## A Translation of the New Edition of the Suśrutasamhitā

Dominik Wujastyk Jason Birch Andrey Klebanov

> Draft of 26th October 2022 © Jason Birch and Dominik Wujastyk

### **Contents**

The manuscripts and editions used in the vulgate editions	<b>by</b>	
Yādavaśarman Trivikrama Ācārya		4
The sources of the 1915 edition		4
The sources of the 1931 edition		4
The sources of the 1938 edition		5
Evaluation		5
The 1939 edition		7
The sources for the Bhānumatī		7
The sources for the Suśrutasaṃhitā		7
Evaluation	Trivikrama Ācārya       4         ne 1915 edition       4         ne 1931 edition       5         ne 1938 edition       5         s for the Bhānumatī       7         s for the Suśrutasaṃhitā       7         nuscript transmission       10         features       10         iaracters       10         āya 1       11         āya 2       18         āya 16       19         āya 28       27         āya 1       28         s       29          30         ing]       30         iāya 2       39          39          39          39          39          39          39          39          39          39          39          39          39          39          39          39          39 <t< td=""></t<>	
Features of the manuscript transmission		10
Palaeographical features		10
Chart of characters		10
Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 1	-	11
Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 2		18
Literature		18
Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 16	:	19
Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 28	2	27
Kalpasthāna, adhyāya 1	1	28
Literature		28
Manuscript notes		29
Translation		30
[Threats to the king]	• •	30
Kalpasthāna, adhyāya 2	:	39
Introduction		39
Translation		39
The effects of poisons		
Symptoms of tuber poisoning		 44
Slow-acting poison		47
The stages of toxic shock		17 18

Remedies for the stages of slow poisoning	49
The 'invincible' ghee	51
Curing the 'slow-acting' poison	51
Kalpasthāna, adhyāya 3	52
Introduction	52
Translation	52
Uttaratantra, adhyāya 16 (17 in the vulgate)	55
Literature	55
Translation	55
[Complications]	64
[Characteristics of the probe]	64
[Complications]	64
Uttaratantra, adhyāya 38	67
Introductory remarks	67
Translation	68
Editions and Abbreviations	72
References	75
Botanical Reference Works	111
Glossary and Index of Medical Substances	112
On digital critical editions	102

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

Yādavaśarman Trivikrama Ācārya produced three successive editions of the *Su-śrutasaṃhitā* with the commentary of Dalhaṇa, in 1915, 1931 and 1938. These editions, especially the last, are generally considered the most scholarly and reliable editions of the work, and have been constantly reprinted up to the present day.<sup>1</sup>

The 1915 edition was based on three manuscripts. The 1931 edition used another seven plust two printed editions. For his final 1938 edition, Ācārya used a further three manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> These sources are described as follow, with an overview in Table 1.

### The sources of the 1915 edition

- 1 Calcutta, Royal Asiatic Society. Covers the *sūtra*, *nidāna*, *śārīra and kalpa sthānas*.
- 2 Jaipur, Pandit Gangādharabhaṭṭaśarman, lecturer at the Royal Sanskrit University. Covers the *cikitsāsthāna* and the *uttaratantra*.
- 3 Bundi, my great friend the royal physician Pam. 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 Motīlālaśarman. 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 Pune, BORI library. With the *Nibandhasangraha*. Covers the śārīrasthāna.<sup>3</sup>
- 5 Puṇe, BORI library. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Complete. With some damaged folia.

<sup>1</sup> See also the study of these editions by Klebanov (2021 a: §1.2) and Wujastyk (2013: 143–144).

The following account of the sources is paraphrased from Y. T. Ācārya and N. R. Ācārya's own account of his sources (Su 1938: 22).

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

- 6 Bombay, Asiatic Society. Incomplete.4
- 7 Varanasi, the private library of Vaidya Tryambakaśāstrī. Covers the *cikitsāsthāna*. The variant readings of this MS were compiled by Prof.
- 8 A printed edition together with the commentary *Suśrutasandīpanabhāṣya* by Professor Hārāṇacandra Cakravārtti. Complete work. This is the 1910 Calcutta edition numbered "t" by Meulenbeld (HIML: IB, 312).<sup>5</sup>
- 9 A printed edition of the first 43 chapters of the *sūtrasthāna*, printed in Bengali script, with the commentaries *Bhānumatī*, *Nibandhasaṅgraha*, edited by Vijayaratnasena and Niśikāntasena. This is the 1886 Calcutta edition numbered "g" by Meulenbeld (HIML: IB, 311).

### The sources of the 1938 edition

- 1 Gwalior, from the library of my great friend Pam. 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 *Nyāyacandrikāpañjikāvyākhyā* by Gayadāsa. Covers the *nidānasthāna*. This is almost certainly MS Bikaner Anup 4390.<sup>7</sup>
- 3 Kathmandu, located in the private library of the Royal Guru Hemarāja Śarman. An extremely old palm-leaf manuscript. Readings from this MS were compiled by Paṃ Nityānandaśarman Jośī and sent to Ācārya. Covers from the beginning of the work to the end of the ninth chapter of the *cikitsāsthāna*. The siglum for this manuscript in footnotes was ता for ताल्पत्रपुरतके.

#### **Evaluation**

Estimates show that there are approximately 230 extant manuscript witnesses for the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.<sup>8</sup> Many of these manuscripts cover only one or more or

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."

<sup>5</sup> Bhaṭṭācārya 1910-7.

<sup>6</sup> Sena et al. 1886–93.

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

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

Manuscripts (●) and print editions (○)															
edition	1915			1931							1938				
sthāna	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3
sū.	•							•	?		0	o(1-43)	•		•
ni.	•			•					?		0		•	•	•
śā.	•								?		0		•		•
ci.									?	•	0		•		<b>●</b> <sup>(1-9)</sup>
ka.	•								?		0		•		
utt.			•	•					?		0				

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

its chapters. Nevertheless, this is an order of magnitude more evidence than was considered by Ācārya for his vulgate editions.

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

Two sources stand out for their historical importance. The first is no. 3 of 1931, which  $\bar{A}c\bar{a}rya$  calls "extremely old." It covered the  $s\bar{a}r\bar{i}rasth\bar{a}na$  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.  $\bar{A}c\bar{a}rya$ 's remarks and references to Hemarājasarman's introduction to the  $K\bar{a}syapasamhit\bar{a}$  allow us to identify this man-

uscript as MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333.<sup>9</sup> But that manuscript covers the whole work, not just up to the ninth chapter of the *cikitsāsthāna* as Y. T. Ācārya and N. R. Ācārya stated.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps the editors only received collations for this portion of the manuscript and did not know that it was a witness for the whole work.

### The 1939 edition

In 1939, Yādavaśarman Trivikrama Ācārya and Nandakiśora Śarman co-edited an edition of the *sūtrasthāna* of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that was published by the Swami Laxmi Ram ayurvedic centre in Jaipur, and printed at the famous Nirṇayasāgara Press in Mumbai.<sup>11</sup> The text was edited on the basis of the following sources.

#### The sources for the Bhanumatī

- 1. A printed edition. Covered the *Bhānumatī* up to chapter Su.sū.40. The siglum was 貝 for *mudrita*.<sup>12</sup>
- 2. A manuscript in the India Office Library library provided through the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune. 13 This manuscript covered the Bhānumatī b up to the end of the sūtrasthāna. The siglum was ह for हस्तिस्रित. 14

#### The sources for the Suśrutasamhitā

1. A palm leaf manuscript from Hemarājaśarman's personal library. 15 The siglum was না for নাভ্যন্ন.

<sup>9</sup> Su 1938: 22; Hemarāja Śarman 1938: 56–57. Discussed by Klebanov (2021*a*: §1.1, 2.3). See also HIML: IIB, 25–41; Wujastyk 2003: 161–169.

<sup>10</sup> Su 1938: 22.

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 (2021*b*: 7). On the Swami Laxmi Ram centre, see Hofer 2007

<sup>12</sup> Sena et al. 1886–93. The manuscript on which this edition was based is probably in the library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, and described in H. Sastri and Gui 1895–1917: v. X.1, which is not available to me. See also HIML: IB, 495, n. 57 for mention of this manuscript. The reference at Rama Rao et al. 2005: 217 to CSCL accession number 97 in Bengali script may be this manuscript.

<sup>13</sup> At this time, manuscripts from Britain were routinely lent to scholars in India and vice versa.

<sup>14</sup> MS London BL H. T. Colebrooke 908 (PanditProject #109978, consulted on July 03, 2021).

<sup>15</sup> I.e., MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333.



Figure 1: A page of the 1939  $Bh\bar{a}numat\bar{\imath}$  edition, showing the variant readings in the footnotes.

- 2. His own published edition. The siglum was ड for डल्हणसंमतः पाठः. 16
- 3. Hārāṇacandra Cakravarti's published edition with his own commentary.<sup>17</sup> The siglum was हा.

#### **Evaluation**

The main innovation of this publication was to present the only surviving part of the commentary on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* by the great eleventh-century medical scholar Cakrapāṇidatta, namely the *Bhānumatī*. 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 Dalhaṇa. This was the first *Suśrutasaṃhitā* edition in which Ācārya used sigla to identify the sources from which variant readings were reported, so while it has limitations, it for the first time enables us to get some idea of origins of the text (see Figure 1).

Ācārya noted in his introduction that the manuscripts containing the Palhaṇa's commentary all came together with the root-text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, and thus the main *Suśrutasaṃhitā* text reflected the readings chosen by Palhaṇa. 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 Palhaṇa. In many of these cases it was hard to know what the text that Cakrapāṇidatta had before him. But Ācārya noted that Cakrapāṇidatta had a text before him that had much in common with the text of the Nepalese manuscript.<sup>19</sup>

There is compelling evidence that Cakrapāṇidattas's *Bhānumatī* commentary once covered the whole text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.<sup>20</sup> The loss of the rest of the work ranks amongst the greatest disasters in Āyurvedic literature. Remarkably, the whole *Bhānumatī* may still have existed in the early twentieth century. In 1903, Palmyr Cordier reported being privately informed of a complete copy of the work in a personal manuscript collection in Benares.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Su 1938. It is noteworthy that Ācārya refers to his 1938 edition as representing "the Þalhaṇa recension."

<sup>17</sup> Bhaṭṭācārya 1910-7.

<sup>18</sup> HIML: IA, 374-375 and IB, 495-496.

<sup>19</sup> Su 1939: 3–4. See discussion by Klebanov (2021*b*: 7).

<sup>20</sup> HIML: IA, 375.

<sup>21</sup> Cordier 1903: 332.

### Features of the manuscript transmission

### Palaeographical features

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

### **Chart of characters**

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

### Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 1

- 1 Now I shall narrate the chapter on the origin of this knowledge.<sup>22</sup>
- Now, as is well-known, Aupadhenava, Vaitaraṇa, Aurabhra, Puṣkalāvata, Karavīra, Gopurarakṣita, Bhoja, Suśruta and others addressed Lord Divodāsa, king of Kāśi, the best of the immortals, who was in his ashram surrounded by an entourage of sages.<sup>23</sup>
- "O Lord, distress arose in our minds after witnessing people thrashing about with cries, assailed by different kinds of pain and injury (*vedanābhighāta*), feeling helpless in spite of having friends, because of diseases arising from the body, the mind and external sources.
- 4 "To quell the illnesses of those who seek happiness and for our own purpose of prolonging life, we desire the science of life (āyurveda) that is being taught. Welfare, both in this world and in the next, depends upon it. Therefore, we have come to the Lord in pupillage."
- The Lord said to them:
  "Welcome to you! My children, all of you are beyond reproach and worthy to be taught.
- "As is well known, Ayurveda is the name of what is said to be the subsidiary part of the Atharvaveda. Before creating people, Svayambhū composed it in hundreds of thousands of verses and a thousand chapters and, after observing the short lifespan and low intelligence of people, he presented it again in eight parts.<sup>24</sup>
- 7 "Surgery, treatment of body parts above the clavicle, general medicine, knowledge of spirits, care of children, and the disciplines of antidotes, rejuvenation and aphrodisiacs.
- palhaṇa understood the word "knowledge (veda)" as specifically "medical knowledge." He said that the word "longevity" (āyur) had been elided. After this opening statement, later manuscripts and commentaries include the attribution, "as the venerable Dhanvantari stated." The absence of this statement in the early Nepalese manuscripts is highly significant because it removes the outer narrative frame of the Suśrutasamhitā (Wujastyk 2013: 148; Klebanov 2021a: § 3.1.2; Rai 2019; Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. 2021). On the figure of Dhanvatari in medical literature, see HIML: IA 358–361.
- 23 On these persons, see HIML: IA 361–363, 369 ff. The authority Bhoja does not appear in the list as published in the vulgate edition (Su 1931: 1), and was not included in HIML amongst "authorities mentioned in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*." Meulenbeld gathered textual evidence about Bhoja at HIML: IA 690–691. Klebanov (2021*b*) has discussed these authors in the context of an anonymous commentary on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that cites them.
- 24 Svayambhū is another name for Brahmā, the creator.

- 8 "Now, a collection of the characteristics of each component of Āyurveda.
- "Among them, [the component] called surgery has the goal of extracting various grasses, wood, stone, dust, iron (?), soil, bone, hair, nails, discharge of pus, malignant wounds and foreign bodies inside the womb, and of determining the application of surgical instruments, knives, caustics and fire by means of sixty definitions.
- "[The component] named the doctrine of treating body parts above the clavicles has the aim of curing diseases situated above clavicles that is, diseases located in ears, eyes, mouth, nose and so on.
- "[The component] called general medicine has the goal of curing illnesses established in the whole body and [diseases] such as fever, tumour, swelling, hemorrhagic disorders, insanity, epilepsy, urinary diseases, diarrhoea and the like.
- "[The component] called knowledge of spirits is for appeasing demons by pacification rites and making food offerings for those whose minds have been possessed by gods, their enemies, <sup>25</sup> Gandharvas, Yakṣas, demons, deceased ancestors, Piśācas, Vināyakas, <sup>26</sup> Nāgas and evil spirits that possess children.
- "[The component] called care of children is for bearing children and purifying defects in a wet-nurse's milk, and curing diseases that have arisen from bad breast milk and demons.
- "[The component] called the discipline of toxicology is for [knowing] the signs of poison from snake and insect bites and for neutralising various combinations of poisons.<sup>27</sup>
- "[The component] called the discipline of rejuvenation is maintaining youth, bringing about a long life and mental vigour and for curing diseases.
- "[The component] called the discipline of aphrodisiacs brings about the increase, purity, accumulation and production of semen for those whose semen is minimal, bad, depleted, and dry [respectively] and for inducing an erection.
- 17 "Thus, this Āyurveda is taught with eight components."

Dānavas. The insertion marks ( $k\bar{a}kapadas$ ) below the text at this point appears to be by the original scribe.

The vulgate doesn't have *vināyaka*s but does add *asura*s, probably under the influence of Dalhaṇa. Cite Paul Courtright, Ganesha book.

<sup>27</sup> The scribal insertion marks (crosses) above the line at this point in MS K appear to be in a later hand and their referent is lost in the damaged part of the folio. Although MSS MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079 and MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 include spiders ( $l\bar{u}t\bar{a}$ ) and creepycrawlies ( $sar\bar{t}srpa$ ) in the list, it does seem that MS K had a shorter list, and the vulgate edition adds rodents ( $m\bar{u}sika$ ).

- "Among these [components], tell us which is for whom."
- 18 They said, "After you have conveyed the knowledge of surgery, teach us everything."
- 19 He said, "so be it."
- They then said, "Having considered the view of all of us, when we are unanimous, Suśruta will question you. We too will learn what is being taught to him."
- 21 He said, "so be it.
- "Now, as is well-known, the aim of Āyurveda is eliminating the disease of one who have been assailed by disease and protecting the healthy; āyurveda is [that knowledge] in which they find a long life, or that by which long life is known. Learn its best component (i.e., surgery), which is being taught in accordance with tradition, perception, inference and analogy.
- "For this component is first, the most important, because it is referred to first; it cures wounds and joins together the most important thing, Yajña's head. For, just as it has been said of old, 'the head that had been cut off by Rudra was joined again by the two Aśvins.'
- "And also, of the eight disciplines of  $\bar{A}$ yurveda, [surgery] alone is the best because of the quick action of its procedures ( $kriy\bar{a}$ ), its application of blunt instruments, knives, caustics and fire, and it is common to all disciplines.
- Therefore, [surgery] is eternal, meritorious, leads to heaven, brings renown, bestows a long life, and affords a livelihood.
- 26 "Brahmā said this, 'Prajāpati learned it. From him, the Aśvins. From the Aśvins, Indra. From Indra, I. In this world, I will transmit to those who desire it for the benefit of people.'
  - [There a verse about this.].<sup>28</sup>

27

- For, I (i.e., Brahmā) am Dhanvantari, the first god, the remover of old age, pain and death of mortals.
  - Having understood surgery, the best of the great knowledge systems, I arrived on earth again to teach it here.
- In this context, as far as this discipline is concerned, a human being ( $puru \not= a$ ) is called an amalgam of the five elements and the embodied soul. This is where procedures ( $kriy\bar{a}$ ) apply. This is the locus. Why?
  - Because of the duality of the world, the world is twofold: the stationary and

<sup>28</sup> This is an expansion of the scribe's abbreviation *bha* for *bhavati cātra ślokaḥ* "There is a verse about this" (sometimes plural).

the moving. Its nature ( $\bar{a}tmaka$ ) is twofold, depending on the preponderance of Agni and Soma.<sup>29</sup> Alternatively, it can be considered as being fivefold. The multitude of beings in it are fourfold: they are termed "sweat-born, stone-born, caul-born and egg-born".<sup>30</sup> Where they are concerned, the human being is the main thing; others are his support. Therefore, the human being (puruṣa) is the locus.

Diseases are said to be the conjunction of the person and suffering (*duḥkha*). There are four of them: invasive, bodily, mental and inherent. The invasive ones are caused by an injury. The bodily ones are based on food, caused by irregularities (*vaiṣamya*) in wind, bile, phlegm and blood.<sup>31</sup>

The mental ( $m\bar{a}nasa$ ) ones, caused by desire ( $icch\bar{a}$ ) and hatred (dveṣa), include: anger (krodha), grief ( $\bar{a}śoka$ ), misery (dainya), overexcitement (harṣa), lust ( $k\bar{a}ma$ ), depression ( $viṣ\bar{a}da$ ), envy ( $\bar{i}rṣy\bar{a}$ ), jealousy ( $as\bar{u}y\bar{a}$ ), malice ( $m\bar{a}$ -tsarya), and greed (lobha).

The inherent (*svābhāvika*) ones are hunger, thirst, old age, death, sleep and those of the temperament (*prakrti*).

These too are located (*adhisthāna*) in the mind and body.

Scarification (*lekhana*), nourishment (*bṛṃhaṇa*), purification (*saṃśodhana*), pacification (*saṃśamana*), diet (*āhāra*) and regimen (*ācāra*), properly employed, bring about their cure.

Furthermore, food is the root ( $m\bar{u}la$ ) of living beings as well as of strength (bala), complexion (varna) and vital energy (ojas). It depends on ( $\bar{a}yatta$ ) the six flavours (rasa). Flavours, furthermore, have substances as their substrate ( $\bar{a}\dot{s}rayin$ ). And substances are remedies ( $osadh\bar{\iota}$ -).<sup>32</sup> There are two types: stationary ( $sth\bar{a}vara$ ) and moving ( $ja\dot{n}gama$ ).

Of these, there are four types of stationary ones: fruit trees (*vanaspati*), flowering trees (*vṛkṣa*), herbs (*oṣadhi*) and shrubs (*vīrudh*).<sup>33</sup> Amongst these,

<sup>29</sup> See Wujastyk 2004.

<sup>30</sup> This fourfold classification of beings is paralleled with closely-related vocabulary in *Bhela-saṃhitā* 4.4.4 (Bhela 2000: 206; Bhela 1921: 81).

<sup>31</sup> Note that four humoral substances are assumed here.

Pāṇini 6.3.132 provides that the final vowel of the noun oṣadhi may be lengthened ( $\to oṣadhi$ ) under certain conditions. These conditions require that the word be used in a Vedic mantra and not in the nominative. Neither condition is met in this passage, yet the author uses the form oṣadhi. This form is in fact not uncommon in medical literature as well as in epics, purānas, smrtis, and other parts of Sanskrit literature.

Ca.sū.1.71–72 also describes these four types of medicinal plant in similar terms but with slightly differing names: *oṣadhi* is a plant that ends after fruiting, *vīrudh* is a plant that branches out, *vanaspati* is a tree with fruit, and *vānaspatya* is a tree with fruit and flowers.

- the "fruit trees" have fruit but no flowers.<sup>34</sup> The "flowering trees" have flowers and fruit. The "herbs" die when the fruit is ripe. "Shrubs" put out shoots.
- As is well known, moving remedies are also of four types: those born in in a caul (*jarāyuja*), those born from eggs (*aṇḍaja*), those born of sweat (*svedaja*), and shoots (*udbhid*). Amongst these, those born in a caul include animals (*paśu*), humans, and wild animals (*vyāla*). Birds, creepy-crawlies (*sarīṣrpa*) and snakes are "born of eggs." Worms (*kṛmi*), small insects (*kunta*) and ants (*pipīlika*) and others are born of sweat.<sup>35</sup> Shoots include red velvet mites (*indragopa*) and frogs (*maṇḍūka*).<sup>36</sup>|
- In this context, among the stationary remedies, skin (*tvak*), leaves (*patra*), flowers (*puṣpa*), fruits (*phala*), roots (*mūla*), bulbs (*kanda*), sap (*kṣīra*), resin (*niryāsa*), essence (*sāra*), oil (*sneha*), and juice extract (*svarasa*)<sup>37</sup> are useful; among the moving remedies pelt (*carman*), hair, nails, and blood (*rudhira*) and so forth.
- 34 And earthen products (*pārthiva*) include gold and silver.<sup>38</sup>
- The items created by time (*kālakṛta*) are clusters (*samplava*) as far as wind and no wind (*nivāta*), heat and shade, darkness and light and the cold, hot and rainy seasons (*varṣā*) are concerned. The divisions of time are the blink of the eye (*nimeṣa*), a trice (*kāṣṭhā*), minutes (*kalā*), three-quarters of an hour (*muhūrta*), a day and night (*ahorātra*), a fortnight (*pakṣa*), a month (*māsa*), a season (*ṛtu*), a half-year (*ayana*), a year (*saṃvatsara*), and yuga (*yuga*).<sup>39</sup>
- These naturally cause accumulation (sañcaya), irritation (prakopa), pacification (upaśama) and alleviation (pratīkāra) of the humours (doṣa). And they have practical purposes (prayojanavat).

#### [There are verses about this:]40

The MSS agree in reading *phalavantyaḥ* "having flowers" which is grammatically non-standard. This form is also found in the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (1.92.27, 1.92.27 Viṣṇudh.: 56r).

<sup>35</sup> The word *kunta*, though marked as "lexical" in most dictionaries, is in fact found in literature, commonly as a compound with *pipīlika*; the compound sometimes seems to be understood a type of ant (*tatpuruṣa* compound) rather than as a pair of insects (*dvandva* compound).

<sup>36</sup> On indragopa, see Lienhard 1978.

<sup>37</sup> On juice extract (*svarasa*) see CS 1.1.73, 1.4.7; Dalhana on 4.10.12 (Su 1938: 450).

<sup>38</sup> The flow of concepts in the treatise seems to be interrupted here.

<sup>39</sup> These units are presented at 1.6.5 (Su 1938: 24) and discussed by Hayashi (2017: § 59).

<sup>40</sup> See footnote 28.

- This fourfold category is taught by physicians as a cause for the agitation and quelling of bodily diseases.<sup>41</sup>
- There are two kinds of invasive diseases. Some certainly⁴² affect (ni√pat) the mind, others the body. Their treatment (kriyā) is of two kinds too.
- For those that affect the body there is physical (śārīravad) therapy, whereas for those that affect the mind there is the collection (varga) of desirable sensory experiences like sound that bring comfort (sukha).
- 40 Along these lines (*evam*), this brief explanation of the four factors (*catuṣtaya*) is given:
  - human being (*puruṣa*),
  - disease (vyadhi),
  - remedies (osadhi),
  - the time for therapies (*kriyākāla*).

#### In this context,

- from the mention of the word "human," the collection of substances that arise from it, such as the elements, and the particulars (*vikalpa*) of its major and minor parts (*aṅga*) such as skin (*tvak*), flesh (*māṃsa*), ducts (*sirā*), sinews (*snāyu*), bones (*asthi*) and joints (*sandhi*) are meant.
- From the mention of "diseases," all diseases caused by wind, bile, phlegm, congested humours (*sannipāta*), external factors (*āgantu*) and inherent factors (*svabhāva*) are intended (*vyākhyāta*).
- From the mention of "remedies," there is the teaching of substances, tastes, potencies, post-digestive tastes.
- From the mention of "procedures (*kriyā*)," therapies (*karman*) such as oiling and excision (*chedya*) are taught.
- From the mention of the word "time," every single teaching about the times for procedures is meant.

On the topic of the "group of four," the commentator Dalhana considers them to be "food, behaviour, earthen products and items created by time." He refers to the author of the lost commentary entitled *Pañjikā*, and to Jejjaṭa (HIML: IA, 372–3, 192). In his view, these early commentators do not agree that the fourfold grouping (*caturvarga*) refers to the quartet of stationary (*sthāvara*), moving (*jaṅgama*), earthen products (*pārthiva*) and items created by time (*kālakṛta*) (Su 1938: 9a).

<sup>42</sup> The text uses an archaic interjection here, ha.

[There is a verse about this:]43

- This seed of medicine has been declared in brief. Its explanation will be given in one hundred and twenty chapters.<sup>44</sup>
- There are one hundred and twenty chapters in five sections (*adhyāya*).<sup>45</sup> In that regard, having divided them, according to their subject matter, into the Ślokasthāna, the Nidāna, the Śārīra, the Cikitsita and the Kalpa, we shall mention this in the Uttaratantra.<sup>46</sup>

[There is a verse about this:]<sup>47</sup>

Someone who reads this eternal proclamation of the King of Kāśī, that was declared by Svayambhu, will have good karma on earth, will be respected by kings and upon death will achieve the world of Śakra.

<sup>43</sup> See footnote 28.

This is the number of chapters in the first five sections of the work, namely the *Sūtra-*, *Nidāna-*, *Śārīra-*, *Cikitsā-* and *Kalpa-sthānas*. These have 46, 16, 10, 40 and 8 chapters respectively. The *Uttaratantra* has 66 chapters.

<sup>45</sup> On viṃśa in the sense of "greater by 20" see P.5.2.46 śadantaviṃśateś ca.

<sup>46</sup> The end of this sentence reads oddly. The vulgate edition adds an object: "[we shall mention] the remaining topics [in the Uttara]" which smooths out the difficulty, but this is supported in none of the Nepalese MSS. At the start of the Uttaratantra (susr-trikamji3) there is indeed a statement that picks up the point about there being 120 chapters.

<sup>47</sup> See footnote 28.

# Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 2

### Literature

HIML: IA, 204; Preisendanz 2007; Wujastyk 2012: 82–83, et passim.

1

### Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 16

- 1 Now we shall expound the method for piercing the ear. 48
- One may pierce a child's ears for the purpose of preserving and decorating. On renowned days, half days, hours and constellations during the first half of the sixth or seventh lunar month, the physician should sit the boy, who has received a benediction (krtamangala) blessings pronounced ( $svastiv\bar{a}cana$ )<sup>49</sup> and is being pacified, on the lap of a wet-nurse.<sup>50</sup> Then, having pulled his ear with the left hand, he should use his right hand to pierce the ear straight through at a naturally occurring cleft.<sup>51</sup> For a boy, do the right ear first; for a girl, do the left one. Use a needle on a thin ear; an awl ( $\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ ) on a thick one.<sup>52</sup>
- The topic of piercing the ear (kaṛnavyadha) is not discussed in the Carakasaṃhitā (HIML: IB, 326, n. 175), but it is mentioned in some texts that followed the Suśrutasaṃhitā, such as the Kaśāpyasaṃhitā (HIML: IIA, 30). Also, the instrument for piercing the ear is described in the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā 1.26.26 (Ah 1939: 153). In the versions of the text known to Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76) and Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 125), the heading of this chapter is karṇavyadhabandhavidhi ('the method of piercing and joining the ear'), instead of the Nepalese version's karṇavyadhavidhi. The topic of karṇabandha is discussed in passages 17–20 of the Nepalese version. However, it appears that only subsequent redactors reflected its importance by including it in chapter headings. The Nepalese version also omits the opening remark on Dhanvantari that appears in subsequent versions. For a discussion of the frame story in the Nepalese version, see Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. 2021. Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76) and Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 125) state that only the ears of healthy people should be pierced, and they quote Bhoja to affirm this: 'When piercing the ears of children who are free of disease at these times, their ear flaps and apertures, as well as limbs, increase' (for the Sanskrit, see Su 1938: 76).
- 49 The syntax here is unclear. The expression *svastivācana* may have been a gloss inserted into the text at an earlier period to clarify *maṅgala*. But as it stands, it is not syntactically connected to the rest of the sentence. In the versions of 1.16.3 known to Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 126) and Þalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76), the words are united in a compound that reads more naturally.
- The versions of 1.16.3 known to Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 126) and Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76) have the additional compound kumāradharānke ('on the lap of one who holds the child') after dhātryanke. The gender of kumāradhara is made clear by Dalhaṇa's gloss 'a man who holds the child'. Also, both versions add bālakrīḍanakaiḥ pralobhya ('having enticed with children's toys') to indicate that the child should be enticed with toys to stay on the assistant's lap. According to Dalhaṇa on 1.16.3 (Su 1938: 76), the toys include replica elephants, horses, bulls and parrots. Dalhaṇa further mentions that others read bhakṣyaviśeṣair vā ('or by special treats') before bālakrīḍanakaiḥ.
- The versions of 1.16.3 of Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 126) and Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76) add *ādityakarāvabhāsite* to clarify that this naturally occurring cleft is illuminated by sunshine.
- 52 Dalhana on 1.16.3 (Su 1938: 76) clarifies that the awl is a shoe-maker's knife for piercing leather.

- 3 If there is excess blood or pain one should know that it was pierced in the wrong place. The absence of side-effects is a sign that it has been pierced in the right place.<sup>53</sup>
- 4 In this context, if an ignorant person accidentally pierces a duct (*sirā*) there will be fever, burning, swelling (*śvayathu*), pain, lumps (*granthi*), paralysis of the nape of the neck (*manyāstambhā*), convulsions (*apatānaka*), headache or sharp pain in the ear.<sup>54</sup>
- Having removed the wick (*varti*) in the hole because of the aggravation of humours or a culpable piercing,<sup>55</sup> one should smear it with a paste of the roots of barley, liquorice, Indian madder (*mañjiṣṭhā*), and the castor oil tree (*gandharvahasta*), thickened with honey and ghee. When it has healed well, one should pierce it again.
- 6 One should treat the properly-pierced ear by sprinkling it with raw sesame oil. After every three days one should apply a thicker wick (*varti*) and sprinkle oil right on it.<sup>56</sup>
- Once the ear is free from humours or side-effects, one should loosen it with a light dilator (*pravardhanaka*) in order to enlarge it.<sup>57</sup>

- This passage is significantly augmented in 1.16.4 of Cakrapāṇidatta's version (Su 1939: 126) and 1.16.5 of Palhaṇa's (Su 1938: 77) to outline the specific problems caused by piercing three ducts called *kālikā*, *marmikā* and *lohitikā*. In fact, the order of the problems mentioned in the Nepalese version has been retained in the other versions and divided between each duct. Cakrapāṇidatta's commentary on 1.16.4 (Su 1939: 126) cites several verses attributed to Bhoja on the problems caused by piercing these three ducts in the ear flap: 'Lohitikā, marmikā and the black ones are the ducts situated in the earflaps. Listen in due order to the problems that arise when they are pierced. Paralysis of the nape of the neck and convulsions, or sharp pain arise from piercing *lohitikā*. Pain and lumps are thought to arise from piercing *marmikā*. Piercing *kālikā* gives rise to swelling, fever and burning.'
- In addition to these reasons, 1.16.6 of Dalhaṇa's (Su 1938: 77) adds *kliṣṭajihmāpraśastasūcīvy-adhāt* ('because of piercing with a painful, crooked and unrecommended needle') and *gāḍhataravartitvāt* ('because of a wick that is too thick'). Dalhaṇa was aware of the reading in the Nepalese version because he notes in his commentary on 1.16.6 (Su 1938: 77) that some read 'because of the accummulation of humours' rather than 'because of piercing with a painful, crooked and unrecommended needle or because of a wick that is too thick.' On the meaning of *samudāya*, see ?? and Meulenbeld 1992: 1–5 (ADD PRIMARY REF).
- The manuscripts support the reading  $sth\bar{u}latar\bar{t}m$  that is either a non-standard form or a scribal error.
- Cakrapāṇidatta on 1.16.6 (Su 1939: 127) and Palhaṇa on 1.16.8 (Su 1938: 77) point out that the dilator can be made of wood, such as that of the prickly chaff flower (*apāmarga*), the neem tree (*nimba*) and the cotton plant (*kārpāsa*). Dalhana adds that it can also be made of lead

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.

- A person's ear enlarged in this way can split in two, either as a result of the humours<sup>58</sup> or a blow. Listen to me about the joins ( $sandh\bar{a}na$ ) it can have.
- Here, there are, in brief, fifteen ways of mending the ear flap.<sup>59</sup> They are as follows: Rim-join (nemīsandhānakaḥ), Lotus-splittable (utpalabhedyaka), Dried Flesh (vallūraka), Fastening (āsaṅgima), Cheek-ear (gaṇḍakarṇa), Take away (āhārya), Ready-Split (nirvedhima), Multi-joins (vyāyojima), Doorhinge (kapāṭasandhika), Half door-hinge (ardhakapāṭasandhika), Compressed (saṃkṣipta), Reduced-ear (hīnakarṇa), Creeper-ear (vallīkarṇa), Stick-ear (yaṣṭīkarṇa), and Crow's lip (kākauṣṭha).<sup>60</sup>

In this context, among these,

"Rim-join" (nemīsandhānaka): both flaps are wide, long, and equal.

"Lotus-splittable" (*utpalabhedyaka*): both flaps are round, long, and equal.

"Dried flesh" (vallūraka): both flaps are short, round, and equal.

"Fastening" (āsaṅgima): one flap is longer on the inside.

"Cheek-ear" (gaṇḍakarṇa): one flap is longer on the outside. 61

"Take-away" (āhārya): the flaps are missing, in fact, on both sides.

"Ready-split" (*nirvedhima*): the flaps are like a dais (*pītha*).

"Multi-joins" (*vyāyojima*): one flap is small, the other thick, one flap is equal, the other unequal.

"Door-hinge" (*kapāṭasandhika*): the flap on the inside is long, the other is small.

"Half door-hinge" (*ardhakapāṭasandhika*): the flap on the outside is long, the other is small.

<sup>(</sup>sīsaka) and should have the shape of the datura flower (dhattūrapuṣpa).

Dalhaṇa on 1.16.9 (Su 1938: 77) notes that the word doṣa here can refer to either a humour, such as wind  $(v\bar{a}ta)$ , as we have understood it, or a disease generated from a humour.

<sup>59</sup> The Nepalese version uses the word *sandhāna* to refer to joining a split in an ear flap, which is consistent with the terminology in the verse cited above (8). However, 1.16.10 of Dalhana's version (Su 1938: 77) uses the term *bandha* here and at the very beginning of the chapter (i.e., 1.16.1) to introduce the topic of repairing the ear.

<sup>60</sup> For an artist's impression of these different kinds of joins in the ear flap, see Majno 1975: 290 (reproduced as Figure 3.2 in Wujastyk 2003: 154).

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

These ten options (*vikalpa*) for joins (*sandhi*) of the ear should be bound. They can mostly be explained as resembling their names. The five from compressed (*saṃkṣipta*) on are incurable. Among these, "compressed" has a dry ear canal and the other flap is small. "Reduced ear" has flaps that have no base and have wasted flesh on their edges. "Creeper-ear" has flaps that are thin and uneven. "Stick-ear" has lumpy (*granthita*) flesh and the flaps are stretched thin and have stiff (*stabdha*) ducts (*sirā*). "Crow-lip" has a flap without flesh with compressed (*saṃkṣipta*) tips and little blood. Even when they are bound up, they do not heal because they are hot, inflamed, suppurating (*srāva*), or swollen. 4

A person wishing to perform any of these joins should therefore gather together the supplies prepared according to the recommendations of the 'Preparatory Supplies' chapter. And in particular, he should gather decanted liquor (surāmaṇḍa), milk, water, fermented rice-water (dhānyāmla), and powdered earthenware crockery (kapālacūrna).

Next, he should prepare the woman or man, who have had the ends of their hair tied up, have eaten lightly, and are firmly supported by qualified attendants.

Then, he should ready the bindings (bandha) and carry out the procedure with cutting (chedya), splitting (bhedya), scarification (lekhya), or piercing (vya-dhana). Then, he should examine the blood of the ear to know whether it is tainted (dusta) or not. If it is tainted by wind, the ear should be bathed with fermented rice-water (dhanyamla) and water; if tainted by choler, then cold water and milk should be used; if tainted by phlegm, then decanted liquor

<sup>62</sup> Cakrapāṇidatta on 1.16.9–13 (Su 1939: 128–129) and Dalhaṇa on 1.16.10 (Su 1938: 77–78) provide examples of how the names of these joins describe their shapes. For example, the rim-join (nemīsandhānaka) is similar to the join of the rim of a wheel (cakradhārā).

<sup>63</sup> Dalhaṇa on 1.16.10 (Su 1938: 77–78) mentions that some do not read the statement that only five are incurable, and they understand the causes of unsuccessful joins given below (i.e., heat, inflammation, suppuration and swelling) as also pertaining to the first ten when they do heal.

<sup>64</sup> The version of 1.16.11–14 known to Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 78) has four verses (śloka) at this point that are not in the Nepalese manuscripts. The additional verses iterate the types of joins required for ear flaps that are missing, elongated, thick, wide, etc. All four verses were probably absent in the version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* known to Cakrapāṇidatta. See the introduction for a discussion of this. [CROSS REF?]

<sup>65</sup> Suśrutasamhitā 1.5 (Su 1938: 18-23).

The term *kapālacūrņa* is unusual. Palhaṇa (Su 1938: 79) defines it as the powder of fragments of fresh earthen pots and Cakrapānidatta (Su 1939: 129) as the powder of earthenware vessels.

( $sur\bar{a}manda$ ) and water should be used, and then he should scarify it again. Then, arranging the join in the ear so that it is neither proud, depressed, nor uneven, one should make the join. Having seen that the blood has stopped, one should anoint it with honey and ghee, bandage each ear with cotton (picu) and gauze (prota), and bind it up with a thread, neither too tightly nor too loosely. Then, the earthenware powder should be sprinkled on, and medical advice ( $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rika$ ) given. And he should supplement with food as taught in the 'Two Wound' chapter. <sup>67</sup>

- One should avoid rubbing, sleeping during the day, exercise, overeating, sex, getting hot by a fire, or the effort of speaking.
- One should not make a join when the blood is too pure, too copious, or too thin. For when the ear is tainted by wind, then it is obstructed by blood (raktabaddha), unhealed and will peel. When tainted with choler, is becomes pinched (gāḍha), septic (pāka) and red. When tainted by phlegm, it will be stiff (stabdha) and itchy. It has excessively copious suppuration (srāva) and is sopha (puffed up). It has it has a small amount of wasted (kṣīṇa) flesh and it will not grow. 69
- When the ear is properly healed and there are no complications, one may very gradually start to expand it. Otherwise, it may be inflamed (*saṃrambha*), burning, septic or painful. It may even split open again.
- Now, massage for the healthy ear, in order to enlarge it.

  One should gather as much as one can the following: a monitor lizard (godhā<sup>70</sup>), scavenging (pratuda) and seed-eating (viṣkira) birds, and creatures that live in marshes or water,<sup>71</sup> fat, marrow, milk, and sesame oil, and white mustard oil.<sup>72</sup> Then cook the oil with an admixture (prativāpa) of the

<sup>67</sup> Suśrutasaṃhitā 4.1 (Su 1938: 396-408).

<sup>68 1.16.17</sup> of Þalhaṇa's version (Su 1938: 79) reads "impure" for the Nepalese "too pure," which would appear to make better medical sense. Emending the text to *nāśuddha*- for *nātiśuddha*- in the Nepalese recension would yield the same meaning as the Þalhaṇa's version.

<sup>69</sup> In his edition of *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, Ācārya (Su 1938: 79 n. 1) includes in parentheses the following treatment for these conditions, which according to a footnote is not found in the palm-leaf manuscript he used: 'One should sprinkle it with raw sesame oil for three days and one should renew the cotton bandage after three days' (āmatailena trirātraṃ pariṣecayet trirātrāc ca picuṃ parivartayet).

<sup>70</sup> Varanus bengalensis, Schneider (Daniel 1983:58)

<sup>71</sup> For such classifications, see Zimmermann (1999) and Smith (1994).

<sup>72 1.16.19</sup> of Þalhaṇa's version (Su 1938: 79) includes ghee (sarpis). However, Þalhaṇa's remarks on 1.16.19 and Cakrapāṇidatta's on 1.16.18 (Su 1939: 130) indicate that they knew a version of this recipe (perhaps, similar to the Nepalese) that does not have ghee. Þalhaṇa

following: purple calotropis ( $arka^{73}$ ), white calotropis ( $alarka^{74}$ ), country mallow ( $bal\bar{a}^{75}$ ), 'strong Indian mallow' ( $atibal\bar{a}^{76}$ ), country sarsaparilla ( $anant\bar{a}^{77}$ ) beggarweed ( $vid\bar{a}ri^{78}$ ), liquorice (madhuka), hornwort ( $jalas\bar{u}ka \rightarrow jalan\bar{\imath}lik\bar{a}^{79}$ ), items having the 'sweet' savour ( $madhuravarga^{80}$ ) and 'milk flower'( $payasy\bar{a} \rightarrow vid\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}^{81}$ ). This should then be deposited in a well-protected spot.

- The wise man who has been sweated should rub the massaged (*mardita*) ear with it. Then it will be free of complications, and will enlarge properly and be strong.<sup>82</sup>
- Ears which do not enlarge even when sweated and oiled, should be scarified at the edge of the hole ( $ap\bar{a}nga$ ), but not outside it.<sup>83</sup>
- In this tradition, experts know countless repairs to ears. So a physician who is very intent (*suniviṣṭa*) on working in this way may repair (*yojayed*) them. <sup>84</sup>

also notes that others simply read four oils, beginning with fat and without milk, whereas Cakrapāṇidatta says some read that it is made with four oils and milk.

- 73 Calotropis gigantea, (L.) R. Br. (ADPS 52, AVS 1.341, NK #427, Potter 57, ID 306)
- 74 Calotropis procera, (Ait.) R. Br. (NK #428, GIMP 46b, ID 306)
- 75 Sida cordifolia, L. (ADPS 71, NK #2297)
- 76 Abutilon indicum, (L.) Sweet; Sida rhombifolia, L.? (NK #11, IGP ,4 1080; NK #2300)
- 77 Hemidesmus indicus, (L.) R. Br. (ADPS 434, AVS 3.141-5, NK #1210)
- 78 Desmodium gangeticum (L.) DC (Dymock 1.428, GJM 602, cf. NK #1192; ADPS 382, 414 and IMP 2.319, 4.366 are confusing)
- Ceratophyllum demersum, L. (IMP 2371, AVS 2.56, IGP 232). This name is not certain. In fact, Dalhana on 1.16.19 (Su 1938: 79) notes that some people interpret it as a poisonous, hairy, air-breathing, underwater creature.
- 80 The items which exemplify the 'sweet' savour (madhuravarga) are enumerated at SS.1.42.11.
- 81 Pueraria tuberosa (Willd.) DC. (ADPS 510, IMP 1.792f., AVS 4.391; not Dymock 1.424f. See GJM supplement 444, 451, IMP 1.187, but IMP 3.1719 = Ipmoea mauritiana, Jacq.). The version of 1.16.19 known to Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 79) adds several ingredients to this admixture, including apāmārga, aśvagandhā, kṣīraśuklā, madhuravarga and payasyā. Also, it has vidārigandhā instead of vidāri. When commenting on 1.16.19, Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 79) notes that some do not read madhuravarga and payasyā. Therefore, there were probably other versions of this recipe with fewer ingredients, as seen in the Nepalese version.
- For these aims (i.e., healing and enlarging the ear), the text known to Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 79) has an additional verse and a half describing an ointment for rubbing the ear (*udvartana*) and sesame oil (*taila*) cooked with various medicines for massage. Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 131) does not comment on these verses, nor verse 15 of the Nepalese version, and so the version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* known to him may not have included them.
- 83 Dalhaṇa's version of 1.16.23 adds another hemistich that states more explicitly that the scarification should not be done on the outside of hole as it will cause derangement.
- 84 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

- 18 If an ear has grown hair, has a nice hole, a firm join, and is strong and even, well-healed, and free from pain, then one can enlarge it slowly.<sup>85</sup>
- Now I shall describe the proper method of repairing a severed nose. First, take from the trees a leaf the same size as the man's nose and hang it on him.
- Next, having cut a slice of flesh (*vadhra*)<sup>86</sup> with the same measurements off the cheek, the end of the nose is then scarified.<sup>87</sup> Then the undistracted (*apramatta*) physician, should quickly put it back together so that it is well joined (*sādhubaddha*).
- Having carefully observed that it has been well sown up, two tubes should be fixed in place.<sup>88</sup> Then, having lifted them up,<sup>89</sup> the powder of sappanwood ( $patt\bar{a}nga^{90}$ ), liquorice ( $yast\bar{l}madhuka^{91}$ ), and Indian barberry<sup>92</sup> should be applied to it.

añjana

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 Palhaṇa (Su 1938: 80) state that some read about the diseases of the ear lobes in this chapter whereas others read about them in the chapter on various treatments (*miśrakacikitsa*) (SS 5.25), which does indeed begin with a discussion of the disease *paripoṭa*. Palhaṇa goes on to say that some believe that these verses were not composed by sages and, therefore, do not read them.

- 85 The order of verses 17 and 18 are reversed in Dalhana's version (Su 1938: 80).
- 86 The version of 1.16.28b known to Dalhana (Su 1938: 81) reads bound, connected (baddham) instead of slice of flesh (vadhra). This is a critical variant from the surgical point of view. If the slice remains connected, it will have a continuing blood supply. This is one of the effective techniques that so astonished surgeons witnessing a similar operation in Pune in the eighteenth century (see Wujastyk 2003: 67–70).
- 87 Or 1.16.20 could be mean, '... off the cheek, it is fixed to the end of the nose, which has been scarified.' Unfortunately, the Sanskrit of the Nepalese version is not unambiguous on the important point of whether or not the flap of grafted skin remains connected to its original site on the cheek. However, Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 81) clarifies the meaning of the vulgate here by stating that one should supply the word 'flesh' when reading 'connected,' thus indicating that he understood the flesh to be connected to the face.
- Palhaṇa on 1.16.21 (Su 1938: 81) notes that the two tubes should be made of reed (*nala*) or the stalk of the leaf of castor oil plant (*eraṇḍapatranāla*). They should not be made of lead or betel nut because the weight will cause them to slip down.
- 89 The Sanskrit term *unnāmayitvā* in 1.16.21 is non-Pāninian.
- Gaesalpinia sappan, L. (AVS 1.323, IMP 2.847f.). For *pattāṅga* there are manuscript variants *pattrāṅga* (MS H) and *pattaṅga* (N). Also, MS K (f. 14r:1) has *pattrāṅga* in a verse in 1.14 (cf. 1.14.36, Su 1938: 66). In the text known to Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 81), 1.16.29 has *pataṅga*, and this term is propagated in modern dictionaries.
- 91 Glycyrrhiza glabra, L. (AVS 3.84, NK #1136)
- 92 Berberis aristata, DC (Dymock 1.65, NK #685, GJM 562, IGP 141). Dalhana (Su 1938: 81) understands it as Elixir salve (rasāñjana).

- The wound should be covered properly with cotton (picu) and should be moistened repeatedly with sesame oil. Ghee should be given to the man to drink. His digestion being complete, he should be oiled and purged in accordance with the instructions specific to him.<sup>93</sup>
- And once healed and really come together, what is left of that slice of flesh (vadhra) should then be trimmed. If it is reduced ( $h\bar{\imath}na$ ), however, one should make an effort to stretch it, and one should make its overgrown flesh smooth.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>93</sup> The expression *svayathopadeśa* is ungrammatical but supported in all available witnesses.

<sup>94</sup> Dalhana (Su 1938: 81) accepts a verse following this, which points out that the procedure for joining the nose is similar to that of joining the lips without fusing the ducts. He notes that earlier teachers did not think this statement on the nose and lips was made by sages, but includes it because it was accepted by Jejjata, Gayadāsa and others. However, Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 133) does not comment on this additional verse, which suggests that either he did not know of it or was not inclined to accept it.

### Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 28

Thus, living creatures and their strength, complexion (*varṇa*) and energy (*ojas*) are rooted in food. That (food) depends on the six flavours (*rasa*). Thus, the flavours depend on substance (*dravya*), and substances depend on medicinal herbs. There are two kinds of them (herbs): stationary and mobile.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>95 1.1.28 (</sup>Su 1938: 7), tr. P. V. Sharma 1999–2001*b*: I, 21.

### Kalpasthāna, adhyāya 1

The first chapter of the Kalpasthāna of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* addresses the topic of protecting a king from those who would assassinate him using poison. The king's kitchen is presented as the site of greatest vulnerability. The staff in the kitchen must be vetted carefully and watched for signs of dissimulation. The description of the body-language that tells a poisoner (verses 18–25) are engaging and vivid. These verses are closely parallel in sense to a passage in the *Arthaśāstra* that says,

The signs of a poisoner, on the other hand, are as follows: dry and dark look on the face, stuttering speech, excessive perspiration and yawning, trembling, stumbling, looking around while speaking, agitation while working, and not remaining in his place.<sup>96</sup>

Next, the text discusses the signs of poison in toothbrushes, in food, drink, massage oil and other items that are likely to come into physical contact with the king. In passages that are again paralleled in the *Arthaśāstra* the work describes how poisoned food kills insects and crackles in a fire, flashing blue and the reactions of various birds to poison are described.<sup>97</sup>

The work then moves on to the various symptoms experienced by the king after being poisoned, and remedies appropriate to each case. Poison exhibits characteristic signs when added to milk and other drinks.<sup>98</sup> Further forms of poisoning, their symptoms and treatments are described and finally the king is advised to live amongst trusted friends and to protect his heart by drinking various ghee compounds. He should eat the meat and soup made from various animals, including peacock, mongoose, alligator, deer. The chapter ends with the description of an emetic.

#### Literature

A brief survey of this chapter's contents and a detailed assessment of the existing research on it to 2002 was provided by Meulenbeld. Translations of this chapter since 2000 have appeared by Wujastyk (2003: 131-139), P. V. Sharma (1999–2001 b: 3, 1–15), and Srikantha Murthy (2000–2).

<sup>96</sup> Arthaśāstra 1.21.8 (Kangle 1969: 1, 30), translation by Olivelle (2013: 97).

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Arthaśāstra 1.21.6, ibid., Olivelle (2013: 96).

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Arthaśāstra 1.21.6 again.

<sup>99</sup> HIML: IA, 289-290.

<sup>100</sup> For a bibliography of translations to 2002, including Latin (1847), English (1877), Gujarati (1963) and Japanese (1971), see HIML: IB, 314–315.

More recently, a discussion of the fourth chapter of this section in the light of the Nepalese manuscripts was published by Harimoto. After a close comparative reading of lists of poisonous snakes, Harimoto concluded that, "the Nepalese version is internally consistent while the [vulgate] editions are not." Harimoto showed how the vulgate editions, had been adjusted textually to smooth over inconsistencies, and gave insights into these editorial processes. 102

### Manuscript notes

• MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 has foliation letter numerals, for example on f. 323a, that are similar to MS Cambridge Add. 1693,<sup>103</sup> dated to 1165 CE noted in Bendall's chart of Nepalese letter-numerals Bendall 1883: Lithograph V, after p. 225

<sup>101</sup> Harimoto 2011: 101–104.

<sup>102</sup> The two editions that Harimoto noted, Su 1938 and Su 1889, present identical texts.

<sup>103</sup> Scan at cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01693/1.

#### **Translation**

- 1–2 And now I shall explain the procedures for safeguarding food and drink, as were declared by the Venerable Dhanvantari. 104
  - 3 Divodāsa, the king of the earth, was the foremost supporter of religious discipline and virtue. With unblemished instruction he taught his students, of whom Suśruta was the leader.<sup>105</sup>

### [Threats to the king]

- 4–5 Evil-hearted enemies who have plucked up their courage, may seek to harm the king, who knows nothing of it. He may be assailed with poisons by or by his own people who have been subverted, wishing to pour the poison of their anger into any vulnerability they can find. 106
  - 6 Therefore, a king should always be protected from poison by a physician.
  - 7 The racehorse-like fickleness of men's minds is well known. And for this reason, a king should never trust anyone. 107
- 8–11 He should employ a doctor in his kitchen (*mahānasa*) who is respected by experts, who belongs to a good family, is orthodox, sympathetic, not emaciated, and always busy.
  - 104 MS H adds in the margin अथ खल वत्स सुश्रुतः "Now begins Vatsa Suśruta." This phrase has been copied here by the scribe from the beginning of the Suśrutasamhitā chapter in the sūtrasthāna on the rules about food and drink (1.46.3 (Su 1938: 214)). The scribe presumably felt, not unreasonably, that this section had common subject matter with the present chapter. Further, SS 1.46.3 is the only place in the Nepalese transmission of the Suśrutasamhitā that names Dhanvantari and integrates him into the narrative of the Suśrutasamhitā as the teacher of Suśruta.
    - The mention of Dhanvantari here is the only other time in the Nepalese transmission that this authority is cited as the source of Ayurvedic teaching, and the unique occurrence of this actual phrase, "as was declared by the Venerable Dhanvantari." See the discussion by Klebanov (2021a: 28–32), who concludes that the earliest recoverable recension of the *Su-śrutasaṃhitā* may have had the phrase only at this point and not elsewhere in the work. See the further discussion by Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. (2021).
  - 105 This is a quite different statement from the vulgate which has Dhanvantari as the teacher, and calls him the Lord of Kāśī (kāśipati) (Su 1938: 559). Dalhaṇa followed the vulgate but explicitly noted the reading before us with small differences: दिवोदासः क्षितिपतिस्तपोधमेश्रुताकरः "Divodāsa, the king of the earth, was a mine of traditions about discipline and virtue."
  - 106 Verses about the use of Venemous Virgins as a weapon do not appear in the Nepalese manuscripts. Cf. Wujastyk 2003: 81 f., 132. This material is present in the commentary of Gayadāsa.
  - 107 The verb  $\sqrt{\text{syas}}$  is conjugated as a first class root in the Nepalese manuscripts.

- The kitchen should be constructed at a recommended location and orientation. It should have a lot of light, <sup>108</sup> have clean utensils and be staffed by men and women who have been vetted. <sup>109</sup>
- 17–18ab The chefs, bearers (*voḍhāra*), and makers of boiled rice soups and cakes and whoever else might be there, must all be under the strict control of the doctor. 110
- An expert knows people's body language (*ingita*) through abnormalities in voice, movement and facial expression. He should be able to identify a poisoner by the following signs.
  - Wanting to speak, he gets confused, when asked a question, he never arrives at an answer, and he talks a lot of confused nonsense, like a fool. He laughs for no reason, cracks his knuckles and scratches at the ground. He gets the shakes and glances nervously from one person to another. His face is drained of colour, he is grimy (*dhyāma*) and he cuts at things with his nails.<sup>111</sup> A poisoner goes the wrong way and is absent-minded.
    - I shall explain the signs to look for in toothbrush twigs, in food and drink as well as in massage oil (*abhyanga*) and combs (*avalekhana*); in dry rubs (*utsādana*) and showers, in decoctions (*kaṣāya*) and massage ointment (*anulepana*); in garlands (*sraj*), clothes, beds, armour and ornaments; in slippers and footstools, and on the backs of elephants and horses; in nasya (*snuff*), inhaled smoke (*dhūma*), eye make-up (*añjana*), etc., and any other things which are commonly poisoned. Then, I shall also explain the remedy.
      - Flies or crows or other creatures that eat a poisonous morsel (*bali*) served from the king's portion, die on the spot.
      - Such food makes a fire crackle violently, and gives it an overpowering colour like a peacock's throat.
    - 30–33 After a chukar partridge looks at food which has poison mingled with it, its eyes are promptly drained of colour; a peacock pheasant drops dead. A koel

Cf. Arthaśāstra

<sup>108</sup> We read महच्छुचिः with the Nepalese manuscripts and against the vulgate's महच्छुचि. We understand श्रुचिस as a neuter noun meaning "light" following Apte (Apte: 1050a).

<sup>109</sup> Verses detailing the ideal staff are omitted in the Nepalese manuscripts. Cf. Su 1938: 560; Wujastyk 2003: 132.

<sup>110</sup> The word सौपोदनैकपूपिक "chefs for the boiled rice soups and cakes" is grammatically interesting. The term सूपोदन (as opposed to सूपोदन) is attested in the *Bodhāyanīyagṛhyasūtra* 2.10.54 (Shastri 1920: 68). More pertinently, perhaps, सूपोदन is attested in the Bower Manuscript, part II, leaf 11r, line 3 (Hoernle 1893–1912: vol. 1, p. 43).

<sup>111</sup> The word ध्याम is glossed by Dalhana (in a variant reading) as someone who is the colour of dirty clothes 5.1 (Su 1938: 560).

- changes its song and the common crane rises up excitedly.<sup>112</sup> It will excite a peacock and the terrified parakeet and the hill myna screech. The swan trembles very much, and the racket-tailed drongo churrs.<sup>113</sup> The chital deer sheds tears and the monkey releases excrement.<sup>114</sup>
- Vapour rising from tainted food gives rise to a pain in the heart, it makes the eyes roll, and it gives one a headache. 115
- 35, 36cd In such a case, an errhine and a collyrium that are costus, lāmajja grass ( $l\bar{a}$ -majja), spikenard (nalada) and honey (madhus); <sup>116</sup> a paste of sandalwood on the heart may also provide relief. <sup>117</sup>
  - Held in the hand, it makes the hand burn, and the nails fall out. In such a case, the ointment (pralepa) is beautyberry ( $\acute{s}y\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ ), velvet-mite (indragopa), soma and water-lily (utpala). 118
  - 38-39 If he eats that food, through inattention or by mistake, then his tongue will
    - 112 The verb अर्च्छीत "rises up" is a rare form best known from epic Sanskrit (see Oberlies 2003: 212, §7.6.1). The transmitted form कोञ्च is obviously a colloquial version of Sanskrit कोञ्च. Commenting on 1.7.10 (Su 1938: 31), Dalhaṇa interestingly gives the colloquial versions of several Sanskrit bird names, even singling out pronunciation in the specific location of Kānyakubja. For कोञ्च he says that people pronounce it कुरञ्ज and कोचि. The form कोञ्च is found in Pāli (see Cone 2001: 731, who notes that Ardhamāgadhī has the same form). Elsewhere, Dalhaṇa calls the bird कोञ्चिर, कोञ्चि, and कैचर (1.46.105 (Su 1938: 223), 6.31.154 (Su 1938: 684) and (6.58.44 (Su 1938: 790) respectively).
    - 113 Dalhana seemed confused about the racket-tailed drongo (মূর্ন্বার). He called it a generic drongo (ম্বন্বার), a word that can also mean "bee," (Dave 1985: 62), and then said that it is like the black drongo (মূন্বার) (for a nice explanation of this name, see Dave 1985: 62–63) and that people call it "the king of birds."
    - 114 MS Kathmandu KL 699 reads "bull (वृषभ)" for "Chital deer (पृषत)." The latter may perhaps be mistaken for the former in the Newa script, although the reading of MS Kathmandu KL 699 is hard to read at this point.
    - "Tainted" translates उपिक्षित. The word's semantic field includes "to hurl, throw against," and especially "to insult verbally, insinuate, accuse." The commentator Palhana glossed the term as, "spoiled food given to be eaten" (विदूषितस्यान्नस्य भोकुं दत्तस्य), but he noted that some people read "उखाक्षित" or "thrown into a pan." Other translators have commonly translated it as "served," perhaps influenced by Palhana's "given (दत्त)."
    - 116 The vulgate supplies another phrase and verb at this point that is not present in the Nepalese transmission, but that makes the text flow more easily.
    - sing-1972empty citation discussed the difficulties in identifying নামজ, a plant cited more often in the Suśrutasaṃhitā than in the Carakasaṃhitā; Dalhaṇa adopted the common view that it is a type of uśīra or vetiver grass. The grammatical neuter form मधुस "sweetness" of the Nepalese manuscripts is less common than neuter मधु "honey, sweetness, liquorice."
    - 118 "Beautyberry" (*Callicarpa macrophylla* Vahl.) is one identification of **स्यामा**, but vaidyas and commentators have different ideas about the plant's identity (see **sing-1972**AVS: 1: 334; Nadkarni 1954: #420).

- feel like a pebble ( $aṣṭh\bar{\imath}l\bar{a}$ ) and it will lose its sense of taste. It stings and burns, and his saliva (śleṣman) dribbles out.<sup>119</sup> In such a case, he should apply the treatment recommended above for vapour ( $b\bar{a}ṣpa$ ), and what will be stated below under "toothbrush twigs".<sup>120</sup>
- 40 On reaching his stomach, it causes stupor  $(m\bar{u}rcch\bar{a})$ , vomiting, the hair stands on end, there is distension, a burning feeling and an impairment of the senses.<sup>121</sup>
- In this case, vomiting must quickly be induced using the fruits of emetic nut (madana), bitter gourd ( $al\bar{a}bu$ ), red gourd ( $bimb\bar{\iota}$ ), and luffa ( $kos\bar{\iota}tak\bar{\iota}$ ), taken with milk and watered buttermilk ( $uda\acute{s}vit$ ), or alternatively with rice-water.
- Reaching the intestines (*pakvāśaya*), it causes a burning feeling, stupor, diarrhoea, thirst, impairment of the senses, flatulence (*āṭopa*) and it makes him pallid and thin.
- In such a case, purgation with the fruit of indigo  $(n\bar{\imath}l\bar{\imath})$ , together with ghee, is best. And 'slow-acting poison antidote  $(d\bar{u}\bar{\imath}\bar{\imath}vi\bar{\imath}ari)$ ' should be drunk with honey and curds (dadhi).<sup>122</sup>

On translating इन्द्रगोप as "velvet-mite," see Lienhard 1978. Dalhaṇa's remarks show that he had a reading इन्द्रागोपा before him, and he tries to explain इन्द्रा and गोपा as separate plants. But he also says that some people read इन्द्रगोप.

Dalhaṇa curiously parsed the name सोमा (f.) out of the compound; this feminine noun is almost unknown to Ayurvedic literature. Some dictionaries and commentators consider it a synonym for गुड्ची, others for बाह्मी or चन्द्रतरु. Dalhaṇa also mentioned that some people think the word refers to the soma creeper (सोमलता), which might explain his choice to take the word as feminine. But the compounded word is far more likely to be सोम (m.), the well-known mystery plant (see Wujastyk 2003: 76–78, 125). If this can be taken as rue (Ruta graveolens, L.), as some assert, one can point to a pleasing passage in Dioscorides where rue plays an antitoxic role: "...it is a counterpoison of serpents, the stinging of Scorpions, Bees, Hornets and Wasps; and it is reported that if a man be anointed with the juice of the Rue, these will not hurt him; and that the serpent is driven away at the smell thereof when it is burned; insomuch that when the weasel is to fight with the serpent she armeth herself by eating Rue, against the might of the serpent" (cited from Wren 1956: 262; not found in Osbaldeston and Wood 2000).

- 119 The word अष्टील is normally feminine. The Nepalese manuscripts read it with a short अending. Gayadāsa noticed that some manuscripts read अष्टील with a short -अ ending (MS
  Bikaner RORI 5157, f. 5v:7–8) and Dalhaṇa reproduced his observation. The vulgate reading
  "from his mouth (चास्यात)" is more obvious (lectio facilior), but is not attested in the Nepalese
  manuscripts.
- 120 Poisoned toothbrushes are discussed in verses 48 ff. below.
- 121 I translate मूच्छों in the light of the metaphors discussed by Meulenbeld (2011), that include thickening and losing consciousness.
- 122 The 'slow-acting poison' is discussed at  $5.2.25\,\mathrm{ff.}$  (Su 1938: 565).

- When poison is in any liquid substances such as milk, wine or water, there are various streaks, and foam and bubbles form.
- And no reflections are visible or, however, if they can be seen once more, they are distorted, fractured, or tenuous and distorted too. 123
- Vegetables, soups, food and meat are soggy and tasteless. They seem to go stale suddenly, and they have no aroma.
- 47 All edibles lack aroma, colour or taste. Ripe fruits rapidly rot ( $pra\sqrt{kuth}$ ) and unripe ones ripen.<sup>124</sup>
- When a toothbrush twig has poison on it, the bristles are corroded and the flesh of the tongue, gums and lips swells up. 125
- Then, once his swelling is lanced, one should rub ( $pratis\bar{a}rana$ ) it with fire-flame bush flowers ( $dh\bar{a}tak\bar{t}puspa$ ), jambul ( $jamb\bar{u}$ ), mango stones ( $\bar{a}mr\bar{a}sthi$ ) and chebulic myrobalan ( $har\bar{t}tak\bar{t}$ ) fruit mixed with honey. 126
- Alternatively, the rubbing (*pratisāraṇa*) can be done with either the roots of sage-leaved alangium (*aṅkolla*), the bark of blackboard tree (*saptachada*) or siris seeds (*śirīṣamāṣaka*).<sup>127</sup>
- One should give advice about a poisoned tongue-scraper or mouthwash (*ka-vala*) in the same way as for a toothbrush twig.
- 51cd Massage oil that has been laced with poison is slimy, thick and discoloured.
  - When the massage oil has been contaminated with poison, boils arise, pain, a discharge ( $sr\bar{a}va$ ), inflammation of the skin, and sweating. And the flesh ( $m\bar{a}msa$ ) splits open.
    - 123 Both Nepalese witnesses read विकृत (distorted) twice, which is tautologous. In the first occurrence both read विकृता without proper termination. One might read the sandhi in the second occurrence as or not distorted (vāvikṛtā), but this gives no better sense. The scribe of MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333, apparently the original hand, added in the margin the alternate reading "double (yamalā)" as in the vulgate. Perhaps the scribe too was troubled by the tautology. It is also evidence that he was aware of a witness with variant readings similar to the vulgate. We emend for grammar but retain the lectio difficilior.
    - 124 The root  $\sqrt{3}$  stink, putrify, rot" is apparently known only from its few uses in the *Suśruta-saṃhitā*.
    - 125 Gayadāsa and Dalhaṇa point out that "enclosure of a tooth (दन्तवेष्ट)" and "flesh of the tooth (दन्तमांस)" have the same meaning (2.16.14–26 (Su 1938: 331–332)).
    - 126 This recipe is different from the vulgate.
    - 127 The spelling of the name অন্ধ্রান্ত varies অন্ধ্রাট, অন্ধ্রাট, অন্ধ্রাট (sing-1972); Dalhaṇa notes that the form অন্ধ্রান্ত is a colloquialism (1.37.12 (Su 1938: 161)). The sentence is awkward and we have emended হিার্বাঘদাঘন to be a plural, as in the vulgate, rather than the ablative singular of the Nepalese witnesses. We follow Dalhaṇa in interpreting the compound to refer to the distinctive bean-like siris seeds, rather than to mung beans (माषक) (5.1.50 (Su 1938: 562)).
    - 128 The feminine स्फोटा for "boils" is unattested.

I'm still unhappy about

Mention this in the introduction as an example of the scribe knowing the vulgate.

fn about sadvas+

- In such a case, sandalwood, Indian rose-bay (tagara), <sup>129</sup> costus, and vetiver grass ( $u\acute{s}\bar{\imath}ra$ ), bamboo leaves ( $venupatrik\bar{a}$ ), heart-leaved moonseed ( $somavall\bar{\imath}$ ) and calamine ( $amrt\bar{a}$ ), white clitoria ( $\acute{s}vet\bar{a}$ ), sacred lotus (padma), and Indian barberry ( $k\bar{a}l\bar{\imath}yaka$ ) should be made into an ointment (anulepana) for the patient, who has been sprinkled with cold water. That is also recommended as a drink with the juice and leaves of wood apple (kapittha). <sup>130</sup>
  - In the case of a dry rub (*utsādana*), a shower (*parīṣeka*), an infusion, a massage ointment (*anulepana*), or in beds, clothes, or armour, the physician should understand that it is the same as for massage (*abhyanga*).<sup>131</sup>
- When a comb has poison in it, the hair falls out, the head aches and blood oozes from the follicles (*kha*) and lumps (*granthi*) appear on the head. In such a case, one should repeatedly apply an ointment of black earth soaked with bear's bile, <sup>132</sup> ghee, beautyberry ( $\dot{s}y\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ ), <sup>133</sup> black creeper ( $p\bar{a}lind\bar{\iota}$ ) and amaranth ( $tandul\bar{\iota}yaka$ ). Good alternatives are either the fluid extract of cowdung, or the juice of jasmine ( $m\bar{a}lat\bar{\iota}$ ), the juice of woodrose ( $m\bar{u}sikakarn\bar{\iota}$ ), or household soot. <sup>134</sup>

Bear's bile instead of deer's bile.

- If either massage oil for the head, or a helmet for the head, in a wash, turban, or garlands that are contaminated with poison, then one should treat it in the same way as a comb.
- When face make-up is poisoned, the face becomes dark and has the symptoms found with poisoned massage oil. It is covered with spots (*kaṇṭaka*) that are like lotus-spots (*padminīkaṇṭaka*). In this case, the drink is honey and ghee, and the ointment (*pralepa*) is sandalwood with ghee, curds (*payasyā*),

<sup>129</sup> Some say तगर is Indian valerian, but there remain many historical questions about the ancient and regional identities of this plant (sing-1972)[334]avs.

<sup>130</sup> This compound could be interpreted as "wood apple juice and cassia cinnamon (*patra*)." Note that this recipe is differs from that of the vulgate, which requires urine.

<sup>131</sup> See verse 52 above.

<sup>132</sup> Dalhaṇa comments here that 'bile is that fluid which goes along inside the tube attached to the liver' (কান্তবেण্डलग्रनलिकामध्यगतजलं पित्तम्) 5.1.57 (Su 1938: 562).

<sup>133</sup> See note 118.

<sup>134</sup> The plant identifications in this passage follow Palhaṇa's glosses, although he noted a difference of opinion on the identity of mouse-ear (mūṣikakarṇī). sing-1972ADPS: 23–25 discussed this issue well.

The expression धूमो वागारसंज्ञितः '...or the smoke termed "house" is commonly interpreted by translators and in Ayurvedic dictionaries as 'household soot,' and this does seem to be the meaning, in context. The term was comprehensively discussed by Meulenbeld (2008: 443).

<sup>135</sup> See the description of this condition at 2.13.40 (Su 1938: 323), where the skin on the face is characterized as having pale circular patches that are itchy and have spots.

honey, verbena (phañjī), scarlet mallow (bandhujīva) and hogweed (punarnavā).136

in the N & K

śrita for śṛta

- Elephants and the like become ill and they dribble saliva. And the rider gets 62-63ab spots (sphota) and a discharge on his scrotum, penis, and rectum. In this case, one prescribes the same therapy as for poisoned massage oil for both the rider and the mount.
- 63cd-65ab When there is poison in snuff (nasya) or smoke, the symptom (linga) is blood coming out of the apertures of the head (kha), a headache, a flow of mucus (kapha) and impairment of the senses.

In such a case, ghee of cows etc., boiled up with their milk and atis roots (ativis $\bar{a}$ ), is prescribed, with henna (madayantik $\bar{a}$ ), as a cold drink or errhine.

Flowers lose their fragrance and colour, and wilt. On smelling them, he gets a headache and his eyes fill with water. In this case, the treatment is what was proposed above for vapour ( $b\bar{a}spa$ ) and that which is traditional for face

make-up.

65cd-66

When it is in ear-oil, there is degeneration in the ear, and painful swelling. 67 - 68There is also a discharge from the ear and in such a case it needs to be irrigated (pratipūrana) promptly with ghee and honey. Extracted juice (svarasa) of wild asparagus (bahuputrā) and very cold juice of white cutch tree (soma*valka*) are also recommended as something good. 137

explain more

- When poison is mixed in with eye make-up (añjana), he gets tears and rheum 69 (upadeha), with a burning feeling, pain, faulty vision (drstivibhrama), and possibly even blindness.138
- In this case, one must immediately drink ghee and have it also in an eyewash 70-71 (tarpaṇa) with long pepper (māgadha). One should have an eye ointment (a*ñjana*) of the juice of periploca of the woods (*mesaśrnga*) and have the extract (niryāsa) of three-leaved caper (varuna), wood apple (kapittha) and periploca of the woods (*mesaśrnga*) and the flower of marking-nut tree (*bhallātaka*).
- Because of poisoned slippers there will definitely be a swelling, numbness 72-73 (svāpa), a discharge (srāva) and an outbreak of spots (sphota) on the feet.

Medical difference from

example where the vulgate cla-rifies that these should be used sep-arately; appears to be a gloss inserted into the vulgate text.

- 136 The common plant-name पुनर्नेवा is read as पुनर्णिवा in both Nepalese witnesses. This unusual form is technically-speaking legal according to Pānini 8.4.3, but is not attested in published texts. पुनणेवा is found rarely in some other Nepalese manuscripts such as the Brahmayāmala (a.k.a. Picumata, 44.81, transcription thanks to Shaman Hatley), and elsewhere (e.g., in Gaṇapatiśāstrī 1920-5: 20, where it is the name of a constellation.
- 137 The syntax of the Nepalese version is slightly unclear, but the vulgate has smoothed out the difficulties.
- 138 The term translated as "faulty vision" could also mean "rolling eyes."

- One should clean ( $pra\sqrt{s\bar{a}dh}$ ) footstools together with slippers.
- Ornaments lose their lustre, and they do not shine as they used to. They damage their respective locations with burning, sepsis  $(p\bar{a}ka)$ , and fissuring  $(avad\bar{a}rana)$ . <sup>139</sup>
- One should apply the stated procedure for massage oil (*abhyaṅga*) to poisoned slippers and ornaments.
- 75cd–76 In the case of the affliction (*upasarga*) by poison which has been described above, starting from 'vapour' and ending with 'ornaments,' the physician should observe the side-effects (*upadrava*) and then prescribe the therapy called the Great Fragrance (*mahāsugandha*) antidote, which I shall describe. <sup>140</sup>
- 77–78ab He should prescribe it in drinks, liniments ( $\bar{a}$ lepana), errhines (nasya), and in eye ointment ( $a\tilde{n}$ jana). Also, he should use sharp purgatives and emetics. If bleeding is present, he should have the indicated veins pierced.
- 78cd–79ab If either purging nut  $(m\bar{u}$ , sik) or a fern  $(ajaruh\bar{a})$  is tied on to the King's wrist, then all food that is mixed with poison will be rendered free of poison. 141
  - 79cd–80 He should always keep his heart protected (*hṛdayāvaraṇa*) when amongst people who are not his friends. He should drink the kinds of ghee called 'Invincible' and 'Immortal'. He should drink ghee (*sarpiṣ*), honey, curds (*dadhi*), milk (*payas*), or cold water.
    - He should consume monitor lizard, peacock, mongooses, chital deer (*pṛṣata*), and blackbuck (*hariṇa*) too, that destroy poison, and their juices.

139 The reading अवदारुण in MS Kathmandu KL 699 is not attested elsewhere in Sanskrit literature. On "sepsis" for पाक, see Wujastyk 2003: xlv-xlvi.

- 140 This antidote is indeed described later, in dramatic terms, at 5.6.14–27 (Su 1938: 581). A recipe with eighty-five ingredients including cow's bile, it is praised as chief of all antidotes, one that can drag the patient back from the very jaws of death, from even the poisonous fangs of Vāsuki.
- 141 In early Ayurvedic literature, the plant স্তাক্ষা is mentioned only here and its identity is unknown. It may be a fern of the Nephrodium family, according to sing-1972empty citation. Dalhaṇa (5.1.78 (Su 1938: 563)) cited a description of the two plants from the little-known authority Uśanas (HIML: IA, 660 et passim) that described সাক্ষা as a white root with spots on it that looks like collyrium when it is split; when drunk with sandalwood it causes poison to be digested.
- 142 The *Carakasaṃhitā* described 'protecting the heart' as drinking several sweet, oily drinks to surround the heart and keep it safe (6.23.46 (Ca. 1941: 574)). Dalhaṇa explained it as taking a number of anti-toxic medicines, including those listed in the present passage, in order to cover or hide (प्रच्छादन) the heart 5.1.79–81 (Su 1938: 563).
- 143 These ghee compounds are described in later chapters: see 5.2.47-49 (Su 1938:566) and 5.6.13 (Su 1938:581).

The two uses of prāpta are hard to translate. prāptāḥ → kṣipraṃ is an example of the vulgate banalizing the Sanskrit text to make sense of a difficult passage.

√ vyadh not √ vedh (also elsewhere and for the ears), causative optative.

opposite of the vulgate Same as 1.8.89 (As 1980: 79).

- As discerning person should add well-crushed black creeper  $(p\bar{a}lind\bar{t})$ , <sup>144</sup> liquorice (madhuka), and sugar to the meats of monitor lizard  $(godh\bar{a})$ , mongoose and blackbuck (harina) too.
- 83 Add sugar and atis root (ativiṣā) to peacock flesh, together with ginger (mahauṣadha) And for meat from a chital deer (pārṣata), he should add long peppers (pippalī), with ginger (mahauṣadha).
- 84ab A cold neem broth with honey and ghee is wholesome too.

Medical difference.

- 84cd A discerning person should partake of hard and soft foods that counteract poison. 145
  - 85 If poison might have been drunk, a person who has protected his heart should make himself vomit using long pepper, liquorice, honey, sugar, sugarcane juice and water.

The first chapter in the Kalpas.

<sup>144</sup> Or some say turpeth.

<sup>145</sup> On this expression, Yagi, T. 1994. A Note on bhojya- and bhakṣya-. In: A Study of the Nīlamata. Aspects of Hinduism in Ancient Kashmir. Y. Ikari (ed.).

# Kalpasthāna, adhyāya 2

#### Introduction

This section begins with several lists of poisonous plants. The Sanskrit names for these plants are mostly not standard or familiar from anywhere in Sanskrit or ethnobotanical literature. It remains a historical puzzle why these particular names are so difficult to interpret. However, we are not the first to encounter these difficulties. In the twelfth century, the learned commentator on the text, Dalhaṇa, remarked,

In spite of having made the greatest effort, it has been impossible to identify these plants. In the Himalayan regions, Kirātas and Śabaras are able to identify them. $^{146}$ 

Palhaṇa also recorded variant readings of these poison names from the manuscripts that he consulted of the lost commentary of Gayadāsa (fl. c. ce 1000). The identities of these poisons have been in doubt for at least a thousand years. Identifications have in many cases been equally impossible for us today.

One path for exploration in this situation is to attempt to reverse-engineer some identifications by considering the known toxic plants of India. 148

#### **Translation**

- 1 And now I shall explain what should be known about stationary poisons. 149
- 3 It is said that there are two kinds of poisons, stationary (*sthāvara*) and mobile (*jaṅgama*). The former dwells in ten sites, the latter in sixteen places.
- Traditionally, the ten are: root, leaf, fruit, flower, bark, milky sap  $(k \circ \bar{\imath} ra)$ , pith  $(s \bar{\imath} ra)$ , resin  $(niry \bar{\imath} sa)$ , the elements  $(dh \bar{\imath} tu)$ , and the tuber.
- In that context,

<sup>146</sup> After Suśrutasaṃhitā, kalpasthāna 2.5 (Su 1938: 564). From the view of Sanskrit authors, Kirāṭas and Śabaras were tribal peoples. The eleventh-century author Bhikṣu Govinda, however, cast his treatise as a dialogue with a Kirāṭa king called Madana who was a master of the alchemical art (HIML: IIA, 620).

<sup>147</sup> See Wujastyk 2003: 80-81.

<sup>148</sup> Valuable reference sources on Indian plant toxicology in general include Pillay 2013: chs. 10, 11 and Barceloux 2008: parts 1.II, 3 and 4.

<sup>149</sup> No reference is made to Dhanvantari (see Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. 2021). "Stationary" here is a term contrasted with "moving," and signifies plants as opposed to animals and insects.

- the eight root-poisons are:<sup>150</sup>
  - 1. liquorice (?), 151
  - 2. sweet-scented oleander, 152
  - 3. jequirity, 153
  - 4. false daisy (?),154
  - 5. *karaṭā*, 155 and ending with
  - 6. leadwort (vidyutś $ikh\bar{a} \rightarrow agni$  or rakta-ś $ikh\bar{a}$ ?) $^{i}$ ,  $^{156}$
  - 7. country sarsaparilla (?),157 and
  - 8. medhshingi, 158
- 150 Some South Asian plants with poisonous roots that we would have expected to see in this list include *Croton tiglium*, L., *Calotropis* spp., *Citrullus colocynthus* L. Schrad., and *Ricinus communis* L. (CIPP).
- 151 Liquorice eaten in excess can be poisonous, but it is unlikely to be the plant intended here. sing-1972empty citation noted that the poisonous root mentioned in this passage, "remains to be idenitified."
- 152 The roots of sweet-scented oleander are highly toxic, as are most parts of the plant (Pillay and Sasidharan 2019).
- 153 Jequirity contains a dangerous toxin called Abrin in its seeds and to a lesser extent in its leaves, but apparently not in its roots or bulb. Abrin is not harmful if eaten, but an infusion of the bruised (not boiled) seeds injected or rubbed in the eyes can be fatal (NK: # 6). The dose can be quite small.
- 154 The plant is usually called just *bhaṅgurā* without the prefix *su* "good." However, there is no reported toxicity associated with *E. prostrata*..
- 155 This poisonous root cannot at present be identified. Similar-sounding candidates include <code>karkaṭaka</code>, <code>karaghāṭa</code> (emetic nut), and <code>karahāṭa</code>, but since this is a prose passage, there would be no reason to alter the word to fit a metre. Monier-Williams et al. (MW: 255) cite an unknown lexical source that equates <code>karaṭa</code> (mn.) with safflower (<code>Carthamus tinctorius</code>, L.), but this plant does not have a poisonous root.
- 156 The roots of both rose and white leadwort are very toxic.
- 157 The text reads masculine *ananta*, which is not a plant name. Gayī's commentary on 5.2.5 (Su 1938: 564) noted a variant reading of feminine *anantā* in place of *gargaraka*, earlier in the compound. But the feminine *anantā*, country sarsaparilla, is not a poisonous plant.
- 158 Meulenbeld (1989: 61, n. 3) argued that our text reads a masculine or neuter noun *vijaya*, which never signifies cannabis. However, unlike the vulgate, the unanimous readings of the Nepalese manuscripts give feminine *vijayā*. Nevertheless, even the feminine form only started to signify *Cannabis sativa* L. after the end of the first millennium (Meulenbeld 1989; Wujastyk 2002; McHugh 2021). The *Sauśrutanighantu* gives a number of synonyms for *vijayā*, almost none of which have any poisonous parts (Suvedī and Tīvārī 2000: 5.77, 10.143). But one of them, *viṣāṇī* (also *meṣaśṛṅgī*), is sometimes equated with *Dolichandrone falcata* (*DC.*) Seemann (ADPS: 518), a plant used as an abortifacient and fish poison (Nadkarni 1982a: #862). This identification is tenuous.

i Plumbago zeylanica (or rosea?), L.; see NK #1966, 1967

- the leaf-poisons include:
  - 'poison-leaf' (viṣapatrikā)ii,
  - 'drum-giver' (lambaradā)<sup>iii</sup>,
  - thorn apple (karambha)iv, and
  - 'big thorn apple' (mahākarambha)<sup>v</sup>;
- the fruits of items like: jequirity  $(gu\tilde{n}j\bar{a})^{vi}$ , rūṣkara  $()^{vii}$ , viṣa  $()^{vii}$ , and vedikā  $()^{ix}$ , are
  - kumudavati (*kumadavati*)<sup>x</sup>,
  - reņuka (?)xi,
  - kurūkaka (?)<sup>xii</sup>,
  - 'little bamboo' (venuka)xiii, 159,
  - thorn apple (*karambha*)<sup>xiv</sup>,
  - 'big thorn apple' (mahākarambha)xv,
  - 'pleaser' (nandanā)xvi,
  - 'crow' (kāka)<sup>xvii</sup>,
- the flower-poisons include those of:
  - rattan (*vetra*)<sup>xviii</sup>,
  - wild chinchona (kādamba)xix,

#### 159 Not poisonous.

```
ii
    unknown; see?
iii unknown; see?
iv Datura metel, L.; see AVS 2.305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī), NK #796 ff., Potter 292 f., ADPS 132.
    Datura metel, L.?; see AVS 2.305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī), NK #796 ff., Potter 292 f., ADPS 132.
vi ; see
vii ; see
viii ; see
ix ; see
    unknown; see?
xi ?; see Piper aurantiacum Wall. (NK: #1924) is not poisonous.
xii ?; see?
xiii Bambusa bambos, Druce?; see NK #307
xiv Datura metel, L.; see AVS 2.305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī), NK #796 ff., Potter 292 f., ADPS 132.
xv Datura metel, L.?; see AVS 2.305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī), NK #796 ff., Potter 292 f., ADPS 132.
xvi ?; see ?
xvii?; see?
xviiiCalamus rotang, L.; see AVS 1.330, NK #413
xix Anthocephalus cadamba, Miq.; see NK #204
```

- black pepper ( $vall\bar{i}ja \rightarrow marica$ )<sup>xx</sup>,
- thorn apple (*karambha*)<sup>xxi</sup>, and
- big thorn apple (*mahākarambha*)<sup>xxii</sup>;
- the seven bark, pith  $(s\bar{a}ra)$  and resin  $(niry\bar{a}sa)$  poisons are:
  - 'gutboiler' (antrapācaka) xxiii,
  - 'blade' (kartarīya)<sup>xxiv</sup>,
  - wild mustard (saurīyaka)<sup>xxv</sup>,
  - emetic nut  $(karagh\bar{a}ta \rightarrow karah\bar{a}ta? \rightarrow madana)^{xxvi}$ ,
  - thorn apple (*karambha*)<sup>xxvii</sup>,
  - wild asparagus ( $nandana \rightarrow bahuputr\bar{a}$ ?) $^{xxviii}$ , and
  - munj grass (*nārācaka*)<sup>xxix</sup>;<sup>160</sup>
- the three milky sap (*kṣīra*)-poisons are:
  - purple calotropis ( $kumudaghn\bar{i} \rightarrow arka?$ )<sup>XXX</sup>, <sup>161</sup>
  - oleander spurge  $(snuh\bar{\imath})^{xxxi}$ , and
  - 'web-milk' (*jālakṣīri*)<sup>xxxii</sup>;
- the two element ( $dh\bar{a}tu$ )-poisons are:

457b xxxiinknown; see ?

<sup>160</sup> The bark of wild asparagus (Asparagus racemosus, Willd.) is toxic.

<sup>161</sup> The name of this poison, *kumuda-ghnī*, means 'lotus killer'. In Sanskrit literature, the *kumuda* lotus is associated with the moon, since it blossoms by night. Since the sun causes this lotus to close, it is therefore an 'enemy' of the lotus. One of the chief words for the sun, *arka*, is also the name of *Calotropis gigantea*, which indeed has a milky juice which is a violent purgative, poison and abortifacient.

xx Piper nigrum, L.?; see NK #1929; Rā.6.115, Dha.4.85, Dha.2.88
xxi Datura metel, L.; see AVS 2.305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī), NK #796 ff., Potter 292 f., ADPS 132.
xxii Datura metel, L.?; see AVS 2.305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī), NK #796 ff., Potter 292 f., ADPS 132.
xxiiiunknown; see ?
xxivunknown; see ?
xxv Cleome viscosa, L.? (cf. Rā.4.144); see AVS 2.116, NK #615
xxviRandia dumetorum, Lamk.; see NK #2091
xxviDatura metel, L.; see AVS 2.305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī), NK #796 ff., Potter 292 f., ADPS 132.
xxviiAsparagus racemosus, Willd.; see ADPS 441, AVS 1.218, NK #264, IGP 103, IMP 4.2499ff.,
Dymock 482ff.
xxixSaccharum bengalense, Retz.?; see NK #2184
xxx Calotropis gigantea, (L.) R. Br.; see ADPS 52, AVS 1.341, NK #427, Potter 63
xxxiEuphorbia neriifolia, L., or E. antiquorum, L.; see ADPS 448, AVS (2.388), 3.1, NK #988, IGP

- 'foam-stone' (phenāśma)xxxiii, and
- orpiment (haritāla)<sup>XXXIV</sup>;<sup>162</sup>
- the thirteen tuber-poisons are:
  - jequirity  $(k\bar{a}lak\bar{u}ta)^{xxxv}$ , <sup>163</sup>
  - wolfsbane (*vatsanābha*)<sup>xxxvi</sup>
  - Indian mustard (sarṣapa)xxxvii
  - leadwort  $(p\bar{a}laka \rightarrow citraka)^{xxxviii}$ ,
  - 'muddy' (kardama)xxxix, the
  - 'Virāṭa's plant' (vairāṭaka)xl,
  - nutgrass (mustaka)<sup>xli</sup>
  - atis root (śṛṅgīviṣa)<sup>xlii</sup>,
  - sacred lotus (prapuṇḍarīka)<sup>xliii</sup>,
  - radish  $(m\bar{u}laka)^{x\bar{l}iv}$ ,
  - 'alas, alas' (hālāhala)xlv,
  - 'big poison' (mahāviṣa)xlvi, and

The much later (perhaps sixteenth century) alchemical *Rasaratnasamuccaya* of pseudo-Vāgbhaṭa (21.14) says that the *kālakūṭa* poison, here translated as 'jequirity', is similar to '*kākacañcu*' or 'Crow's Beak', which is indeed a name for the plant jequirity or *Abrus precatorius*, L., more commonly called *guñjā* (not to be confused with *gañjā*). The black seed-pod is described as having a 'sharp deflexed beak' in botanical descriptions, so the Sanskrit name is quite graphic and appropriate. The poisonous scarlet seeds of *A. precatorius* can have a distinct black dot or tip, which could perhaps be translated '*kāla-kūṭa*', or 'Black Tip'. The *Rājanighaṇṭupariśiṣṭa* (9.35) gives *kālakūṭaka* as a synonym for *kāraskara*, or *Strychnos* 

The *Rājanighaṇṭupariśiṣṭa* (9.35) gives *kālakūṭaka* as a synonym for *kāraskara*, or *Strychnos nux-vomica*, L., whose seeds are notoriously poisonous.

```
xxxiiinknown; see ?
xxxiiArsenii trisulphidum; see NK v. 2, p. 20 ff.
xxxvAbrus precatorius, L.? Cf. RRS 21.14.; see AVS 1.10, NK #6, Potter 168.
xxxvAconitum napellus, L.; see AVS 1.47, NK #42, Potter 4 f.
xxxvIbirassica juncea, Czern. & Coss.; see AVS 1.301, NK #378
xxxvIbirabago zeylanica (indica? rosea?), L.; see Rā. 6.124, ADPS 119, NK #1966, 1967
xxxiinknown; see ?
xl unknown; see ?
xli Cyperus rotundus, L.; see ADPS 316, AVS 2.296, NK #782
xlii Aconitum heterophyllum, Wall. ex Royle; see AVS 1.42, NK #39
xliii Nelumbo nucifera, Gaertn.; see Dutt 110, NK #1698
xliv Raphanus sativus, L.; see NK #2098
xlv unknown; see Cf. Soḍhalanighantu p.43 (sub bola) = stomaka = vatsanābha
xlvi unknown; see ?
```

<sup>162</sup> Dutt (Dutt: 38-42) conjectured that 'foam-stone' may be impure white arsenic obtained by roasting orpiment.

• galls (karkaṭa)xlvii. 164

Thus, there are fifty-five stationary poisons.

6 There are believed to be four kinds of wolfsbane, two kinds of *mustaka*, and six kinds of Indian *sarṣapa*. But the rest are said to be unique types.

## The effects of poisons

7–10 People should know that root-poisons cause writhing (*udveṣṭana*), ranting (*pralāpa*), and delirium (*moha*), and leaf-poisons cause yawning, writhing, and wheezing (*śvāsa*).

Fruit-poisons cause swelling of the scrotum, a burning feeling and writhing. Flower-poisons will cause vomiting, distension ( $\bar{a}dhm\bar{a}na$ ) and sleep ( $sv\bar{a}pa$ ). The consumption of poisons from bark, pith ( $s\bar{a}ra$ ) and resin ( $niry\bar{a}sa$ ) will cause foul breath, hoarseness ( $p\bar{a}rusya$ ), a headache, and a discharge of phlegm (kapha).  $^{165}$ 

The milky sap ( $k \bar{s} \bar{t} r a$ )-poisons make one froth at the mouth, cause loose stool, and make the tongue feel heavy. The element ( $dh \bar{a} t u$ )-poisons give one a crushing pain in the chest, make one faint and cause a burning feeling on the palate.

These poisons are classified as ones which are generally speaking lethal after a period of time.

#### 11-17 Symptoms of tuber poisoning

The tuber-poisons, though, are severe. I shall talk about them in detail.

<sup>164</sup> Leadwort root is a powerful poison. Nutgrass is tuberous, but non-toxic. Atis has highly toxic tuberous roots. Neither sacred lotus nor galls are toxic. The 'alas, alas' poison (\$h\bar{a}l\bar{a}hala\$) is the mythical poison produced from the churning of the ocean at the time of creation: it occurs in medical texts such as the present one, and commentators identify it with one or other of the lethal poisons such as wolfsbane or jequirity. Agrawala (1963: 126) makes the intriguing suggestion that the word \$h\bar{a}l\bar{a}hala\$, possibly to be identified with Pāṇini's \$hailihila\$ (P.6.2.38), may be of Semitic origin, although his evidence seems uncertain (Steingass (1930: 1506a) cites Persian \$hal\bar{a}hil\$ 'deadly (poison)' as a loan from Sanskrit). Mayrhofer 1953–72: iii.585 also cites a claim for an Austro-Asiatic origin for the word.

<sup>165</sup> At 1.2.6 (Su 1938: 11), Dalhaṇa glosses hoarseness (pāruṣya) as vāgrūkṣatā, "a rough, dry voice."

<sup>166</sup> At 6.54.10 (Su 1938: 773), Dalhaṇa glosses loose stool (viḍbheda) as dravapurīṣatā, "having liquid stool."

xlviiRhus succedanea, L.; see NK #2136

With jequirity  $(k\bar{a}lak\bar{u}ta)^{xlviii}$ , there is numbness and very severe trembling. With wolfsbane  $(vatsan\bar{a}bha)^{xlix}$ , there is rigidity of the neck, and the faeces, and urine become yellow.

With sārṣapa ( $s\bar{a}rṣapa$ ), <sup>167</sup> the wind becomes defective ( $v\bar{a}tavaigunya$ ), there is constipation ( $\bar{a}n\bar{a}ha$ ), and lumps (granthi) start to appear. With leadwort ( $p\bar{a}laka \rightarrow citraka$ ), there is weakness in the neck, and speech gets jumbled. <sup>168</sup> With the one called 'muddy' (kardama)<sup>li</sup>, there is a discharge (praseka), the faeces pour out, and the eyes turn yellow. The 'Virāṭa's plant' (vairāṭaka)<sup>lii</sup> causes pain in the body and illness in the head. Paralysis of one's arms and legs and trembling are said to be caused by mustaka (mustaka). <sup>169</sup>

With great aconite (*mahāviṣa*) one's limbs grow weak, there is a burning feeling and swelling of the belly.<sup>170</sup>

-> ativișa

- With puṇḍarīka (puṇḍarīka), one's eyes go red, and one's belly becomes distended.<sup>171</sup>
- With mūlaka ( $m\bar{u}laka$ ), one's body is drained of colour and the limbs are paralysed.<sup>172</sup>

Look up the ca. reference.

- 167 *Sārṣapa* would normally mean "connected with mustard," and excessive consumption of mustard oil can be harmful. However, the *Sauśrutanighaṇṭu* (156) gives *rakṣoghnā* as a synonym for *sarṣapā*. This can be *Semecarpus anacardium*, L.f., which has some poisonous parts.
- 168 The verse in the Nepalese version ends with a plural verb that does not agree with the dual of the sentence subject.
- 169 The substitution in MS NAK 5-333 affecting 15cd is caused by an eye-skip to the word *viṣeṇa* in 2.17. *Mustaka* commonly refers to Cyperus rotundus, L.; the root is used in āyurveda but is not poisonous. However other dictionaries list *mustaka* amongst serious poisons, for example *Rājanighaṇṭu* (22 v. 42) and *Rasaratnasamuccaya* 16, v. 80. However, its ancient identity is still doubtful.
- 170 The poisonous root great poison (*mahāviṣa*) is not clearly identifiable, although *viṣa* is commonly aconite. Verse 6 above notes that there are several kinds of aconite.
- 171 The word puṇḍarīka very commonly means sacred lotus, Nelumbo nucifera, Gaertn. The entire plant is edible and cannot be the poison intended here. **sing-1972empty citation** noted that this poison is unidentified and that it is also listed as a poison in Carakasaṃ-hitāci.23.12.
- 172 The word *mūlaka* very commonly means the radish, *Raphanus sativus*, L. The root is edible and cannot be the poison intended here. **sing-1972empty citation** noted that this poison is unidentified.

xlviiAbrus precatorius, L.? Cf. RRS 21.14.; see AVS 1.10, NK #6, Potter 168. xlix Aconitum napellus, L.; see AVS 1.47, NK #38, Potter 4 f.

l Plumbago zeylanica (indica? rosea?), L.; see Rā. 6.124, ADPS 119, NK #1966, 1967

li unknown; see?

lii unknown; see?

- 17a With hālāhala (*Aconite*), a man turns a dark colour (*dhyāma*), and gasps. 173
- With atis root (śṛṅgīviṣa)<sup>liii</sup>, one gets violent knots (*granthi*) and stabbing pains in the heart.<sup>174</sup>
- 18a With markata (*monkey*), one leaps up, laughs, and bites. 175
- Experts have said that one should know that the thirteen highly potent tuber-poisons, which are mentioned here, have ten qualities (*guṇa*).

#### 19b-20a The ten are:

- dry (*rūkṣa*),
- hot,
- sharp,
- rarified (sūkṣma),
- fast-acting,
- pervasive (vyavāyin),
- expansive (vikāsin),
- limpid (viśada),
- · light, and
- indigestible.
- Because of dryness, it may cause inflammation of the wind; because of heat it inflames the choler and blood. Because of the sharpness it unhinges the mind, and it cuts through the connections with the sensitive points (*marman*). Because it is rarified it can infiltrate and distort the parts of the body.<sup>176</sup>
  - Because it is fast-acting it kills quickly, and because of its pervasiveness it affects one's whole physical constitution (*prakṛti*).<sup>177</sup> Because of its expansiveness it enters into the humour (*dosa*)s, bodily constituents (*dhātu*)s, and

<sup>173</sup> Identification of  $h\bar{a}l\bar{a}hala$  is uncertain. It may simply be a mythical poison, or its specific identity may have been lost over the centuries. Late nighantus identify it as  $stomaka = vatsan\bar{a}bha$ , i.e.,  $Aconitum\ napellus$ , L. ( $Sodhalanighantu\ p.43$ ). Dalhana on 5.2.17 (Su 1938: 564) interprets our "gasps" as "the man laughs and grinds his teeth." But this gloss is probably displaced and intended to apply to verse 2.18.

<sup>174</sup> **sing-1972empty citation** noted that *vatsanābha* and *śṛṅgīviṣa* are two different varieties of poisonous Aconites that are difficult to distinguish.

<sup>175</sup> **sing-1972empty citation** said of *markaṭa*, "an unidentified vegetable poison." Cf. Suvedī and Tīvārī 2000: v.36 for synonyms that lead to the non-toxic jujube tree.

<sup>176</sup> We read the active *vikaroti* with Dalhana against the transmitted passive *vikriyeta*, since it must be the parts of the body that are distorted, not the poison.

<sup>177</sup> Palhaṇa on 5.2.22 (Su 1938: 565) explained this as "takes the form of pervading the whole body (akhiladehavyāptirūpam)."

liii Aconitum heterophyllum, Wall. ex Royle; see AVS 1.42, NK #39

- even the impurities. Because it is limpid it overflows, and because it is light it is difficult to treat. Because it is indigestible it is hard to eliminate. Therefore, it causes suffering for a long time.
- Any poison that is instantly lethal, whether it be stationary, mobile, or artificial, will be known to have all ten of these qualities.

# Slow-acting poison

- A poison that is old or destroyed by anti-toxic medicines, or else dried up by blazing fire, wind, or sunshine, or which has just lost its qualities by itself, 178 becomes a slow-acting poison  $(d\bar{u}s\bar{i}visa)$ . Because it has lost its potency it is no longer perceived. Because it is surrounded by phlegm (kapha) it has an aftermath that lasts for a very long time.
  - If he is suffering from this, the colour of his stools changes, he gets sourness and a bad taste with great thirst. Stammering and close to death, wandering about, he may feel faint, giddy, and aroused.<sup>180</sup>
  - If it lodges in his stomach (āmāśaya), he becomes sick because of wind and phlegm; if it lodges in his intestines (pakvāśaya), he becomes sick because of wind and choler. A man's hair and limbs fall away and he looks like a bird whose wings have been chopped off.
  - 29a-c If it lodges in one of the body tissues such as chyle (*rasa*), it causes the diseases arising from the body tissues, that have been said to be wrong. <sup>181</sup> and it rapidly becomes inflamed on days that are nasty because of cold and wind.
- 29d-31 Listen to its initial symptoms (*liṅga*): it causes heaviness due to sleep, yawning, disjunction (*viśleṣa*) and horripilation (*harṣa*) and a bruising of the limbs (*aṅgamarda*).<sup>182</sup> Next, it causes intoxication from food (*annamada*) and indigestion, loss of appetite (*arocaka*), the condition of having a skin disease (*koṭha*) with round blotches (*maṇḍala*),<sup>183</sup> dwindling away (*kṣaya*) of flesh,

<sup>178</sup> Dalhana specified that this refers to the ten qualities that are mentioned above (5.2.26 (Su 1938: 565)).

<sup>179</sup> Dalhana cited this verse at 1.46.83 (Su 1938: 222) while explaining dūsīvisa.

<sup>180</sup> Similar symptoms of slow-acting poison are described at 2.7.11–13 (Su 1938: 296) in the context of contamination dropsy (*duṣyodara*). This this may explain why the vulgate inserted reference to this disease at this point.

<sup>181</sup> The expression *ayathāyathoktān* "stated to be unsuitable" is hard to understand here, but is clearly transmitted in the Nepalese version.

<sup>182</sup> Dalhana 5.2.30ab (Su 1938: 565) glossed "disjunction" as the loss of function of the joints in regard to movement.

<sup>183</sup> The last ailment could perhaps be ringworm.

- swelling of the feet, hands, and face, the fever called *pralepaka*, vomiting and diarrhoea.<sup>184</sup> The slow-acting poison might cause wheezing, thirst and fever, and it might also cause distension of the abdomen.
- These various disorders are of many different types: one poison may produce madness, while another one may cause constipation (\$\bar{a}n\bar{a}ha), and yet another may ruin the semen. One may cause emaciation, while another pallid skin disease (\$kuṣṭha).
- Something is "corrupted" by repetitively keeping to bad locations, times, foods, and sleeping in the daytime. Or, traditionally, "corrupting poison" (slow-acting poison ( $d\bar{u}$  $\bar{s}$  $\bar{i}$ -v $\bar{i}$  $\bar{s}$ a)) is so called because it may corrupt ( $d\bar{u}$  $\bar{s}$ aya

### 34- The stages of toxic shock

- In the first shock of having taken a stationary poison, a person's tongue becomes dark brown and stiff, he grows faint, and panics.
- In the second, he trembles, feels exhausted, has a burning feeling, as well as a sore throat. When the poison reaches the stomach  $(\bar{a}m\bar{a}\hat{s}aya)$ , it causes pain in the chest (hrd).
- In the third,his palate goes dry, he gets violent pain  $(\hat{sula})$  in the stomach  $(\bar{a}m\bar{a}\hat{s}aya)$ , and his eyes become weak, swollen and yellow.
- In the fourth shock, it causes the intestines and stomach to be exhausted  $(s\bar{a}da)$ , he gets hiccups, a cough, a rumbling in the gut (antra), and his head becomes heavy too.
- In the fifth he dribbles phlegm (*kapha*), goes a bad colour, his ribs crack (*parśvabheda*), all his humours are irritated, and he also has a pain in his intestines (*pakvādhāna*).
- 39a In the sixth, he loses consciousness and he completely loses control of his bowels.
- 39b In the seventh, there are breaks in his shoulders, back and loins, and he stops breathing. 185

<sup>184</sup> The *pralepaka* fever was described by Dalhana, at 6.39.52 (Su 1938: 675), as an accumulation of phlegm in the joints. Its symptoms are described in 6.39.54

<sup>185</sup> Here at 5.2.24 (Su 1938: 566) Dalhaṇa glossed sannirodha as "complete cessation, i.e., of breath" (sannirodhaḥ samyaṇnirodhaḥ, ucchvāsasya iti śeṣaḥ). The manuscripts all read skanda where skandha must be intended; this confusion is known from Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (Edgerton 1953: 608).

## Remedies for the stages of slow poisoning

- In the first shock of the poison, the physician should make the man, who has vomited and been sprinkled with cold water, drink an antidote (*agada*) mixed with with honey and ghee.
- In the second, he should make the man who has vomited and been purged drink as before;
- on the third, drink an antidote and a beneficial nasal medicine (nasya) as well as an eye salve ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ).
- In the fourth, the physician should make him drink an antidote that is salt with a little oil. 186
- In the fifth, he should be prescribed the antidote together with a decoction  $(kv\bar{a}tha)$  of honey and liquorice  $(madhuka)^{liv}$ .
- In the sixth, the cure (*siddhi*) is the same as for diarrhoea. And in the seventh, he perishes.<sup>187</sup>
- In between any one of these shocks, once the above treatment has been done, he should give the patient the following cold gruel  $(yav\bar{a}g\bar{u})$  together with ghee and honey, that will take away the poison.
- 45–46 A gruel  $(yav\bar{a}g\bar{u})$  made of the following items in a stewed juice  $(nihkv\bar{a}-tha)$  destroys the two poisons: gourd  $(ko\acute{s}avat\bar{\imath})$ , wild celery (agnika), 189

<sup>186</sup> At 6.52.30 (Su 1938: 769) Dalhana noted that sindhu can be interpreted as salt (saindhava).

<sup>187</sup> The vulgate text here is quite different, recommending that the patient have medicated powder blown up his nose. It may be possible to detect the evolution of the Nepalese अव-सीदेत to the vulgate's अवपीड्या. The vulgate version is hard to construe, and we see Dalhaṇa struggling to interpret it in his commentary on 5.2.43ab (Su 1938: 566). This sternutatory is, however, recommended in the Nepalese version at 5.5.30ab (Su 1938: 576), for the seventh shock of poisoning by a rājimat (striped snake) snake. It is possible the text migrated from that location to this.

Another difference at this point is that the Nepalese version also does not support the vulgate's passage on the crow's foot ( $k\bar{a}kapada$ ) therapy (Wujastyk 2003: 145, n. 106). The same is the case at 5.5.24 (Su 1938: 575) and the clear description at 5.5.45 (Su 1938: 577), in neither of which is the therapy supported in the Nepalese version. This therapy seems unknown in the Nepalese version. Perhaps the therapy migrated into the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* from the *Carakasaṃhitā* (6.23.66–67 (Ca. 1941: 574)).

<sup>188</sup> At 4.10.8 (Su 1938: 449) Dalhaṇa glosses kośavatī as devadālī and at 4.18.20 (Su 1938: 472) as kaṭukośātakī, vocabulary pointing to Cucumis cylindrica, Cucumis actangula or Luffa echinata (sing-1972ADPS: 252-253).

<sup>189</sup> A plant often cited in *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, but rarely in *Carakasaṃhitā* (**sing-1972**). Dalhaṇa glossed it here, 5.2.45 (Su 1938: 566), as wild celery (*ajamodā*), *Apium graveolens*, L., but noted

liv Glycyrrhiza glabra, L.; see AVS 3.84, NK #1136

velvet-leaf  $(p\bar{a}th\bar{a})$ , 190 'sun-creeper'  $(s\bar{u}ryavall\bar{\iota})$ , 191 heart-leaved moonseed  $(a-mrt\bar{a})$ , 192 myrobalan  $(abhay\bar{a})$ , 193 siris  $(\dot{s}ir\bar{\iota}\dot{s}a)$  194, and selu plum  $(\dot{s}elu)$  195 white siris (kinihi), 196 the two turmerics  $(haridr\bar{a})$ , 197 and the two Indian nightshades  $(brhat\bar{\iota})$ , 198 hogweed, peas, the three heating spices, the Indian sarsaparillas  $(s\bar{a}rive)$  199 and water-lily (utpala). 200

that others consider it to be *moraṭa*, *Marsdenia tenacissima* (Roxb.) Wight et Arn. There is considerable complexity surrounding the identification of *moraṭa/mūrvā* and related synonyms (**sing-1972**). Taking *agnika* as a short reference to *agnimantha*, often identified with *Premna corymbosa*, Rottl., might be plausible, since that is antitoxic or anti-inflammatory (ADPS: 21; Nadkarni 1954: #2025; AVS: 4, 348), but such a short reference is not known elsewhere.

<sup>190</sup> Cissampelos pariera, L., ADPS: 366; Nadkarni 1954: #592**sing-1972**; AVS: 2.277.

<sup>191</sup> At 5.2.45 (Su 1938: 566) Dalhaṇa said that this plant has leaves like the *paṭola*, *Trichosanthes dioica* Roxb. **sing-1972empty citation** argued plausibly that this is a synonym for *arkapuṣpī*, *Holostemma ada-kodien*, (Roxb.) Schult., as Dalhaṇa also stated in 1.45.120 (Su 1938: 206), and the leaves of Holostemma and Trichosanthes are indeed strikingly similar. The appearance of the plant, a creeper with sun-like flowers, fits the name. But there remains much controversy about the identities of these candidates (e.g., ADPS: 195–198).

<sup>192</sup> *Tinospora cordifolia*, (Willd.) Hook.f. & Thoms. (**sing-1972**ADPS: 38–40)Nadkarni 1954: #2472 and #624.

<sup>193</sup> Terminalia chebula, Retz. (ADPS: 172; Nadkarni 1954: #2451sing-1972).

<sup>194</sup> Albizia lebbeck, Benth. (AVS: 1.81; Nadkarni 1954: #91sing-1972).

<sup>195</sup> Cordia myxa, L. non Forssk. (AVS: 2.180; Nadkarni 1954: #672sing-1972).

<sup>196</sup> Albizia procera, (Roxb.) Benth. (Nadkarni 1954: #93sing-1972).

<sup>197</sup> haridrā and dāruharidrā sing-1972.

<sup>198</sup> Poison berry (*bṛhatī*), *Solanum violaceum*, Ortega, and yellow-berried nightshade (*kṣudrā*), *Solanum virginianum*, L. (**sing-1972**ADPS: 100; Nadkarni 1954: #2329; AVS: 5.151, 164).

<sup>199</sup> country sarsaparilla (anantā) Hemidesmus indicus, (L.) R. Br. ADPS 434, AVS 3.141–5, NK #1210 and black creeper (pālindī) Ichnocarpus frutescens, (L.) R.Br. or Cryptolepis buchanani, Roemer & Schultes AVS 3.141, 3.145, 3.203, NK #1283, #1210, ADPS 434.

<sup>200</sup> *Nymphaea stellata*, Willd. GJM 528, IGP 790; Dutt 110, NK #1726. Dalhana was aware of this reading 5.2.46 (Su 1938: 566).

# The 'invincible' ghee

There is a famous ghee called "Invincible" (*ajeya*). It rapidly destroys all poisons but is itself unconquered. It is prepared with a mash (*kalka*) of the following plants: liquorice, crape jasmine, costus, deodar, peas, Indian madder, cardamom and cherry, cobra's saffron, water-lily, sugar, embelia, sandalwood, cassia cinnamon, beautyberry, rosha grass, the two turmerics,<sup>201</sup> the two Indian nightshades,<sup>202</sup> Indian sarsaparilla and beggarweed, and country mallow.

## Curing the 'slow-acting' poison

- Someone suffering from "slow-acting poison  $(d\bar{u}\bar{s}\bar{\imath}vi\bar{s}a)$ " should be well sweated, and purged both top and bottom. Then he should be made to drink the following eminent antidote which removes "slow-acting poison:" Take long pepper, rosha grass, spikenard, lodh tree, cardamom, natron, scented pavonia, red chalk, as well as gold, and pondweed This antitoxin, taken with honey, eliminates slow-acting poison. It is called the "enemy of slow-acting poison  $(d\bar{u}\bar{s}\bar{\imath}vi\bar{s}\bar{a}ri)$ ," and it is not prohibited in other situations.
- If there are any other side-effects (*upadrava*), such as fever, a burning feeling, hiccups, constipation ( $\bar{a}n\bar{a}ha$ ), depletion of the semen, distension, diarrhoea, fainting, skin problems, bellyache (jathara), madness, trembling, then one should treat each one in its own terms, using anti-toxic medicines.
  - For a prudent person, the slow-acting poison can be cured ( $s\bar{a}dhya$ ) immediately. It is treatable ( $y\bar{a}pya$ ) if it is of a year's standing. Other than this, it should be avoided for the person who eats unwholesome things.

<sup>201</sup> turmeric and Indian barberry.

<sup>202</sup> poison berry and yellow-berried nightshade.

# Kalpasthāna, adhyāya 3

### Introduction

## **Translation**

And now we shall explain the rule (*kalpa*) that is the required knowledge about mobile poisons.<sup>203</sup>

2

The full explanation about the sixteen carriers (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of the mobile poisons, that have been mentioned by me in brief, will be stated.

to the issue of "kalpa".

Look up passages in the Kośa.

- 4 In that context, they are:
  - sight and breath,
  - teeth and nails,
  - mouth,
  - urine and faeces,
  - menstrual blood,
  - semen,
  - penis,
  - saliva,
  - lethal points,
  - nipping with the mouth (*mukhasaṃdaṃśā*),
  - fart (avaśardhita),<sup>205</sup>
  - anus, 206
  - bones,
  - bile,
  - bristles ( $\sin ka$ ), and
  - · corpses.
- 5 TBA
- 6 The enemies of the king pollute the waters, roads and foodstuffs in enemy

<sup>203</sup> In contrast to stationary, plant poisons. No reference is made to Dhanvantari (see Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. 2021).

<sup>204 &</sup>quot;Carrier" for base, foundation (*adhiṣṭhāna*) tries to capture the idea that the author will describe the creatures in which poisons inhere.

<sup>205</sup> This interpretation comes from Dalhana on 5.3.4 (Su 1938: 567), but he reads विशिष्ति.

<sup>206</sup> Dalhana on 5.3.4 (Su 1938: 567) noted this reading.

- territory. The experienced physician, who has learned how to purify things, should clean up those polluted things.
- Polluted water is slimy and smells of tears.<sup>207</sup> It is covered with froth and covered with streaks. The frogs and fish die, the birds are crazed and, along with the wetland creatures, they wander about aimlessly.
- 8 Men, horses and elephants who swim in it experience vomiting, delusion, fever, swelling and sharp pains.<sup>208</sup> He should try to purify that polluted water, after curing their ailments.
- And so, he should burn axlewood and garjan oil tree, as well as corky coral tree, with crimson trumpet-flower tree and small-flowered crape myrtle and weaver's beam tree, and with golden shower tree and white cutch tree. Then he should sprinkle that ash, cold, on the waters.
- 10–11 And in the same way, putting a handful of the ash in a pot, one may also purify water that one wants.
  - If any one of the limbs of cows, horses, elephants, men or women, touch a place on the ground that enemies have spoiled with poison, or a ford or rock or a flat surface, then it swells up and burns and its hair and nails fall out on that place.<sup>209</sup>
  - In that situation, he should grind up country sarsaparilla together with all the aromatic items, with alcoholic drinks. And then he should sprinkle the paths that need to be used with waters mixed with mud.<sup>210</sup> And if there exists another path, he should go by that.<sup>211</sup>
  - When grasses and foods are polluted, people collapse, fall unconscious. And others vomit. They get loose stool (*viḍbheda*) or they die.<sup>212</sup> One should apply to them the therapy as described.
  - Alternatively, one should wipe various musical instruments with antidotes that remove poison and then play them. What is called the most excellent paste for a musical instrument is silver mineral (*tārāvitāra*) together with

<sup>207</sup> अस्र normally means "tears," but rarely means "blood."

<sup>208</sup> On the polysemy of elephant/snake ( $n\bar{a}ga$ ), see Semeka-Pankratov 1979.

<sup>209 &</sup>quot;Swells up" translates an unclear reading that was probably श्यति, which may be an irregular form of  $\sqrt{$ शू, श्वा, श्वि (see Whitney 1885: 175–176).

<sup>210</sup> Our "alcoholic drinks" translates *surā*. For a discussion of this term at our period see McHugh 2021: 37–39 *et passim*.

<sup>211</sup> Dalhana on 5.3.12 (Su 1938: 568) cited a similar reading for the fourth pada, but with a negative particle, "and if there is no other way, one should go by that."

<sup>212</sup> In "they get loose stool," the verb अच्छेन्ति ( $\sqrt{2}$ ), transmitted in both Nepalese manuscripts, has an irregular initial guna vowel.

Tellicherry bark and Indian sarsaparilla,<sup>213</sup> and an amout of of nutgrass equal to that, together with the bile called "brown cow." By the sound of the musical instrument, even terrible poisons that may be present are destroyed.<sup>214</sup>

<sup>213</sup> We follow Dalhana in these identifications.

<sup>214</sup> The ingredients of this paste are difficult. Dalhana was guessing about the identities of तारा (silver) etc. He said that सुतार (in his text) was mercury, which is impossible at this date. सुरेन्द्रगोप was perhaps gold or

कुरुविन्द is possibly ruby, but Dalhana noted opinions that it was nutgrass, while others said it was a whetstone or a very special metallic gem.

# Uttaratantra, adhyāya 16 (17 in the vulgate)

#### Literature

Survey of this chapter and the existing research on it to 2002: HIML: IA, 305–306. History of couching in India: Scott 1817; Breton 1826; Jack 1884; Hendley 1895; Elliot 1918; Śāstrī 1940; Deshpande 1999; 2000; Wujastyk 2019; Leffler et al. 2020, Wujastyk 2003: 65–67.

#### **Translation**

aged ghee on its own.

- Now I shall explain the counteraction (*pratiṣedha*) of diseases located in the pupil (*dṛṣṭi*).
- There are three curable ( $s\bar{a}dhya$ ), three incurable ( $as\bar{a}dhya$ ), and six mitigatible ( $y\bar{a}pya$ ) diseases located in peoples eyes. Among these, three are curable ( $s\bar{a}dhya$ ). Amongst these three, the remedy ( $prat\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}ra$ ) has been stated for the one called "seeing smoke ( $dh\bar{\imath}madar\dot{s}in$ )".<sup>215</sup>
- When the eye is inflamed (*vidagdha*) by bile and when it is inflamed by phlegm, one should apply the method for removing bile and phlegm, using nasal medicines (*nasya*), irrigation (*seka*), application of collyrium (*añjana*), liniment (*ālepa*), and medicines cooked in a crucible (*puṭapāka*), together with an eyewash (*tarpaṇa*),<sup>216</sup> but not cutting with a blade (*śastrakṣata*).<sup>217</sup> One should drink ghee (*sarpis*) prepared with the three fruits (*triphalā*) and in the first [case where the problem is bile], and prepared with turpeth (*traivṛta*) in the latter [case, of phlegm].

And ghee prepared with tilvaka (*tailvaka*) is wholesome in both cases, or else

5cd-7ab In a collyrium, these four compounds (*yoga*) are beneficial in both cases:

- ochre (*gairika*), Sind salt (*saindhava*), long pepper (*kṛṣṇā*) and the black soot (*maṣī*) from cow's teeth;
- Cow's flesh (gomāṃsa), black pepper (marica), siris (śirīṣa) and red arsenic (manaḥśilā);

maṣī burned charcoal. Find refs.

ting with a knife related

ing bile or phlegm.

- This disease and its cure are described earlier (SS.6.7.39 and SS.6.10.16 (Su 1938:609 and 614) respectively). The latter part of this verse is hard to construe and the text here may have been altered at an early period.
- 216 These therapies are described in SS.6.18 (Su 1938: 633-640).
- 217 Dalhana interpreted this as blood-letting (sirāvedha), which is discussed in SS.1.14 (Su 1938).

- stalk (*vṛnta*) from a wood apple (*kapittha*) with honey (*madhu*);<sup>218</sup>
- or the the fruits of the velvet bean (svayangupta).
- The physician should make a collyrium with ground up metal (*kupyaka*), <sup>219</sup> Asoka tree (*aśoka*), Sal tree (*śālā*), mango (*amra*), beautyberry (*priyaṃgu*), Indian lotus (*nalina*), blue lotus (*utpala*), together with hareṇu (*hareṇu*), emblic (*āmalaka*), myrobalan (*pathyā*), long pepper (*pippali*). It should be combined with ghee and honey (*kṣaudra*).
- 9–10 Also, when bile and phlegm have developed, the physician should apply harenu (harenu) with the expressed juice (svarasa) of the flowers from mango (amra) and Jambu ( $jamb\bar{u}$ ) trees.
  - Then this collyrium, matured (*vipakva*) with ghee and honey (*kṣaudra*), should then be applied.
- Filaments ( $ki\tilde{n}jalka$ ) of Indian lotus (nalina) and blue lotus (utpala), with ochre (gairika), and the juice of cow-dung ( $go\acute{s}akr\acute{t}$ ) are a collyrium in the form of a pill ( $gu\acute{q}ik\bar{a}$ ). This is good for both day and night blindness.
- Elixir-salve (*rasāñjana*), honey (*kṣaudra*), ghee, scramberry (*tālīśa*), together with gold and ochre, with the juice of cow-dung (*gośakṛt*) are for an eye afflicted with bile.
  - Alternatively, wise physician should first grind together elixir-salve ( $\hat{stta}$ ) and stibnite ( $sauv\bar{t}raka$ ), infused ( $bh\bar{a}vita$ ) with the blood of birds and animals (rasa). Then he mixes it with the bile of a tortoise or with extract of rohu carp (rauhita). It should always be used with powdered collyrium to quell the bile.
    - Thus, a collyrium of white teak ( $k\bar{a}r\acute{s}mar\bar{\iota}$ ) flowers, liquorice (madhuka), tree turmeric ( $d\bar{a}rv\bar{\iota}$ ), lodh tree (lodhra) and elixir salve ( $ras\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$ ) is always good as a collyrium in this case.
    - Alternatively, for those who cannot see during the day, this pill  $(gudik\bar{a})$ , with sandalwood, is recommended: salt  $(nad\bar{i}ja)$ , conch shell and the three spices, collyrium, realgar  $(manah\dot{s}il\bar{a})$ , the two turmerics  $(rajana)^{221}$  and liver extract

<sup>218</sup> Wood apple (कपित्थ) in this verse is ablative singular or accusative plural, neither of which construe obviously.

<sup>219</sup> A metal other than gold or silver, according to V. Jośī and N. H. Jośī (1968: 1.217). Perhaps lead, which is used in making contemporary collyrium.

<sup>220</sup> This was Palhaṇa's preferred interpretation of rasa "juice" in this context. He also noted that some take elixir-salve ( $\hat{sita}$ ) to be camphor.

Turmeric (Curcuma longa *Linn*.) and tree turmeric (Berberis aristata DC). The term *rajana* is unusual; the normal term is *rajanī*. *Rajana* occurs in *Suśrutanighaṇṭu* 158 in the sense of Ferula asafoetida, Linn.

(yakṛdrasa).222

- One should grind up kohl (*srotoja*),<sup>223</sup> and Sind salt (*saindhava*) and long pepper and also hareṇu (*hareṇu*). Such wicks with goats urine are good in a collyrium for night blindness (*kṣaṇadāndhya*).
- Alternatively, in such a case, grind together Indian sarsaparilla ( $k\bar{a}l\bar{a}nus\bar{a}-riva$ )<sup>224</sup> long pepper, dried ginger ( $n\bar{a}gara$ ) and honey, the leaf of the scramberry ( $t\bar{a}l\bar{i}\acute{s}apatra$ ), the two turmerics (rajana), a conch shell and liver extract (yakrdrasa). Then shade-dried wicks take away illness (ruj).
- 18cd–19ab Wicks made of red arsenic (manaḥśilā), chebulic myrobalan (abhayā), the three spices (vyoṣa). Indian sarsaparilla (sāriva), cuttlefish bone (samudra-phena), combined with goat's milk are good.
- One should cook a honey collyrium ( $k = audr \bar{a} \tilde{n} = audr \bar{a} =$ 
  - One should cook the liver of a sheep, the ghee of a goat, with long pepper and Sindh salt, honey and the juice of emblics. Then one should store it properly in a catechu box. Prepared thus, the honey collyrium is good.
    - Alternatively, a collyrium that is harenu (*harenu*) mixed with long pepper  $(m\bar{a}gadh\bar{\iota})$ , the bone and the marrow of a goat, cardamom ( $el\bar{a}$ ) and liver, together with liver extract, is good for eyes afflicted by phlegm.<sup>226</sup>

<sup>222</sup> This verse appears as no. 27 in the vulgate.

<sup>223</sup> Glossed by Dalhaṇa as a kind of collyrium. Cf. Nadkarni 1954: 2.M13 and P. V. Sharma 1982: 197–198

There are two forms of *sārivā* mentioned widely in Āyurvedic literature, the white and the black. Ideas on the identity of the black form are particularly fluid. See Sivarajan and Balachandran (ADPS: 434–438) for a clear discussion.

<sup>225</sup> At SS 6.12.31, Dalhaṇa glossed *arṇavamala* as cuttlefish bone (*samudraphena*). It may be worth considering whether the unusual term *arṇavamala* "ocean-filth" might refer to ambergris.

<sup>226</sup> On the identities of *elā* and *hareṇu*, Watt (1908: 511 ff) described the former as "true" or "lesser" or "Malabar" cardamom, *Elettaria cardamomum*, Maton & White. In contrast, the "greater" cardamom is *Amomum subulatum* (that Watt discussed on p. 65) that is commonly used as an inferior substitute for *E. cardamomum*. **sing-1972empty citation** provided an interesting discussion of *hareṇu*, noting that the term refers to two substances, first the *satīna* pulse (*Pisum sativum*, Linn.), and second an unknown fruit such as perhaps a *Vitex*. They noted, "None of the text commentators have attempted to disclose the nature of its source plant," although Dalhaṇa described it as aromatic and identical to *reṇukā* (SS.ci.2.75).

- Over a fire, one should cook the liver (*yakṛt*) of a monitor lizard (*godhā*) prepared with entrails (*antra*) and stuffed with long pepper (*māgadhi*). As is well known, liver (*yakṛt*) which is used (*niṣevita*) with collyrium certainly destroys night blindness.
- 25 After preparing both a spleen ( $pl\bar{t}han$ ) and a liver on a spit, one should eat them both with ghee and oil.<sup>227</sup>
- As is well known, there are six diseases that can be alleviated (*yāpya*); in those cases (*tatra*) one should release the blood by bloodletting.

  And for the sake of wellbeing one should also purge using aged ghee combined (*upahita*) with purgative aids (*aṅga*).
  - When an eye-disease is caused by wind (*pavanodbhava*) they say that castor oil (*pañcāṅgulataila*) mixed with milk is good.<sup>228</sup> In the case of diseases of blood (*śonita*) and bile (*pitta*), one should drink ghee with the three fruits; it is particularly cleansing.<sup>229</sup> In the case of phlegm, a purgative by means of turpeth (*trivṛt*) is recommended. In the case of all three humours, sandal (*sugandhi*) in oil is prepared with it (turpeth).<sup>230</sup>
    - In cases of partial blindness (*timira*), aged ghee is recommended. It is good if it is kept in an iron vessel.
- One should know that ghee with the three mylobalans is always good, and it is made with what is called periploca of the woods (*meṣaviṣāṇa*).

  A man who is suffering from partial blindess should lick the finely-ground three fruits mixed with ghee off his hand (*sapāṇa*).<sup>231</sup>
  - 29cd Alternatively, someone afflicted by phlegm should apply them (the three fruits) mixed with oil and steeped (*pragādha*) in honey.
    - The very best oil, well-cooked with a decoction of cow-dung, is good in cases of partial blindness, taken as an errhine.

In cases caused by bile, ghee by itself is good, as is oil when it arises from

<sup>227</sup> We read the locative as if an instrumental; if the locative were intended then it would be the spit that would be coated with oil and ghee.

<sup>228</sup> Dalhana said that the unexpressed topic of this recipe is partial blindness (timira).

<sup>229</sup> Blood-bile (*śonita-pitta, rakta-pitta*) is a widely-recognized disease in ayurveda, but the compound here is definitely dual, which rules out that interpretation. One would expect blood-bile because the previous verse

<sup>230</sup> The expression "the fragrant one in oil (*tailasugandhi*)" is puzzling. The word *sugandhi* has different referents in the *Nighaṇṭu* literature but is not common as a noun in the extant literature. "Sandal" is just one of its possible meanings.

<sup>231 &</sup>quot;Off his hand" translates the adverbial *sapāṇam*, an unusual word. Palhaṇa reproduced a reading close to the Nepalese recension but says that Jejjaṭa rejects it and so he also does (susr-trikamji3).

- wind and blood.
- And in the case of wind one should apply turpeth (*trivṛt*) based on strong mallow (*atibalā*), and country mallow (*balā*) in an errhine (*nasya*).<sup>232</sup>

  Ghee which has been extracted from milk cooked with the meat of aquatic creatures and those from marshlands should be prescribed.
- †An enclosed roasting (puṭākhya) with Sindh salt and the product of the meat of a carnivore (kravyabhuj) and a deer (eṇa), is combined with honey and ghee.<sup>233</sup>
  - Fat  $(vas\bar{a})$  from a horse, a vulture, a snake, and a cock  $(t\bar{a}mrac\bar{u}da)$ , combined with mahua  $(madh\bar{u}ka)$  is always good in a collyrium. †<sup>234</sup>
- Having prepared (*niṣevita*) a collyrium made of kohl (*srotas*) and gradually combine it with juices (*rasa*), milk and ghee.<sup>235</sup>

  For thirty days, this collyrium is put in the mouth of a black snake that is covered with kuśa grass (*kuśa*).
- Next, a collyrium that is milk containing long pepper (*māgadhī*), lye (*kṣāraka*) and Sindh salt (*saindhava*) that has been repeatedly prepared with the mouth of a black snake, is good in the case of bloodshot blindness (*rāgin timira*).<sup>236</sup>
- They say that ghee may be produced from that and combined with sweet herbs is good as an errhine for eye-diseases caused by bile.
  - And here, an eyewash (tarpana) is good that is a combination that is the flesh

The term 'enclosed roasting' (puṭapāka) does occur in the Suśrutasaṃhitā in the context of eye treatments, but designates a method of obtaining juice from substances by wrapping them in leaves pasted with earth and cooking the bolus on charcoal to finally extract a juice.

- 234 This verse contain irresolvable difficulties. There are no significant variants in the Nepalese MS transmission, but the text is ungrammatical. The vulgate reads substantially differently but we have nevertheless made some emendations in line with it and read the verse as two sentences.
- 235 Dalhana specified that the juices are meat soups of various animals (Su 1938: 628).
- 236 Dalhaṇa described this blindness as a type of *kāca* disease caused by wind (**susr-trikamji3**). The expression "bloodshot blindness" is an attempt to capture the idea of a blind eye that is dyed or coloured (not colour-blindness). This verse is quite different from the vulgate and also syntactically challenging.

<sup>232 &</sup>quot;Based on" translates  $-\bar{a}$  srita "depending on" which does not construe easily here. The vulgate has  $\hat{s}$  translates "cooked" which makes easier sense but is not supported by the Nepalese MSS.

<sup>233</sup> Þalhaṇa noted (Su 1938: 628a) that puṭāhvaya (see verse 35 below) is a synonym for puṭapāka, and that the process is described in the *Kriyākalpa* chapter, i.e., SS.6.18.33–38 (Su 1938: 635). On the puṭa process in the Suśrutasaṃhitā, which is earlier and different than that of rasaśāstra literature, see the discussion by Wujastyk (2019: 83):

- of wild animals taken hot (puṭāhvaya).237
- 36 And realgar ( $mana h sil \bar{a}$ ) mixed with elixir salve ( $ras \bar{a} \tilde{n} jana$ ) and honey is a liquid collyrium ( $drav \bar{a} \tilde{n} jana$ ) which is, in this case, combined with mahua ( $madh \bar{u} ka$ ).<sup>238</sup>
  - Alternatively, experts on this say that finely ground blue vitriol (tuttha) extracted from a gold mine is the "same collyrium ( $sam\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$ )".<sup>239</sup>
- Conch mixed with equal parts of sheep's horn and stibnite ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ) removes the impurity of the glassy opacity ( $k\bar{a}ca$ ) because of the application of collyrium ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ).<sup>240</sup>
  - The extracts (rasa) produced from aflame of the forest ( $pal\bar{a}sa$ ), Rohīta tree ( $roh\bar{\imath}ta$ ),  $^{241}$  mahua ( $madh\bar{\imath}ka$ ), ground with the supernatant layer (agra) of the spirits (madira) is applied.
- Alternatively, one should cook an errhine with cuscus grass ( $us\bar{\imath}ra$ ), lodh tree (lodhra), the three fruits ( $triphal\bar{a}$ ), beauty berry (priyangu) to pacify eye diseases caused by phlegm.<sup>242</sup>
  - One should apply smoke of the bark of embelia ( $vida\dot{n}ga$ ), velvet leaf ( $p\bar{a}th\bar{a}$ ), white siris ( $kinih\bar{\iota}$ ), and desert date ( $i\dot{n}gud\bar{\iota}$ ); and cuscus grass ( $u\dot{s}\bar{\iota}ra$ ) alone.
- A ghee that is cooked ( $bh\bar{a}vita$ ) from a decoction of a non-flowering tree (va-naspati)<sup>243</sup> as well as turmeric ( $haridr\bar{a}$ ) and spikenard (nalada) is good in a eyewash (tarpaṇa).
  - Alternatively, one may have an enclosed roasting ( $puṭap\bar{a}ka$ ) done with aridland animals ( $j\bar{a}\dot{n}gala$ )<sup>244</sup> and a plentiful amount of long pepper ( $m\bar{a}gadha$ ), Sindh salt and honey.

<sup>237</sup> The expression taken hot (putāhvaya) is a guess.

<sup>238</sup> The expression liquid collyrium (*dravāñjana*) is only known from Dalhaṇa's comments on 6.17.11ab (Su 1938: 626). The recipe in the present collyrium is different from that discussed by Dalhaṇa.

<sup>239</sup> On *tuttha*, which may also be identified with zinc oxide or as crushed sea-urchin shells, see Falk (1991: 112 ff.); zinc oxide is a component of skin-balms but is not recommended for application in the eyes themselves. The expression "same collyrium (*samāñjana*)" is a hapax legomenon glossed inexplicably by Dalhaṇa as "a collyrium with an equal amount of fermented barley" (*tulyasauvīrāñjana*) (Su 1938: 628).

<sup>240</sup> The ablative "from collyrium" is hard to construe, but Dalhana used this term and phrase in his commentary on 6.17.41ab (Su 1938: 629).

<sup>241</sup> Probably Soymida febrifuga A. Juss.

<sup>242</sup> Dalhana invoked a general rule ( $paribh\bar{a}$  $s\bar{a}$ ) to indicate that this mixture should be cooked with sesame oil.

<sup>243</sup> These are fig trees. The *Sauśrutanighanṭu* (252) specifies the Udumbara. Cf. the classification in CS.1.1.71–72, 1.8, *et passim*.

<sup>244</sup> On this term, see SS.1.35.42 (Su 1938: 157) and the discussion by Zimmermann (1999: 25-31).

- 40 A treatment ( $kriy\bar{a}$ ) with realgar ( $mana \dot{h} \dot{s}il\bar{a}$ ), the three spices, conch, honey, along with Sindh salt, green vitriol ( $k\bar{a}s\bar{i}sa$ ) and elixir salve ( $ras\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$ ). They say that an elixir salve ( $ras\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$ ) combined with myrobalans, treacle and dried ginger is good. <sup>246</sup>
- Alternatively, a collyrium that has been prepared many times in the eight types of urine<sup>247</sup> is put into water with the three fruits. Having stored it in the mouth of a nocturnal creature ( $ni\dot{s}\bar{a}cara$ )<sup>248</sup> one should place it in a conch (salilotthita) for two months.<sup>249</sup>

find ref.

- One should apply that collyrium together with the flowers of mahua ( $ma-dh\bar{u}ka$ ) and horseradish tree ( $\dot{s}igru$ ) when [the disease] is caused by all [the humours].
  - But alternatively, all treatments apply when blood is the cause. The procedure that removes bile is good when there is blue dot cataract ( $ml\bar{a}yin$ ).<sup>250</sup>

Check out

- For one who has a humour, the physician should consider the rule in all humoral cases and then smear the ointment on the face.<sup>251</sup>

  The treatment that is good for removing watery eye (*syanda*) should be properly applied in all these humoral cases, according to the individual.<sup>252</sup>
- The physician should not employ substances in errhines etc., when the humours intensify, and also when disease spreads. And further, in the *Kalpa*, there is a good deal more said about collyriums, and that should be considered and then applied.<sup>253</sup>
  - meaning of kalpa

Someone who uses matured ghee, the three fruits, wild asparagus (śatāvarī), as well as mung beans (mudga), emblic and barley has nothing to fear from cases of severe blindness (timira).

<sup>245</sup> Dalhana glossed treatment (kriyā) specifically as inspissation (rasakriyā) (Su 1938: 629).

<sup>246</sup> We emend hite to hitam, against the MSS.

<sup>247</sup> See SS mūtravarga

<sup>248</sup> Dalhana glossed nocturnal creature (niśācara) as "vulture," although elsewhere in the Suśrutasaṃhitā it is more commonly interpreted as a spirit or demon. In the present context, following verses 33 and 34, it is probably a snake.

<sup>249</sup> We interpret "water-born (salilotthita)" as "conch" in line with jalodbhava, but the term is uncertain.

<sup>250</sup> The vulgate follows Þalhaṇa in glossing  $ml\bar{a}yin$  as  $pariml\bar{a}ya$ . The description of this condition at SS.6.7.27–28 appears to refer to "blue dot" or "cerulean" cataract.  $\sqrt{mlai}$  derivatives can mean "dark" or "black."), which is normally a different ailment.

<sup>251</sup> The vulgate edition omits part of this verse (ab) combining earlier and later passages.

<sup>252</sup> The term watery eye (*syanda*) refers to the specific disease *abhişyanda*. See SS.6.6.5, 1.46.51, etc.

<sup>253</sup> Dalhana noted that *Kalpa* means the Uttaratantra adhyāya 18 (Su 1938: 633 ff).

- 46 Blindness is dispelled by milk prepared with wild asparagus or in emblics, or again cooked barley (*yavaudana*) followed by the water of three fruits with plenty of ghee.
- When there is bloodshot blindness (*rāgiṇi timire*), the wise physician should not cut a vein. A humour injured (*utpīḍita*) by the instrument rapidly destroys vision.
- Non-bloodshot blindness (*araga timira*) in the first layer (paṭala) is treatable. And bloodshot blindness ( $r\bar{a}gini\ timire$ ) in the second layer, with difficulty. And in the third layer it can be mitigated ( $y\bar{a}pya$ ).<sup>254</sup>
- I shall explain the therapy for success when there is a cataract (*liṅganāśa*) caused by phlegm. It may be white, like a full moon, an umbrella, a pearl (*muktā*) or a spiral (*āvarta*).
- Or it may be uneven, thin in the middle, streaked or have excessive shine (prabha). A humour (doṣa) in the pupil may be characterized as being painful or having blood.<sup>255</sup>
- At a time that is neither too hot or too cold, the patient who has been oiled and sweated is restrained and seated, looking symmetrically at his own nose. The wise physician should separate ( $muktv\bar{a}$ ) two white sections from the black part (krsna) and from the outer corner of the eye ( $ap\bar{a}nga$ ). Then he should press ( $p\bar{i}d$ -) properly into the eye, 256 at the naturally-occurring (daivakrte) opening (chidra) with a probe ( $sal\bar{a}k\bar{a}$ ) made of copper or iron, with a tip like a barley-corn, held by a steady hand with the middle finger, forefinger and thumb, the left one with the right hand and the other one contrariwise. When the piercing is done properly, there is the issue of a drop of liquid and a sound. 257
  - The expert should moisten the exact place of piercing with a woman's breastmilk. Then he should scratch the circuit of the pupil (*dṛṣṭimaṇḍala*) with the

<sup>254</sup> Although the text says with difficulty (*kṛcchra*), the implication is that it is untreatable (*asā-dhya*) (cf. 6.17.2 (Su 1938: 625) above). The three categories, treatable, untreatable and possibly mitigated are standard categories of triage.

<sup>255</sup> In the vulgate, and in parallel passages in the AS, the reading "it may be (*bhavet*)" is replaced with the negative "if, then not (*na ced*)" (cf. utt.17.1–3 (As 1980: 712)). These characteristics are then read as conditions that preclude surgery; for the Nepalese recension, they are simply descriptions of the appearance of a cataract.

<sup>256</sup> We understand the locative *nayane* as the place of pressing; other interpreters take it as an accusative dual. The idea is that the eye is held steady by the surgeon.

<sup>257</sup> Dalhana remarked on 6.17.61ab (Su 1938: 630) that when the piercing is not correctly done, blood issues and there is no sound.

- tip of the probe (*śalākā*).<sup>258</sup>
- Without injuring, gently pushing the phlegm in the circuit of the pupil against the nose, he should remove it by means of sniffing (*ucchingana*).<sup>259</sup>
- Whether the humour is solid ( $sty\bar{a}na$ ) or liquid (cala), one should apply sweating to the eye externally, with leaves ( $bha\dot{n}ga$ ) that remove wind, after fixing the needle ( $s\bar{u}c\bar{\iota}$ ) properly.<sup>260</sup>
- But if the humour cannot be destroyed or if it comes back, one should apply the piercing (*vyadha*) once again, with appropriate oils and so on.
- Now the pupil (drsti) shines like the sun (hari) in a cloudless sky; then, when objects become visible, one may slowly remove the probe ( $śalāk\bar{a}$ ).<sup>261</sup>
- Having smeared ghee on the eye, one should cover it with a bandage. Then, he must lie down supine in a house free from disturbances.<sup>262</sup>
- At that time, he should not belch, cough, sneeze, spit or shiver. Afterwards there should be restrictions ( $yantran\bar{a}$ ) as in the case of someone who has drunk oil.<sup>263</sup>
- Every three days one should wash it with decoctions (*kaṣāya*) that remove wind. After three days, one should sweat the eye externally because of the danger of wind.
- Having restrained himself in this way for ten days he should thereafter take a beneficial regimen (*karma*) that clears the pupil (*dṛṣṭi*) and also he should take light food in measure.

- 261 There are many problems with the MS readings and interpretation of this half-verse. We have inferred "sky" and emended from "free from the point (*agramukta*)" to "free from clouds (*abhramukta*)". The latter meaning is supported (in different words) by the vulgate and occurs elsewhere in Sanskrit literature.
- 262 Dalhana explained disturbances specifically as dust, smoke, drafts and sunlight 6.17.67 (Su 1938: 631a).
- 263 Dalhaṇa glossed "restrictions (yantraṇā)" as having a controlled diet and the other restrictions appropriate to someone who is taking oil as a preparation before further therapy (6.17.68 (Su 1938: 631)). These restrictions are also described at 6.18.28 (Su 1938: 635) and 1.16.25cd (Ah 1939: 249).

<sup>258</sup> The anatomy of the eye is described in 6.1.14–16 (Su 1938: 596). The disks or *maṇḍala*s are the circuits or disks of the eye.

<sup>259</sup> Dalhana described sniffing (*ucchingana*) at 6.19.8 (Su 1938: 641), clearly intending inward sniffing.

<sup>260</sup> We interpret *bhaṅga* as leaves, following the usage elsewhere in this sthāna 4.32.9, 6.11.5 (Su 1938: 513, 614) where *bhaṅga* means shoots (*pallava*). A similar procedure is described at 6.17.25 (As 1980: 716a), where sweating of the eye is done by means of the leaves of a castor-oil plant.

## [Complications]

- When there is a misshapen eyeball (*vilocana*), the eye may fill because of the release of blood from a vein.<sup>264</sup>
  - A hard probe leads to shooting pain ( $\hat{sula}$ ), a thin to unsteadiness of the humours (dosapariplava),  $^{265}$
- a thick-tipped probe leads to a large wound, and a sharp one may cause harm in many ways; a very irregular one may cause a discharge of water, a rigid (sthirā) one brings about a loss of function (kriyāsaṅga).<sup>266</sup>
- 66 Therefore, one should make a good probe that is free from these defects.

#### [Characteristics of the probe]

The probe should be eight finger-breadths long and in the middle it is wrapped with thread and is as thick as a thumb joint. It is shaped like a bud at both ends (*vaktra*).

67 A commendable probe should be made of silver, iron or gold (śātakumbhī).<sup>267</sup>

## [Complications]

Redness, swelling, lumps, driness (coṣa), bubbling (budbuda),  $^{268}$  pigs' eye ( $s\bar{u}$ - $kar\bar{a}kṣit\bar{a}$ ),  $^{269}$ , irritation (adhimantha), etc. and other diseases arise from faults in the piercing,

or even from bad behaviour. One should treat them each accordingly. Listen to me once again about compounds for painful red eyes. Red chalk (gairikaḥ), Indian sarsaparilla (śārivā), panic grass (dūrvā), and ghee ground with barley.

The condition of "misshapen eye" is referred to briefly in 6.61.9 (Su 1938: 800), where Dalhana glossed it as "bent brow and eye (*vakrabhrūnetra*)." The vulgate's reading of "with blood (*śonitena*)" is easier to construe.

<sup>265</sup> There is a medically significant difference here from the vulgate, which reads "a rough (*khara*) probe" not a "thin" probe.

<sup>266</sup> This translation of loss of function (*kriyāsaṅga*) is given on the basis of Dalhaṇa's gloss of *kriyāsaṅgakarin* at 3.8.19 (Su 1938: 382) as "causing the destruction of actions such as moving (*gamanādikriyāvināśakarī*)."

<sup>267</sup> The vulgate reads "copper (tāmra)" in place of "silver."

<sup>268</sup> Palhaṇa glossed "bubbling (budbuda)" as "prolapse (māṃsanirgama) that looks like bubbles."

<sup>269</sup> The expression "pigs' eye" appears to be a *hapax*. It was glossed as "downward vision (*a-dhodṛṣṭitva*)" by Dalhaṇa.

- This face ointment is to be used for quelling pain and redness. Or else it may be taken combined with the juice of citron (*mātuluṅga*) with sesame gently fried, mixed with white mustard (*siddhārthaka*).<sup>270</sup> This is immediately beneficial when someone is looking for relief.
- A paste with Holostemma ( $payasy\bar{a}$ ),  $^{271}$  Indian sarsaparilla ( $ś\bar{a}riv\bar{a}$ ), cassia cinnamon (patra), Indian madder ( $ma\tilde{n}jis\dot{t}h\bar{a}$ ), and liquorice (madhukair) stirred with goat's milk, pleasantly warmed, is said to be healthy.  $^{272}$
- Alternatively, it can be made in this way with Himalayan cedar, Himalayan cherry (*padmaka*) and dried ginger. Or, in the same way, with grapes, liquorice and the Lodh tree mixed with Sindh salt.
- Alternatively, goats' milk with the Lodh tree, Sindh salt, red grapes and liquorice, cooked, should be used in irrigation because it removes pain and redness.
- Having cooked it with liquorice, water-lily, and costus, mixed with grapes  $(dr\bar{a}k\varsigma\bar{a})$ , lac  $(l\bar{a}k\varsigma\bar{a})$ , white sugar  $(sit\bar{a})$ , with wild asparagus, Hare Foot Uraria  $(prthakparn\bar{i})$ , and Sindh salts, one should apply it [irrigation] gently warm.
- 76cd–77ab Ghee that has been cooked in four times the amount of milk that has itself been cooked with drugs that destroy wind. This has an admixture of cottony jujube ( $k\bar{a}kol\bar{\iota}$ ) etc., should be prescribed in all treatments.
- 77cd-78ab If pain does not end in this way, one should administer blood-letting to the vein of someone who has previously been oiled and sweated. Then the wise physician should apply cauterization in the advised manner.<sup>276</sup>
- 78cd-80ab Now listen to two excellent collyriums for making the pupils clear. After

<sup>270</sup> On the adverbial use of gently (mrdu), see Gombrich 1979.

<sup>271</sup> The identity of *payasyā* is debated (**sing-1972**), and was already in doubt at the time of Dalhaṇa but likely candidates may be those suggested by Dalhaṇa, who suggests either *arkapuṣpī* or *kṣīrakākolī*, that may be *Holostemma adakodien* Schult. and *Leptadenia reticulata* (Retz.) Wight & Arn. (ADPS: 195-196). The *Sauśrutanighaṇṭu* glosses it as *kṣīrikā* or *arkapuṣpikā* (Suvedī and Tīvārī 2000: v. 307).

<sup>272</sup> The expression "stirred with goat's milk ( $aj\bar{a}k\bar{s}\bar{t}r\bar{a}rdita$ )" is difficult. It may be connected with the rare root ard documented by Whitney (1885: 15). Cf.  $\sqrt{ard\ gatau}$  ( $Dh\bar{a}tup\bar{a}tha\ 1.56$ ).

<sup>273</sup> Suvedī and Tīvārī 2000: 18.

<sup>274</sup> Palhaṇa mentioned that these drugs include Deodar (*bhadradāru*) and other wind-destroying drugs. The *vātasaṃśamana* group is listed in *Suśrutasaṃhitā sūtrasthāna* 1.39.7.

<sup>275</sup> Dalhana noted that this would include errhines, ointments, etc.

<sup>276</sup> The vulgate reads *vāpi* for *cāpi*, so Dalhaṇa saw blood-letting and cautery as alternatives, not a sequence of treatments. Dalhaṇa listed the places that cauterization may be applied, such as the brow, forehead, etc.

- grinding the flowers of perploca of the woods (meṣasṛnga), siris (sirīṣa), axelwood (dhava) royal jasmine ( $jāt\bar{\iota}$ ), pearl and beryl ( $vaid\bar{\iota}urya$ ) with goat's milk, one should put it in a copper pot for seven days.
- 8ocd–81 Having made it into wicks (vartti), the physician should apply it as a collyrium. Alternatively, one should make kohl (srotoja), coral (vidruma), cuttlefish bone (phena), and realgar (manahsila) and peppers into wicks as before. One should apply these wicks, which are good in a collyrium, to steady the pupil.



82 I shall again discuss the foremost collyriums at length in the *Kriyākalpa* section. Those various methods may be applied here too.

# Uttaratantra, adhyāya 38

## Introductory remarks

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

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

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

It is appropriate that, for the sake of treating the disorders of the female reproductive system, the chapter called "Countermeasures Against Disorders of the Female Reproductive System" is taught immediately after the chapter called "The Origination of Demons (*graha*)." It is because (1) there is an explicit mention of the word "*yoni*" in the statement "born in the womb (*yoni*) of animal and human" [in SS.6.37.13bc] and because (2) the disorders of the female reproductive system are the causes for the inborn disorders of children.<sup>277</sup>

<sup>277</sup> Dalhana on SS.6.38.1: grahotpattyadhyāyanantaram 'tityagyonim mānuṣam ca' iti vacanena yoner nāmasamkīrtanāt kumārajanmavikārakāranatvāc ca, yonivyāpaccikitsitārtham

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

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

A close literary parallel to the first part of the chapter is found in *Mādhava-nidāna* (MN) 62, or at least its version printed in Y. T. Ācārya (MN: 361). The readings of the MN as it stands now usually side with the vulgate version rather than with the Nepalese. In addition to the basic text, there are several valuable pointers made in the *Madhukośa*, an early commentary on the MN. This part of the text is authored by Śrīkaṇṭhadatta, who was most like a direct student of Vijarakṣita. The latter wrote the first part of the *Madhukośa*, up to chapter 32, and, what is more, can be dated to the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries.<sup>278</sup>

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

#### Translation

1 And now I shall explain the countermeasures against disorders of the female reproductive system (*yonivyāpat*).<sup>279</sup>

yonivyāpatpratiṣedhādhyāyārambho yujyate [...]/

<sup>278</sup> Meulenbeld 1974: 22-26.

<sup>279</sup> On this broad understanding of the term yoni, see Das 2003: pp. 572-5

- \*3 Since for good men, a woman is the most pleasurable thing, therefore a physician should diligently attend to the diseases located in the female reproductive system (*yoni*), because he is entirely devoted to it (that is, to curing these diseases) for the sake of (people's) happiness.<sup>280</sup>
- \*4 A corrupted female reproductive system (*yoni*) cannot consume semen ( $b\bar{\imath}ja$ ), and therefore, the woman cannot take a fetus (that is, become pregnant). She gets severe prolapses ( $ar\acute{s}as$ ), abdominal lump (gulma) and similarly many other diseases (roga).

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

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

Humours (dosa), wind ( $v\bar{a}ta$ ), etc., corrupted due to faulty medical treatment ( $mithyopac\bar{a}ra$ ), <sup>281</sup> sexual activity, fate, and also defects (dosa) of menstrual blood ( $\bar{a}rtava$ ) and semen ( $b\bar{\imath}ja$ ), produce various diseases in the female reproductive organ (yoni). These 20 diseases are taught here distinctly and one by one along with their treatment (bhesaja), causes (hetu) and signs (cihna).

<sup>280</sup> As our translation indicates, the sentence construction does not allow an unambiguous identification of who or what is the referent of the pronoun *tad* in the compound form *tadadhīna* 'devoted to it.' Our current understanding is that *tad* refers to the 'most pleasurable thing' mentioned in pāda a. It could, however, also refer to 'them,' that is, the 'good men.'

<sup>281</sup> In our translation of the compound *mithyopacāra*, we decided for the technical meaning of the term *upacāra*, that is, 'medical application' or 'treatment.' The combination *mithyā+upa√car* is attested several times in medical literature. At least once, at CS Vi.3.38, it is given an explicit commentarial gloss (by Cakrapāṇidatta): "*mithopacaritān iti asamyak cikitsitān*". In the SS (Su 1938), it is used once in Ut.18.30, where it refers specifically to the wrong application of irrigation (*tarpaṇa*) and putapāka (*putapāka*), both of which are mentioned in the previous verse. Another use of the compound in a seemingly conforming meaning is found in a citation from Bhoja's text quoted by Gayadāsa at SS Ni.5.17: "śvitraṃ tu dvividhaṃ proktaṃ doṣajaṃ vraṇajaṃ tathā/ tatra mithyopacārād dhi vraṇasya vraṇajaṃ smṛtam//...". In contrast to this, the parallel verse in Su 1938 = CS Ci.30.7 = MN 62.1 reads *mithyācāra* 'wrong conduct'. All commentators (Cakrapāṇidatta on the CS, Śrīkaṇṭhadatta on the MN, and Dalhaṇa on the SS) explain that the wrong conduct stands here specifically for unwholesome diet. The parallel in AH Ut.33.28 = AS Ut.38.34 plainly reads *duṣtabhojana* 'corrupted food' instead.

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

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

- \*6.1 Because of wind (*vāta*), female reproductive organ (*yoni*) becomes:
  - 1. udāvartā (*udāvartā*),
  - 2. called Infertile (vandhyā), and
  - 3. Sprung ( $plut\bar{a}$ ),
  - 4. Flooded (pariplutā), and
  - 5. Windy (*vātalā*).
- \*6.2 And because of choler (*pitta*), occur:
  - 1. With bloodloss (raktaksayā),
  - 2. Vomiting ( $v\bar{a}min\bar{\imath}$ ), and
  - 3. Causing a Fall (*sraṃsanī*),
  - 4. Child-murderess ( $putraghn\bar{\imath}$ ), and also
  - 5. Bilious / Choleric (*pittalā*).
- \*7.1 And because of phlegm (*kapha*) occur:
  - 1. Extremely Excited (atyānandā),
  - 2. Protuberant (*karninī*), and
  - 3. & 4. two Caranī (caranī), and
    - 5. other Phlegmatic (*ślesmalā*).
- \*7.2 And similarly there are other (kinds of morbid female reproductive system) involving all *doṣas*:

- Impotent (śaṇḍhī),
- With testicles (aṇḍīnī), two Huge (mahatī), 2.
- 3.
- 4. With a needle-like opening (sūcīvaktrā),
  5. Sarvātmikā (sarvātmikā).

## **Editions and Abbreviations**

Ah 1939 Kuṃṭe, Aṇṇā Moreśvara, Navare, Kṛṣṇaśāstrī, and Parādkar,

Hariśāstrī (1939) (eds.), श्रीमद्वाग्भटिवरचितम् अष्टाङ्गहृद्यम्, श्रीमद्रुग्णदत्तिवरचितया सर्वाङ्गसुन्दराख्यया व्याख्यया, हेमाद्रिप्रणीतया आयुर्वेदर-सायनाह्वया टीकया च समुस्रसितम् = The Astāngahridaya (6th edn., Muṃbayyām: Nirṇayasāgara Press), ark:/13960/t3tt6967d.

Anup Sanskrit Library (n.d.).
Anup Sanskrit Library (n.d.).

Apte Apte, Vaman Shivaram (1992), The Practical Sanskrit-English

Dictionary (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Company), ISBN: 4-653-00038-7;

Reprinted from Gode and Karve 1957-9.

AS Asiatic Society (n.d.).

As 1980 Āṭhavale, Anamta Dāmodara (1980) (ed.), Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgrahaḥ.

*Śrīmad Vṛddhavāgbhaṭaviracitaḥ Induvyākhyāsahitaḥ* (Puṇe: Maheśa Anaṃta Āṭhavale, Śrīmad Ātreya Prakāśanam),

ark:/13960/t9773bb9z.

Bhela 1921 Mookerjee, Ashutosh and Ananta Krishna Shastri, Vedantabis-

harad (1921) (eds.), *The Bhela Samhita. Sanskrit Text* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta), ark:/13960/t3sv3157j; Based on two copies made of the Thanjavur codex unicus (MS Thanjavur TMSSML 10773, Burnell 1880: 63–4, P. P. S. Sastri 1933: #11085).

Bhela 2000 Krishnamurthy, K. H. (2000), Bhela-samhitā. Text with English

Translation, Commentary and Critical Notes (Haridas Ayurveda

Series, 8; Varanasi: Chaukhambha Visvabharati).

BL British Library (n.d.).

Ca. 1941 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1941) (ed.), महर्षिणा पुनर्वसुनोप-

दिष्टा, तिच्छिष्येणाग्निवेशेन प्रणीता, चरकदृढबलाभ्यां प्रतिसंस्कृता चरकसंहिता, श्रीचकपाणिदत्तविरचितया आयुर्वेददीपिकाव्याख्यया संविलता (3rd edn., Mumbayyām: Nirnaya Sagara Press), URL, accessed 01/01/2018.

HIML Meulenbeld, Gerrit Jan (1999–2002), A History of Indian Medical

Literature, 5 vols. (Groningen: E. Forsten), ISBN: 9069801248.

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).

KL Kaiser Library (n.d.).

MN Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1932) (ed.), महामतिश्रीमाधवक-

रप्रणीतं माधवनिदानम् श्रीविजयरक्षित-श्रीकण्थदत्ताभ्यां विरचितया मधुकोशा-ख्यव्याख्यया, श्रीवाचस्पतिवैद्यविरचितया आतङ्कदर्पणव्याख्याया विशिष्टांशेन च समुल्लस्तिम् = Mādhavanidāna by Mādhavakara with the Two Commentaries, Madhukosha by Vijayarakshita & Shrīkanthadatta and Ātankadarpaṇa by Vāchaspati Vaidya (3rd edn., Bombay: Nirnaya Sagara Press), ark:/13960/t66452x0h; Reprin-

ted Varanasi: Chowkhambha, 1986.

MW Monier-Williams, Monier, Leumann, E., Cappeller, C., et al.

(1899), A Sanskrit–English Dictionary Etymologically and Philologically Arranged, New Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press);

1970 reprint.

NAK National Archives of Kathmandu (n.d.).

NCC Raghavan, V. et al. (1949-), New Catalogus Catalogorum, an

Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit and Allied Works and Authors, 39 vols. (Madras University Sanskrit Series; Madras: University

of Madras); v.1: revised edition, 1968.

NGMCP (2014), "Nepal-german Manuscript Cataloguing Pro-

ject. Online Title List and Descriptive Catalogue," Universität

Hamburg and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, URL.

RORI Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute (n.d.).

Su 1889 Bhaṭṭācāryya, Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara (1889) (ed.), सुश्रुतः.

सूत्र-निदान-शारीर-चिकित्सा-कल्पोत्तर-तन्त्र-किल्पत आयुर्वेद. भगवता धन्व-न्तरिणोपदिष्टः सुश्रुतनामधेयेन तच्छिष्येण विरचितः (3rd edn., Calcutta: Saratī Press), ark:/13960/t1nh6j09c; HIML:IB, 311, edition

b.

Su 1915

Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1915) (ed.), सुश्रुतसंहिता, सुश्रुतेन विरचिता, वैद्यवरश्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया समुष्ठसिता, आचार्योपाह्वेन त्रिविकमात्मजेन यादवशर्मणा संशोधिता = The Sushrutasamhita of Sushruta, the Nibandhasangraha Commentary of Shri Dalhaṇāchārya (Mumbayyāṃ: Nirṇayasāgaramudrāyantrālaye), ark:/13960/t3sv0mt50, accessed 29/07/2020; HIML: IB, 312 edition \*v.

Su 1931

Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1931) (ed.), सुश्रुतसंहिता, वैद्यवरश्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया समुष्ठासिता, महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता, सूत्र-निदान-शारीर-चिकित्सा-कल्पस्थानोत्तरतन्त्रात्मकः. आचार्योपाह्वेन त्रिविकमात्मजेन याद्वशर्मणा संशोधिता = The Sushrutasaṃhitā of Sushruta with the Nibandhasangraha Commentary of Shree Dalhaṇāchārya (2nd edn., Mumbayyāṃ: Pāṇḍuraṅga Jāvajī at the Nirṇayasāgaramudrāyantrālaye), ark:/13960/t9j41sg94, accessed 09/06/2020; HIML: IB, 312 edition \*v.

Su 1938

Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (1938) (eds.), श्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया निदानस्थानस्य श्रीगयदासाचार्यविरचितया न्यायचिन्द्रकाख्यपञ्जिकाव्याख्यया च सम्प्रहासिता महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता (3rd edn., Bombay: Nirṇayasāgara Press), ark:/13960/t09x0sk1h; HIML: IB, 313, edition cc ('the vulgate').

Su 1938<sup>2</sup>

Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (2004) (eds.), महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता, श्रीडल्हणाचा-र्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया निदानस्थानस्य श्रीगयदासाचार्य-विरचितया न्यायचन्द्रिकाख्यपञ्जिकाव्याख्यया च समुल्लसिता (Vārāṇasī: Caukhambhā Kṛṣṇadāsa Akādamī); Reprint of the third, 1938 edition (Su 1938).

Su 1939

Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama and Śarman, Nandakiśora (1939) (eds.), सुश्रुतसंहितायाः सूत्रस्थानम्. श्रीचक्रपाणिद्त्तविरचितया भानुमतीव्याख्याया समेतम् = Sushrut-sañhitā (sūtra Sthān) with Bhānumatī Commentary by Chakrapāṇi Datta with Introduction by Gaṇanāth Sen (Śrīsvāmi Lakṣmīrāma Nidhi Granthamālā = Shrī Swāmī Lakshmī Rām Trust Series, 1; [Jaipur]: Śyāmasundara Śarman), ark:/13960/t54g0d12m; Printed at the Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay.

Su 1945 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikramācārya and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa

Rāma (1945) (eds.), महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता (मूलमात्रा). पाठान्तर-परिशिष्टादिभिः संविलिता = the Suśrutasaṃhitā of Suśruta with Various Readings, Notes and Appendix etc. (Mumbāi:

Nirnayasāgarākhyamudranālaye), URL.

TMSSML Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji Saraswati Mahal Library (n.d.).

Viṣnudh. Śarman, Madhusūdana and Śarman, Mādhavaprasāda (1912)

(eds.), विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणम् = [Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa] (Mumbai: Khemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa at the Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press), ark:/13960/t6qz6fr23; Lithograph format. Edited on the basis of a manuscript belonging to the astrologer

Śudhākaraśarman of the Varanasi Sanskrit Pāthaśālā.

## **Index of Manuscripts**

The numbers after the colon refer to pages in this document.

Bikaner Anup 4390, 5 Bikaner RORI 5157, 33

Cambridge Add. 1693, 29

Kathmandu KL 699, 20, 32, 67 Kathmandu NAK 1-1079, 12, 20

Kathmandu NAK 5-333, 7, 9, 12, 20, 29, 34

London BL H. T. Colebrooke 908, 7

Mumbai AS B.D.109, 5 Mumbai AS B.I.3, 5

NAK 5-333, 45

Thanjavur TMSSML 10773, 72

#### References

Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1941) (ed.), महर्षिणा पुनर्वसुनोपदिष्टा, तच्छिष्येणाग्नि-वेशेन प्रणीता, चरकदृढबलाभ्यां प्रतिसंस्कृता चरकसंहिता, श्रीचक्रपाणिदत्तविरचितया आयुर्वे-द्दीपिकाव्याख्यया संविलता (3rd edn., Mumbayyāṃ: Nirnaya Sagara Press), URL, accessed 01/01/2018.

- Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikramācārya and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (1945) (eds.), महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता (मूलमात्रा). पाठान्तर-परिशिष्टादिभिः संविलता = the Suśrutasaṃhitā of Suśruta with Various Readings, Notes and Appendix etc. (Mumbāi: Nirṇayasāgarākhyamudraṇālaye), URL.
- Adriaensen, Rob, Barkhuis, Roelf, and Ruijters, Jean-Louis (1984), "An English Translation of Suśrutasaṃhitā, Nidānasthāna 1, 1–39, Together with Gayadāsa's Nyāyacandrikā," in Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Workshop on Priorities in the Study of Indian Medicine* (Groningen: Forsten), 277–310.
- Adriaensen, Rob C. R., Barkhuis, Roelf, and Ruijters, Jean-Louis (1984), "An English Translation of Suśrutasaṃhitā, Nidānasthāna 1, 1–39, Together with Gayadāsa's Nyāyacandrikā," in Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Workshop on Priorities in the Study of Indian Medicine* (Groningen: Forsten), 277–310.
- Agrawala, V. S. (1963), *India As Known to Pāṇini: A Study of the Cultural Material in the Aṣṭādhyāyī* (2nd edn., Varanasi: Prthvi Prakashan); First published in 1953.
- Angermeier, Vitus (2020), Regenzeiten, Feuchtgebiete, Körpersäfte. Das Wasser in der klassischen indischen Medizin (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften).
- Baber, Zaheer (1996), *The Science of Empire: Scientific Knowledge, Civilization, and Colonial Rule in India* (Albany: State University of New York Press).
- Bakker, Hans T. (2019), "Some Methodological Considerations with Respect to the Critical Edition of Puranic Literature," in *Holy Ground: Where Art and Text Meet* (Leiden: Brill), 175–84. DOI: 10.1163/9789004412071\_010.
- Barceloux, Donald G. (2008), Medical Toxicology of Natural Substances. Foods, Fungi, Medicinal Herbs, Plants, and Venomous Animals (Hoboken, NJ, etc.: John Wiley & Sons), 1196 pp., ISBN: 047172761X, URL.
- Bausi, Alessandro et al. (2015), Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies. An Introduction (Hamburg: Tredition). DOI: 10.5281/ZENOD0.46784.
- Bendall, Cecil (1883), Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit, Manuscripts in The, University Library, Cambridge: With Introductory Notices and Illustrations of the Palaeography and Chronology of Nepal and Bengal (Cambridge: University Press), ark:/13960/t03x8vz7b.

- Bhaṭṭācārya, Candrakānta (1910-7) (ed.), सुश्रुतसंहिता प्रथमखण्डम् सूत्रस्थानात्म-कम् हाराणचन्द्रचक्रवर्तिकविराजविरचितसुश्रुतार्थसन्दीपनभाष्य-समेतम्...चन्द्रकान्त भट्टाचार्य्य-प्रमुखेः संशोधितम् = [The Suśrutasaṃhitā with the Commentary Suśrutārthasandīpanabhāṣya by Hārāṇacandra Cakravarti] (Kalikātā: Satya Press); Edition "t" in HIML: IB, 312.
- Bhattarai, Bidur (2020), Dividing Texts. Conventions of Visual Text-Organisation in Nepalese and North Indian Manuscripts (Studies in Manuscript Cultures; Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter), 388.
- Birch, Jason, Wujastyk, Dominik, Klebanov, Andrey, Parameswaran, Madhu K., et al. (2021), "Further Insight into the Role of Dhanvantari, the Physician to the Gods, in the Suśrutasamhitā," *Academia Letters*. DOI: 10.20935/AL2992.
- Birch, Jason, Wujastyk, Dominik, Klebanov, Andrey, Rimal, Madhusudan, et al. (2021), "Dalhaṇa and the Early 'Nepalese' Version of the Suśrutasaṃhitā." DOI: 10.20935/al3733.
- Bollée, Willem (2010), "Remarks on the Cultural History of the Ear in India," in Nalini Balbir (ed.), *Svasti: Essays in Honour of Professor Hampa Nagarajaiah for His 75th Birthday* (Bangalore: K. S. Mudappa Smaraka Trust), 141–67, URL, accessed 23/01/2022.
- Breton, P. (1826), "On the Native Mode of Couching," *Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta*, 2: 341–82, ark:/13960/t3dz8nn5t, URL, accessed 02/06/2021.
- Bronkhorst, Johannes (2016), How the Brahmins Won: From Alexander to the Guptas (Leiden: Brill). DOI: 10.1163/9789004315518.
- (2021), "Patañjali's Āryāvarta = Śuṅga realm?," *Academia Letters.* DOI: 10 . 20935/al291; Article 291.
- Bronner, Yigal (2021) (ed.), "The Pandit Project" (30 Sept.), URL.
- Burghart, Marjorie (2016), "The TEI Critical Apparatus Toolbox: Empowering Textual Scholars through Display, Control, and Comparison Features," *Journal of the Text Encoding Initiative*, 10/Issue 10. DOI: 10.4000/jtei.1520, URL, accessed 12/12/2017.
- (2017), "Textual Variants," in Marjorie Burghart, James Cummings, and Elena Pierazzo (eds.), *Digital Editing of Medieval Texts: A Textbook* (DEMM), URL, accessed 04/07/2021.

- Burnell, Arthur Coke (1880), A Classified Index to the Sanskrit Mss. in the Palace at Tanjore (London: Trübner), ark:/13960/t4xh86j61; Bhelasamhitā described on pp. 67 ff.
- Carpue, J. C. (1816), An Account of Two Successful Operations for Restoring a Lost Nose from the Integuements of the Forehead...Including Descriptions of the Indian and Italian Methods (London: Longman et al.), ark:/13960/t2q57fn42, accessed 20/03/2019.
- Cone, Margaret (2001), *A Dictionary of Pāli* (Oxford: The Pali Text Society), ISBN: 0 86013 394 x.
- Cordier, P. (1903), "Récentes découvertes de mss. médicaux sanscrits dans l'Inde (1898–1902)," *Muséon, Nouvelle Série*, 4: 321–52, ark:/13960/t26b2j457, accessed 02/01/2020; Reprinted in Roşu 1989: 539–70.
- Coult, Ro. (1731), "An Account of the Diseases of Bengall," in *Indian Science and Technology in the Eighteenth Century* (Impex India), 141 f., 276.
- Crawford, D. G. (1930), *Roll of the Indian Medical Service*, 1615–1930 (London, Calcutta, Simla: Thacker).
- Das, Rahul Peter (2003), *The Origin of the Life of a Human Being. Conception and the Female According to Ancient Indian Medical and Sexological Literature* (Indian Medical Tradition; Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas), ISBN: 81-208-1998-5.
- Dave, K. N. (1985), *Birds in Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass), ISBN: 0-89581-676-8, ark:/13960/t2c94cv80.
- Deshpande, Vijaya (1999), "Indian Influences on Early Chinese Ophthalmology: Glaucoma As a Case Study," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 62: 306–22. DOI: 10.1017/S0041977X00016724.
- —— (2000), "Ophthalmic Surgery: A Chapter in the History of Sino-indian Medical Contacts," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 63/3: 370–88, ISSN: 0041-977X. DOI: 10.1017/s0041977x00008454.
- Dimitrov, Dragomir and Tamot, Kashinath (2007), "Kaiser Shamsher, His Library and His Manuscript Collection," *Kaiser Shamsher, His Library and His Manuscript Collection*, 3 (Jan.): 26–36, URL.
- Edgerton, Franklin (1939), "The Epic Trisṭubh and Its Hypermetric Varieties," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 59/2: 159–74. DOI: 10.2307/594060.

- Edgerton, Franklin (1953), Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary. Vol. 2: Dictionary (William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series; New Haven: Yale University Press).
- Eggeling, Julius et al. (1887–1935), *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (London: Secretary of State for India).
- Elliot, Robert Henry (1918), The Indian Operation of Couching for Cataract: Incorporating the Hunterian Lectures Delivered before the Royal College of Surgeons of England on February 19 and 21, 1917 (London: H. K. Lewis).
- Emeneau, M. B. (1969), "Sanskrit Syntactic Particles "kila, khalu, nūnam"," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 11/4: 241–68.
- Falk, Harry (1991), "Silver, Lead and Zinc in Early Indian Literature," *South Asian Studies*, 7/1: 111–7. DOI: 10.1080/02666030.1991.9628430.
- Fan, Ka Wai (2005), "Couching for Cataract and Sino-indian Medical Exchange From the Sixth to the Twelfth Century Ad," *Clinical and Experimental Ophthalmology*: 188–90. DOI: 10.1111/j.1442–9071.2005.00978.x; Unaware of Deshpande 1999; 2000.
- Fitzgerald, James L. (2009), "A Preliminary Study of the 681 Triṣṭubh Passages of the Mahābhārata," in Robert P. Goldman and Muneo Tokunaga (eds.), *Epic Undertakings* (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference; Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishe), 95–117.
- Gaṇapatiśāstrī, T. (1920–5), Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpaḥ (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 70; Anantaśayane: Rājakīyamudraṇayantrālaye), ark :/ 13960 / t4pk5sj0j.
- Gode, P. K. and Karve, C. G. (1957–9) (eds.), Revised and Enlarged Edition of Prin. V. S. Apte's the Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary (Poona: Prasad Prakashan), ark:/13960/t3gx47212, accessed 20/10/2017.
- Gombrich, Richard (1979), "'He cooks softly': dverbs in Sanskrit grammar," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 42/2 (June): 244–56. DOI: 10.1017/s0041977x0014580x.
- Gupta, Sri Madhusudana (1835–6) (ed.), *Āyur-veda-prakāśa [also Called Suśruta-saṃhitā] by Suśruta. the Suśruta, or System of Medicine, Taught by Dhanwantari, and Composed by His Disciple Suśruta*, 2 vols. (Calcutta: Education Press and Baptist Mission Press), ark:/13960/t6841qw6x.

- Harimoto, Kengo (2011), "In Search of the Oldest Nepalese Manuscript," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 84/1–4: 85–106, ISSN: 0392-4866, URL, accessed 08/09/2019.
- (2014), "Nepalese Manuscripts of the Suśrutasaṃhitā," *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu)*, 62/3: 23–29 (1087-1093). DOI: 10.4259/ibk.62.3\_1087, URL, accessed 08/09/2019.
- (pre-published), "[Preliminary Edition of the Nepalese MSS of the Suśruta-saṃhitā, adhyāyas 1.1–3, 6.4]"; Unpublished document dated 2010.
- Hayashi, Takao (2017), "The Units of Time in Ancient and Medieval India," *History of Science in South Asia*, 5/1: 1–116. DOI: 10.18732/h2ht0h.
- Hemarāja Śarman (1938) (ed.), काश्यपसंहिता (वृद्धजीवकीयं तन्त्रं वा) महर्षिणा मारीचक-श्यपेनोपदिष्टा ... हेमराजशर्मणा लिखितेन विस्तृतेन उपोद्धातेन सहिता ... सत्यपाल भिषगा कृतया विद्योतिनी हिन्दीव्याख्यया ... समुष्ठसिता (1st edn., Mumba: Nirṇayasāgara Press), URL, accessed 02/02/2018.
- Hendley, T. Holbein (1895), A Medico-topographical Account of Jeypore, Based on the Experience of Twenty Years' Service As a Residency Surgeon and Thirteen As Superintendent of Dispensaries at Jeypore, Rajputana (Calcutta: Calcutta Central Press Company).
- Hessler, Franciscus (1844–55), Suśrutas Ayurvédas: id est Medicinae Systema a Venerabili D'hanvantare Demonstratum a Susruta Discipulo Compositum; Nunc Primum Ex Sanskrita in Latinum Sermonem Vertit, Introductionem, Annotationes Et Rerum Indice Franciscus Hessler (Erlangen: Ferdinandum Enke), URL, accessed 04/11/2017.
- Hoernle, A. F. Rudolf (1893–1912) (ed.), *The Bower Manuscript: Facsimile Leaves, Nagari Transcript, Romanised Transliteration and English Translation with Notes* (New Imperial Series, 22; Calcutta: Government of India and under the patronage of the Bengali Government, Archaeological Survey of India), ark:/13960/t05z1bg4q.
- (1897), Suśrutasaṃhitā = The Suçruta-Saṃhitā or the Hindū System of Medicine According to Suçruta Translated from the Original Sanskrit (Bibliotheca Indica, 911; Calcutta: Asiatic Society), ark:/13960/t8pd1kw9r, accessed 03/01/2018; No more published; Hoernle does not state which edition he is translating, but it includes the "Dhanvantari phrase".

- Hoernle, A. F. Rudolf (1906a), "Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine I: The Commentaries on Suśruta," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*: 283–302, URL, accessed 26/06/2019.
- —— (1906*b*), "Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine II: On Some Obscure Anatomical Terms," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 4: 915–41, URL, accessed 25/06/2019.
- (1907*a*), "Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine II: On Some Obscure Anatomical Terms (Continued from the Journal, 1906, p. 941)," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*: 1–18, URL, accessed 25/06/2019.
- (1907b), Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India: Osteology or the Bones of the Human Body (Oxford: Clarendon Press), ark:/13960/t1pg9cq8b.
- Hofer, Theresia (2007), "Swami Laxmi Ram's Ayurvedic Pharmacy in Jaipur, India," *Wellcome History*, 34: 2–3, URL, accessed 01/07/2021.
- Holwell, J. Z. (1767), An Account of the Manner of Inoculating for the Small Pox in the East Indies With...Observations on The...Mode of Treating That Disease in Those Parts (London: T. Becket & P. A. de Hondt), ark:/13960/t3ws9h63c.
- Jack, David Morton (1884), "A Thesis on Cataract in India: Its Pathology and Treatment," Wellcome Library, London, MS.3007, URL, accessed 02/06/2021.
- Jośī, Veṇīmādhavaśāstrī and Jośī, Nārāyaṇa Harī (1968), *Āyurvedīya Mahākośaḥ arthāt Āyurvedīya Śabdakośaḥ Saṃskṛta–Saṃskṛta* (Muṃbaī: Mahārāṣṭra Rājya Sāhityta āni Samskrti Mamdala), URL.
- Kangle, R. P. (1969), *The Kauṭilīya* Arthaśāstra (2nd edn., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass), ISBN: 81-208-0042-7, ark:/13960/t3gz6qh1s, accessed 23/09/2021.
- Keith, Arthur Berriedale (1908), review of A. F. Rudolf Hoernle (1907), "Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine II: On Some Obscure Anatomical Terms (Continued from the the Journal, 1906, p. 941)," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*: 1–18, URL, accessed 25/06/2019, in *Zeitschrift Der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1/62: 134–9, URL, accessed 17/04/2021.
- Klebanov, Andrey (2010), "The \*Nepalese Version of the Suśrutasaṃhitā and Its Interrelation with Buddhism and the Buddhists," MA thesis (Hamburg: Hamburg University, Sept.), URL, accessed 08/09/2019.

- Klebanov, Andrey (2021a), "On the Textual History of the Suśrutasaṃhitā (1): A Study of Three Nepalese Manuscripts," *eJIM: Electronic Journal of Indian Medicine*, 12/1: 1-64. DOI: 10.21827/ejim.12.1.37385.
- (2021*b*), "On the Textual History of the Suśrutasaṃhitā, (2): An Anonymous Commentary and its Identified Citations," in Toke Lindegaard Knudsen, Jacob Schmidt-Madsen, and Sara Speyer (eds.), *Body and Cosmos: Studies in Early Indian Medical and Astral Sciences in Honor of Kenneth G. Zysk* (Leiden, Boston: Brill), 110–39.
- Kuist, James M. (1982), The Nichols File of The Gentleman's Magazine (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), ISBN: 0-299-08480-9, ark:/13960/t53g2ct2z.
- Lariviere, Richard W. (2003), *The Nāradasmṛti. Critically Edited with an Introduction, annotated Translation, and Appendices* (2nd edn., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass), ISBN: 8120818040; First edition: Philadelphia, 1989.
- Leffler, Christopher T. et al. (2020), "The History of Cataract Surgery: From Couching to Phacoemulsification," *Annals of Translational Medicine*, 8/22: 1551–97, ISSN: 2305-5847. DOI: 10.21037/atm-2019-rcs-04, URL, accessed 02/11/2020.
- Lienhard, Siegfried (1978), "On the Meaning and Use of the Word Indragopa," *Indologica taurinensia*, 6: 177–88, URL, accessed 06/02/2021; The indragopa is a 'red velvet mite'.
- Longmate, Barak (1794), "A Curious Chirurgical Operation," *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 64.4 (Oct.): 883, 891, 892; I am grateful to the late John Symons of the Wellcome Library who identified the author 'B. L.' as the journalist Barak Longmate. See also Kuist 1982: 87.
- Majno, Guido (1975), *The Healing Hand. Man and Wound in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), URL, accessed 26/08/2021.
- Malamoud, Charles (1996), "Paths of the Knife: Carving up the Victim in Vedic Sacrifice," in *Cooking the World: Ritual and Thought in Ancient India. Translated from the French by David White* (Delhi, Bombay, etc.: Oxford University Press), 169–80.
- Manucci, Niccolò (1907–8), Storia Do Mogor or, Mogul India, 1653–1708 by Niccolao Manucci, Venetian; Translated with Introduction and Notes, by William Irvine (The Indian Texts Series; London: J. Murray), URL, accessed 04/10/2021.

- Masai, François (1950), "Principes et conventions de l'édition diplomatique," *Scriptorium*, 4: 177–93. DOI: 10.3406/scrip.1950.2294.
- Mayrhofer, Manfred (1953–72), Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen; a Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag).
- (1986–2001), *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag), ISBN: 3-533-03826-2.
- McHugh, James (2021), *An Unholy Brew: Alcohol in Indian History and Religions* (New York: Oxford University Press), 416 pp., ISBN: 9780199375936, URL.
- Meulenbeld, Gerrit Jan (1974), *The Mādhavanidāna and Its Chief Commentary: Chapters 1–10. Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (Leiden: Brill), ISBN: 978-90-04-03892-9; Meulenbeld provided a supplement to his 1974 listing of plant identities as an appendix in Das 2003.
- —— (1984), "The Surveying of Sanskrit Medical Literature," in id. (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Workshop on Priorities in the Study of Indian Medicine* (Groningen: Forsten), 37–56.
- (1989), "The Search for Clues to the Chronology of Sanskrit Medical Texts As Illustrated by the History of Bhaṅgā (cannabis Sativa Linn.)," *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, 15: 59–70.
- (1992), "The Characteristics of a Doṣa," Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society, 2/1: 1–5, URL, accessed 31/08/2021.
- (2008), The Mādhavanidāna with "Madhukośa," the Commentary by Vijayarakṣita and Śrīkaṇṭhadatta (Ch. 1-10). Introduction, Translation, and Notes (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass); Meulenbeld provided a supplement to his 1974 listing of plant identities as an appendix in Das 2003.
- (2011), "The Relationships between Doṣas and Dūṣyas: A Study on the Meaning(s) of the Root Murch-/mūrch," *eJournal of Indian Medicine*, 4/2: 35–135, URL, accessed 13/10/2017.
- Miles, M. (1999), "Personal Communication," Mar.; Letter of 4 March.
- Moureau, Sébastien. (2015), "The Apparatus Criticus," in Alessandro Bausi et al. (eds.), *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction* (Hamburg: Tredition), 348–52, ISBN: 978-3-7323-1768-4, URL, accessed 04/07/2021.

- Mukhopādhyāya, Girindranāth (1913), The Surgical Instruments of the Hindus, with a Comparative Study of the Surgical Instruments of the Greek, Roman, Arab, and the Modern Eouropean (sic) Surgeons (Calcutta: Calcutta University), ark: 13960 / t1zd2pq29, accessed 29/01/2018; Vol.2: ark:/13960/t9r25qd8m. Reprinted as a single volume, New Delhi, 1987.
- Nadkarni, K. M. (1954), Dr. K. M. Nadkarni's Indian Materia Medica, with Ayurvedic, Unani-tibbi, Siddha, Allopathic, Homeopathic, Naturopathic & Home Remedies, Appendices & Indexes ... in Two Volumes, ed. A. K. Nadkarni, 2 vols. (3 ed., revised by A. K. Nadkarni, Bombay: Popular Prakashan), ark:/13960/t6rz4h160.
- (1982a), Dr. K. M. Nadkarni's Indian Materia Medica, with Ayurvedic, Unanitibbi, Siddha, Allopathic, Homeopathic, Naturopathic & Home Remedies, Appendices & Indexes ... in Two Volumes, ed. A. K. Nadkarni, 2 vols. (3 ed., revised and enlarged by A. K. Nadkarni, Bombay: Popular Prakashan), ISBN: 8171541429, URL.
- Narayana, Ala and Thrigulla, Saketh Ram (2011), "Tangible Evidences of Surgical Practice in Ancient India," *Journal of Indian Medical Heritage*, 16: 1–18, URL, accessed 02/06/2021.
- NGMCP (2014), "Nepal-german Manuscript Cataloguing Project. Online Title List and Descriptive Catalogue," Universität Hamburg and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, URL.
- Oberlies, Thomas (2003), *A Grammar of Epic Sanskrit* (Indian Philology and South Asian Studies, 5; Berlin: De Gruyter), ISBN: 9783110144482. DOI: 10.1515/9783110899344.
- Olivelle, Patrick (2005), Manu's Code of Law: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Manava-dharmasastra, With the editorial assistance of Suman Olivelle (South Asia research; New York: Oxford University Press), ISBN: 0195171462.
- (2013), King, Governance, and Law in Ancient India: Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. a New Annotated Translation (New York: Oxford University Press), ISBN: 9780199891825. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:osobl/9780199891825.003.0001.
- Osbaldeston, Tess Anne and Wood, R. P. A. (2000), Dioscorides. De Materia Medica. Being an Herbal with Many Other Medicinal Materials Written in Greek in the First Century of the Common Era. a New Indexed Version in Modern English [Introductory Notes by R. P. Wood] (Johannesburg: IBIDIS Press), ISBN: 0-620-23435-0, URL.

- Pandey, Anshuman (2012), "Proposal to Encode the Newar Script in ISO/IEC 10646," URL.
- Pass, Gregory (2003), Descriptive Cataloging of Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance, and Early Modern Manuscripts (Chicago: American Library Association), ISBN: 0-8389-8218-2, URL.
- Pillay, V. V. (2013), *Modern Medical Toxicology* (New Delhi: Jaypee Brothers Pvt. Ltd), ISBN: 9789350259658.
- Pillay, Vijay V. and Sasidharan, Anu (2019), "Oleander and Datura Poisoning: An Update," *Indian Journal of Critical Care Medicine*, 23/Supplement 4: 5250–5. DOI: 10.5005/jp-journals-10071-23302.
- Preisendanz, Karin (2007), "The Initiation of the Medical Student in Early Classical Āyurveda: Caraka's Treatment in Context," in Birgit Kellner et al. (eds.), Pramāṇakīrtiḥ. Papers Dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday. Part 2, ii, 2 vols. (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 70.2; Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische Und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien), 629–68, ISBN: 9783902501097, URL.
- Price, Kenneth M. (2013), "Electronic Scholarly Editions," in Ray Siemens and Susan Schreibman (eds.), *A Companion to Digital Literary Studies* (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd), 434–50. DOI: 10.1002/9781405177504.ch24, URL, accessed 04/07/2021.
- Rai, Saurav Kumar (2019), "Invoking 'Hindu' Ayurveda: Communalisation of the Late Colonial Ayurvedic Discourse," *The Indian Economic & Social History Review*, 56/4: 411–26. DOI: 10.1177/0019464619873820; Online first.
- Rama Rao, B. et al. (2005), *Sanskrit Medical Manuscripts in India* (New Delhi: Central Council for Research in Ayurveda & Siddha), ark:/13960/t88h7763b.
- Rây, Priyadaranjan, Gupta, Hirendra Nath, and Roy, Mira (1980), *Suśruta Saṃhita* (a Scientific Synopsis) (New Delhi: Indian National Science Academy), ark:/13960/t64511t6v, accessed 13/09/2019.
- Rhys Davids, Thomas William and Stede, William (1921–5), *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* (London: The Pali Text Society), URL.
- Rimal, Madhusudana and Wujastyk, Dominik (2022), "MS Kathmandu NAK 1/1146," Pandit Project (18 May), URL.

- Roşu, Arion (1989), *Un demi-siècle de recherches āyurvédiques. Gustave Liétard et Palmyr Cordier: Travaux sur l'histoire de la médecine indienne* (Paris: Institut de Civilisation Indienne).
- Saha, Mridula (2015), *The History of Indian Medicine Based on the Vedic Literature Satapatha Brahmana* (Kolkata: The Asiatic Society), ISBN: 978-9381574294.
- Sastri, Hrishikesh and Gui, Siva Chandra (1895–1917), A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of Calcutta Sanskrit College (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press).
- Sastri, P. P. S. (1933), A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library Tanjore: Natya, Sangita, Kamasastra, Vaidya & Jyotisa, nos. 10650 11737 (Srirangam: Sri Vani Vilas Press), ark:/13960/t3nw8bc12.
- Śāstrī, Vardhamāna Pārśvanātha (1940) (ed.), उम्रादित्याचार्यकृत कल्याणकारक (राष्ट्रभा-षानुवादसिंहत) = The Kalyāṇa-kārakam of Ugrādityacharya, Edited with Introduction, Translation, Notes, Indexes and Dictionary (Sakhārāma Nemacaṃda Graṃthamālā, 129; Solāpura: Seṭha Goviṃdajī Rāvajī Dośī), ark:/13960/t2q617g4d.
- Scott, H. (1817), "Some Remarks on the Arts of India, with Miscellaneous Observations on Various Subjects," *Journal of Science and the Arts*, 2: 67–72, ill. after 133, ark:/13960/t9870jt4g; Breton 1826: 358–363 cites Scott's description of cataract couching.
- Semeka-Pankratov, Elena (1979), "A Semiotic Approach to the Polysemy of the Symbol *nāga* in Indian Mythology," in Irene Portis Winner and Jean Umiker-Sebeok (eds.), *Semiotics of Culture* (Approaches to Semiotics, 53; The Hague, Paris, NY: Mouton), 237–90. DOI: 10.1515/9783110823134–009; The contents of this volume were published simultaneously in *Semiotica* (1/3) 1979 (seme-1979b).
- Sena, Gaṅgāprasād et al. (1886–93) (eds.), सुश्रुतसंहिता...दछनाचार्य्य-कृत-निवन्ध-संग्रह, चक्रपाणिदत्त-कृत-भानुमती-टीका...वङ्गानुवाद...इरेजि प्रतिशब्द (Calcutta: Maṇirāma Press); Edition "g" in HIML: IB, 311.
- Sharma, Har Dutt (1939), Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collections of Manuscripts Deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XVI, Part I, Vaidyaka (Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Government Manuscripts Library, XVI.I; Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute), ark:/13960/t0ms6rc70, accessed 23/10/2019.

- Sharma, Priya Vrat (1972), *Indian Medicine in the Classical Age* (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office).
- —— (1975), *Āyurved Kā Vaijñānik Itihās* (Jayakṛṣṇadāsa Āyurveda Granthamālā; Vārānasī: Caukhambā Orientalia).
- (1982), *Dalhaṇa and his Comments on Drugs* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal).
- (1999–2001*a*), Suśruta-Saṃhitā, with English Translation of Text and Dalhaṇa's Commentary Alongwith (sic) Critical Notes, 3 vols. (Haridas Ayurveda Series, 9; Varanasi: Chaukhambha Visvabharati).
- (1999–2001*b*), Suśruta-Saṃhitā, with English Translation of Text and Dalhaṇa's Commentary Alongwith (sic) Critical Notes, 3 vols. (Haridas Ayurveda Series, 9; Varanasi: Chaukhambha Visvabharati).
- Shastri, R. Shama (1920) (ed.), बोधायनगृह्यसूत्रम् *The Bodhāyana Grihyasutra* (Mysore: University of Mysore), ark:/13960/t2t492622.
- Singhal, G. D. et al. (1972–82), Diagnostic [and Other] Considerations in Ancient Indian Surgery (Varanasi: Singhal Publications); A translation of the Suśrutasaṃhitā in 10v.
- Sircar, Dinesh Chandra (1987), "6. Rākshaskhāli (Sundarban) Plate; Śaka 1118," *Epigraphia Indica (1953–54)*, 30: 42–3.
- Sleeman, W. H. (1893), Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official (London: Constable), ark:/13960/t22c4bx7w, accessed 14/03/2018; V. 2 at http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t2s52bq7w.
- Smith, Brian K. (1994), Classifying the Universe: The Ancient Indian Varna System and the Origins of Caste (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press), ISBN: 0-19-508498-5.
- Spink, M. S. and Lewis, G. L. (1973) (eds.), *Albucasis on Surgery and Instruments: A Definitive Edition of the Arabic Text with English Translation and Commentary* (London: Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine).
- Srikantha Murthy, K. R. (2000–2), *Illustrated Suśruta Saṃhitā: Text, English Translation, Notes, Appendices and Index* (Jaikrishnadas Ayurveda Series, 102; 1st edn., Varanasi: Chaukhambha Orientalia).
- Steingass, F. (1930), A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to Be Met with in Persian Literature (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner).

- Strauss, Bettina (1934), "Das Giftbuch des Śānāq: eine Literaturgeschichtliche Untersuchung," *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, 4/2: [89]–[152] followed by Arabic text.
- Suvedī, K. S. and Tīvārī, N. (2000) (eds.), Sauśrutanighaṇṭuḥ: granthādau vistṛtena granthavaiśiṣṭyaprakāśakenopodghātena avasāne ca dravyāṇām anekabhāṣānām āvalī- paryāyasaṅgrahābhyāṃ samalaṅkrtaḥ Suśrutasaṃhitāyāṃ prayuktānām auṣadhadravyāṇāṃ paryāya-guṇakarmavarṇātmako pūrvagranthaḥ (Belajhuṇḍī, Dāṅ: Mahendrasaṃskṛtaviśvavidyālayaḥ).
- Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste (1684), Collections of Travels through Turky (sic), into Persia, and the East-Indies (London: M. Pitt).
- The Unicode Consortium (1991–2020), "The Unicode Standard 13.0, NewaRange: 11400–1147F," URL, accessed 20/07/2021.
- Thorburn, S. S. (1876), *Bannu; or Our Afghan Frontier* (London: Trübner & Co.), URL, accessed 10/09/2019; Reprinted Lahore: Niaz Ahmad, 1978.
- UNESCO (2013), "International Memory of the World Register Susruta Samhita (Nepal)," UNESCO, URL, accessed 11/09/2019.
- Unschuld, Paul Ulrich (1984), *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas* (Berkeley: University of California Press), ISBN: 0520050231.
- Valiathan, M. S. (2007), *The Legacy of Suśruta* (Hyderabad, Chennai, etc.: Orient Longman).
- Velankar, H. D (1925–30), Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskṛta and Prākṛta Manuscripts in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Bombay: Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay), ark:/13960/t53g00h0n; Biswas #0115.
- Watt, George (1889–96), A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India (Calcutta: Dept. Revenue and Agriculture, Government of India), URL, accessed 28/04/2021.
- —— (1908), The Commercial Products of India, Being an Abridgement of "the Dictionary of the Economic Products of India" (London: John Murray), ark:/13960/t9t14xh3x.
- Whitney, William Dwight (1885), *The Roots, Verb-forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language. A Supplement to his Sanskrit Grammar* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel), ark:/13960/t3qv3p906.
- Wilson, H. H. (1823), "On the Medical and Surgical Sciences of the Hindus," *The Oriental Magazine and Calcutta Review*, 1: 207–12, 349–56, URL.

- Wren, R. C. (1956), Potter's New Cyclopaedia of Botanical Drugs and Preparations, ed. R. W. Wren (Rustington, Sussex: Health Science Press), ark:/13960/t14n65c9g.
- Wujastyk, Dagmar (2012), Well-mannered Medicine: Medical Ethics and Etiquette in Classical Ayurveda (New York: Oxford University Press). DOI: 10.1093/acprof:0s0/9780199856268.001.0001.
- (2019), "Iron Tonics: Tracing the Development from Classical to Iatrochemical Formulations in Ayurveda," *HIMALAYA*, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies, 39/1, ISSN: 2471-3716, URL, accessed 23/07/2019.
- Wujastyk, Dominik (1993), "Indian Medicine," in W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter (eds.), Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine, i (London: Routledge), chap. 33, 755–78, ISBN: 0-415-04771-4, URL.
- (2002), "Cannabis in Traditional Indian Herbal Medicine," in Ana Salema (ed.), Āyurveda at the Crossroads of Care and Cure. Proceedings of the Indo-European Seminar on Ayurveda held at Arrábida, Portugal, in November 2001 (Lisbon: Centro de História de Além-Mar, Universidade Nova de Lisboa), 45–73, ISBN: 972-98672-5-9, URL, accessed 27/05/2019.
- —— (2003), The Roots of Ayurveda: Selections from Sanskrit Medical Writings (Penguin Classics; 3rd edn., London, New York, etc.: Penguin Group), ISBN: 0-140-44824-1.
- —— (2004), "Agni and Soma: A Universal Classification," *Studia Asiatica: International Journal for Asian Studies*, IV–V, ed. Eugen Ciurtin: 347–70, ISSN: 1582–9111, URL.
- (2013), "New Manuscript Evidence for the Textual and Cultural History of Early Classical Indian Medicine," in *Medical Texts and Manuscripts in Indian Cultural History*, ed. Dominik Wujastyk, Anthony Cerulli, and Karin Preisendanz (New Delhi: Manohar), 141–57, URL.
- —— (2021), "MS London BL H. T. Colebrooke 908," URL.
- Wujastyk, Dominik, SKSEC Team, and Kessler, O. (2020), "Suśrutasaṃhitā," PanditProject (6 Oct.), URL, accessed 14/09/2022.
- Yano, Michio (1986), "A Comparative Study of *Sūtrasthānas*: Caraka, Suśruta, and Vāgbhaṭa," in Teizo Ogawa (ed.), *History of Traditional Medicine: Proceedings of the 1st and 2nd International Symposia on the Comparative History of Medicine—East and West* (Osaka: Division of Medical History, the Taniguchi Foundation), 325–44.

- Zimmermann, F. (1983), "Suśrutasamhita. Essay review.," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 57/2: 291–3, ISSN: 00075140, URL.
- Zimmermann, Francis (1999), *The Jungle and the Aroma of Meats* (2nd edn., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass), ISBN: 8120816188.
- Zysk, Kenneth G. (1984), "An Annotated Bibliography of Translations into Western Languages of Principle Sanskrit Medical Treatises," *Clio Medica*, 19/3–4: 281–91.
- (1985), Religious Healing in the Veda: With Translations and Annotations of Medical Hymns from the Rgveda and the Atharvaveda and Renderings from the Corresponding Ritual Texts (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society), ISBN: 0871697572.
- —— (1986), "The Evolution of Anatomical Knowledge in Ancient India with Special Reference to Cross-cultural Influences," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 106: 687–705. DOI: 10.2307/603532.
- —— (2000), Asceticism and Healing in Ancient India: Medicine in the Buddhist Monastery (Indian Medical Tradition; 2nd edn., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass); First published 1991. Reprint of 1998 edition.

# **Lexical Index**

'sun-creeper'	agnika	amaranth
sūryavallī, 50	wild celery, 49	taṇḍulīyaka, 35
"invincible"	agra	āmāśaya
ajeya, 51	supernatant layer, 60	stomach, 47, 48
	agramukta	amra
abdominal lump	free from the point,	mango, 56
gulma, 69	63	āmrāsthi
abhayā	āhāra	mango stones, 34
chebulic myrobalan,	diet, 14	amṛtā
57	āhārya	calamine, 35
myrobalan, 50	take away, 21	heart-leaved
abhramukta	ahorātra	moonseed, 50
free from clouds, 63		• •
abhyaṅga	day and night, 15	immortal, 37
massage, 35	aids	ānāha
massage oil, 31, 37	anga, 58	constipation, 45, 48,
ācāra	ajākṣīrārdita	51
regimen, 14	stirred with goat's	anantā
ācārika	milk, 65	country sarsaparilla,
medical advice, 23	ajamodā	50
accumulation	wild celery, 49	aṇḍaja
sañcaya, 15	ajaruhā	born from eggs, 15
Aconite	fern, 37	aṇḍīnī
hālāhala, 46	ajeya	with testicles, 71
adhimantha	invincible, 37	aṅga
irritation, 64	"invincible", 51	aids, 58
adhiṣṭhāna	akhiladehavyāptirūpam	parts, 16
**	takes the form of	angamarda
base, foundation, 52	pervading the whole	bruising of the limbs,
carriers, 52	body, 46	47
located, 14	alābu	anger
ādhmāna	bitter gourd, 33	krodha, 14
distension, 44	ālepa	animals
adhodṛṣṭitva	liniment, 55	paśu, 15
downward vision, 64	ālepana	-
adhyāya		añjana
sections, 17	liniments, 37 alleviated	application of
admixture		collyrium, 55, 60
prativāpa, 23	yāpya, 58	eye make-up, 31, 36
affliction	alleviation	eye ointment, 36, 37
upasarga, 37	pratīkāra, 15	eye salve, 49
agada	along these lines	stibnite, 60
antidote, 49	evam, 16	aṅkolla
āgantu	āmalaka	sage-leaved
external factors, 16	emblic, 56	alangium, 34

annamada	menstrual blood, 69	dhava, 66
intoxication from	asādhya	ayana
food, 47	incurable, 55	half-year, 15
antidote	untreatable, 62	āyatta
agada, 49	āsaṅgima	depends on, 14
antra	fastening, 21	$ar{a} \gamma u r$
entrails, 58	aśoka	life, longevity, 11
gut, 48	asoka tree, 56	āyurveda
ants	grief, 14	the science of life, 11
pipīlika, 15	asoka tree	
anulepana	aśoka, 56	baddham
massage ointment,	āśrayin	bound, connected, 25
31, 35	substrate, 14	bahuputrā
ointment, 35	asthi	wild asparagus, 36
apāmarga	bones, 16	balā
prickly chaff flower,	aṣṭhīlā	country mallow, 59
20	pebble, 33	strength, 14
apāṅga	asūyā	bali
edge of the hole, 24	jealousy, 14	morsel, 31
outer corner of the	atihalā	bamboo leaves
	*****	veņupatrikā, 35
eye, 62	strong mallow, 59	bandha
apatānaka convulsions, 20	atis root	bindings, 22
	ativiṣā, 38	bandhujīva
apertures of the head	atis roots	scarlet mallow, 36
kha, 36	ativiṣā, 36	base, foundation
application of collyrium	ativiṣā	adhiṣṭhāna, 52
añjana, 55, 60	atis root, 38	bāṣpa
apramatta	atis roots, 36	vapour, 32, 33, 36
undistracted, 25	ātmaka	be exhausted
ārā	nature, 14	sāda, 48
awl, 19	āṭopa	bearers
araga timira	flatulence, 33	voḍhāra, 31
non-bloodshot	atyānandā	beauty berry
blindness, 62	extremely excited, 70	priyaṅgu, 60
ardhakapāṭasandhika	avadāraṇa	beautyberry
half door-hinge, 21	fissuring, 37	priyaṃgu, 56
arid-land animals	avalekhana	śyāmā, 32, 35
jāngala, 60	combs, 31	bellyache
arnavamala	āvarta	jaṭhara, 51
cuttle fish, 57	spiral, 62	bent brow and eye
arocaka	avaśardhita	vakrabhrūnetra, 64
loss of appetite, 47	fart, 52	beryl
arśas	awl	vaiḍūrya, 66
prolapses, 69	$\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ , 19	bhadradāru
ārtava	axelwood	deodar, 65

bhallātaka	svastivācana, 19	śūka, 52
marking-nut tree, 36	blindness	bṛṃhaṇa
bhanga	timira, 61	nourishment, 14
leaves, 63	blink of the eye	bruising of the limbs
bhavet	nimeșa, 15	aṅgamarda, 47
it may be, 62	blood	bubbling
bhāvita	rudhira, 15	budbuda, 64
cooked, 60	śonita, 58	budbuda
infused, 56	blood-bile	bubbling, 64
bhedya	śonita-pitta,	bulbs
splitting, 22	rakta-pitta, 58	kanda, 15
bheṣaja	blood-letting	bull
treatment, 69	sirāvedha, 55	vṛṣabha, 32
bhramaraka	bloodshot blindness	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
drongo, 32	rāgin timira, 59	cakradhārā
bhṛṅgarāja	rāgiņi timire, 62	rim of a wheel, 22
racket-tailed drongo,	blue dot cataract	cala
32	mlāyin, 61	liquid, 63
bīja	blue lotus	calamine
semen, 69	utpala, 56	amṛtā, 35
bile	blue vitriol	can be mitigated
pitta, 58	tuttha. 60	yāpya, 62
bilious / choleric	bodily constiuents	caraṇī -
pittalā, 70	dhātu, 46	caraṇī, 70
bimbī	body language	caraṇī -
red gourd, 33	ingita, 31	caraṇī, 70
bindings	body tissue	cardamom
bandha, 22	dhātu, 48	elā, 57
bitter gourd	bones	carman
alābu, 33	asthi, 16	pelt, 15 carnivore
black creeper	born from eggs	
pālindī, 35, 38, 50	aṇḍaja, 15	<i>kravyabhuj</i> , 59 carriers
black drongo	born in in a caul	adhiṣṭhāna, 52
dhūmyāṭa, 32	jarāyuja, 15	cassia cinnamon
black part	born of sweat	patra, 35, 65
kṛṣṇa, 62	svedaja, 15	castor oil
black pepper	bound, connected	pañcāṅgulataila, 58
marica, 55	baddham, 25	castor oil tree
black soot	box myrtle	gandharvahasta, 20
maṣī, 55	kaṭphala, 57	cāsyāt
blackboard tree	bṛhatī	from his mouth, 33
saptachada, 34	indian nightshades,	cataract
blackbuck	50	liṅganāśa, 62
hariṇa, 37, 38	poison berry, 50	caturvarga
blessings pronounced	bristles	fourfold grouping, 16

catuștaya	clusters	kārpāsa, 20
four factors, 16	samplava, 15	cottony jujube
caused by wind	cock	kākolī, 65
pavanodbhava, 58	tāmracūḍa, 59	counteraction
causes	collection	pratiședha, 55
hetu, 69	varga, 16	country mallow
causing a fall	collection of diseases	balā, 59
sraṃsanī, 70	rogasaṃgraha, 70	country sarsaparilla
causing the destruction of	combined	anantā, 50
actions such as	upahita, 58	cow-dung
moving	combs	gośakṛt, 56
gamanādikriyāv-	avalekhana, 31	cow's flesh
ināśakarī, 64	comfort	gomāṃsa, 55
chebulic myrobalan	sukha, 16	cow's urine
abhayā, 57	complexion	gomūtra, 57
harītakī, 34	varṇa, 14, 27	creeper-ear
chedya	compounds	vallīkarņa, 21
cutting, 22	yoga, 55	creepy-crawlies
excision, 16	compressed	sarīsṛpa, 12, 15
cheek-ear	saṃkṣipta, 21	crow's foot
gaṇḍakarṇa, 21	compressed	kākapada, 49
chest	saṃkṣipta, 22	crow's lip
hṛd, 48	conch	kākauṣṭha, 21
chidra	salilotthita, 61	curable
opening, 62	congested humours	sādhya, 55
child bearing	sannipāta, 16	curds
kaumārabhṛtya, 67	constipation	dadhi, 33, 37
child-murderess	ānāha, 45, 48, 51	payasyā, 35
putraghnī, 70	contamination dropsy	cure
chital deer	duṣyodara, 47	siddhi, 49
	convulsions	cured
<i>pṛṣata</i> , 32 chital deer	apatānaka, 20	sādhya, 51
	cooked	cuscus grass
<i>pṛṣata</i> , 37 choler	bhāvita, 60	uśīra, 60
pitta, 70	cooked barley	cutting
<del>-</del>		chedya, 22
chyle	yavaudana, 62	cutting with a blade
rasa, 47 cihna	copper	śastrakṣata, 55
	<i>tāmra</i> , 64 coral	cuttle fish
signs, 69		arṇavamala, 57
circuit of the pupil	vidruma, 66	cuttlefish bone
dṛṣṭimaṇḍala, 62	coșa	phena, 66
citron	driness, 64	samudraphena, 57
mātuluṅga, 65	cotton	JaJh:
clean	picu, 23	dadhi
pra $\sqrt{s\bar{a}dh}$ , 37	cotton plant	curds, 33, 37

dainya	iṅgudī, 60	distension
misery, 14	desire	ādhmāna, 44
dais	$icchar{a}$ , 14	door-hinge
pīṭha, 21	dhānyāmla	kapāṭasandhika, 21
daivakṛte	fermented	doșa
naturally-occurring,	rice-water, 22	defects, 69
62	dhātakīpuṣpa	humour, 46, 62
dantamāṃsa	fire-flame bush	humours, 69
flesh of the tooth, 34	flowers, 34	humours, 15
dantaveșța	dhātrī	doṣapariplava
enclosure of a tooth,	emblic, 57	unsteadiness of the
34	dhattūrapuṣpa	humours, 64
dark colour	datura flower, 21	double
dhyāma, 46	dhātu	yamalā, 34
dārvī	bodily constiuents,	downward vision
tree turmeric, 56	46	adhodṛṣṭitva, 64
datta	body tissue, 48	drākṣā
given, 32	element, 39, 42, 44	grapes, 65
datura flower	dhava	dravāñjana
dhattūrapuṣpa, 21	axelwood, 66	liquid collyrium, 60
day and night	dhūma	dravya
ahorātra, 15	inhaled smoke, 31	substance, 27
decanted liquor	dhūmadarśin	dried flesh
surāmaṇḍa, 22, 23	seeing smoke, 55	vallūraka, 21
decoction	dhūmyāṭa	dried ginger
kvātha, 49	black drongo, 32	nāgara, 57
decoctions	dhyāma	driness
kaṣāya, 31, 63	dark colour, 46	coșa, 64
deer	grimy, 31	drongo
eṇa, 59	diet	bhramaraka, 32
defects	āhāra, 14	dṛṣṭi
doṣa, 69	dilator	pupil, 55, 63
delirium	pravardhanaka, 20	dṛṣṭimaṇḍala
moha, 44	discharge	circuit of the pupil,
demons	praseka, 45	62
graha, 67	srāva, 34, 36	dṛṣtivibhrama
demons	disease	faulty vision, 36
graha, 67	vyadhi, 16	dry
deodar	diseases	rūkṣa, 46
bhadradāru, 65	roga, 69	dry rub
depends on	disjunction	utsādana, 35
āyatta, 14	viśleṣa, 47	dry rubs
depression	disorders of the female	utsādana, 31
viṣāda, 14	reproductive system	duct
desert date	yonivyāpat, 68	sirā, 20

ducts	vidaṅga, 60	extract of rohu carp
sirā, 16, 22	emblic	rauhita, 56
duḥkha	āmalaka, 56	extracted juice
suffering, 14	dhātrī, 57	svarasa, 36
$dar{u}rvar{a}$	emetic nut	extracts
panic grass, 64	madana, 33	rasa, 60
$dar{u}$ ṣ $ar{i}$ v $ar{i}$ ṣ $a$	eṇa	extremely excited
slow-acting poison,	deer, 59	atyānandā, 70
51	enclosed roasting	eye make-up
dūṣī-viṣa	puṭākhya, 59	añjana, 31, 36
slow-acting poison,	puṭapāka, 60	eye ointment
48	enclosure of a tooth	añjana, 36, 37
dūṣīviṣāri	dantaveșța, 34	eye salve
enemy of	ends	añjana, 49
slow-acting poison, 51	vaktra, 64	eyewash
slow-acting poison	<del>-</del>	tarpaṇa, 36, 55, 59, 60
antidote, 33	enemy of slow-acting	····· p ····, ···, · 3 · , · 3 · , · 3 · , · · · ·
dusța	poison	fart
tainted, 22	dūṣīviṣāri, 51	avaśardhita, 52
duṣyodara	energy	fastening
contamination	ojas, 27	āsaṅgima, 21
dropsy, 47	entrails	fat
dvesa	antra, 58	vasā, 59
hatred, 14	envy	faulty medical treatment
dwindling away	īrṣyā, 14	mithyopacāra, 69
kṣaya, 47	eraṇḍapatranāla	faulty vision
nşu yu, 47	stalk of the leaf of	dṛṣtivibhrama, 36
earthen products	castor oil plant, 25	female reproductive
pārthiva, 15, 16	errhine	organ
edge of the hole	nasya, 59	yoni, 69, 70
apāṅga, 24	errhines	female reproductive
$elar{a}$	nasya, 37	system
cardamom, 57	essence	yoni, 69, 70
element	<i>sāra</i> , 15	fermented rice-water
dhātu, 39, 42, 44	evam	dhānyāmla, 22
elephant/snake	along these lines, 16	fern
nāga, 53	excision	ajaruhā, 37
elixir salve	chedya, 16	filaments
rasāñjana, 25	expansive	kiñjalka, 56
elixir salve	vikāsin, 46	fire-flame bush flowers
rasāñjana, 56, 60, 61	expressed juice	dhātakīpuṣpa, 34
elixir-salve	svarasa, 56	fissuring
rasāñjana, 56	external factors	avadāraņa, 37
elixir-salve	āgantu, 16	flame of the forest
śīta, 56	extract	palāśa, 60
embelia	niryāsa, 36	flatulence
	in yaou, 30	iiutuiciice

āṭopa, 33	gandharvahasta	mahāsugandha, 37
flavours	castor oil tree, 20	great poison
rasa, 14, 27	garlands	mahāviṣa, 45
flesh	sraj, 31	greed
māṃsa, 16, 34	gauze	lobha, 14
flesh of the tooth	prota, 23	green vitriol
dantamāṃsa, 34	general rule	kāsīsa, 61
flooded	paribhāṣā, 60	grief
pariplutā, 70	gently	āśoka, 14
flowering trees	mṛdu, 65	grimy
vṛkṣa, 14	ghee	dhyāma, 31
flowers	sarpis, 23, 37, 55	gruel
puṣpa, 15	ginger	yavā $gar{u}$ , 49
follicles	mahauṣadha, 38	gudikā
kha, 35	given	pill, 56
fortnight	datta, 32	gulma
pakṣa, 15	glassy opacity	abdominal lump, 69
four factors	kāca, 60	guṇa
catuṣtaya, 16	godhā	qualities, 46
fourfold grouping	monitor lizard, 38, 58	gut
caturvarga, 16	gold	antra, 48
free from clouds	śātakumbhī, 64	hālāhala
abhramukta, 63	gomāṃsa	Aconite, 46
free from the point	cow's flesh, 55	half door-hinge
agramukta, 63	gomūtra	ardhakapāṭas-
frogs maṇḍūka, 15	cow's urine, 57	andhika, 21
from his mouth	gośakṛt	half-year
cāsyāt, 33	cow-dung, 56	ayana, 15
fruit trees	juice of cow-dung,	hare foot uraria
vanaspati, 14	56	pṛthakparṇī, 65
fruits	gourd	hareņu
phala, 15	kośavatī, 49	hareṇu, 56, 57
priata, 13	graha	hari
gāḍha	demons, 67	sun, 63
pinched, 23	demons, 67	haridrā
gairika	granthi	turmeric, 60
ochre, 55, 56	knots, 46	turmerics, 50
gairikaḥ	lumps, 20, 35, 45	hariṇa
red chalk, 64	granthita	blackbuck, 37, 38
gamanādikriyāvināśakarī	lumpy, 22	harītakī
causing the	grapes	chebulic myrobalan,
destruction of actions	$dr\bar{a}k$ ṣ $ar{a}$ , 65	34
such as moving, 64	great aconite	harṣa
gaṇḍakarṇa	mahāviṣa, 45	horripilation, 47
cheek-ear, 21	great fragrance	overexcitement, 14

hatred	humours	iṅgita
dveṣa, 14	doṣa, 69	body language, 31
heart protected	humours	iṅgudī
hṛdayāvaraṇa, 37	doṣa, 15	desert date, 60
heart-leaved moonseed		inhaled smoke
amṛtā, 50	icchā	dhūma, 31
somavallī, 35	desire, 14	inherent
henna	if, then not	svābhāvika, 14
madayantikā, 36	na ced, 62	inherent factors
herbs	illness	svabhāva, 16
oşadhi, 14	ruj, 57	injured
hetu	immortal	utpīḍita, 62
causes, 69	amṛta, 37	inspissation
himalayan cherry	impotent	rasakriyā, 61
padmaka, 65	śaṇḍhī, 71	intended
hīna	in those cases	vyākhyāta, 16
reduced, 26	tatra, 58	intestines
hīnakarna	incurable	pakvādhāna, 48
reduced-ear, 21	asādhya, 55	pakvāśaya, 33, 47
	indian barberry	intoxication from food
hoarseness	kālīyaka, 35	annamada, 47
pāruṣya, 44	indian lotus	invincible
hogweed	nalina, 56	ajeya, 37
punarnavā, 36	indian madder	irregularities
holostemma	mañjiṣṭhā, 20, 65	vaiṣamya, 14
payasyā, 65	indian nightshades	irrigated
honey	bṛhatī, 50	pratipūraņa, 36
kṣaudra, 56	indian rose-bay	irrigation
madhu, 56	tagara, 35	seka, 55
madhus, 32	indian sarsaparilla	tarpaṇa, 69
honey collyrium	kālānusāriva, 57	irritation
kṣaudrāñjana, 57	sāriva, 57, 64, 65	
horripilation	indian sarsaparillas	adhimantha, 64
harṣa, 47	sārive, 50	prakopa, 15
horseradish tree	indigo	īrṣyā
śigru, 61	nīlī, 33	envy, 14
hrd	indragopa	it may be
chest, 48	red velvet mites, 15	bhavet, 62
hṛdayāvaraṇa	velvet-mite, 32	items created by time
heart protected, 37	infertile	kālakṛta, 15, 16
huge	vandhyā, 70	jambu
mahatī, 71	inflamed	jambū, 56
human being	saṃrambha, 23	jambū
puruṣa, 13, 14, 16	vidagdha, 55	jambu, 56
<i>purușu</i> , 13, 14, 10 humour	infused	jambul, 34
doṣa, 46, 62	bhāvita, 56	jambul

jambū, 34	kalka	kaumārabhṛtya
jāṅgala	mash, 51	child bearing, 67
arid-land animals, 60	kalpa	kavala
jaṅgama	rule, 52	mouthwash, 34
mobile, 39	kāma	kha
moving, 14, 16	lust, 14	apertures of the
jarāyuja	kanda	head, 36
born in in a caul, 15	bulbs, 15	follicles, 35
jasmine	kaṇṭaka	khara
mālatī, 35	spots, 35	rough, 64
jaṭhara	kapālacūrņa	kiṇihi
bellyache, 51	powdered	white siris, 50, 60
jātī	earthenware	kiñjalka
royal jasmine, 66	crockery, 22	filaments, 56
jealousy	<del>-</del>	kitchen
asūyā, 14	kapāṭasandhika	
joins	door-hinge, 21	mahānasa, 30
sandhāna, 21	kapha	knots
sandhi, 22	mucus, 36	granthi, 46
joints	phlegm, 44, 47, 48, 70	knowledge
sandhi, 16	kapittha	veda, 11
	wood apple, 56	kohl
juice extract	wood apple, 35, 36,	srotas, 59
svarasa, 15	56	srotoja, 57, 66
juice of cow-dung	karma	kośavatī
gośakṛt, 56	regimen, 63	gourd, 49
juices	karman	koṣītakī
rasa, 59	therapies, 16	luffa, 33
kāca	kaṛnavyadha	koṭha
glassy opacity, 60	piercing the ear, 19	skin disease, 47
kākapada	karṇinī	kravyabhuj
crow's foot, 49	protuberant, 70	carnivore, 59
kākauṣṭha	kārpāsa	kṛcchra
crow's lip, 21	cotton plant, 20	with difficulty, 62
kākolī	kārśmarī	kriyā
cottony jujube, 65	white teak, 56	procedures, 13, 16
kalā	kaṣāya	treatment, 16, 61
	decoctions, 31, 63	kriyākāla
minutes, 15	kāśipati	the time for
kālakṛta	lord of kāśī, 30	therapies, 16
items created by	kāsīsa	_
time, 15, 16		kriyāsaṅga loss of function, 64
kālānusāriva	green vitriol, 61	
indian sarsaparilla,	kāṣṭhā	kṛmi
57	trice, 15	worms, 15
kālīyaka	kaṭphala	krodha
indian barberry, 35	box myrtle, 57	anger, 14

kṛṣṇa	layer	māgadha, 36, 60
black part, 62	paṭala, 62	māgadhī, 57–59
long pepper, 55	lead	pippali, 56
kṛtamaṅgala	sīsaka, 21	long peppers
received a	leaves	pippalī, 38
benediction, 19	bhaṅga, 63	loose stool
kṣaṇadāndhya	patra, 15	viḍbheda, 44, 53
night blindness, 57	lekhana	lord of kāśī
kṣāraka	scarification, 14	kāśipati, 30
lye, 59	lekhya	loss of appetite
kṣaudra	scarification, 22	arocaka, 47
honey, 56	life, longevity	loss of function
kṣaudrāñjana	- ·	kriyāsanga, 64
honey collyrium, 57	āyur, 11	lotus-splittable
kṣaya	limpid	utpalabhedyaka, 21
dwindling away, 47	viśada, 46	lotus-spots
kṣīṇa	linga	padminīkaṇṭaka, 35
wasted, 23	symptom, 36	luffa
ksīra	symptoms, 47	koṣītakī, 33
•	liṅganāśa	_
milky sap, 39, 42, 44	cataract, 62	lumps
sap, 15	liniment	granthi, 20, 35, 45
kṣudrā	ālepa, 55	lumpy
yellow-berried	liniments	granthita, 22
nightshade, 50	ālepana, 37	lust
kunta	liquid	kāma, 14
small insects, 15	cala, 63	lūtā
kupyaka	liquid collyrium	spiders, 12
metal, 56	dravāñjana, 60	lye
kuśa	liquorice	kṣāraka, 59
kuśa grass, 59	madhuka, 38, 56	madana
kuśa grass	madhukair, 65	emetic nut, 33
kuśa, 59	liver	madayantikā
kuṣṭha	yakṛt, 57, 58	-
pallid skin disease,	liver extract	henna, 36
48	yakṛdrasa, 57	madhu
kvātha	lobha	honey, 56
decoction, 49		madhūka
1	greed, 14	liquorice, 38, 56
lac	located	mahua, 59–61
lākṣā, 65	adhiṣṭhāna, 14	madhukair
lākṣā	lodh tree	liquorice, 65
lac, 65	lodhra, 56, 60	madhus
lāmajja	lodhra	honey, 32
lāmajja grass, 32	lodh tree, 56, 60	madirā
lāmajja grass	long pepper	spirits, 57, 60
lāmajja, 32	kṛṣṇā, 55	māgadha

long pepper, 36, 60	black pepper, 55	meṣaviṣāṇa
māgadhī	markaṭa	periploca of the
long pepper, 57-59	monkey, 46	woods, 58
mahānasa	marking-nut tree	metal
kitchen, 30	bhallātaka, 36	kupyaka, 56
mahāsugandha	māsa	milk
great fragrance, 37	month, 15	payas, 37
mahatī	māṣaka	milky sap
huge, 71	mung beans, 34	kṣīra, 39, 42, 44
mahauṣadha	mash	minutes
ginger, 38	kalka, 51	kalā, 15
mahāviṣa	mașī	misery
great aconite, 45	black soot, 55	dainya, 14
great poison, 45	massage	miśrakacikitsa
mahua	abhyaṅga, 35	various treatments,
madhūka, 59–61	massage oil	25
mālatī	abhyaṅga, 31, 37	misshapen eyeball
jasmine, 35	massage ointment	vilocana, 64
malice	anulepana, 31, 35	mithyopacāra
mātsarya, 14	massaged	faulty medical
māṃsa	mardita, 24	treatment, 69
flesh, 16, 34	mātsarya	mitigatible
māṃsanirgama	malice, 14	yāpya, 55
prolapse, 64	mātuluṅga	mlāyin
manaḥśilā	citron, 65	blue dot cataract, 61
realgar, 56, 60, 61, 66	matured	mobile
red arsenic, 55, 57	vipakva, 56	jaṅgama, 39
mānasa	may repair	moha
mental, 14	yojayed, 24	delirium, 44
maṇḍala	meat from a chital deer	monitor lizard
round blotches, 47	pārṣata, 38	godhā, 38, 58
maṇḍūka	medical advice	monkey
frogs, 15	ācārika, 23	markaṭa, 46
mango	medicines cooked in a	month
amra, 56	crucible	māsa, 15
mango stones	puṭapāka, 55	morsel
āmrāsthi, 34	menstrual blood	bali, 31
mañjiṣṭhā	ārtava, 69	mouse-ear
indian madder, 20, 65	mental	mūṣikakarṇī, 35
manyāstambhā	mānasa, 14	mouthwash
paralysis of the nape	meṣaśṛṅga	kavala, 34
of the neck, 20	periploca of the	moving
mardita	woods, 36	jaṅgama, 14, 16
massaged, 24	perploca of the	mṛdu
marica	woods, 66	gently, 65

mucus	nāgara	extract, 36
kapha, 36	dried ginger, 57	resin, 15, 39, 42, 44
mudga	nala	niśācara
mung beans, 61	reed, 25	nocturnal creature,
muhūrta	nalada	61
three-quarters of an	spikenard, 32, 60	nișevita
hour, 15	nalina	prepared, 59
mukhasaṃdaṃśā	indian lotus, 56	used, 58
nipping with the	nasal medicine	nivāta
mouth, 52	nasya, 49	no wind, 15
muktā	nasal medicines	no wind
pearl, 62		nivāta, 15
muktvā	nasya, 55	nocturnal creature
separate, 62	nasya errhine, 59	niśācara, 61
mūla		non-bloodshot blindness
root, 14	errhines, 37	araga timira, 62
roots, 15	nasal medicine, 49	non-flowering tree
mūlaka	nasal medicines, 55	vanaspati, 60
mūlaka, 45	snuff, 31, 36	nourishment
multi-joins	naturally-occurring	bṛṃhaṇa, 14
vyāyojima, 21	daivakṛte, 62	numbness
mung beans	nature	
	ātmaka, 14	svāpa, 36
māṣaka, 34	needle	nutgrass
mudga, 61	sūcī, 63	mustā, 65
mūrcchā	neem tree	obstructed by blood
stupor, 33	nimba, 20	raktabaddha, 23
mūṣikā · .	nemīsandhānaka	ochre
purging nut, 37	rim-join, 22	gairika, 55, 56
rodents, 12	nemīsandhānakaḥ	off his hand
mūṣikakarṇī	rim-join, 21	sapāṇa, 58
mouse-ear, 35	night blindness	oil
woodrose, 35	kṣaṇadāndhya, 57	sneha, 15
mustā	niḥkvātha	ointment
nutgrass, 65	stewed juice, 49	anulepana, 35
mustaka	nīlī	ž
mustaka, 45	indigo, 33	pralepa, 32, 35
myrobalan	nimba	ointment for rubbing the
abhayā, 50	neem tree, 20	ear
$pathyar{a},56$	nimesa	udvartana, 24
1	•	ojas
na ced	blink of the eye, 15	energy, 27
if, then not, 62	nipping with the mouth	vital energy, 14
nadīja	mukhasaṃdaṃśā, 52	opening
salt, 56	nirvedhima	chidra, 62
nāga	ready-split, 21	options
elephant/snake, 53	niryāsa	vikalpa, 22

an mat distanted		aunda an	
or not distorted	panic grass	curds, 35	
vāvikṛtā, 34	dūrvā, 64	holostemma, 65	
oșadhi	paralysis of the nape of	pearl	
herbs, 14	the neck	muktā, 62	
remedies, 16	manyāstambhā, 20	pebble	
oṣadhī-	paribhāṣā	aṣṭhīlā, 33	
remedies, 14	general rule, 60	pelt	
outer corner of the eye	pariplutā	carman, 15	
apāṅga, 62	flooded, 70	periploca of the woods	
overexcitement	parīṣeka	meṣaśṛṅga, 36	
harṣa, 14	shower, 35	meṣaviṣāṇa, 58	
manification	pārṣata	perploca of the woods	
pacification	meat from a chital	meṣaśṛṅga, 66	
saṃśamana, 14	deer, 38	pervasive	
upaśama, 15	parśvabheda	vyavāyin, 46	
padma	ribs crack, 48	phala	
sacred lotus, 35	pārthiva	fruits, 15	
padmaka	earthen products, 15,	phañjī	
himalayan cherry, 65	16	verbena, 36	
padminīkaṇṭaka	partial blindness	phena	
lotus-spots, 35	timira, 58	cuttlefish bone, 66	
pain	particulars	phlegm	
śūla, 48	vikalpa, 16		
pain and injury	•	kapha, 44, 47, 48, 70	
vedanābhighāta, 11	parts	phlegmatic	
pāka	aṅga, 16	śleșmalā, 70	
sepsis, 37	pāruṣya	physical	
septic, 23	hoarseness, 44	śārīravad, 16	
pakṣa	paśu	picu	
fortnight, 15	animals, 15	cotton, 23	
pakvādhāna	paṭala	pīḍ-	
intestines, 48	layer, 62	press, 62	
pakvāśaya	pāthā	piercing	
intestines, 33, 47	velvet leaf, 60	vyadha, 63	
palāśa	velvet-leaf, 50	vyadhana, 22	
flame of the forest,	pathyā	piercing the ear	
60	myrobalan, 56	kaṛnavyadha, 19	
pālindī	patra	pigs' eye	
black creeper, 35, 38,	cassia cinnamon, 35,	sūkarākṣitā, 64	
50	65	pill	
pallava	leaves, 15	guḍikā, 56	
shoots, 63	pavanodbhava	pinched	
pallid skin disease	caused by wind, 58	gāḍha, 23	
kustha, 48	payas	pipīlika	
pañcāṅgulataila	milk, 37	ants, 15	
-	= :	. •	
castor oil, 58	payasyā	pippali	

long pepper, 56	pratisāraņa	puffed up
long peppers, 38	rub, 34	śopha, 23
pith	rubbing, 34	punarnavā
sāra, 39, 42, 44	pratiședha	hogweed, 36
pīṭha	counteraction, 55	puṇḍarīka
dais, 21	prativāpa	puṇḍarīka, 45
pitta	admixture, 23	pupil
bile, 58	pratuda	dṛṣṭi, 55, 63
choler, 70	scavenging, 23	purging nut
pittalā	pravardhanaka	mūṣikā, 37
bilious / choleric, 70	dilator, 20	purification
plīhan	prayojanavat	saṃśodhana, 14
spleen, 58	practical purposes,	puruṣa
plutā	15	human being, 13, 14,
sprung, 70	prepared	16
poison berry	nișevita, 59	риṣра
bṛhatī, 50	prepared with tilvaka	flowers, 15
powdered earthenware	tailvaka, 55	puṭāhvaya
crockery	prepared with turpeth	taken hot, 60
kapālacūrņa, 22	traivṛta, 55	puṭākhya
pra√ sādh	press	enclosed roasting, 59
clean, 37	pīḍ-, 62	putapāka
prabha	prickly chaff flower	enclosed roasting, 60
shine, 62	apāmarga, 20	medicines cooked in
practical purposes	priyaṃgu	a crucible, 55
prayojanavat, 15	beautyberry, 56	putapāka, 69
pragāḍha	priyaṅgu	putraghnī
steeped, 58	beauty berry, 60	child-murderess, 70
prakopa	probe	qualities
irritation, 15	<i>śalākā</i> , 62, 63	guṇa, 46
prakṛti	procedures	
temperament, 14	<i>kriyā</i> , 13, 16	racket-tailed drongo
$pra\sqrt{kuth}$	prolapse	bhṛṅgarāja, 32
rot, 34	māṃsanirgama, 64	rāgin timira
pralāpa 	prolapses	bloodshot blindness,
ranting, 44	arśas, 69	59
pralepa	prota	rāgiņi timire
ointment, 32, 35	gauze, 23	bloodshot blindness,
praseka	protuberant	62
discharge, 45	karņinī, 70	rainy seasons
pratīkāra	pṛṣata	varṣā, 15
alleviation, 15	chital deer, 32	rajana
remedy, 55	chital deer, 37	turmerics, 56, 57
pratipūraņa	pṛthakparṇī	rājimat
irrigated, 36	hare foot uraria, 65	striped snake, 49

raktabaddha	nala, 25	round blotches
obstructed by blood,	regimen	maṇḍala, 47
23	ācāra, 14	royal jasmine
raktakṣayā	karma, 63	jātī, 66
with bloodloss, 70	remedies	ŗtu
ranting	oṣadhi, 16	season, 15
pralāpa, 44	oṣadhī-, 14	rub
rarified	remedy	pratisāraņa, 34
sūkṣma, 46	pratīkāra, 55	rubbing
rasa	resin	pratisāraņa, 34
chyle, 47	niryāsa, 15, 39, 42, 44	rudhira
extracts, 60	restrictions	blood, 15
flavours, 14, 27	yantraṇā, 63	ruj
juices, 59	rheum	illness, 57
the blood of birds	upadeha, 36	rūkṣa
and animals, 56	ribs crack	dry, 46
rasakriyā	parśvabheda, 48	rule
inspissation, 61	rigid	kalpa, 52
rasāñjana	sthirā, 64	11.
elixir salve, 25	rim of a wheel	sacred lotus
elixir salve, 56, 60, 61	cakradhārā, 22	padma, 35
elixir-salve, 56	rim-join	sāda
rauhita	nemīsandhānakaḥ,	be exhausted, 48
extract of rohu carp,	21	sādhubaddha
56	rim-join	well joined, 25
ready-split	nemīsandhānaka, 22	sādhya
nirvedhima, 21	rodents	curable, 55
realgar	mūṣika, 12	cured, 51
manaḥśilā, 56, 60, 61,	roga	sage-leaved alangium
66	diseases, 69	aṅkolla, 34 saindhava
received a benediction	rogasaṃgraha	
kṛtamaṅgala, 19	collection of	salt, 49
red arsenic	diseases, 70	sind salt, 55, 57
manaḥśilā, 55, 57	rohīta	sindh salt, 59 sal tree
red chalk	rohīta tree, 60	sāt tree śālā, 56
gairikaḥ, 64	rohīta tree	sata, 50 śālā
red gourd	rohīta, 60	sal tree, 56
bimbī, 33	root	sai tree, 50 śalākā
red velvet mites	mūla, 14	probe, 62, 63
indragopa, 15	roots	salilotthita
reduced	mūla, 15	conch, 61
hīna, 26	rot	water-born, 61
reduced-ear	$pra\sqrt{kuth}$ , 34	saliva
hīnakarṇa, 21	rough	śleșman, 33
reed	khara, 64	salt
recu	книги, 04	oan

nadīja, 56	sarīsṛpa	seka
saindhava, 49	creepy-crawlies, 12,	irrigation, 55
samāñjana	15	śelu
same collyrium, 60	sāriva	selu plum, 50
same collyrium	indian sarsaparilla,	selu plum
samāñjana, 60	57, 64, 65	śelu, 50
saṃkṣipta	sārive	semen
compressed, 21	indian sarsaparillas,	bīja, 69
compressed, 22	50	separate
samplava	sarpis	muktvā, 62
clusters, 15	ghee, 23, 37, 55	sepsis
saṃrambha	sārṣapa	pāka, 37
inflamed, 23	sārṣapa, 45	septic
saṃśamana	sarvātmikā	pāka, 23
pacification, 14	sarvātmikā, 71	sesame oil
saṃśodhana	sarvātmikā	taila, 24
purification, 14	sarvātmikā, 71	shine
samudraphena	śastrakṣata	prabha, 62
cuttlefish bone, 57	cutting with a blade,	shooting pain
saṃvatsara	55	śūla, 64
year, 15	śātakumbhī	shoots
sañcaya	gold, 64	pallava, 63
accumulation, 15	śatāvarī	udbhid, 15
sandal	wild asparagus, 61	shower
sugandhi, 58	sauvīraka	parīṣeka, 35
sandhāna	stibnite, 56	shrubs
joins, 21	scarification	vīrudh, 14
śaṇḍhī	lekhana, 14	siddhārthaka
impotent, 71	scarification	white mustard, 65
joins, 22	lekhya, 22	siddhi
joints, 16	scarlet mallow	cure, 49
sannipāta	bandhujīva, 36	side-effects
congested humours,	scavenging	upadrava, 37, 51
16	pratuda, 23	signs
sap	scramberry	cihna, 69
kṣīra, 15	tālīśa, 56	śigru
sapāṇa	tālīśapatra, 57	horseradish tree, 61
off his hand, 58	season	silver mineral
saptachada	<i>ṛtu</i> , 15	tārāvitāra, 53
blackboard tree, 34	sections	sind salt
sāra	adhyāya, 17	saindhava, 55, 57
essence, 15	seed-eating	sindh salt
pith, 39, 42, 44	vișkira, 23	saindhava, 59
śārīravad	seeing smoke	sinews
physical, 16	dhūmadarśin, 55	snāyu, 16
F.1., 515011, 15		5. tary to, 10

sirā	nasya, 31, 36	suppurating, 22
duct, 20	solid	suppuration, 23
ducts, 16, 22	styāna, 63	śreyas
sirāvedha	soma creeper	welfare, 11
blood-letting, 55	somalatā, 33	srotas
siris	somalatā	kohl, 59
śirīṣa, 50, 55, 66	soma creeper, 33	srotoja
siris seeds	somavalka	kohl, 57, 66
śirīṣamāṣaka, 34	white cutch tree, 36	stabdha
śirīsa	somavallī	stiff, 22, 23
siris, 50, 55, 66	heart-leaved	stalk
śirīṣamāṣaka	moonseed, 35	vṛnta, 56
siris seeds, 34	śonita	stalk of the leaf of castor
sīsaka	blood, 58	oil plant
lead, 21	śonita-pitta, rakta-pitta	eraṇḍapatranāla, 25
sitā	blood-bile, 58	stationary
elixir-salve, 56	śonitena	sthāvara, 14, 16, 39
white sugar, 65	with blood, 64	steeped
skin	śopha	pragāḍha, 58
tvak, 15, 16	puffed up, 23	stewed juice
skin disease	sphoṭa	niḥkvātha, 49
koṭha, 47	spots, 36	sthāvara
sleep	spiders	
	lūtā, 12	stationary, 14, 16, 39 sthirā
svāpa, 44	•	
śleșmalā	spikenard	rigid, 64 stibnite
phlegmatic, 70	nalada, 32, 60	
śleșman	spiral	añjana, 60
saliva, 33	āvarta, 62	sauvīraka, 56
slice of flesh	spirits	stick-ear
vadhra, 25, 26	madirā, 57, 60	yaṣṭīkarṇa, 21
slow-acting poison	spleen	stiff
dūṣīviṣa, 51	plīhan, 58	stabdha, 22, 23
dūṣī-viṣa, 48	splitting	stirred with goat's milk
slow-acting poison	bhedya, 22	ajākṣīrārdita, 65
antidote	spots	stomach
dūṣīviṣāri, 33	kaṇṭaka, 35	āmāśaya, 47, 48
small insects	sphoṭa, 36	strength
kunta, 15	sprung	bala, 14
snāyu	plutā, 70	striped snake
sinews, 16	sraj	rājimat, 49
sneha	garlands, 31	strong mallow
oil, 15	$sramsanar{\imath}$	atibalā, 59
sniffing	causing a fall, 70	stupor
ucchiṅgana, 63	srāva	mūrcchā, 33
snuff	discharge, 34, 36	styāna
•	-	

solid, 63	numbness, 36	takes the form of
substance	sleep, 44	pervading the whole
dravya, 27	svarasa	body
substrate	expressed juice, 56	akhilade-
āśrayin, 14	extracted juice, 36	havyāptirūpam, 46
$sar{u}car{\imath}$	juice extract, 15	tālīśa
needle, 63	śvāsa	scramberry, 56
sūcīvaktrā	wheezing, 44	tālīśapatra
with a needle-like	svastivācana	scramberry, 57
opening, 71	blessings	tāmra
suffering	pronounced, 19	copper, 64
duḥkha, 14	svayaṃgupta	tāmracūda
sugandhi	velvet bean, 56	cock, 59
sandal, 58	śvayathu	taṇḍulīyaka
śūka	swelling, 20	amaranth, 35
bristles, 52	svedaja	tārāvitāra
sūkarākṣitā	born of sweat, 15	silver mineral, 53
pigs' eye, 64	śvetā	tarpaṇa
sukha	white clitoria, 35	eyewash, 36, 55, 59,
comfort, 16	swelling	60
	śvayathu, 20	
sūkṣma	śyāmā	irrigation, 69 tatra
rarified, 46 śūla	beautyberry, 32, 35	
	syanda	in those cases, 58
pain, 48	watery eye, 61	temperament
shooting pain, 64	symptom	prakṛti, 14
sun	liṅga, 36	the blood of birds and
hari, 63	symptoms	animals
suniviṣṭa	liṅga, 47	rasa, 56
very intent, 24	3 / 1/	the fragrant one in oil
supernatant layer	tagara	tailasugandhi, 58
agra, 60	indian rose-bay, 35	the science of life
suppurating	taila	āyurveda, 11
srāva, 22	sesame oil, 24	the three fruits
suppuration	tailasugandhi	triphalā, 60
srāva, 23	the fragrant one in	the three spices
surāmaṇḍa	oil, 58	vyoṣa, 57
decanted liquor, 22,	tailvaka	the time for therapies
23	prepared with	kriyākāla, 16
sūryavallī	tilvaka, 55	therapies
'sun-creeper', 50	tainted	karman, 16
svabhāva	duṣṭa, 22	three fruits
inherent factors, 16	take away	<i>triphalā</i> , 55, 57
svābhāvika	āhārya, 21	three-leaved caper
inherent, 14	taken hot	varuṇa, 36
svāpa	puṭāhvaya, 60	three-quarters of an hour

muhūrta, 15	writhing, 44	creeper-ear, 21
timira	undistracted	vallūraka
blindness, 61	apramatta, 25	dried flesh, 21
partial blindness, 58	unsteadiness of the	vāminī
traivṛta	humours	vomiting, 70
prepared with	doṣapariplava, 64	vanaspati
turpeth, 55	untreatable	fruit trees, 14
treatable	asādhya, 62	non-flowering tree,
yāpya, 51	upadeha	60
treatment	rheum, 36	vandhyā
bheṣaja, 69	upadrava	infertile, 70
kriyā, 16, 61	side-effects, 37, 51	vapour
tree turmeric	upahita	
dārvī, 56	combined, 58	bāṣpa, 32, 33, 36
trice	upaśama	varga
kāṣṭhā, 15	pacification, 15	collection, 16
triphalā	upasarga	various treatments
the three fruits, 60	affliction, 37	miśrakacikitsa, 25
three fruits, 55, 57	used	varṇa
trivrt	nișevita, 58	complexion, 14, 27
turpeth, 58, 59	uśīra	varṣā
turmeric		rainy seasons, 15
haridrā, 60	cuscus grass, 60 vetiver grass, 35	varti
turmerics	_	wick, 20
haridrā, 50	utpala blue lotus, 56	vartti
		wicks, 66
rajana, 56, 57	water-lily, 32, 50	varuṇa
turpeth	utpalabhedyaka	three-leaved caper,
trivṛt, 58, 59	lotus-splittable, 21	36
tuttha	utpīḍita	vasā
blue vitriol, 60	injured, 62	fat, 59
tvak	utsādana	vāta
skin, 15, 16	dry rub, 35	wind, 21, 69, 70
ucchiṅgana	dry rubs, 31	vātalā
sniffing, 63	vadhra	windy, 70
udaśvit	slice of flesh, 25, 26	vāvikṛtā
watered buttermilk,	vaiḍūrya	or not distorted, 34
33	beryl, 66	veda
udāvartā	vaiṣamya	knowledge, 11
udāvartā, 70	irregularities, 14	vedanābhighāta
udbhid	vakrabhrūnetra	pain and injury, 11
shoots, 15	bent brow and eye,	velvet bean
udvartana		svayaṃgupta, 56
	64 vaktra	velvet leaf
ointment for rubbing		
the ear, 24	ends, 64	pāthā, 60
udveṣṭana	vallīkarņa	velvet-leaf

pāṭhā, 50	flowering trees, 14	white sugar
velvet-mite	vṛnta	<i>sitā</i> , 65
indragopa, 32	stalk, 56	white teak
veņupatrikā	vṛṣabha	kārśmarī, 56
bamboo leaves, 35	bull, 32	wick
verbena	vyadha	varti, 20
phañjī, 36	piercing, 63	wicks
very intent	vyadhana	vartti, 66
sunivisṭa, 24	piercing, 22	wild animals
vetiver grass	vyadhi	vyāla, 15
uśīra, 35	disease, 16	wild asparagus
vidagdha	vyākhyāta	bahuputrā, 36
inflamed, 55	intended, 16	śatāvarī, 61
vidaṅga	vyāla	wild celery
embelia, 60	wild animals, 15	agnika, 49
viḍbheda	vyavāyin	ajamodā, 49
loose stool, 44, 53	pervasive, 46	wind
vidruma	vyāyojima	vāta, 21, 69, 70
coral, 66	multi-joins, 21	windy
vikalpa	vyosa	vātalā, 70
options, 22	the three spices, 57	with a needle-like
_	•	opening
particulars, 16 vikāsin	wasted	sūcīvaktrā, 71
	kṣīṇa, 23	with blood
expansive, 46	water-born	śonitena, 64
vilocana	salilotthita, 61	with bloodloss
misshapen eyeball,	watered buttermilk	raktakṣayā, 70
64	udaśvit, 33	with difficulty
vipakva	water-lily	kṛcchra, 62
matured, 56	utpala, 32, 50	with testicles
vīrudh	watery eye	aṇḍīnī, 71
shrubs, 14	syanda, 61	womb
viśada	welfare	yoni, 67
depression, 14	śreyas, 11	wood apple
limpid, 46	well joined	kapittha, 56
vișkira	sādhubaddha, 25	wood apple
seed-eating, 23	wheezing	kapittha, 35, 36, 56
viśleṣa	śvāsa, 44	woodrose
disjunction, 47	white clitoria	mūṣikakarṇī, 35
vital energy	śvetā, 35	worms
ojas, 14	white cutch tree	kṛmi, 15
voḍhāra	somavalka, 36	writhing
bearers, 31	white mustard	udveșțana, 44
vomiting	siddhārthaka, 65	ua regiuna, 44
vāminī, 70	white siris	yakṛdrasa
vṛkṣa	kiṇihi, 50, 60	liver extract, 57
	. •	

yakṛt yavāgū voni liver, 57, 58 gruel, 49 female reproductive yamalā yavaudana organ, 69, 70 double, 34 cooked barley, 62 female reproductive yantraṇā year system, 69, 70 restrictions, 63 samvatsara, 15 womb, 67 yellow-berried yāpya yonivyāpat alleviated, 58 nightshade disorders of the can be mitigated, 62 kșudrā, 50 female reproductive mitigatible, 55 yoga system, 68 treatable, 51 compounds, 55 yuga yastīkarna vojaved stick-ear, 21 may repair, 24 yuga, 15

#### **Botanical Reference Works**

ADPS Sivarajan, V. V. and Balachandran, Indira (1994), *Ayurvedic Drugs* and *Their Plant Sources* (New Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta: Oxford & IBH Publishing)

& IBH Publishing).

AVS Warrier, P. K., Nambiar, V. P. K., and Ramankutty, C. (1994–6) (eds.), Indian Medicinal Plants: A Compendium of 500 Species. Vaidyaratnam P. S. Varier's Arya Vaidya Sala, Kottakal (Madras:

Orient Longman).

Chopra Chopra, R. N., Nayar, S. L., and Chopra, I. C. (1956), Glossary of Indian Medicinal Plants (3rd reprint, 1992, New Delhi: Council of Scientific and Industrial Research); vol. 2: R. N. Chopra, I. C.

Chopra, and Varma (Chopra suppl.).

Chopra suppl. Chopra, R. N., Chopra, I. C., and Varma, B. S. (1969), Supplement to Glossary of Indian Medicinal Plants (Reprint 1986, New Delhi: National Institute of Science Communication), ISBN: 8185038872.

CIPP Pillay, V. V. (2010), "Common Indian Poisonous Plants," in D. A. Warrell, T. M. Cox, and J. D. Firth (eds.), Oxford Textbook of Medicine (5th edn., Oxford University Press), 1371–5. DOI: 10.1093/med/9780199204854.003.090302.

Dutt

Dutt, Uday Chand (1922), The Materia Medica of the Hindus...with a Glossary of Indian Plants by George King. Revised Edition...by Binod Lall Sen and Ashutosh Sen and Pulin Krishna Sen (Krishnadas Sanskrit Studies; 3rd edn., Calcutta: Madan Gopal Dass for the Adi-Ayurveda Machine Press), URL, accessed 04/10/2017; Reprinted Varanasi: Chowkhamba Saraswatibhavan, 1980.

**GVDB** 

Singh, Thakur Balwant and Chunekar, K. C. (1972), *Glossary of Vegetable Drugs in Brhattrayī* (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office).

**IGP** 

Griffiths, Mark (1994), *The New Horticultural Society Index of Garden Plants* (London: Macmillan).

NK

Nadkarni, K. M. (1982a), Dr. K. M. Nadkarni's Indian Materia Medica, with Ayurvedic, Unani-tibbi, Siddha, Allopathic, Homeopathic, Naturopathic & Home Remedies, Appendices & Indexes ... in Two Volumes, ed. A. K. Nadkarni, 2 vols. (3 ed., revised and enlarged by A. K. Nadkarni, Bombay: Popular Prakashan), ISBN: 8171541429, URL.

## Glossary and Index of Medical Substances

axlewood (*dhava*) Anogeissus latifolia (Roxb. ex DC.) Wall. ex Guill & Perr. See AVS: vol. 1, 163 f, Chopra: 20, 53

beautyberry (*priyaṅgu*) śyāmā → priyaṅgu. Callicarpa macrophylla, Vahl. See AVS: vol. 1, 334, NK: #420, 51

beggarweed (amśumatī) Desmodium gangeticum (L.) DC (Dymock et al. 1890: vol. 1, 428, GJM 602, NK: #1192; ADPS: 382, 414 and AVS: vol. 2, 319, 4.366 are confusing), 51

cardamom (*elā*) Elettaria cardamomum, Maton. See AVS: vol. 2, 360, NK: #924, Potter 66, 51

cassia cinnamon (*patra*) Cinnamomum tamala, (Buch.-Ham.) Nees. See AVS: vol. 2, 84, NK: #, 51 cherry (*elavālu*) Prunus cerasus, L.?. See BVDB 58, NK: #2037, GVDB: 58, 51

cobra's saffron (*nāgapuṣpa*) nāgapuṣpa. = nāgakeśara. Mesua ferrea, L. See NK: #1595, GVDB: 220, 51

corky coral tree (*pāribhadra*) Erythrina suberosa Roxb. See GVDB 245, 53

costus (*kuṣṭha*) Saussurea costus, Clarke. See NK: #2239, 51

country mallow (*balā*) Sida cordifolia, L. See ADPS: 71, NK: #2297, 51

country sarsaparilla (*anantā*) Hemidesmus indicus, (L.) R. Br. See ADPS: 434, AVS: vol. 3, 141–5, NK: #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 fruitescens R. Rr.
                                                     GVDB: 123-124 discuss the many
   (GVDB: 429-431), 40, 53
                                                     difficulties in identifying this plant, 40
crape jasmine (tagara) Tabernaemontana
                                                  liquorice (madhuka) Glycyrrhiza glabra, L.
   divaricata (L.) R.Br. ex Roem. & Schultes.
                                                     See AVS: vol. 3, 84, NK: #1136, 51
   See GJM 557, AVS: vol. 5, 232, 51
                                                  lodh tree (lodhra) Symplocos racemosa, Roxb.
crimson trumpet-flower tree (pātalā)
                                                     See GJM 597, ADPS: 279 f, 51
   Stereospermum chelonides, (L. f.) A. DC.
                                                  long pepper (pippalī) Piper longum, L. See
   See GJM 573, AVS: vol. 5, 192 ff,
                                                     ADPS: 374, NK: #1928, 51
   ADPS: 362 f, AVS: vol. 3, 1848 f, IGP 1120,
                                                  medhshingi (vijayā2) Dolichandrone falcata
   Dymock et al. 1890: vol. 3, 20 ff, 53
                                                     (DC.) The Sauśrutanighantu gives a
deodar (bhadradāru) Cedrus deodara,
                                                     number of synonyms for vijayā (Suvedī
   (Roxb.ex D.Don) G. Don. See AVS 41,
                                                     and Tīvārī 2000: 5.77, 10.143). But one of
   NK: #516, 51
                                                     them, viṣāṇī (also meṣaśṛṅgī), is sometimes
embelia (vidanga) Embelia ribes, Burm. f. See
                                                     equated with Dolichandrone falcata (DC.)
   ADPS: 507, AVS: vol. 2, 368, NK: #929,
                                                     Seemann (ADPS: 518; GVDB: 373 f, a plant
   Potter 113, 51
                                                     used as an abortifacient and fish poison
false daisy (?) (subhangurā) (su)bhangura =
                                                     (Nadkarni 1982a: #862), 40
   bhrnga? Eclipta prostrata (L.) L. See
                                                  natron (suvarcikā) Sodium carbonate. NK 2,
   GVDB: 288, 40
                                                     p. 101. Dalhana identifies suvarcikā with
                                                     svarjikṣāra 4.8.50 (Su 1938: 441), 51
garjan oil tree (aśvakarna) Dipterocarpus
   turbinatus Gaertn. f. See GVDB: 28,
                                                  nutgrass (mustā) Cyperus rotundus, L. See
   Chopra: 100, 53
                                                     ADPS: 316, AVS: vol. 2, 296, NK: #782, 54
gold (hema) gold, 51
                                                  peas (harenu) harenu = satīna. Pisum
golden shower tree (rājadruma) rājadruma =
                                                     sativum, L. Singh and Chunekar
   āragvadha. Cassia fistula L. See GVDB 37,
                                                     (GVDB: 419-420, 467-468) notes that two
                                                     plants are usually meant under this name,
                                                     but there is no agreement on the identity
hogweed (punarnavā) Boerhaavia diffusa, L.
                                                     of the second, 50, 51
   See ADPS: 387, AVS: vol. 1, 281, NK: #363,
                                                  poison berry (brhatī) Solanum violaceum,
Indian barberry (dāruharidrā) Berberis
                                                     Ortega. See ADPS: 100, NK: #2329,
   aristata, DC. See Dymock et al.
                                                     AVS: vol. 5, 151, 51
   1890: vol. 1, 65, NK: #685, GJM 562, IGP
                                                  pondweed (paripelavā) Normally a neuter
                                                     noun. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 238,
   141, 51
Indian madder (mañjisthā) Rubia cordifolia, L.
                                                     264-265, 409) argued that plava and
                                                     śaivāla are the same thing, and may be
   See IGP, Chopra: 215, GVDB: 289, 51
                                                     either Zannichellia palustris, L., or
Indian sarsaparilla (s\bar{a}riv\bar{a}) \rightarrow anant\bar{a}
                                                     Potamogeton pectinatus, L, 51
   (Hemidesmus indicus, (L.) R. Br.ADPS: 434,
                                                  red chalk (gairika) gairika, 51
   AVS: vol. 3, 141-5, NK: #1210) and black
                                                  rosha grass (dhyāmaka) Cymbopogon
   creeper (pālindī. Ichnocarpus frutescens,
   (L.) R.Br. or Cryptolepis buchanani,
                                                     martinii (Roxb.) Wats. See AVS: vol. 2, 285,
   Roemer & Schultes AVS: vol. 3, 141, 3.145,
                                                     NK: #177, 51
   3.203, NK: #1283, #1210, ADPS: 434), 51, 54
                                                  sandalwood (candana) Santalum album, L.
jequirity (gu\tilde{n}j\bar{a}) Abrus precatorius, L. See
                                                     See ADPS: 111, NK: #2217, 51
   AVS: vol. 1, 10, NK: #6, Potter 168, 40
                                                  scented pavonia (bālaka) Pavonia odorata,
liquorice (?) (klītaka) Glycyrrhiza glabra, L.?
                                                     Willd. See ADPS: 498, NK: #1822, 51
```

- small-flowered crape myrtle (*sidhraka*) Lagerstroemia parviflora Roxb. See GVDB: 432, 53
- spikenard (*māṃsī*) Nardostachys grandiflora, DC. See NK: #1691, 51
- sugar ( $sit\bar{a}$ ) Dalhaṇa makes this equation at 1.37.25 (Su 1938: 162), 51
- sweet-scented oleander (aśvamāraka) Nerium oleander, L. See ADPS: 223, NK: #1709, 40
- Tellicherry bark (*kuṭaja*) Holarrhena pubescens Wall. ex G.Don, with Wrightia tinctoria and W. arborea considered GVDB: 101–102, ADPS: 267–270, 54
- three heating spices (*tryūṣaṇa*) śunṭhī (Dried ginger) Zingiber officinale, Roscoe.

  ADPS: 50, NK: #2658, AVS: vol. 5, 435, IGP 1232, pippalī (long pepper) Piper longum, L.ADPS: 374, NK: #1928, and marica (black

- pepper) Piper nigrum, L.ADPS: 294, NK: #1929, 50
- turmeric (*rajanī*) Curcuma longa, L. ADPS: 169, AVS: vol. 2, 259, NK: #750, 51
- water-lily (*utpala*) Nymphaea stellata, Willd. See GJM 528, IGP 790; Dutt 110, NK: #1726,
- weaver's beam tree (*muṣkaka*) Schrebera swietenioides, Roxb. See AVS: vol. 5, 88, Lord, NK: #2246, 53
- white cutch tree (somavalka) Acacia polyacantha, Willd. See AVS: vol. 1, 30, IGP 7, GJM 602, AVS: vol. 2, 935; pace NK: #1038, 53
- yellow-berried nightshade (*kṣudrā*) Solanum virginianum, L. See ADPS: 100, NK: #2329, AVS: vol. 5, 164, 51

# **Todo list**

añjana	25
Cf. Arthaśāstra 1.21.8.	31
I'm still unhappy about this verse.	34
Mention this in the introduction as an example of the scribe knowing	
the vulgate	34
fn about sadyas+	34
Bear's bile instead of deer's bile.	35
punarṇṇavā in the N & K MSS	36
śrita for śṛta	36
explain more	36
Medical difference from Sharma.	36
example where the vulgate clarifies that these should be used separ-	
ately; appears to be a gloss inserted into the vulgate text	36
The two uses of prāpta are hard to translate. prāptā $ otan  ightharpoonup$ kṣipraṃ is an	
example of the vulgate banalizing the Sanskrit text to make sense of	
a difficult passage.	37
$\sqrt{\text{vyadh not }\sqrt{\text{vedh (also elsewhere and for the ears)}}$ , causative optative.	37
opposite of the vulgate Same as 1.8.89 (As 1980: 79)	37
Medical difference	38
-> ativiṣa	45
Look up the ca. reference.	45
Come back to the issue of "kalpa". Look up passages in the Kośa	
Come back to the issue of kaipa. Look up passages in the Rosa	52
where is cutting with a knife related to removing bile or phlegm	52 55
	-
where is cutting with a knife related to removing bile or phlegm	55
where is cutting with a knife related to removing bile or phlegm maṣī burned charcoal. Find refs	55 55
where is cutting with a knife related to removing bile or phlegm maṣī burned charcoal. Find refs	55 55 61