* : 63
- liquorice (*yaṣṭīmadhuka*)
Glycyrrhiza glabra, L. AVS: 3, 84, NK: 1, #1136, GVDB: 329 f. : 65
- milk-white (*kṣīraśuklā*) An unidentified plant. GVDB: 126: see **purple roscoea** and **giant potato** : 24, 63, 89
- monitor lizard (*godhā*) *Varanus bengalensis*, Schneider. See Reptiles: 58 : 63
- neem tree (*nimba*) *Azadirachta indica* A. Juss. GVDB: 226 : 60
- panacea twiner (*arkapuṣpī*) → *arkaparṇī*, *Tylophora indica* (Burm. f.) Merr. GVDB: 23–24. 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: 3, 171. The etymology of the name suggests *Helianthus annuus* Linn., but

- this plant is native to the Americas : 88
- 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) : 88
- prickly chaff-flower (*apāmārga*) *Achyranthes aspera*, L. See GJM1: 524 f, AVS: 1, 39, ADPS: 44 f, AVS: 3, 2066 f, Dymock: 3, 135 : 23, 60, 63
- purple calotropis (*arka*) *Calotropis gigantea*, (L.) R. Br. See ADPS: 52, AVS: 1, 341, NK: 1, #427, Potter_{rev}: 57, Chopra IDG: 305–308 : 63
- purple roscoea (*kṣīrakākālī*) 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 : 88
- sappanwood (*pattāṅga*) Also *pattāṅga*. *Caesalpinia sappan*, L. AVS: 1, 323, K&B: 2, 847 f, GVDB: 234 : 65
- scutch grass (*dūrvā*) *Cynodon dactylon* (Linn.) Pers. (GVDB: 205) : 88
- sesame oil (*taila*) *Sesamum indicum* L. GVDB: 183 : 63
- spikenard (*jaṭāmāṁsī*) *Nardostachys jatamansi* DC GVDB: 163, etc : 25
- sweet plants (*madhuravarga*) The sweet plants are enumerated at *Suśrutasaṁhitā* 1.42.11. See also GVDB: 127 : 24, 63
- top layer of fermented liquor (*surāmaṇḍa*) K&B: 2, 502, NK: 2, appendix VI, #49, McHugh 2021: 39 : 62
- tree cotton (*kārpāsa*) *G. arboreum* L. ADPS: 231. Pace the identifications of Singh and Chuneekar (GVDB: 92, 247), since *G. barbadense* L. is native to South America and *G. herbaceum* L. which is native to Africa : 60, 89
- tree cotton (*picu*) See tree cotton (*kārpāsa*) : 62, 65
- white calotropis (*alarka*) *Calotropis procera*, (Ait.) R. Br. See NK: 1, #428, Chopra: 46b, Chopra IDG: 305–308 : 63
- Withania (*aśvagandhā*) *Withania somnifera* (L.) Dunal. See AVS: 5, 409 f, Dymock: 2, 566 f., Chevallier 150 : 24, 63

A thousand-year-old Ayurvedic manuscript containing the *Compendium of Suśruta* was announced to the scholarly world in 2007. The Nepalese manuscript, since adopted by UNESCO as part of the Memory of the World, reveals the state of classical Indian medicine in the ninth century. It enables us to study the changes in this medical classic that have taken place from the ninth to the nineteenth century, when printed texts began to dominate the dissemination of the work. The present monograph describes the research project focussed on this manuscript and offers an edition, study and translation of the historically important chapter about the plastic surgery on the nose and ears.

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