A Translation of the New Edition of the Suśrutasaṃhitā

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Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 1

- 1 Now I shall narrate the chapter on the origin of this knowledge.²³
- 2 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.²⁴
- "O Lord, distress arose in our minds after witnessing people thrashing about with cries, assailed by different kinds of pain and injury (*vedanā-bhighāta*), 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."
- 5 The Lord said to them:
 - "Welcome to you! My children, all of you are beyond reproach and worthy to be taught.
- 6 "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.²⁵
- 7 "Surgery, treatment of body parts above the clavicle, general medicine,

²³ Dalhaṇa 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 Suśrutasaṃhitā (Wujastyk 2013b: 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.

²⁴ 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 (2021b) has discussed these authors in the context of an anonymous commentary on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that cites them.

²⁵ Svayambhū is another name for Brahmā, the creator.

- knowledge of spirits, care of children, and the disciplines of antidotes, rejuvenation and aphrodisiacs.
- 8 "Now, a collection of the characteristics of each component of Āyurveda.
- 9 "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, ²⁶ Gandharvas, Yakṣas, demons, deceased ancestors, Piśācas, Vināyakas, ²⁷ 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.²⁸
- "[The component] called the discipline of rejuvenation is maintaining youth, bringing about a long life and mental vigour and for curing dis-

²⁶ Dānavas. The insertion marks ($k\bar{a}kapadas$) below the text at this point appears to be by the original scribe.

²⁷ The vulgate doesn't have *vināyaka*s but does add *asuras*, probably under the influence of Dalhaṇa. Cite Paul Courtright, Ganesha book.

²⁸ 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 creepy-crawlies ($sar\bar{t}srpa$) in the list, it does seem that MS K had a shorter list, and the vulgate edition adds rodents ($m\bar{u}sika$).

eases.

- "[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.
- "Thus, this Ayurveda is taught with eight components."
 "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.
- 25 "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.].²⁹

For, I (i.e., Brahmā) am Dhanvantari, the first god, the remover of old

²⁹ This is an expansion of the scribe's abbreviation *bha* for *bhavati cātra ślokaḥ* "There is a verse about this" (sometimes plural).

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
otin a) is called an amalgam of the five elements and the embodied soul. This is where procedures (kriy
otan) apply. This is the locus. Why?

Because of the duality of the world, the world is twofold: the stationary and the moving. Its nature ($\bar{a}tmaka$) is twofold, depending on the preponderance of Agni and Soma.³⁰ 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".³¹ 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 ($du\dot{p}$ -kha). 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 (vaisamya) in wind, bile, phlegm and blood.³²

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 $(sv\bar{a}bh\bar{a}vika)$ ones are hunger, thirst, old age, death, sleep and those of the temperament (prakrti).

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

Scarification (lekhana), nourishment (bṛṃhaṇa), purification (saṃśo-dhana), pacification (saṃśamana), diet ($\bar{a}h\bar{a}ra$) and regimen ($\bar{a}c\bar{a}ra$), 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 $(\bar{a}\acute{s}rayin)$. And substances are remedies

³⁰ See Wujastyk 2004.

This fourfold classification of beings is paralleled with closely-related vocabulary in *Bhelasaṃhitā* 4.4.4 (Bhela 2000: 206; Bhela 1921: 81).

³² Note that four humoral substances are assumed here.

- (*oṣadhī*-).³³ There are two types: stationary (*sthāvara*) and moving (*jaṅgama*).
- Of these, there are four types of stationary ones: fruit trees (*vanaspati*), flowering trees (*vṛkṣa*), herbs (*oṣadhi*) and shrubs (*vīrudh*).³⁴ Amongst these, the "fruit trees" have fruit but no flowers.³⁵ 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, creepycrawlies (*sarīṣṛpa*) and snakes are "born of eggs." Worms (*kṛmi*), small insects (*kunta*) and ants (*pipīlika*) and others are born of sweat.³⁶ Shoots include red velvet mites (*indragopa*) and frogs (*maṇḍūka*).³⁷|
- In this context, among the stationary remedies, skin (tvak), leaves (patra), flowers (puṣpa), fruits (phala), roots ($m\bar{u}la$), bulbs (kanda), sap ($kṣ\bar{i}ra$), resin ($niry\bar{a}sa$), essence ($s\bar{a}ra$), oil (sneha), and juice extract (svarasa)³⁸ are useful; among the moving remedies pelt (carman), hair, nails, and blood (rudhira) and so forth.
- 34 And earth products (*pārthiva*) include gold and silver.³⁹
- 35 The items created by time $(k\bar{a}lakrta)$ are clusters (samplava) as far as
- Pāṇini 6.3.132 provides that the final vowel of the noun oṣadhi may be lengthened $(\to oṣadh\bar{\iota})$ 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 $oṣadh\bar{\iota}$. This form is in fact not uncommon in medical literature as well as in epics, purāṇas, smṛtis, and other parts of Sanskrit literature.
- 34 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.
- 35 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).
- 36 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).
- 37 On indragopa, see Lienhard 1978.
- 38 On juice extract (*svarasa*) see CS 1.1.73, 1.4.7; Dalhana on 4.10.12 (Su 1938: 450).
- 39 The flow of concepts in the treatise seems to be interrupted here.

wind and no wind $(niv\bar{a}ta)$, heat and shade, darkness and light and the cold, hot and rainy seasons $(vars\bar{a})$ are concerned. The divisions of time are the blink of the eye (nimesa), a trice $(k\bar{a}sth\bar{a})$, minutes $(kal\bar{a})$, three-quarters of an hour $(muh\bar{u}rta)$, a day and night $(ahor\bar{a}tra)$, a fortnight (paksa), a month $(m\bar{a}sa)$, a season (rtu), a half-year (ayana), a year (samvatsara), and yuga (yuga).

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:]⁴¹

- This fourfold category is taught by physicians as a cause for the agitation and quelling of bodily diseases.⁴²
- There are two kinds of invasive diseases. Some certainly⁴³ 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 (oṣadhi),
 - 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

⁴⁰ These units are presented at 1.6.5 (Su 1938: 24) and discussed by Hayashi (2017: § 59).

⁴¹ See footnote 29.

⁴² 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).

⁴³ The text uses an archaic interjection here, ha.

- (vikalpa) of its major and minor parts (anga) such as skin (tvak), flesh ($m\bar{a}msa$), ducts ($sir\bar{a}$), sinews ($sn\bar{a}yu$), 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.

[There is a verse about this:]44

- This seed of medicine has been declared in brief. Its explanation will be given in one hundred and twenty chapters.⁴⁵
- There are one hundred and twenty chapters in five sections (*adhyāya*).⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷

[There is a verse about this:]⁴⁸

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.

⁴⁴ See footnote 29.

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.

⁴⁶ On viṃśa in the sense of "greater by 20" see P.5.2.46 śadantaviṃśateś ca.

⁴⁷ 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.

⁴⁸ See footnote 29.

Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 13: On Leeches

Literature

Previous scholarship

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of studies on Indian leeches and their application.⁴⁹

A Persian version of this chapter of the $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$ was included in $Sikandar~Sh\bar{a}h's~Mine~of~Medicine~(Ma'din~al-shifa'~i~Sikandar-Shah\bar{a}h\bar{\iota})$ composed in 1512 by Miyān Bhūwah b. Khawāṣṣ Khān. 50

More recently, Brooks has explored the sense of touch in relation to leeching and patient-physician interactions.⁵¹

Translation

- 1 And now we shall explain the chapter about leeches.
- The leech is for the benefit of kings, rich people, delicate people, children, the elderly, fearful people and women. It is said to be the most gentle means for letting blood.
- In that context, one should let blood that is corrupted by wind, bile or phlegm with a horn, a leech, or a gourd, respectively. Or, each kind can be be made to flow by any of them in their particular way.⁵²
- 1.13.5x And there are the following about this:

There is an insertion in the text, printed in parentheses in the vulgate at 1.13.4 (Su 1938: 55) as विशेषतस्तु विस्राव्यं शृङ्गजलोकालानुभिगृह्णीयात्. This insertion is not included in the earlier edition of the vulgate, but is replaced by स्निग्धशीतरूक्षत्वात् (Su 1931: 54). Dalhaṇa noted that, "this reading is discussed to some extent by some compilers (नि-वन्यकार), but it is definitely rejected by most of them, including Jejjhaṭa."

⁴⁹ HIML: IA, 209; IB, 324, n. 131.

⁵⁰ Siddiqi 1959: 96–109; Azeez Pasha 1971; Storey 1971: 231–232; HIML: IB, 324, n. 128; Speziale 2019: 8–9.

⁵¹ Brooks 2020*a,b,c*.

⁵² This sentence is hard to construe grammatically, although its meaning seems clear. In place of विशेषस्त, Cakrapāṇidatta and Dalhaṇa both read विशेषतस, which helps interpretation (Su 1939: 95, Su 1938: 55). It is notworthy that the critical syllable स्तु is smudged or corrected in both MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079 and in 1-1146, a much later Devanāgarī manuscript.

- 1.13.5 The horn of cows is praised for being unctuous, smooth, and very sweet. Therefore, when wind is troubled, that is good for bloodletting.⁵³
- 1.13.5a Having a length of seven fingers and a large body the shape of a half moon, should first be placed into a cut. A strong person should suck with the mouth.⁵⁴
- 1.13.6 A leech lives in the cold, is sweet and is born in the water. So when someone is afflicted by bile, they are suitable for bloodletting.⁵⁵
- 1.13.7 A gourd is well known for being pungent, dry and sharp. So when someone is afficted by phlegm it is suitable for bloodletting.
- 1.13.8 In that context, at the scarified location one should let blood using a horn wrapped in a covering of a thin bladder. Or with a gourd with a flame inside it because of the suction.⁵⁶
- 1.13.9 Leeches are called "jala-ayu-ka" because water (jala) is their life ($\bar{a}yur$). "Home" (okas) means "dwelling;" their home is water, so they are called "water-dwellers (jalaukas)."
- 1.13.10 There are twelve of them: six are venemous and exactly the same number are non-venemous.
- 1.13.11 Here is an explanation of the poisonous ones, together with the therapy:
 - Black (kṛṣṇā)
 - Mottled (karburā)
 - Sting-gush (alagarddā)⁵⁸

⁵³ The vulgate replaced "smooth" with "hot."

This passage is not found in the vulgate, but it is similar to the passage cited by Palhaṇa at 1.13.8 (Su 1938: 56) and attributed to Bhāluki. Bhāluki was the author of a *Bhālukitantra* that may have predated Jejjaṭa and might even have been one of the sources for the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (HIML: v. IA, 689–690 *et passim*). The editor Ācārya was aware of this reading in the Nepalese manuscripts; see his note 4 on 1.13.5 (Su 1938: 55, note 4).

Note that the particular qualities (*guṇas*) of the leech in this and the following verses counteract the quality of the affliction. See Brooks 2018: 113, table 1.

There are questions about the wrapping or covering of the horn. Other versions of the text, and the commentator, propose that there may be two coverings, or that cloth may be a constituent. Comparison with contemporary horn-bloodletting practice by traditional Sudanese healers suggests that a covering over the top hole in the horn is desirable when sucking, to prevent the patient's blood entering the mouth (PBS 2020). Our understanding of this verse is that the bladder material is used to cover the mouthpiece and then to block it, in order to preserve suction in the horn for a few minutes while the blood is let.

⁵⁷ This is a folk etymology.

⁵⁸ Treating गर्दो as गल्दा and translating as in RV 8.1.20, with Jamison and Brereton

- Rainbow (indrāyudhā)
- Oceanic (sāmudrikā)
- Cow-praising (govandanā)

Amongst these,

- The one called a Black is the colour of kohl and has a broad head;
- The one called Mottled is like the Indian mottled eel, long with a segmented (chinna), humped belly;⁵⁹

Black

^{(2014: 1023,} verse 20 and cf. commentary). But if गर्दे is to be taken from $\sqrt{\eta \xi}$ then we might have "crying from the sting."

The वर्मिमत्स्य is almost certainly the mottled eel. MW: 962c notes that the varmi fish "is commonly called vāmi." The "vam fish," or "vanmatsya" in Bengal, is a marine and freshwater eel, Anguilla bengalensis. It is the most common eel in Indian inland waters and a prized food fish (Froese and Pauly 2022). However, some NIA languages identify the "vam" fish with the Indian Pike Conger, Congresox talabonides (Bleeker) (Talwar and Kacker 1984: 235, 236).

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.⁶¹

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.⁶²

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.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ Translations of

⁶¹ *Arthaśāstra* 1.21.8 (Kangle 1969: 1, 30), translation by Olivelle (2013: 97).

⁶² Cf. Arthaśāstra 1.21.6, ibid., Olivelle (2013: 96).

⁶³ Cf. *Arthaśāstra* 1.21.6 again.

⁶⁴ HIML: IA, 289–290.

this chapter since 2000 have appeared by Wujastyk (2003*b*: 131–139), P. V. Sharma (1999–2001*b*: 3, 1–15), and Srikantha Murthy (2000–2).⁶⁵

More recently, a discussion of the fourth chapter of this section in the light of the Nepalese manuscripts was published by Harimoto.⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷

Manuscript notes

 MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 has foliation letter numerals, for example on f. 323a, that are similar to MS Cambridge Add. 1693,⁶⁸ dated to 1165 ce noted in Bendall's chart of Nepalese letter-numerals Bendall 1883: Lithograph V, after p. 225

⁶⁵ For a bibliography of translations to 2002, including Latin (1847), English (1877), Gujarati (1963) and Japanese (1971), see HIML: IB, 314–315.

⁶⁶ Harimoto 2011: 101–104.

⁶⁷ The two editions that Harimoto noted, Su 1938 and Su 1889, present identical texts.

⁶⁸ 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. 69
 - 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.⁷⁰

[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.⁷¹
 - 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.⁷²
 - 69 MS H adds in the margin अथ खलु वत्स सुश्रुतः "Now begins Vatsa Suśruta." This phrase has been copied here by the scribe from the beginning of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that names Dhanvantari and integrates him into the narrative of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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).
 - 70 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 क्षितिपतिस्तपोधर्मश्रुताकरः "Divodāsa, the king of the earth, was a mine of traditions about discipline and virtue."
 - 71 Verses about the use of Venemous Virgins as a weapon do not appear in the Nepalese manuscripts. Cf. Wujastyk 2003*b*: 81 f., 132. This material is present in the commentary of Gayadāsa.
 - 72 The verb $\sqrt{\text{s}}$ svas is conjugated as a first class root in the Nepalese manuscripts.

- 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.
- 12–13 The kitchen should be constructed at a recommended location and orientation. It should have a lot of light,⁷³ have clean utensils and be staffed by men and women who have been vetted.⁷⁴
- 17–18ab The chefs, bearers ($vodh\bar{a}ra$), and makers of boiled rice soups and cakes and whoever else might be there, must all be under the strict control of the doctor.⁷⁵
- 18cd–19ab An expert knows people's body language (*iṅgita*) 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.⁷⁶ 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 (abhyaṅga) 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.
 - 28 Flies or crows or other creatures that eat a poisonous morsel (bali)

Cf. Arthaśāstra 1.21.8.

⁷³ We read महच्छुचिः with the Nepalese manuscripts and against the vulgate's महच्छुचि. We understand शुचिस as a neuter noun meaning "light" following Apte (Apte: 1050a).

⁷⁴ Verses detailing the ideal staff are omitted in the Nepalese manuscripts. Cf. Su 1938: 560; Wujastyk 2003*b*: 132.

⁷⁵ 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 *Bodhāyanīya-gṛhyasūtra* 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).

⁷⁶ The word ध्याम is glossed by Dalhaṇa (in a variant reading) as someone who is the colour of dirty clothes 5.1 (Su 1938: 560).

- served from the king's portion, die on the spot.
- 29 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 changes its song and the common crane rises up excitedly.⁷⁷ 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.⁷⁸ The chital deer sheds tears and the monkey releases excrement.⁷⁹
- Vapour rising from tainted food gives rise to a pain in the heart, it makes the eyes roll, and it gives one a headache.⁸⁰
- 35, 36cd In such a case, an errhine and a collyrium that are costus, ??, spikenard and honey (*madhus*),⁸¹ a paste of sandalwood on the heart may also provide relief.⁸²
 - 77 The verb अर्च्छीत "rises up" is a rare form best known from epic Sanskrit (see Oberlies 2003: 212, §7.6.1). The transmitted form कोश्र is obviously a colloquial version of Sanskrit कोश्र. 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 कोश्र he says that people pronounce it कुरझ and कोंचि. The form कोश्र is found in Pāli (see Cone 2001: 731, who notes that Ardhamāgadhī has the same form). Elsewhere, Dalhaṇa calls the bird कोश्रि, कोश्रि, and केचर (1.46.105 (Su 1938: 223), 6.31.154 (Su 1938: 684) and (6.58.44 (Su 1938: 790) respectively).
 - 78 Dalhaṇa seemed confused about the racket-tailed drongo (মূর্বার). He called it a generic drongo (শ্বন্ধক), a word that can also mean "bee," (Dave 1985: 62), and then said that it is like the black drongo (খূম্বার) (for a nice explanation of this name, see Dave 1985: 62–63) and that people call it "the king of birds."
 - 79 MS Kathmandu KL 699 reads "bull (বৃष्म)" 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.
 - 80 "Tainted" translates उपक्षिप्त. The word's semantic field includes "to hurl, throw against," and especially "to insult verbally, insinuate, accuse." The commentator Dalhaṇa glossed the term as, "spoiled food given to be eaten" (विदूषितस्यान्नस्य भोक्तं दत्त्तस्य), but he noted that some people read "उखाक्षिप्त" or "thrown into a pan." Other translators have commonly translated it as "served," perhaps influenced by Dalhaṇa's "given (दत्त)."
 - 81 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.
 - 82 **sing-1972** 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

- 37 Held in the hand, it makes the hand burn, and the nails fall out. In such a case, the ointment (*pralepa*) is beautyberry, velvet-mite, soma and water-lily.⁸³
- 38–39 If he eats that food, through inattention or by mistake, then his tongue will feel like a pebble (asthīla) and it will lose its sense of taste. It stings and burns, and his saliva (śleṣman) dribbles out. ⁸⁴ 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". ⁸⁵
 - 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.⁸⁶
 - In this case, vomiting must quickly be induced using the fruits of emetic

a type of uśīra or vetiver grass. The grammatical neuter form मधुस् "sweetness" of the Nepalese manuscripts is less common than neuter मधु "honey, sweetness, liquorice."

- 83 "Beautyberry" (Callicarpa macrophylla Vahl.) is one identification of रयामा, but vaidyas and commentators have different ideas about the plant's identity (see glossary). 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 ब्राह्मी 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 2003b: 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 Potter: 262; not found in Osbaldeston and Wood 2000).
- 84 The word अष्टीला is normally feminine. The Nepalese manuscripts read it with a short अ- ending. 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.
- 85 Poisoned toothbrushes are discussed in verses 48 ff. below.
- 86 I translate मूच्छों in the light of the metaphors discussed by Meulenbeld (2011), that include thickening and losing consciousness.

nut, gourd, red gourd, and luffa, taken with milk and watered buttermilk, or alternatively with rice-water.

- Reaching the intestines ($pakv\bar{a}\acute{s}aya$), it causes a burning feeling, stupor, diarrhoea, thirst, impairment of the senses, flatulence ($\bar{a}\acute{t}opa$) 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 $(d\bar{u}\bar{\imath}\bar{\imath}vi\bar{\imath}\bar{a}ri)$ ' should be drunk with honey and curds (dadhi).⁸⁷
- 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.⁸⁸
- 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.⁸⁹
- When a toothbrush twig has poison on it, the bristles are corroded and the flesh of the tongue, gums and lips swells up.90
- Then, once his swelling is lanced, one should rub (*pratisāraṇa*) it with fire-flame bush flowers jambul, mango stones and chebulic myrobalan fruit mixed with honey.⁹¹
- 50 Alternatively, the rubbing (*pratisāraṇa*) can be done with either the roots of sage-leaved alangium, the bark of blackboard tree or siris seeds.⁹²

87 The 'slow-acting poison' is discussed at 5.2.25 ff. (Su 1938: 565).

- 88 Both Nepalese witnesses read विकृत (distorted) twice, which is tautologous. In the first occurrence both read विकृत 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.
- 89 The root ्र कुथ् "stink, putrify, rot" is apparently known only from its few uses in the Suśrutasamhitā.
- 90 Gayadāsa and Dalhaṇa pointed out that "enclosure of a tooth (दन्तवेष्ट)" and "flesh of the tooth (दन्तवेष्ट)" have the same meaning (2.16.14–26 (Su 1938: 331–332)).
- 91 This recipe is different from the vulgate.
- 92 The spelling of the name अङ्गोह्र varies अङ्गोट, अङ्गोठ, अङ्गोठ (sing-1972); Dalhana noted

I'm still unhappy about this verse.

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

fn about sadyas+

- One should give advice about a poisoned tongue-scraper or mouthwash (*kavala*) 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.
- 53–54 In such a case, sandalwood, crape jasmine, costus, and cuscus grass, bamboo leaves, heart-leaved moonseed and heart-leaved moonseed, white clitoria, sacred lotus, and Indian barberry 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.⁹⁴
 - 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 (*abhyaṅga*).95
- 56–58 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, ⁹⁶ ghee, beautyberry, ⁹⁷ black creeper, and amaranth. Good alternatives are either the fluid extract of cow-dung, or the juice of jasmine, the juice of woodrose, or household soot. ⁹⁸

Bear's bile instead of deer's bile.

that the form अङ्गोस is a colloquialism (1.37.12 (Su 1938:161)). The sentence is awkward and we have emended शिरीषमाषक to be a plural, as in the vulgate, rather than the ablative singular of the Nepalese witnesses. We follow Dalhana in interpreting the compound to refer to the distinctive bean-like siris seeds, rather than to mung beans (5.1.50 (Su 1938:562)).

- 93 The feminine स्फोटा for "boils" is unattested.
- This compound could be interpreted as "wood apple juice and cassia cinnamon."

 Note that this recipe is differs from that of the vulgate, which requires urine.
- 95 See verse 52 above.
- 96 Dalhaṇa comments here that 'bile is that fluid which goes along inside the tube attached to the liver' (कालखण्डलप्रनलिकामध्यगतजलं पित्तम्) 5.1.57 (Su 1938: 562).
- 97 See note 83.
- 98 The plant identifications in this passage follow Dalhaṇa's glosses, although he noted a difference of opinion on the identity of woodrose (lit. "mouse-ear"). 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). Cf. note 190, p. 56.

- 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.
- 60–61 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).⁹⁹ In this case, the drink is honey and ghee, and the ointment (pralepa) is sandalwood with ghee, curds, honey, verbena, scarlet mallow and hogweed.¹⁰⁰

punarṇṇavā in the N & K MSS

- 62–63ab Elephants and the like become ill and they dribble saliva. And the rider gets spots (*sphoṭa*) 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 Himalayan monkshood, is prescribed, with henna, as a cold drink or errhine.

śrita for śrta

- 65cd–66 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.
 - When it is in ear-oil, there is degeneration in the ear, and painful swelling. There is also a discharge from the ear and in such a case it needs to be irrigated (*pratipūraṇa*) promptly with ghee and honey. Extracted juice (*svarasa*) of wild asparagus and very cold juice of white cutch tree are also recommended as something good.¹⁰¹
 - 69 When poison is mixed in with eye make-up (añjana), he gets tears and rheum (upadeha), with a burning feeling, pain, faulty vision (dṛṣtivi-

explain more

⁹⁹ 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.

¹⁰⁰ The common plant-name पुननेवा is read as पुनण्णेवा in both Nepalese witnesses. This unusual form is technically-speaking legal according to Pāṇini 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.

¹⁰¹ The syntax of the Nepalese version is slightly unclear, but the vulgate has smoothed out the difficulties.

bhrama), and possibly even blindness. 102

70–71 In this case, one must immediately drink ghee and have it also in an eyewash (*tarpaṇa*) with long pepper. One should have an eye ointment (*añjana*) of the juice of periploca of the woods and have the extract (*niryāsa*) of three-leaved caper, wood apple and periploca of the woods and the flower of marking-nut tree.

Medical difference from Sharma.

where the

that these should be

used separately; appears to be

a gloss in-

serted into the vulgate

text.

vulgate

- Because of poisoned slippers there will definitely be a swelling, numbness $(sv\bar{a}pa)$, a discharge $(sr\bar{a}va)$ and an outbreak of spots (sphoṭa) on the feet. 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 $(avad\bar{a}rana)$. 103
 - 75ab 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.¹⁰⁴
- 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 or a fern is tied on to the King's wrist, then all food that is mixed with poison will be rendered free of poison.¹⁰⁵

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

- 102 The term translated as "faulty vision" could also mean "rolling eyes." "Eye make-up" is normally made of Indian barberry.
- 103 The reading अवदारुण in MS Kathmandu KL 699 is not attested elsewhere in Sanskrit literature. On "sepsis" for पाक, see Wujastyk 2003b: xlv–xlvi.
- 104 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.
- 105 In early Ayurvedic literature, the plant अजरुहा is mentioned only here and its identity is unknown. It may be a fern of the Nephrodium family, according to Singh and Chunekar (GVDB:7). Dalhaṇa, on 5.1.78 (Su 1938: 563), cited a description of the two plants from the little-known authority Uśanas (HIML: IA, 660 et passim) who described अजरुहा 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.

√ vyadh not √ vedh (also elsewhere and for the ears), causative optative. 79cd–80 He should always keep his heart protected (*hṛdayāvaraṇa*) when amongst people who are not his friends. Before eating he should drink the kinds of ghee called 'Invincible' and 'Immortal'. He should drink ghee (*sarpiṣ*), honey, curds (*dadhi*), milk (*payas*), or cold water.

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

- 81 He should consume monitor lizard, peacock, mongooses, chital deer, and blackbuck too, that destroy poison, and their juices.
- 82 As discerning person should add well-crushed black creeper, ¹⁰⁸ liquorice, and sugar to the meats of monitor lizardmonitor lizard, mongoose and blackbuck too.
- 83 Add sugar and Himalayan monkshood to peacock flesh, together with ginger And for meat from a chital deer, he should add long pepper, with ginger.
- 84ab A cold neem broth with honey and ghee is wholesome too.
- 84cd A discerning person should partake of hard and soft foods that counteract poison.¹⁰⁹
 - 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.

¹⁰⁶ 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 (সভ্জাবন) the heart 5.1.79–81 (Su 1938: 563).

¹⁰⁷ These ghee compounds are described in later chapters: see 5.2.47–49 (Su 1938: 566) and 5.6.13 (Su 1938: 581).

¹⁰⁸ Or some say turpeth.

¹⁰⁹ On this expression, see Yagi 1994.

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, Dalhana, 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.¹¹⁰

Dalhaṇa 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 reverseengineer some identifications by considering the known toxic plants of India.¹¹²

Translation

1 And now I shall explain what should be known about stationary poisons. 113

¹¹⁰ 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).

¹¹¹ See Wujastyk 2003*b*: 80–81.

¹¹² Valuable reference sources on Indian plant toxicology in general include Pillay 2013: chs. 10, 11 and Barceloux 2008: parts 1.II, 3 and 4.

¹¹³ 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.

- 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.
- 4 Traditionally, the ten are: root, leaf, fruit, flower, bark, milky sap $(k \cdot \bar{s} ira)$, pith $(s \bar{a} ra)$, resin $(n ir y \bar{a} sa)$, the elements $(d h \bar{a} tu)$, and the tuber.
- 5 In that context,
 - the eight root-poisons are:114
 - 1. liquorice (?),¹¹⁵
 - 2. sweet-scented oleander, 116
 - 3. jequirity,¹¹⁷
 - 4. false daisy,¹¹⁸
 - 5. *karaṭā*,¹¹⁹ and ending with
 - 6. leadwort (vidyutśikh $\bar{a} \rightarrow agni$ or rakta-śikh \bar{a} ?) i , 120
 - 7. country sarsaparilla (?),121 and
- 114 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).
- 115 Liquorice eaten in excess can be poisonous, but it is unlikely to be the plant intended here. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 124) noted that the poisonous root mentioned in this passage, "remains to be identified."
- 116 The roots of sweet-scented oleander are highly toxic, as are most parts of the plant (Pillay and Sasidharan 2019).
- 117 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.
- 118 The plant is usually called just *bhangurā* without the prefix *su-* "good." However, there is no reported toxicity associated with *E. prostrata*..
- 119 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.
- 120 The roots of both rose and white leadwort are very toxic.
- 121 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.

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

- 8. medhshingi,122
- the leaf-poisons include:
 - 'poison-leaf' (visapatrikā)ⁱⁱ,
 - 'drum-giver' (lambaradā) iii,
 - thorn apple, and
 - big thorn apple;
- the fruits of items like: jequirity $(gu\tilde{n}j\bar{a})^{iv}$, rūṣkara $()^v$, viṣa $()^{vi}$, and vedikā $()^{vii}$, are
 - kumudavati (kumadavati)^{viii},
 - renuka (?)^{ix},
 - kurūkaka (?)^x,
 - 'little bamboo' (venuka)^{xi}, ¹²³,
 - thorn apple (karambha)^{xii},
 - 'big thorn apple' (mahākarambha) xiii,

123 Not poisonous.

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ii unknown; see ?
iii unknown; see ?
iv ; see
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v ; see

vi ; see

vii ; see

viii unknown; see?

- ix ?; see Piper aurantiacum Wall. (NK: #1924) is not poisonous.
- x ?; see ?
- xi Bambusa bambos, Druce?; see NK #307
- xii Datura metel, L.; see AVS 2.305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī), NK #796 ff., Potter 292 f., ADPS 132.
- xiii Datura metel, L.?; see AVS 2.305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī), NK #796 ff., Potter 292 f., ADPS 132.

¹²² 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 *Sauśrutanighaṇṭu* 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 (**nadk-1982**). This identification is tenuous.

- 'pleaser' (nandanā) xiv,
- 'crow' (kāka)^{xv},
- the flower-poisons include those of:
 - rattan (vetra)^{xvi},
 - wild chinchona (kādamba)^{xvii},
 - black pepper $(vall\bar{\imath}ja \rightarrow marica)^{xviii}$,
 - thorn apple (*karambha*)^{xix}, and
 - big thorn apple (*mahākarambha*)^{xx};
- the seven bark, pith $(s\bar{a}ra)$ and resin $(niry\bar{a}sa)$ poisons are:
 - 'gutboiler' (antrapācaka)^{xxi},
 - 'blade' (kartarīya)^{xxii},
 - wild mustard (saurīyaka) xxiii,
 - emetic nut $(karagh\bar{a}ța \rightarrow karah\bar{a}ța? \rightarrow madana)^{xxiv}$,
 - thorn apple (*karambha*)^{xxv},
 - wild asparagus ($nandana \rightarrow bahuputr\bar{a}$?) xxvi , and
 - munj grass (*nārācaka*)^{xxvii};¹²⁴
- the three milky sap $(k \sin a)$ -poisons are:

124 The bark of wild asparagus (*Asparagus racemosus*, Willd.) is toxic.

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xiv ?; see?
xv ?; see ?
xvi Calamus rotang, L.; see AVS 1.330, NK #413
xvii Anthocephalus cadamba, Miq.; see NK #204
xviiiPiper nigrum, L.?; see NK #1929; Rā.6.115, Dha.4.85, Dha.2.88
xix Datura metel, L.; see AVS 2.305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī), NK #796 ff., Potter 292 f.,
   ADPS 132.
xx Datura metel, L.?; see AVS 2.305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī), NK #796 ff., Potter 292 f.,
   ADPS 132.
xxi unknown; see?
xxii unknown; see?
xxiiiCleome viscosa, L.? (cf. Rā.4.144); see AVS 2.116, NK #615
xxivRandia dumetorum, Lamk.; see NK #2091
xxv Datura metel, L.; see AVS 2.305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī), NK #796 ff., Potter 292 f.,
   ADPS 132.
xxviAsparagus racemosus, Willd.; see ADPS 441, AVS 1.218, NK #264, IGP 103, IMP
   4.2499ff., Dymock 482ff.
xxviSaccharum bengalense, Retz.?; see NK #2184
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- purple calotropis ($kumudaghn\bar{\iota} \rightarrow arka?$) xxviii , 125
- oleander spurge (*snuhī*)^{xxix}, and
- 'web-milk' (jālakṣīri)^{xxx};
- the two element $(dh\bar{a}tu)$ -poisons are:
 - 'foam-stone' (phenāśma) xxxi, and
 - orpiment (*haritāla*)^{xxxii};¹²⁶
- the thirteen tuber-poisons are:
 - jequirity (*kālakūta*)^{xxxiii},¹²⁷
 - wolfsbane (vatsanābha) xxxiv,
 - Indian mustard (*sarsapa*)^{xxxv}
 - leadwort $(p\bar{a}laka \rightarrow citraka)^{xxxvi}$,
 - 'muddy' (kardama) xxxvii, the

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

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xxvifialotropis gigantea, (L.) R. Br.; see ADPS 52, AVS 1.341, NK #427, Potter 63
xxixEuphorbia neriifolia, L., or E. antiquorum, L.; see ADPS 448, AVS (2.388), 3.1, NK
#988, IGP 457b
xxx unknown; see ?
xxxiunknown; see ?
xxxiiArsenii trisulphidum; see NK v. 2, p. 20 ff.
xxxiiArsenii trisulphidum; see NK v. 2, p. 20 ff.
xxxiiAconitum napellus, L.? Cf. RRS 21.14.; see AVS 1.10, NK #6, Potter 168.
xxxiiAconitum napellus, L.; see AVS 1.47, NK #42, Potter 4 f.
xxxiBrassica juncea, Czern. & Coss.; see AVS 1.301, NK #378
xxxiIlumbago zeylanica (indica? rosea?), L.; see Rā. 6.124, ADPS 119, NK #1966, 1967
xxxxiinknown; see ?
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¹²⁵ The name of this poison, <code>kumuda-ghnī</code>, means 'lotus killer'. In Sanskrit literature, the <code>kumuda</code> 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, <code>arka</code>, is also the name of <code>Calotropis gigantea</code>, which indeed has a milky juice which is a violent purgative, poison and abortifacient.

¹²⁶ Dutt (Dutt: 38–42) conjectured that 'foam-stone' may be impure white arsenic obtained by roasting orpiment.

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'.

- 'Virāṭa's plant' (vairāṭaka) xxxviii,
- nutgrass (*mustaka*)^{xxxix},
- atis root (śṛṅgīviṣa)^{xl},
- sacred lotus (prapuṇḍarīka)^{xli},
- radish (mūlaka)^{xlii},
- 'alas, alas' (hālāhala) xliii,
- 'big poison' (mahāviṣa) xliv, and
- galls (karkata) xlv .128

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 (udvestana), ranting ($pral\bar{a}pa$), and delirium (moha), and leaf-poisons cause yawning, writhing, and wheezing ($\dot{s}v\bar{a}sa$).

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 ($sv\bar{a}pa$).

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xxxviiiknown; see?
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¹²⁸ 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 (\$halahala\$) 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. Agrawal (1963: 126) makes the intriguing suggestion that the word \$halahala\$, 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 \$halahil\$ 'deadly (poison)' as a loan from Sanskrit). Mayrhofer 1953—72: iii.585 also cites a claim for an Austro-Asiatic origin for the word.

xxxiCyperus rotundus, L.; see ADPS 316, AVS 2.296, NK #782

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

xli Nelumbo nucifera, Gaertn.; see Dutt 110, NK #1698

xlii Raphanus sativus, L.; see NK #2098

xliii unknown; see Cf. Soḍhalanighantu p.43 (sub bola) = stomaka = vatsanābha xliv unknown; see ?

xlv Rhus succedanea, L.; see NK #2136

The consumption of poisons from bark, pith $(s\bar{a}ra)$ and resin $(niry\bar{a}sa)$ will cause foul breath, hoarseness $(p\bar{a}ru\bar{s}ya)$, a headache, and a discharge of phlegm (kapha).¹²⁹

The milky sap $(k \circ \bar{\imath} ra)$ -poisons make one froth at the mouth, cause loose stool, and make the tongue feel heavy. The element $(dh \bar{\imath} tu)$ -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. With jequirity $(k\bar{a}lak\bar{u}!a)^{xlvi}$, there is numbness and very severe trembling. With wolfsbane $(vatsan\bar{a}bha)^{xlvii}$, there is rigidity of the neck, and the faeces, and urine become yellow.

With sārṣapa $(s\bar{a}rṣapa)$,¹³¹ the wind becomes defective $(v\bar{a}tavaiguṇya)$, there is constipation $(\bar{a}n\bar{a}ha)$, and lumps (granthi) start to appear. With leadwort $(p\bar{a}laka \rightarrow citraka)^{xlviii}$, there is weakness in the neck, and speech gets jumbled.¹³²

With the one called 'muddy' $(kardama)^{xlix}$, there is a discharge (pra-seka), the faeces pour out, and the eyes turn yellow. The 'Virāṭa's plant' $(vairāṭaka)^1$ causes pain in the body and illness in the head. Paralysis

¹²⁹ At 1.2.6 (Su 1938: 11), Dalhaṇa glosses hoarseness (*pāruṣya*) as *vāgrūkṣatā*, "a rough, dry voice."

¹³⁰ At 6.54.10 (Su 1938: 773), Dalhaṇa glosses loose stool (*viḍbheda*) as *dravapurīṣatā*, "having liquid stool."

¹³¹ *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.

¹³² The verse in the Nepalese version ends with a plural verb that does not agree with the dual of the sentence subject.

xlvi Abrus precatorius, L.? Cf. RRS 21.14.; see AVS 1.10, NK #6, Potter 168.

xlviiAconitum napellus, L.; see AVS 1.47, NK #38, Potter 4 f.

xlviiPlumbago zeylanica (indica? rosea?), L.; see Rā. 6.124, ADPS 119, NK #1966, 1967 xlix unknown; see ?

¹ unknown; see?

- of one's arms and legs and trembling are said to be caused by mustaka (*mustaka*).¹³³
- With great aconite ($mah\bar{a}vi$;a) one's limbs grow weak, there is a burning feeling and swelling of the belly.¹³⁴

-> ativișa

16a With puṇḍarīka (puṇḍarīka), one's eyes go red, and one's belly becomes distended. 135

Look up the ca. reference.

- 16b With mūlaka ($m\bar{u}laka$), one's body is drained of colour and the limbs are paralysed.¹³⁶
- 17a With hālāhala (*Aconite*), a man turns a dark colour (*dhyāma*), and gasps.¹³⁷
- With atis root $(śṛṅgīviṣa)^{li}$, one gets violent knots (granthi) and stabbing pains in the heart.¹³⁸
- 18a With markata (*monkey*), one leaps up, laughs, and bites. 139
- 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:
 - 133 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.
 - 134 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.
 - 135 The word puṇḍarīka very commonly means sacred lotus, Nelumbo nucifera, Gaertn. The entire plant is edible and cannot be the poison intended here. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 252) noted that this poison is unidentified and that it is also listed as a poison in Carakasaṃhitāci.23.12.
 - 136 The word *mūlaka* very commonly means the radish, *Raphanus sativus*, L. The root is edible and cannot be the poison intended here. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 317) noted that this poison is unidentified.
 - 137 Identification of *hālāhala* is uncertain. It may simply be a mythical poison, or its specific identity may have been lost over the centuries. Late *nighaṇṭu*s identify it as *stomaka* = *vatsanābha*, i.e., *Aconitum napellus*, L. (*Soḍhalanighantu* p.43). Dalhaṇa 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.
 - 138 Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 407) noted that *vatsanābha* and *śṛṅgīviṣa* are two different varieties of poisonous Aconites that are difficult to distinguish.
 - 139 Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 299) said of *markaṭa*, "an unidentified vegetable poison." Cf. Suvedī and Tīvārī 2000: v.36 for synonyms that lead to the non-toxic jujube tree.

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

- 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.¹⁴⁰
- Because it is fast-acting it kills quickly, and because of its pervasiveness it affects one's whole physical constitution (prakrti).¹⁴¹ Because of its expansiveness it enters into the humour (doṣa)s, bodily constituents $(dh\bar{a}tu)$ s, and 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

25cd–26 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, ¹⁴² becomes a slow-acting poison $(d\bar{u}_{\bar{\gamma}}\bar{v}v_{\bar{\gamma}}a)$. ¹⁴³ 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.

¹⁴⁰ We read the active *vikaroti* with Palhana against the transmitted passive *vikriyeta*, since it must be the parts of the body that are distorted, not the poison.

¹⁴¹ Palhaṇa on 5.2.22 (Su 1938: 565) explained this as "takes the form of pervading the whole body (akhiladehavyāptirūpam)."

¹⁴² Dalhana specified that this refers to the ten qualities that are mentioned above (5.2.26 (Su 1938: 565)).

¹⁴³ Dalhaṇa cited this verse at 1.46.83 (Su 1938: 222) while explaining dūṣīviṣa.

- 27 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.¹⁴⁴
- 28 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.¹⁴⁵ 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*).¹⁴⁶ 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*),¹⁴⁷ dwindling away (*kṣaya*) of flesh, swelling of the feet, hands, and face, the fever called *pralepaka*, vomiting and diarrhoea.¹⁴⁸ 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 (kustha).
 - Something is "corrupted" by repetitively keeping to bad locations, times, foods, and sleeping in the daytime. Or, traditionally, "corrupting poison" (slow-acting poison $(d\bar{u}s\bar{\imath}-visa)$) is so called because it may corrupt $(d\bar{u}sayet)$ the body tissue $(dh\bar{a}tu)s$.

¹⁴⁴ 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.

¹⁴⁵ The expression *ayathāyathoktān* "stated to be unsuitable" is hard to understand here, but is clearly transmitted in the Nepalese version.

¹⁴⁶ Palhaṇa 5.2.30ab (Su 1938: 565) glossed "disjunction" as the loss of function of the joints in regard to movement.

¹⁴⁷ The last ailment could perhaps be ringworm.

¹⁴⁸ 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

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. 149

Remedies for the stages of slow poisoning

- 40 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 ($a\tilde{n}jana$).
- 42a In the fourth, the physician should make him drink an antidote that is salt with a little oil. 150
- In the fifth, he should be prescribed the antidote together with a decoction (*kvātha*) of honey and liquorice.

¹⁴⁹ Here at 5.2.24 (Su 1938: 566) Dalhaṇa glossed sannirodha as "complete cessation, i.e., of breath" (sannirodhaḥ samyannirodhaḥ, ucchvāsasya iti śeṣaḥ). The manuscripts all read skanda where skandha must be intended; this confusion is known from Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (Edgerton 1953: 608).

¹⁵⁰ At 6.52.30 (Su 1938: 769) Dalhana noted that *sindhu* can be interpreted as salt (*saindhava*).

- In the sixth, the cure (*siddhi*) is the same as for diarrhoea. And in the seventh, he perishes.¹⁵¹
- 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 (*yavāgū*) made of the following items in a stewed juice (*niḥkvā-tha*) destroys the two poisons: luffa gourd, ¹⁵² wild celery, ¹⁵³ velvet-leaf, sunflower, ¹⁵⁴ heart-leaved moonseed, myrobalan siris, and selu plum, white siris, the two kinds of turmeric, ¹⁵⁵ and the two kinds of poison berry, ¹⁵⁶ hogweed, peas, the three heating spices, the two kinds of In-
 - 151 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 अवसीदेत to the vulgate's अवपीड्य. 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 striped snake (rājimat). 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 (kākapada) therapy (Wujastyk 2003b: 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 to the Nepalese transmission. Perhaps the therapy migrated into the vulgate Suśrutasaṃhitā from the Carakasaṃhitā 6.23.66–67 (Ca. 1941: 574).
 - 152 At 4.10.8 (Su 1938: 449) Dalhaṇa glossed कोशवती as देवदाली and at 4.18.20 (Su 1938: 472) as कटुकोशातकी, vocabulary pointing to *Cucumis cylindrica, Cucumis actangula* or *Luffa echinata*. See glossary under luffa.
 - 153 A plant often cited in <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code>, but rarely in <code>Carakasaṃhitā</code> (GVDB: 4). Dalhaṇa glossed it here, 5.2.45 (Su 1938: 566), as <code>ajamodā</code>, wild celery, but noted that others consider it to be <code>moraṭa</code>, rajmahal hemp. There is considerable complexity surrounding the identification of <code>moraṭa/mūrvā</code> and related synonyms (GVDB: 314-316). Taking <code>agnika</code> as a short reference to <code>agnimantha</code>, often identified as migraine tree, might be plausible, since that is antitoxic or anti-inflammatory, but such a short reference is not known elsewhere.
 - 154 At 5.2.45 (Su 1938: 566) Dalhaṇa said that this plant has leaves like the <code>paṭola</code>, pointed gourd, Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 280, 443) argued plausibly that this is a synonym for <code>arkapuṣpī</code>, panacea twiner, 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).
 - 155 I.e., turmeric and Indian barberry.
 - 156 I.e., poison berry and yellow-berried nightshade.

dian sarsaparilla 157 and water-lily.

¹⁵⁷ I.e., country sarsaparilla and black creeper.

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, waterlily, sugar, embelia, sandalwood, cassia cinnamon, beautyberry, rosha grass, the two turmerics, ¹⁵⁸ the two Indian nightshades, ¹⁵⁹ the two kinds of Indian sarsaparilla, ¹⁶⁰ beggarweed, and heart-leaf sida.

Curing the 'slow-acting' poison

50–52 Someone suffering from "slow-acting poison $(d\bar{u}$ $s\bar{i}vi$ sa)" 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 $(d\bar{u} s\bar{t} v i s\bar{a} r i)$," and it is not prohibited in other situations.

- If there are any other side-effects (*upadrava*), such as fever, a burning feeling, hiccups, constipation (*ānāha*), depletion of the semen, distension, diarrhoea, fainting, skin problems, bellyache (*jaṭhara*), madness, trembling, then one should treat each one in its own terms, using antitoxic 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.

¹⁵⁸ I.e., turmeric and Indian barberry.

¹⁵⁹ I.e., poison berry and yellow-berried nightshade.

¹⁶⁰ I.e., country sarsaparilla and black creeper.

Kalpasthāna, adhyāya 3

Introduction

Translation

- 1 And now we shall explain the rule (*kalpa*) that is the required knowledge about mobile poisons. 161
- The full explanation about the sixteen carriers (adhiṣṭhāna) of the mobile poisons, that have been mentioned by me in brief, will be stated. 162
- In that context, they are:¹⁶³
 - gaze and breath,
 - teeth, nails, and bites
 - urine and faeces,
 - menstrual blood,

 - tail,
 - contact with saliva,
 - nipping with the mouth (*mu*-
 - bile, semen,

Look up

Come back

khasamdamśā),

- fart (avaśardhita), 164
- anus, 165
- bones,
- bristles ($\sin ka$), and
- corpses.

In that context,

location of the poison	creatures ¹⁶⁶
in their breath and	divine snakes
gaze in their fangs	the ones on earth ¹⁶⁷

¹⁶¹ In contrast to stationary, plant poisons. No reference is made to Dhanvantari (see Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. 2021).

^{162 &}quot;Carrier" for base, foundation (adhiṣṭhāna) aims to capture the idea that the author will describe the creatures in which poisons inhere.

¹⁶³ The content of this section is presented as a table, for clarity for the contemporary reader and mindful of the theoretical issues surrounding notational variation, including the "symbolic rewriting" and the modification of "expressive capacities" discussed by Sarukkai (2016: 321 ff). For further discussion, see Wujastyk 2021a: 81–83.

¹⁶⁴ This interpretation comes from Dalhana on 5.3.4 (Su 1938: 567), but he reads विशिधत.

¹⁶⁵ Dalhana on 5.3.4 (Su 1938: 567) noted this reading.

¹⁶⁶ Many of these names are mere dubious placeholders.

¹⁶⁷ Palhana on 5.3.5 (Su 1938: 567) cited the otherwise unknown authority Savitra on the topic of poisonous snakes (HIML: v. ???, ???).

location of the poison	creatures
in their nails, mouths and fangs	cats, dogs, monkeys, men $(nara)$, 168 crocodiles, frogs, 'cook-fish' $(p\bar{a}kamatsya)$, 169 monitor lizards, cone snails $(\hat{s}amb\bar{u}ka)$, 'poisonous snakes' $(pracal\bar{a}ka)$, 170 geckos $(grhagodik\bar{a})$, 171 four-footed insects and others
in their urine and faeces	lice (kiṭipa), 'flat insects' (picciṭā), 'orange-dwellers' (kaṣāyavāsika), 'pepper snakes' (sarṣapaka), 'angry beetles' (toṭaka), dung beetles (varcaḥkīṭa), and 'pot insects' (kauṇḍinya)
in their semen	mice
in their stings (śūla)	scorpions, 'earth scorpions' (viśvambhara), wasps (varaki), ¹⁷² fish, crabs (ucciṭiṅga), and 'wing-scorpions' (patravṛścika)
in their saliva, nails, urine, feces, blood, semen and fangs	spiders
in the bites of their mouths	flies, wasps (kaṇabha) and leeches
in the bites of their mouths, in their fangs, faces, †, farts, anuses and feces	'speckle-heads' (citraśīrṣa), 'lids' (śārava), 'bellied' (kukṣita), 'wood-enemies' (dārukāri), 'liquors' (medaka), and 'darts' (śārikā).

¹⁶⁸ Probably dittography from the previous word, monkey (*vānara*). But it is supported in both Nepalese witnesses, so it must go back to an earlier exemplar.

¹⁶⁹ MS KL 699 separates the words पाक and मत्स्य with a daṇḍa, indicating that the scribe thought they were separate terms. Dalhaṇa thought this was a kind of fiery insect (5.3.5 (Su 1938: 567)).

¹⁷⁰ *Arthaśāstra* 14.1.14, 23 (Olivelle 2013: 448), where it might also be a chameleon, but the latter are not venomous.

¹⁷¹ The scribe of MS NAK 5-333 noted in the margin that some of his sources read गल-गोडिका, which is the name of a snake known also in the *Carakasaṃhitā* and elsewhere in literature. Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (4.364) mentions that गृहगोधिका and गृहगोिलका are synonyms (Rādhākāntā Deva 1876: 691a, sub māṇikyā).

¹⁷² वरटी is a wasp; वरिक in the Nepalese MSS may be an alternant of this word. Dalhana on 5.3.5 (Su 1938: 568) remarked that some interpreted वरिकमत्स्य as two items, "wasp and fish," others as a single one, "wasp-fish."

Table 2: Passage 5, expressed in tabular format.

- 6 The enemies of the king pollute the waters, roads and foodstuffs in enemy territory. The experienced physician, who has learned how to purify things, should clean up those polluted things.
- 7 Polluted water is slimy and smells of tears. ¹⁷³ 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. He should try to purify that polluted water, after curing their ailments.
- 9 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.
- 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. 175
 - 12 In that situation, he should grind up country sarsaparilla together with all the aromatic items, with alcoholic drinks. And then he should

¹⁷³ अस्र normally means "tears," but rarely means "blood."

¹⁷⁴ On the polysemy of elephant/snake ($n\bar{a}ga$), see Semeka-Pankratov 1979.

^{175 &}quot;Swells up" translates an unclear reading that was probably মূ্যति, which may be an irregular form of √য়, श्वा, श্वि (see Whitney 1885: 175–176).

- sprinkle the paths that need to be used with waters mixed with mud. And if there exists another path, he should go by that. The should go by that the should go by the
- When grasses and foods are polluted, people collapse, fall unconscious. And others vomit. They get loose stool (*viḍbheda*) or they die. 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 certain minerals¹⁷⁸ together with gold and sarsaparilla, and a portion of of nutgrass equal to that, together with the bile called "brown cow".¹⁷⁹ By the sound of the musical instrument, even terrible poisons that may be present at that place are destroyed.
 - 16 If there is smoke or wind that is affected by poison then birds are dazed and fall to the ground. People get coughs, colds, and head illnesses, and acute eye diseases.¹⁸⁰
 - 17 The smoke and air can be purified by putting into the air: lac, turmeric, Himalayan monkshood, and myrobalan, with Himalayan mayapple, costus, cardamom, 181 and peas, and beautyberry.

176 Our "alcoholic drinks" translates सुरा. For a discussion of this term at our period see McHugh 2021: 37–39 et passim.

177 Palhaṇa on 5.3.12 (Su 1938:568) cited a similar reading for the fourth pāda, but with a negative particle, "and if there is no other way, one should go by that."

"Certain minerals" translates तारावितार, the unanimous reading of the Nepalese witnesses. But the meaning of this expression is not clear and may even refer to plants, like the other ingredients. The vulgate reads तारः सतारः, which is also not very clear. However, Dalhaṇa on 5.3.14 (Su 1938: 568) identified these as "silver" and "mercury." This is highly unlikely to be a correct understanding of the passage. Historically, mercury is not naturally present in the South Asian peninsula (Watt 1889–96: v. 5, 233) and the word पारत that Dalhaṇa used is probably a loan-word from Persian (sub paranda, parranda Steingass 1930: 244b). Mercurial compounds are not reliably attested in South Asia until two or three centuries after the composition of the Suśrutasaṃhitā at the earliest. The currently available "śāstric" recension of the Arthaśāstra that is datable to 175–300 CE (Olivelle 2013: 29–31) does not mention mercury (ibid, 534). See further the study by Wujastyk (2013a: 17, et passim).

179 सुरेन्द्रगोप and कुरुविन्द are both uncertain, see index. Dalhana's opinion has been followed here, but it seems fair to say that all commentators were guessing.

180 The syntax of this verse is somewhat loose; the vulgate has regularized it, smoothing out the difficulties.

181

write footnote: don't repeat ativiṣā; vulgate similar to H.

The origin of poison

- As it is told, the arrogant demon called Kaiṭabha created an obstacle for lotus-born Brahmā, at the very time that he was creating these creatures. 182
- 19 Pitiless Fury took a body and burst out of the mouth of furious Brahmā's store of fiery energy. 183
- 20 He burned that great, thundering, apocalyptic demon. Then, after bringing about the annihilation of that demon, his amazing fiery energy increased.
- And so, there was a sinking down (*viṣāda*) of the Daityas. Observing that, it was named "poison (*viṣa*)" because of it's ability to produce a "sinking down."
- 22 After that, the Lord created beings and subsequently made that fury enter into creatures still and moving.
- Water that falls from the sky to the earth has no obvious flavour. The savour of the different places it lands on enters into it. In the same way, whatever substance a poison reaches, it establishes itself there and by its nature it takes on that substance's savour.¹⁸⁴
 - 25 Generally speaking, in a poison, all the qualities are really sharp. For this reason, every poison is known to irritate all of the humours.
 - 26 Irritated and afflicted by the poison, they leave their natural functions. Poison does not get digested, so it blocks the breaths. 185
 - 27 Breathing is obstructed because its pathway is blocked by phlegm. Even if life continues, a man remains without consciousness.
 - 28 Similar to semen, the poison of all angry snakes pervades the whole body, and goes to the limbs like semen because of being stirred up.
 - 29 The fang of snakes is like a hook. When it gets there, it sticks inside

¹⁸² At this point, the text seems to make a new beginning to the topic of toxicology, as if starting a new chapter. It is notable that no reference is made here to the famous origin story of poison in the churning of the primal milk ocean; for discussion of the sources of this account, see Bedekar 1967. For reflections on this passage, connecting it with Rudra and the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, see Mānasa-taraṅgiṇī 2019.

^{183 &}quot;Fury" is here anthropomorphised.

¹⁸⁴ The scribal emendation in MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 of नियच्छति to निगच्छति suggests that the scribe had more than one manuscript before him, one of them representing the reading of the vulgate recension.

¹⁸⁵ Probably a reference to the five breaths. Dalhana referred to winds (वात), but this does not seem correct since it is a reference to humours rather than breaths.

- them. That is why the unagitated poison of a snake is not released.
- 30 Sprinkling with very cold water is traditional for all cases of poisoning, because poison is declared to be extremely hot and sharp. 186
- Poison in insects is slow and not very hot, having a lot of wind and phlegm. So in cases of insect poisoning, sweating is not forbidden.
- 32cd In cases of a strike or a bite, the poison may, of its own accord, stay there.
- 33–35ab tHaving come upon a body, ¹⁸⁷ in the case of corpses that that have been pierced by a poisoned arrow and bitten by a snake, someone who eats the poisoned flesh of a recent corpse out of carelessness will suffer with illness according to the poison, or even die. And therefore, the flesh of those should not be eaten when they have just died.
 - It is admissable after three quarters of an hour, but without the poisoned arrow and the snakebite.
 - 35.1 [At this point an Upajāti verse is added in the margin of K but is not fully legible; the version of the text in H is also incomplete and not fully comprehensible.] ¹⁸⁸
 - 35.3 †When, in a wound, the poison that is connected with these qualities runs, ...Therefore, not everything that is damaged by poison and eaten causes death.
 - [ślokas in the MSS that aren't in the vulgate. The first line doesn't scan. Witness K adds a part of the start of this in the bottom margin. This material is repeated at 3.39.2 in MS H.]
- 35cd & 36cd One designates a person who has diarrhoea of feces looking like soot

¹⁸⁶ The verb पठ् "is declared, read aloud" here could possibly suggest that the author is working within a written, not oral, tradition.

^{187 &}quot;Having come upon" translates प्रख्याप्य, which is hard to interpret unless it is a rare form connected with the sense "to see."

¹⁸⁸ $M\bar{a}dhavanid\bar{a}na$, 69.20–21 (MN₁: 480) has verses that are directly parallel to this section:

darvīkarāṇāṃ viṣam āśughāti sarvāṇi coṣṇe dviguṇībhavanti ajīrṇapittātapapīḍiteṣu bāleṣu vrddhesu bubhuksitesu 20

kṣīṇakṣate mohini kuṣṭhayukte rūkṣe 'bale garbhavatīṣu cāpi

śastrakṣate yasya na raktam eti rājyo latābhiś ca na saṃbhavanti 21. This passage is the only occurrence in the ayurvedic text corpus that relates to the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* at this point. This suggests that Mādhavakara (fl. ca. 700, Bengal) knew and used the Nepalese version.

¹⁸⁹ At this point, witness H inserts a marginal Indravajrā verse about diseases that afflict immoral women.

- $(grhadh\bar{u}ma)$ with wind, 190 and who vomits foam, as "someone who has drunk poison."
- Therefore, fire burns a heart that is pervaded by poison. For, having pervaded of its own accord the location of consciousness, it abides.¹⁹¹

Patients beyond help

- Patients who should not be accepted include: those who have been bitten under a peepul tree, in a temple, in a cemetery, at an ant-hill, at dawn or dusk, at a crossroads, under Yama's asterism, ¹⁹² under the Great Bear and people who have been bitten in lethal spots.
- The poison of cobras kills rapidly. They all gain twice the intensity in those who have indigestion, those who are afflicted by bile or wind, old people, children and the hungry.
- 39.1 In those whose who are mad or intoxicated, or who suffer from anxiety, or who are unable to tolerate its various strengths, it becomes sharp. †...

39.2

3.4ocd–3.41 One should reject someone overcome by poison who does not bleed when cut with a knife, where weals do not appear as a result of lashes, ¹⁹³ or where there is no horripilation because of cold water, whose mouth is crooked, whose hair is falling out of his head. A man who is fatigued and those who stammer, ¹⁹⁴

material corresponds to SS.1.45.205al where it describes how alcohol affects the body.

- 3.42 one who has a black and red swelling at the site of the bite, with lockjaw, should be avoided. The same goes for someone who has a solid plug emerge from their mouth and someone who has blood running from above and below and
- 3.43ab The physician should also avoid a person who has fangs that have not fallen out quickly. 195

¹⁹⁰ गृहभूम is not a plant in this context pace MW: 362. See the discussion in note 98, p. 32.

¹⁹¹ Palhaṇa said that someone who has died from drinking poison has a heart that cannot be burned because it is pervaded by poison (5.3.37 (Su 1938: 570)). But the sense of the Nepalese MSS is the opposite.

¹⁹² याम्ये means "southerly" but Dalhaṇa on 5.3.38 (Su 1938: 570) interpreted it as "in Yama's direction" as "under the seventh asterism."

¹⁹³ Dalhaṇa, on 5.3.40 (Su 1938: 570), glossed लताभिस् "by means of whips," as "when the body is struck by whips."

¹⁹⁴ nāsāvasāda & plural sakaņţhabhaṅgāḥ

¹⁹⁵ The grammatical verb-form परिवर्जयीत "he should avoid," opt., 3rd, sg., is unusual. Renou (1940:10 ff) documented such forms from the *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* onwards.

Oberlies (2003: $\P6.3.3$ "Peculiar optative endings", pp. 176–177) showed that the form is well-documented in *manuscripts* of the *Mahābhārata*, but has been edited out of the printed critical edition in almost all cases. Cf. also Kulikov 2006.

The concern about a patient who "has fangs that have not fallen out" is hard to understand. The word देष्ट्रा does not mean human teeth (दन्त). We therefore prefer to interpret this as a patient where the fangs of a venemous creature remain in the bitewound. This requires construing the expression as a bahuvrīhi compound: देष्ट्रा or देष्ट्र + अनिपात:

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; V. Deshpande 1999; 2000; Wujastyk 2019; Leffler et al. 2020, Wujastyk 2003*b*: 65–67.

Translation

- 1 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 $(dh\bar{\imath}madarsin)$ ". ¹⁹⁶
- 3–5ab 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*), but not cutting with a blade (*śastrakṣata*). 198

One should drink ghee (sarpis) prepared with the three fruits ($triphal\bar{a}$) and in the first [case where the problem is bile], and prepared with turpeth (traivrta) in the latter [case, of phlegm].

And ghee prepared with tilvaka (tailvaka) is wholesome in both cases, or else aged ghee on its own.

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;

196 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.

197 These therapies are described in SS.6.18 (Su 1938: 633–640).

where is cutting with a knife related to removing bile or phlegm.

maṣī burned charcoal. Find refs.

¹⁹⁸ Dalhaṇa interpreted this as blood-letting (*sirāvedha*), which is discussed in SS.1.14 (Su 1938).

- Cow's flesh (*gomāṃsa*), black pepper (*marica*), siris (*śirīṣa*) and red arsenic (*manahśilā*);
- stalk (*vṛnta*) from a wood apple (*kapittha*) with honey (*madhu*);¹⁹⁹
- or the the fruits of the velvet bean (*svayamgupta*).
- 8 The physician should make a collyrium with ground up metal (*ku-pyaka*),²⁰⁰ Asoka tree (*aśoka*), Sal tree (*śālā*), mango (*amra*), beauty-berry (*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 (jambū) 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.
- 11cd–12ab Elixir-salve ($ras\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$), honey ($k\bar{s}audra$), ghee, scramberry ($t\bar{a}l\bar{s}\dot{s}a$), together with gold and ochre, with the juice of cow-dung ($go\dot{s}akrt$) are for an eye afflicted with bile.
 - Alternatively, wise physician should first grind together elixir-salve $(s\bar{\imath}ta)$ and stibnite $(sauv\bar{\imath}raka)$, 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 ($gu-dik\bar{a}$), with sandalwood, is recommended: salt ($nad\bar{\imath}ja$), conch shell and

¹⁹⁹ Wood apple (कपित्थ) in this verse is ablative singular or accusative plural, neither of which construe obviously.

²⁰⁰ 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.

²⁰¹ 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.

- the three spices, collyrium, realgar ($manah\acute{s}il\bar{a}$), the two turmerics (ra-jana)²⁰² and liver extract (yakrdrasa).²⁰³
- One should grind up kohl (*srotoja*),²⁰⁴ 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*).
- 17–18ab Alternatively, in such a case, grind together Indian sarsaparilla ($k\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ - $nus\bar{a}riva$)²⁰⁵ long pepper, dried ginger ($n\bar{a}gara$) and honey, the leaf of the scramberry ($t\bar{a}l\bar{i}sapatra$), 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 ($mana h sil \bar{a}$), chebulic myrobalan ($abhay \bar{a}$), the three spices (vyo sa). Indian sarsaparilla (sariva), cuttlefish bone (samudraphena), combined with goat's milk are good.
- One should cook a honey collyrium (*kṣaudrāñjana*) either in the juices of cow's urine (*gomūtra*), and bile, spirits (*madirā*), liver (*yakṛt*), and emblic (*dhātrī*) or else in the juice of the liver (*yakṛt*) of something different, or else with the extract of the three fruits (*triphalā*). One of these should be mixed with cow urine, ghee and cuttle fish (*arṇavamala*)²⁰⁶ with long pepper, honey and box myrtle (*kaṭphala*). It is placed in sea salt and stored in a bamboo tube.
 - 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

²⁰² 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.

²⁰³ This verse appears as no. 27 in the vulgate.

²⁰⁴ Glossed by Palhana as a kind of collyrium. Cf. **nadk-1954** 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.

²⁰⁶ 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.

- liver, together with liver extract, is good for eyes afflicted by phlegm.²⁰⁷
- 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 ($pl\bar{l}han$) and a liver on a spit, one should eat them both with ghee and oil.²⁰⁸
- 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.²⁰⁹ In the case of diseases of blood (śonita) and bile (pitta), one should drink ghee with the three fruits; it is particularly cleansing.²¹⁰ 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).²¹¹
 - 28 In cases of partial blindness (*timira*), aged ghee is recommended. It is good if it is kept in an iron vessel.
- 28cd–29ab 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).

²⁰⁷ On the identities of <code>elā</code> and <code>harenu</code>, Watt (1908: 511 ff) described the former as "true" or "lesser" or "Malabar" cardamom, <code>Elettaria cardamomum</code>, Maton & White. In contrast, the "greater" cardamom is <code>Amomum subulatum</code> (that Watt discussed on p. 65) that is commonly used as an inferior substitute for <code>E. cardamomum</code>. <code>sing-1972</code> provided an interesting discussion of <code>harenu</code>, noting that the term refers to two substances, first the <code>satīna</code> pulse (<code>Pisum sativum</code>, Linn.), and second an unknown fruit such as perhaps a <code>Vitex</code>. 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 <code>renukā</code> (SS.ci.2.75).

²⁰⁸ 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.

²⁰⁹ Palhaṇa said that the unexpressed topic of this recipe is partial blindness (timira).

²¹⁰ 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

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.

- A man who is suffering from partial blindess should lick the finely-ground three fruits mixed with ghee off his hand $(sap\bar{a}na)^{212}$.
- 29cd Alternatively, someone afflicted by phlegm should apply them (the three fruits) mixed with oil and steeped (*pragāḍha*) 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 wind and blood.
 - And in the case of wind one should apply turpeth (trivrt) based on strong mallow ($atibal\bar{a}$), and country mallow ($bal\bar{a}$) in an errhine (nasya).²¹³
 - 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.²¹⁴
 - 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. †215
 - Having prepared (*niṣevita*) a collyrium made of kohl (*srotas*) and gradually combine it with juices (*rasa*), milk and ghee.²¹⁶
 - 212 "Off his hand" translates the adverbial <code>sapāṇam</code>, an unusual word. Dalhaṇa reproduced a reading close to the Nepalese recension but says that Jejjaṭa rejects it and so he also does (<code>susr-trikamji3</code>).
 - 213 "Based on" translates -āśrita "depending on" which does not construe easily here. The vulgate has śṛṭa "cooked" which makes easier sense but is not supported by the Nepalese MSS.
 - 214 Dalhaṇa noted (Su 1938: 628a) that <code>puṭāhvaya</code> (see verse 35 below) is a synonym for <code>puṭapāka</code>, and that the process is described in the <code>Kriyākalpa</code> chapter, i.e., SS.6.18.33–38 (Su 1938: 635). On the <code>puṭa</code> process in the <code>Suśrutasaṇhitā</code>, which is earlier and different than that of <code>rasaśāstra</code> literature, see the discussion by Wujastyk (2019: 83):
 - 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.
 - 215 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.
 - 216 Palhana specified that the juices are meat soups of various animals (Su 1938: 628).

- 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 $(m\bar{a}gadh\bar{\iota})$, lye $(k \cdot \bar{a}raka)$ and Sindh salt (saindhava) that has been repeatedly prepared with the mouth of a black snake, is good in the case of bloodshot blindness $(r\bar{a}gin\ timira)$.²¹⁷
- 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 (*tarpaṇa*) is good that is a combination that is the flesh of wild animals taken hot (*puṭāhvaya*).²¹⁸
- 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 ($madh \bar{u} ka$).²¹⁹
 - Alternatively, experts on this say that finely ground blue vitriol (*tuttha*) extracted from a gold mine is the "same collyrium (*samāñjana*)".²²⁰
- 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 $(a\tilde{n}jana)$.²²¹
 - The extracts (rasa) produced from aflame of the forest ($pal\bar{a}\acute{s}a$), Rohīta tree ($roh\bar{\imath}ta$), 222 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 (uśīra), lodh tree (lodhra), the three fruits (triphalā), beauty berry (priyaṅgu)

²¹⁷ Palhaṇa 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.

²¹⁸ The expression taken hot (puṭāhvaya) is a guess.

²¹⁹ The expression liquid collyrium ($drav\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$) is only known from <code>Dalhaṇa</code>'s comments on 6.17.11ab (Su 1938: 626). The recipe in the present collyrium is different from that discussed by <code>Dalhaṇa</code>.

²²⁰ 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 (*samā-ñjana*)" is a hapax legomenon glossed inexplicably by Dalhaṇa as "a collyrium with an equal amount of fermented barley" (*tulyasauvīrāñjana*) (Su 1938: 628).

²²¹ 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).

²²² Probably Soymida febrifuga A. Juss.

- to pacify eye diseases caused by phlegm.²²³
- One should apply smoke of the bark of embelia (vidanga), velvet leaf ($p\bar{a}th\bar{a}$), white siris ($kinih\bar{\iota}$), and desert date ($ingud\bar{\iota}$); and cuscus grass ($us\bar{\iota}ra$) alone.
- A ghee that is cooked ($bh\bar{a}vita$) from a decoction of a non-flowering tree (vanaspati)²²⁴ as well as turmeric ($haridr\bar{a}$) and spikenard (nalada) is good in a eyewash (tarpaṇa).
 - Alternatively, one may have an enclosed roasting (puṭapāka) done with arid-land animals (jāngala)²²⁵ and a plentiful amount of long pepper ($m\bar{a}gadha$), Sindh salt and honey.
- 40 A treatment ($kriy\bar{a}$) with realgar ($mana h sil\bar{a}$), the three spices, conch, honey, along with Sindh salt, green vitriol ($k\bar{a}s\bar{\imath}sa$) and elixir salve ($ras\bar{a}njana$).²²⁶
 - They say that an elixir salve ($ras\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$) combined with myrobalans, treacle and dried ginger is good.²²⁷
- Alternatively, a collyrium that has been prepared many times in the eight types of urine²²⁸ is put into water with the three fruits. Having stored it in the mouth of a nocturnal creature ($nis\bar{a}cara$)²²⁹ one should place it in a conch (salilotthita) for two months.²³⁰

find ref.

- One should apply that collyrium together with the flowers of mahua $(madh\bar{u}ka)$ and horseradish tree $(\acute{s}igru)$ 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

²²³ Dalhaṇa invoked a general rule $(paribh\bar{a}s\bar{a})$ to indicate that this mixture should be cooked with sesame oil.

²²⁴ These are fig trees. The *Sauśrutanighaṇṭu* (252) specifies the Uḍumbara. Cf. the classification in CS.1.1.71–72, 1.8, *et passim*.

²²⁵ On this term, see SS.1.35.42 (Su 1938: 157) and the discussion by Zimmermann (1999: 25–31).

²²⁶ Dalhaṇa glossed treatment $(kriy\bar{a})$ specifically as inspissation $(rasakriy\bar{a})$ (Su 1938: 629).

²²⁷ We emend *hite* to *hitam*, against the MSS.

²²⁸ See SS mūtravarga

²²⁹ Þalhaṇa 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.

²³⁰ We interpret "water-born (*salilotthita*)" as "conch" in line with *jalodbhava*, but the term is uncertain.

 $(ml\bar{a}yin).^{231}$

Check out these refs.

- For one who has a humour, the physician should consider the rule in all humoral cases and then smear the ointment on the face.²³²

 The treatment that is good for removing watery eye (*syanda*) should be properly applied in all these humoral cases, according to the individual.²³³
- 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.²³⁴
- Someone who uses matured ghee, the three fruits, wild asparagus ($\hat{s}a-t\bar{a}var\bar{\imath}$), as well as mung beans (mudga), emblic and barley has nothing to fear from cases of severe blindness (timira).
- 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.
- 48 Non-bloodshot blindness (araga timira) in the first layer (paṭala) is treatable. And bloodshot blindness ($r\bar{a}ginitimire$) in the second layer, with difficulty. And in the third layer it can be mitigated ($y\bar{a}pya$).²³⁵
- I shall explain the therapy for success when there is a cataract ($li\dot{n}ga-n\bar{a}\dot{s}a$) caused by phlegm. It may be white, like a full moon, an umbrella, a pearl ($mukt\bar{a}$) or a spiral ($\bar{a}varta$).
- 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.²³⁶

meaning of kalpa

²³¹ The vulgate follows Dalhaṇa in glossing *mlāyin* as *parimlāya*. The description of this condition at SS.6.7.27−28 appears to refer to "blue dot" or "cerulean" cataract. √*mlai* derivatives can mean "dark" or "black."), which is normally a different ailment.

²³² The vulgate edition omits part of this verse (ab) combining earlier and later passages.

²³³ The term watery eye (*syanda*) refers to the specific disease *abhiṣyanda*. See SS.6.6.5, 1.46.51, etc.

²³⁴ Palhaṇa noted that Kalpa means the Uttaratantra adhyāya 18 (Su 1938: 633 ff).

²³⁵ Although the text says with difficulty (krechra), the implication is that it is untreatable ($as\bar{a}dhya$) (cf. 6.17.2 (Su 1938: 625) above). The three categories, treatable, untreatable and possibly mitigated are standard categories of triage.

²³⁶ In the vulgate, and in parallel passages in the AS, the reading "it may be (bhavet)" is

51–52 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, 237 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.²³⁸

- The expert should moisten the exact place of piercing with a woman's breast-milk. Then he should scratch the circuit of the pupil (drstimandala) with the tip of the probe ($\acute{s}al\bar{a}k\bar{a}$).²³⁹
- Without injuring, gently pushing the phlegm in the circuit of the pupil against the nose, he should remove it by means of sniffing (ucchingana).²⁴⁰
- 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.²⁴¹
- 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.
- 59 Now the pupil (*dṛṣṭi*) shines like the sun (*hari*) in a cloudless sky; then,

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.

²³⁷ 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.

²³⁸ Dalhana remarked on 6.17.61ab (Su 1938: 630) that when the piercing is not correctly done, blood issues and there is no sound.

²³⁹ The anatomy of the eye is described in 6.1.14-16 (Su 1938: 596). The disks or *maṇḍalas* are the circuits or disks of the eye.

²⁴⁰ Palhaṇa described sniffing (*ucchingana*) at 6.19.8 (Su 1938: 641), clearly intending inward sniffing.

²⁴¹ 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.

- when objects become visible, one may slowly remove the probe $(\pm iak\bar{a})^{242}$
- 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.²⁴³
- 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.²⁴⁴
- 62 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.

[Complications]

- When there is a misshapen eyeball (*vilocana*), the eye may fill because of the release of blood from a vein. ²⁴⁵
 - A hard probe leads to shooting pain (\hat{sula}) , a thin to unsteadiness of the humours (dosapariplava),²⁴⁶
- 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*).²⁴⁷
- 242 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.
- 243 Dalhana explained disturbances specifically as dust, smoke, drafts and sunlight 6.17.67 (Su 1938: 631a).
- 244 Palhaṇa 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).
- 245 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.
- 246 There is a medically significant difference here from the vulgate, which reads "a rough (*khara*) probe" not a "thin" probe.
- 247 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

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 (\dot{sataku} - $mbh\bar{\iota}$).²⁴⁸

[Complications]

Redness, swelling, lumps, driness (coṣa), bubbling (budbuda), ²⁴⁹ pigs' eye $(s\bar{u}kar\bar{a}kṣit\bar{a})$, ²⁵⁰, 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 (gairikah), Indian sarsaparilla $(s\bar{a}riv\bar{a})$, panic grass $(d\bar{u}rv\bar{a})$, and ghee ground with barley.
 - 71 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*).²⁵¹ This is immediately beneficial when someone is looking for relief.
 - 72 A paste with Holostemma $(payasy\bar{a})$, 252 Indian sarsaparilla $(\dot{s}\bar{a}riv\bar{a})$, cassia cinnamon (patra), Indian madder $(ma\tilde{n}jisth\bar{a})$, and liquorice

as moving (gamanādikriyāvināśakarī)."

²⁴⁸ The vulgate reads "copper (tāmra)" in place of "silver."

²⁴⁹ Dalhana glossed "bubbling (budbuda)" as "prolapse (māṃsanirgama) that looks like bubbles."

²⁵⁰ The expression "pigs' eye" appears to be a *hapax*. It was glossed as "downward vision (*adhodrstitva*)" by Dalhana.

²⁵¹ On the adverbial use of gently (*mṛdu*), see Gombrich 1979.

²⁵² 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).

- (*madhukair*) stirred with goat's milk, pleasantly warmed, is said to be healthy.²⁵³
- 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 (*drākṣā*), lac (*lākṣā*), white sugar (*sitā*), with wild asparagus, Hare Foot Uraria (*pṛthakparṇī*),²⁵⁴ nutgrass (*mustā*), liquorice, Himalayan cherry (*padmaka*), 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.²⁵⁷
- 78cd–80ab Now listen to two excellent collyriums for making the pupils clear. After grinding the flowers of perploca of the woods (meṣaśṛṅga), siris (śirīṣa), axelwood (dhava) royal jasmine (jātī), pearl and beryl (vaiḍūrya) 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 (*manaḥśilā*) and peppers

or a dual?

²⁵³ The expression "stirred with goat's milk (*ajākṣīrārdita*)" is difficult. It may be connected with the rare root *ard* documented by Whitney (1885:15). Cf. √*ard gatau* (*Dhātupāṭha* 1.56).

²⁵⁴ Suvedī and Tīvārī 2000: 18.

²⁵⁵ Dalhaṇa mentioned that these drugs include Deodar (*bhadradāru*) and other wind-destroying drugs. The *vātasaṃśamana* group is listed in *Suśrutasaṃhitā sūtrasthāna* 1.39.7.

²⁵⁶ Dalhana noted that this would include errhines, ointments, etc.

²⁵⁷ 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.

- 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 ($nid\bar{a}na$), on the one hand, and medical treatment ($cikits\bar{a}$), on the other. In chapters of the Uttaratantra, these two aspects are sometime dealt with in two different chapters $X-vij\bar{n}\bar{a}n\bar{i}ya$ 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 (*kaumārabhṛtya*), 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.²⁵⁸

- In the placement of the Nepalese version, *Yonivyāpatpratiṣedha* is preceded by 6.56 *Mūtrāghātapratiṣedha* (6.58 in Su 1938) and 6.57 *Mūtrakṛcchrapratiṣedha* (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 grahotpattih sayonijāh*).
- Parallel chapters in the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha* and the *Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdayasaṃ-hitā* form a part of the *Śalyatantra* section of each text.

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

A close literary parallel to the first part of the chapter is found in $M\bar{a}dhavanid\bar{a}na$ (MN₃) 62, or at least its version printed in Y. T. $\bar{A}c\bar{a}rya$ (MN₃: 361). The readings of the MN₃ 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 MN₃. 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.²⁵⁹

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

²⁵⁸ Palhaṇa on SS.6.38.1: grahotpattyadhyāyanantaraṃ 'tityagyoniṃ mānuṣaṃ ca' iti vacanena yoner nāmasaṃkīrtanāt kumārajanmavikārakāraṇatvāc ca, yonivyāpaccikitsitārthaṃ yonivyāpatpratiṣedhādhyāyārambho yujyate [...]/

²⁵⁹ Meulenbeld 1974b: 22-26.

Translation

- 1 And now I shall explain the countermeasures against disorders of the female reproductive system (*yonivyāpat*).²⁶⁰
- *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.²⁶¹
- *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.

*5 Humours (doṣa), wind ($v\bar{a}ta$), etc., corrupted due to faulty medical treatment ($mithyopac\bar{a}ra$), ²⁶² sexual activity, fate, and also defects

²⁶⁰ On this broad understanding of the term yoni, see das-orig

²⁶¹ 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.'

²⁶² 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): "*mithopacar-itān 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 = MN₃ 62.1 reads *mithyācāra* 'wrong conduct'. All comment-

(doṣa) 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 (bheṣaja), causes (hetu) and signs (cihna).

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_3 62.1–2ab. Given that all following verses stem from the SS, it is likely that MN_3 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 (*plutā*),
 - 4. Flooded (pariplutā), and
 - 5. Windy (vātalā).
- *6.2 And because of choler (*pitta*), occur:
 - 1. With bloodloss (raktaksayā),
 - 2. Vomiting (*vāminī*), and

ators (Cakrapāṇidatta on the CS, Śrīkaṇṭhadatta on the MN $_3$, and Palhaṇa 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 <code>duṣtabhojana</code> 'corrupted food' instead.

- 3. Causing a Fall (sramsanī),
- 4. Child-murderess (putraghnī), 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 Caraṇī (caraṇī), and
 - 5. other Phlegmatic (*śleṣmalā*).
- *7.2 And similarly there are other (kinds of morbid female reproductive system) involving all *doṣas*:
 - 1. Impotent (śaṇḍhī),
 - 2. With testicles (andīnī),
 - 3. two Huge (mahatī),
 - 4. With a needle-like opening (sūcīvaktrā),
 - 5. Sarvātmikā (sarvātmikā).

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amaranth (tandulīyaka) Amaranthus
                                                 Dalhana on 5.3.14 (Su 1938: 568) as
  hypochondriacus, L. See King 321,
                                                 follows tāro rūpyam, sutārah pāradah,
                                                 "tāra means silver; sutāra means
  NK: v. 1, #144, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 15. Cf.
                                                 mercury.", 53
  AVS: v. 1, 121, 32
axlewood (dhava) Anogeissus latifolia
                                              chebulic myrobalan (harītakī) Terminalia
   (Roxb. ex DC.) Wall. ex Guill & Perr.
                                                 chebula Retz. GVDB: 466, 31
  See AVS: v. 1, 163 f, Chopra, GIMP: 20,
                                              cherry (elavālu) Prunus cerasus, L.?. See
                                                 BVDB 58, NK: v. 1, #2037, GVDB: 58, 49
bamboo leaves (venupatrikā) Bambusa
                                              chital deer (prsata) Axis axis, Erxleben.
  bambos, Druce. See NK: v. 1, #307, 32
                                                 See BIA: 292, IW: 93, 35
beautyberry (priyangu) \leftarrow śyāmā.
                                              cobra's saffron (n\bar{a}gapuspa) \rightarrow n\bar{a}gakeśara.
  Callicarpa macrophylla, Vahl. See
                                                 Mesua ferrea, L. See NK: v. 1, #1595,
  AVS: v. 1, 334, NK: v. 1, #420. Some say
                                                 GVDB: 220, 49
  also Setaria italica Beauv.
                                              corky coral tree (pāribhadra) Erythrina
  GVDB: 263-264. See also GVDB: 413,
                                                 suberosa Roxb. See GVDB 245, 52
   49, 53
                                              costus (kustha) Saussurea costus, Clarke.
beautyberry (śyāmā) Callicarpa
                                                 See NK: v. 1, #2239, 32, 49, 53
  macrophylla, Vahl. See AVS: v. 1, 334,
                                              country sarsaparilla (anantā)
  NK: v. 1, #420, 30, 32
                                                 Hemidesmus indicus, (L.) R. Br. See
beggarweed (amśumatī) Desmodium
                                                 ADPS: 434, AVS: v. 3, 141-5, NK: v. 1,
  gangeticum (L.) DC
                                                 #1210. But see GVDB: 13 for
   (Dymock: v. 1, 428, GJM1: 602, NK: v. 1,
                                                 complications that may suggest that it
  #1192; ADPS: 382, 414 and
                                                 is to be equated with sārivā, which may
   AVS: v. 2, 319, 4.366 are confusing), 49
                                                 sometimes be Cryptolepis or
black creeper (pālindī) Ichnocarpus
                                                 Ichnocarpus fruitescens R. Rr.
  frutescens, (L.) R.Br. or Cryptolepis
                                                 (GVDB: 429-431), 37, 48, 49, 52
  buchanani, Roemer & Schultes. See
                                              crape jasmine (tagara) Tabernaemontana
  AVS: v. 3, 141, 3.145, 3.203, NK: v. 1,
                                                 divaricata (L.) R.Br. ex Roem. &
  #1283, 1210, ADPS: 434, 32, 35, 48, 49
                                                 Schultes. See GJM1: 557, AVS: v. 5, 232.
blackboard tree (saptachada) Alstonia
                                                 Synonym of ??. But some say Valeriana
   scholaris R. Br. GVDB: 420, 31
                                                 jatamansi, Jones See GVDB: 173–174 for
blackbuck (harina) Antilope cervicapra, L.
                                                 discussion (and charming comments
  See BIA: 270 IW: 95, 165, et passim, 35
                                                 on brain liquid testing). Some say
cardamom (elā) Elettaria cardamomum,
                                                 tagara is Indian rose-bay or Indian
  Maton. See AVS: v. 2, 360, NK: v. 1,
                                                 valerian, but there remain many
  #924, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 66, 49, 53
                                                 historical questions about the ancient
cassia cinnamon (patra) Cinnamomum
                                                 and regional identities of this plant See,
   tamala, (Buch.-Ham.) Nees. See
                                                 e.g., AVS: v. 5, 334, 32, 49, 123
   AVS: v. 2, 84, NK: v. 1, #589, 32, 49
                                              crimson trumpet-flower tree (pāṭalā)
certain minerals (tārāvitāra) Unknown. It
                                                 Stereospermum chelonides, (L. f.) A.
  is not even certain that these are
                                                 DC. See GJM1: 573, AVS: v. 5, 192 ff,
  minerals. The variant reading in the
                                                 ADPS: 362 f, AVS: v. 3, 1848 f, IGP 1120,
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Dymock: v. 3, 20 ff, 52

vulgate, tāraḥ sutāraḥ was glossed by

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cuscus grass (uśīra) Andropogon
   murcatus, Retz. Also "vetiver grass."
   See NK: v. 1, #180, 32
deodar (bhadradāru) Cedrus deodara,
   (Roxb.ex D.Don) G. Don. See AVS 41,
   NK: v. 1, #516, 49
embelia (vidanga) Embelia ribes, Burm. f.
   See ADPS: 507, AVS: v. 2, 368, NK: v. 1,
   #929, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 113, 49
emetic nut (madana) Randia dumetorum,
   Lamk. See NK: v. 1, #2091, 30
false daisy (subhangura) (su) bhangura =
   bhṛṅga? Eclipta prostrata (L.) L. See
   GVDB: 288, 37
fern (ajaruhā) Nephrodium species
   GVDB: 7, uncertain. Perhbaps
   Christella dentata(Forssk.) Brownsey
   & Jermy, which is reported to have folk
   applications against skin diseases in
   India, 34
fire-flame bush (dhātakī) Woodfordia
   fruticosa (L.) Kurz. See AVS: v. 5, 412,
   NK: v. 1, #2626, 31
garjan oil tree (aśvakarna) Dipterocarpus
   turbinatus Gaertn. f. See GVDB: 28,
   Chopra, GIMP: 100, 52
giant potato (k \bar{s} \bar{\imath} r a v i d \bar{a} r \bar{\imath}) possibly \rightarrow
   kṣīraśukla. Ipmoea mauritiana, Jacq.
   See ADPS: 510, AVS: v. 3, 222, AVS: v. 3,
   1717 ff, 124, 125
ginger (mahausadha) Zingiber officinale,
   Roscoe. See ADPS: 50, NK: v. 1, #2658,
   IGP: 1232, 35
gold (hema) gold, 49
gold and sarsaparilla (surendragopa)
   Unknown. Dalhana on 5.3.15
   (Su 1938: 568) glossed surendra as
   "gold" and gopā as "Indian
   sarsaparilla." He also noted other
   opinions that surendra was "Tellicherry
   bark", 53
golden shower tree (rājadruma) rājadruma
   = āragvadha. Cassia fistula L. See
   GVDB 37, 52
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gourd (alābu) Lagenaria siceraria Standl.

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GVDB: 25. Some say Lagenaria
   vulgaris, Seringe (NK: v. 1, #1419) but
   this is not appropriate for blood-letting,
   21, 22, 31
heart-leaf sida (balā) Sida cordifolia, Linn.
   See ADPS: 71, NK: v. 1, #2297, 49
heart-leaved moonseed (amrt\bar{a}) \rightarrow gud\bar{u}c\bar{\iota}.
   Tinospora cordifolia, (Willd.) Hook.f.
   & Thoms.?. See ADPS: 38, NK: v. 1,
   #2472, 624, Dastur #229, 32, 47
heart-leaved moonseed (somavallī)
   Tinospora cordifolia (Thunb.) Miers.
   GVDB: 456. Likely, but uncertain, 32
henna (madayantikā) Lawsonia inermis, L.
   See AVS: v. 3, 303, NK: v. 1, #1448,
   Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 151, 33
Himalayan mayapple (vakra)
   Podophyllum emodi, Wall.
   (NK: #1971). But perhaps a synonm of
   crape jasmine and ?? (GVDB: 354), 53
Himalayan monkshood (ativiṣā)
   Aconitum heterophyllum Wall.
   GVDB: 12, NK: v. 1, #39. Also "atis
   roots", 33, 35, 53
hogweed (punarnavā) Boerhaavia diffusa,
   L. See ADPS: 387, AVS: v. 1, 281,
   NK: v. 1, #363, 33, 47
Holostemma creeper (j\bar{\imath}vant\bar{\imath}) \rightarrow
   sūryavallī? Holostemma ada-kodien,
   Schultes. See ADPS: 195, AVS: v. 3, 167,
   NK: v. 1, #1242, AVS: v. 3, 1619, 125
Indian barberry (a\tilde{n}jana) \rightarrow ras\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana,
   dāruharidrā. Berberis aristata, DC.
   Dymock: v. 1, 65, NK: v. 1, #335,
   GJM1: 562, IGP: 141, 34
Indian barberry (dāruharidrā) Berberis
   aristata, DC. See Dymock: v. 1, 65,
   NK: v. 1, #685, GJM1: 562, IGP 141,
   47, 49
Indian barberry (k\bar{a}l\bar{\imath}yaka) \rightarrow d\bar{a}ruharidr\bar{a},
   añjana. Berberis aristata, DC. See
   Dymock: v. 1, 65, NK: v. 1, #685,
   GJM1: 562, IGP: 141, 32
Indian ipecac (payasyā) Uncertain.
   Possibly Tylophora indica (Burm.f.)
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twiner, giant potato, purple roscoea,
   and plants like asthma plant and Gulf
   sandmat (GVDB: 237–238). Also
   "curds" when not a plant, 125
Indian madder (mañjiṣthā) Rubia
   cordifolia, L. See IGP, Chopra,
   GIMP: 215, GVDB: 289, 49
Indian sarsaparilla (s\bar{a}riv\bar{a}) \rightarrow anant\bar{a}.
   Hemidesmus indicus, (L.) R. Br.
   ADPS: 434, AVS: v. 3, 141-5, NK: v. 1,
   #1210; and black creeper, pālindī.
   Ichnocarpus frutescens, (L.) R.Br. or
   Cryptolepis buchanani, Roemer &
   Schultes AVS: v. 3, 141, 3.145, 3.203,
   NK: v. 1, #1283, 1210, ADPS: 434, 47,
   49, 123
jambul (jambū) Syzygium cumini, (L.)
   Skeels. See ADPS: 188, NK: v. 1, #967,
   Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 168, Wujastyk 2003a, 31
jasmine (mālatī) Jasminium grandiflorum,
   L. See NK: v. 1, #1364, 32
jequirity (guñjā) Abrus precatorius, L. See
   AVS: v. 1, 10, NK: v. 1, #6, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 168,
lac (lākṣā) Kerria lacca (Kerr.). See
   GJM1: 445, NK: v. 2, #32. Watt
   (1908: 1053–1066) is characteristically
   informative, and is definite about the
   antiquity of lac in India, 53
liquorice (?) (klītaka) Glycyrrhiza glabra,
   L.? GVDB: 123–124 discuss the many
   difficulties in identifying this plant, 37
liquorice (madhuka) see yastīmadhuka, 35,
   46, 49
lodh tree (lodhra) Symplocos racemosa,
   Roxb. See GJM1: 597, ADPS: 279 f,
   NK: v. 1, #2420. Singh and Chunekar
   (GVDB: 351-352) notes that there are
   two varieties, S. racemosa, qualified as
   śāvara, and S. crataegoides Buch.-Ham.
   for paṭṭikā lodhra, 49
long pepper (māgadha) Piper longum, L.
   See NK: v. 1, #1928; but cf.
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AVS: v. 3, 245, 34

Merr. Perhaps a synonym of panacea

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long pepper (pippalī) Piper longum, L. See
   ADPS: 374, NK: v. 1, #1928, 35, 49
luffa (kosītak\bar{\imath}) = kos\bar{a}tak\bar{\imath}. Luffa cylindrica,
   (L.) M. J. Roem. or L. acutangula, (L.)
   Roxb. ADPS: 252–253, NK: v. 1, #1514
   etc. GVDB: 121, 31, 47, 124
luffa gourd (kośavat\bar{\iota}) = koṣ\bar{\iota}tak\bar{\iota}, luffa, 47
mango (āmra) Mangifera indica Linn.
   GVDB: 37, 31
marking-nut tree (bhallātaka) Semecarpus
   anacarium, L. See NK: v. 1, #2269,
   AVS: v. 5, 98, 34
medhshingi (vijayā2) Dolichandrone
   falcata (DC.) The Sauśrutanighantu
   gives a number of synonyms for vijayā
   (Suvedī and Tīvārī 2000: 5.77, 10.143).
   But one of them, visānī (also
   meṣaśṛṅgī), is sometimes equated with
   Dolichandrone falcata (DC.) Seemann
   (ADPS: 518; GVDB: 373 f, a plant used
   as an abortifacient and fish poison
   (NK: #862), 38
migraine tree (agnimantha) Premna
   corymbosa, Rottl. See AVS 1927,
   ADPS: 21, NK: v. 1, #2025,
   AVS: v. 4, 348; GJM1: 523: = P.
   integrifolia/serratifolia, L, 47
milk-white (kṣīraśuklā) An unidentified
   plant. GVDB: 126: see purple roscoea
   and giant potato, 125
monitor lizard (godhā) Varanus
   bengalensis, Schneider. See
   Reptiles: 58, 35
mung beans (māsaka) Phaseolus mungo
   Linn. GVDB: 308, 32
myrobalan (abhayā) Terminalia chebula,
   Retz. See ADPS: 172, NK: v. 1, #2451,
   Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 214, 47, 53
natron (suvarcikā) Sodium carbonate.
   NK: v. 2, #45. Dalhana identifies
   suvarcikā with svarjikṣāra 4.8.50
   (Su 1938: 441), 49
nutgrass (kuruvinda) Unknown. Dalhana
   on 5.3.15 (Su 1938: 568) glossed the
   term as nutgrass, but noted other
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very special metallic gem. Singh and
  Chunekar (GVDB: 108) added that it
  could be a variety of rice, sastika dhānya,
nutgrass (mustā) Cyperus rotundus, L.
  See ADPS: 316, AVS: v. 2, 296, NK: v. 1,
  #782, 125
panacea twiner (arkapusp\bar{\imath}) \rightarrow arkaparn\bar{\imath},
  Tylophora indica (Burm. f.) Merr.
  GVDB: 23–24. Maybe identical to
  Indian ipecac, giant potato and similar
  sweet, milky plants. See GVDB: 24, 127,
   238, 441, 443 for discussion. For
   discussion in the context of
  Holostemma creeper, see ADPS: 195
  and AVS: v. 3, 171. The etymology of
  the name suggests Helianthus annus
  Linn., but this plant is native to the
   Americas, 47, 124
peas (harenu) harenu = satīna. Pisum
  sativum, L. Singh and Chunekar
   (GVDB: 419–420, 467–468) notes that
  two plants are usually meant under this
  name, but there is no agreement on the
  identity of the second, 47, 49, 53
peepul tree (aśvattha) Ficus religiosa, L.
  See ADPS: 63, 56
periploca of the woods (meṣaśrṅga)
  Gymnema sylvestre (Retz.) R. Br. See
   AVS: v. 3, 107, NK: v. 1, #1173, 34
plants like asthma plant and Gulf
  sandmat (kṣīriṇī) various milky plants,
  perhaps including Euphorbia hirta
  Linn. (asthma plant) and E.
  microphylla Heyne (Gulf sandmat)
   (GVDB: 127), 124
pointed gourd (patola) Trichosanthes
   dioica, Roxb. GVDB: 232-233, 47
poison berry (brhatī) Solanum violaceum,
  Ortega. See ADPS: 100, NK: v. 1, #2329,
   AVS: v. 5, 151, 47, 49
pondweed (paripelavā) Normally a neuter
  noun. Singh and Chunekar
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(GVDB: 238, 264–265, 409) argued that

opinions that it was a whetstone or a

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plava and śaivāla are the same thing, and
  may be either Zannichellia palustris, L.,
  or Potamogeton pectinatus, L, 49
purging nut (m\bar{u}sik\bar{a}) Jatropha curcas, L.
  See AVS: v. 3, 261, NK: v. 1, #1374, 34
purple roscoea (ksīrakākolī) GVDB: 89
  notes that many physicians use Roscoea
  procera Wall. in this context. But the
  identification is uncertain. Possibly
  connected to milk-white or giant
  potato., 124
rajmahal hemp (morata) \rightarrow m\bar{u}rv\bar{\iota},
  Marsdenia tenacissima (Roxb.) Wight
  et Arn. Good discussion at
  GVDB: 314-316, 324, 47
red chalk (gairika) gairika, 49
red gourd (bimbī) Coccinia indica, W. &
  A. See PVS 1994.4.715; NK: v. 1, #534, 31
rosha grass (dhyāmaka) Cymbopogon
  martinii (Roxb.) Wats. See
  AVS: v. 2, 285, NK: v. 1, #177, 49
sacred lotus (padma) Nelumbo nucifera,
  Gaertn. See NK: v. 1, #1698, 32
sage-leaved alangium (ankolla) Alangium
  salvifolium (Linn. f.) Wang.
  GVDB: 5-6, 31
sandalwood (candana) Santalum album,
  L. See ADPS: 111, NK: v. 1, #2217, 49
scarlet mallow (bandhujīva) Pentapetes
  phoenicea, L. NK: #1836, GVDB: 268, 33
scented pavonia (bālaka) Pavonia odorata,
  Willd. See ADPS: 498, NK: v. 1, #1822,
selu plum (śelu) Cordia myxa, L. non
  Forssk. See GJM1: 529 (2), IGP: 291b, cf.
  AVS: v. 3, 1677 f; cf. AVS: v. 2, 180 (C.
  dichotoma, Forst.f.), NK: v. 1, #672 (C.
  latifolia, Roxb.), 47
siris (śirīsa) Albizia lebbeck, Benth. See
  AVS: v. 1, 81, NK: v. 1, #91, 47
siris seeds (śirīṣamāṣaka) Albizia lebbeck,
   Benth. See AVS: v. 1, 81, NK: v. 1, #91, 31
small-flowered crape myrtle (sidhraka)
  Lagerstroemia parviflora Roxb. See
  GVDB: 432, 52
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grandiflora, DC. See NK: v. 1, #1691, 49
spikenard (nalada) \rightarrow māṃsī.
   Nardostachys grandiflora, DC. See
   NK: v. 1, #1691, 29
sugar (sitā) Dalhaṇa makes this equation
   at 1.37.25 (Su 1938: 162), 49
sunflower (s\bar{u}ryavall\bar{\iota}) \rightarrow \bar{a}dityavall\bar{\iota},
   sūryamukhī, Helianthus annūs Linn.
   GVDB: 35, 443, 47
sweet-scented oleander (aśvamāraka)
   Nerium oleander, L. See ADPS: 223,
   NK: v. 1, #1709, 37
Tellicherry bark (kuṭaja) Holarrhena
   pubescens Wall. ex G.Don, with
   Wrightia tinctoria and W. arborea
   considered GVDB: 101–102,
   ADPS: 267-270, 123
thorn apple (karambha) Datura metel, L.
   See AVS: v. 2, 305 (cf.
   Abhidhānamañjarī), NK: v. 1, #796 ff.
   Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 292 f, ADPS: 132, 38
three heating spices (tryūsana) śunthī
   (Dried ginger) Zingiber officinale,
   Roscoe. ADPS: 50, NK: v. 1, #2658,
   AVS: v. 5, 435, IGP 1232, pippalī (long
   pepper) Piper longum, L.ADPS: 374,
   NK: v. 1, #1928, and marica (black
   pepper) Piper nigrum, L.ADPS: 294,
   NK: v. 1, #1929, 47
three-leaved caper (varuna) Crataeva
   magna (Lour.) DC. See AVS: v. 2, 202;
   cf. NK: v. 1, #696, 34
turmeric (haridrā) Curcuma longa Linn.
   GVDB: 465, 47, 53
turmeric (rajanī) Curcuma longa, L.
   ADPS: 169, AVS: v. 2, 259, NK: v. 1,
   #750,49
velvet-leaf (pāṭhā) Cissampelos pariera, L.
   See ADPS: 366, NK: v. 1, #592,
   GJM1: 573, AVS: v. 1, 95; cf.
   AVS: v. 2, 277, 47
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spikenard (*māmsī*) Nardostachys

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velvet-mite (indragopa) Kerria lacca
   (Kerr.). Lienhard 1978, 30
verbena (phañjī) Clerodendrum serratum,
  L. See AVS: v. 2, 121, ADPS: 87, 33
watered buttermilk (udaśvit) MW: 183, 31
water-lily (utpala) Nymphaea stellata,
  Willd. See GJM1: 528, IGP 790; dutt,
  NK: v. 1, #1726, 30, 48, 49
weaver's beam tree (muskaka) Schrebera
  swietenioides, Roxb. See AVS: v. 5, 88,
  Lord, NK: v. 1, #2246, 52
white clitoria (śvetā) \rightarrow giryāhvā. Clitoria
  ternatea, L. See AVS: v. 2, 129, NK: v. 1,
  #621, 32
white cutch tree (somavalka) Acacia
  polyacantha, Willd. See AVS: v. 1, 30,
  IGP 7, GJM1: 602, AVS: v. 2, 935; pace
  NK: v. 1, #1038, 33, 52
white siris (kinihī) Albizia procera,
   (Roxb.) Benth. See GVDB 98, NK: v. 1,
  #93, 47
wild asparagus (bahuputrā) \rightarrow nandana?
  Asparagus racemosus, Willd. See
  ADPS: 441, AVS: v. 1, 218, NK: v. 1,
  #264, IGP: 103, AVS: v. 4, 2499 ff,
  Dymock: v. 3, 482 ff, 33
wild celery (agnika) \rightarrow may be bhal\bar{a}taka,
  lāngalī, ajamodā, moraţa, or agnimantha,
  GVDB: 4. Uncertain, 47
wild celery (ajamodā) Apium graveolens,
wood apple (kapittha) Limonia acidissima,
  L. See AVS: v. 3, 327, NK: v. 1, #1021,
woodrose (mūṣikakarṇī) Jatopha curcas, L.
   AVS: v. 3, 261, 1[#1374]NK. GVDB: 317;
  ADPS: 23–25 discuss this issue well, 32
yellow-berried nightshade (kṣudrā)
  Solanum virginianum, L. See
  ADPS: 100, NK: v. 1, #2329,
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