## A Translation of the Nepalese Text of the Suśrutasaṃhitā

Jason Birch Dominik Wujastyk Andrey Klebanov Lisa A. Brooks Paras Mehta Madhusudan Rimal Deepro Chakraborty Harshal Bhatt Jane Allred et alii

> Draft of 17th November 2023 © The Authors

### **Contents**

Sūtrasthāna	7
Sūtrasthāna 1: The Origin of Medical Knowledge	ģ
Literature	9
Translation	9
Sūtrasthāna 2: The Initiation of a Student	17
Literature	17
Translation	17
Sūtrasthāna 3: The Table of Contents	19
Literature	19
Translation	19
Sūtrasthāna 13: On Leeches	<b>2</b> 1
Literature	21
Translation	21
Sūtrasthāna 14: On Blood	29
Previous scholarship	29
Translation	29
Sūtrasthāna 16: Repairing Pierced Ears	37
Previous literature	· · 37
Translation	· · 37
Sūtrasthāna 28: Unfavourable Prognosis in Patients with Sores	47
Literature	47
Translation	

ontents
C

Nidānasthāna	49
Nidānasthāna 1: The Diagnosis of Diseases Caused by Wind Literature	<b>51</b> 51 51
Śārīrasthāna	59
Śārīrasthāna 2: On Semen and Menstrual Fluid         Literature	61 61 61 61 62
Cikitsāsthāna	65
Cikitsāsthāna 4: On the Treatment of Wind Diseases         Literature	<b>67</b> 67 67
Cikitsāsthāna 5: On the Treatment of Serious Wind Diseases Literature	<b>73</b> 73 73
Cikitsāsthāna 15: On Difficult Delivery Literature	85 85 85
Kalpasthāna	89
Kalpasthāna 1: Protecting the King from Poison   Introduction   Literature   Manuscript notes   Translation   [Threats to the king]	<ul><li>91</li><li>92</li><li>92</li><li>93</li><li>93</li></ul>

Contents 5

Kalpasthāna 2: Poisonous Plants	3
Introduction	13
Literature	4
Translation	4
The effects of poisons	8
Slow-acting poison	11
The invincible ghee	.6
Curing the 'slow-acting' poison	.6
Kalpasthāna 3: Poisonous Insects and Animals	7
Literature	7
Translation	7
The origin of poison	
Patients beyond help	:3
Kalpasthāna 4: Snakes and Invenomation	.5
Introduction	<u>.</u> 5
Literature	25
Translation	7
[Types of snake]	
[Symptoms of snakebite]	4
Tithagalagalga	
Uttaratantra 13	7
Uttaratantra 17: Preventing Diseases of the Pupil	_
Literature	
Translation	
[Complications]	
[Characteristics of the probe]	.9
[Complications]	.9
Uttaratantra 38: Diseases of the Female Reproductive System 15	;3
Introduction	53
Literature	
Placement of the Chapter	
Parallels	55
Philological notes	;6

6	Contents

Metrical alterations	156
The original opening verses	-
Translation	
Uttaratantra 39: On Fevers and their Management [draft]	143
Literature	
Remarks on the Nepalese version	
Translation	
Uttaratantra 65: Rules of Interpretation	157
Literature	157
Early Sources	157
Terminology	
Characteristics of the Manuscript Transmission	
Translation	161
Editions and Abbreviations	169
Index of Manuscripts	175
Bibliography	177
Materia Medica Reference Works	203
Materia Medica	207
Glossary	217



# Sūtrasthāna 1: The Origin of Medical Knowledge

### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>1</sup>

### **Translation**

- 1 Now I shall narrate the chapter on the origin of this knowledge.<sup>2</sup>
- 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.<sup>3</sup>

- 2 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.
- 3 On these persons, see HIML: IA 361–363, 369 ff. The authority Bhoja does not appear in the list as published in the vulgate edition (Su 1931:1), and was not included in HIML amongst "authorities mentioned in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*." Meulenbeld gathered textual evidence about Bhoja at HIML: IA 690–691. Klebanov (2021*b*) has discussed these authors in the context of an anonymous commentary on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that cites them.

<sup>1</sup> HIML: IA, 203–204.

- "O Lord, distress arose in our minds after witnessing people thrashing about with cries, assailed by different kinds of pain and injury (*vedanābhighāta*), feeling helpless in spite of having friends, because of diseases arising from the body, the mind and external sources.
- 4 "To quell the illnesses of those who seek happiness and for our own purpose of prolonging life, we desire the science of life (āyurveda) that is being taught. Welfare, both in this world and in the next, depends upon it. Therefore, we have come to the Lord in pupillage."
- The Lord said to them:
  "Welcome to you! My children, all of you are beyond reproach and worthy to be taught.
- "As is well known, Ayurveda is the name of what is said to be the subsidiary part of the Atharvaveda. Before creating people, Svayambhū composed it in hundreds of thousands of verses and a thousand chapters and, after observing the short lifespan and low intelligence of people, he presented it again in eight parts.<sup>4</sup>
- 7 "Surgery, treatment of body parts above the clavicle, general medicine, knowledge of spirits, care of children, and the disciplines of antidotes, rejuvenation and aphrodisiacs.
- 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

<sup>4</sup> Svayambhū is another name for Brahmā, the creator.

have been possessed by gods, their enemies,<sup>5</sup> Gandharvas, Yakṣas, demons, deceased ancestors, Piśācas, Vināyakas, <sup>6</sup> Nāgas and evil spirits that possess children.

- "[The component] called care of children is for bearing children and purifying defects in a wet-nurse's milk, and curing diseases that have arisen from bad breast milk and demons.
- "[The component] called the discipline of toxicology is for [knowing] the signs of poison from snake and insect bites and for neutralising various combinations of poisons.<sup>7</sup>
- "[The component] called the discipline of rejuvenation is maintaining youth, bringing about a long life and mental vigour and for curing diseases.
- "[The component] called the discipline of aphrodisiacs brings about the increase, purity, accumulation and production of semen for those whose semen is minimal, bad, depleted, and dry [respectively] and for inducing an erection.
- "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 Ayurveda 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),

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

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

<sup>7</sup> The scribal insertion marks (crosses) above the line at this point in MS K appear to be in a later hand and their referent is lost in the damaged part of the folio. Although MSS MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079 and MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 include spiders ( $l\bar{u}t\bar{a}$ ) and creepy-crawlies ( $sar\bar{s}rpa$ ) in the list, it does seem that MS K had a shorter list, and the vulgate edition adds rodents ( $m\bar{u}sika$ ).

- which is being taught in accordance with tradition, perception, inference and analogy.
- "For this component is first, the most important, because it is referred to first; it cures wounds and joins together the most important thing, Yajña's head. For, just as it has been said of old, 'the head that had been cut off by Rudra was joined again by the two Aśvins.'
- "And also, of the eight disciplines of  $\bar{A}$ yurveda, [surgery] alone is the best because of the quick action of its procedures ( $kriy\bar{a}$ ), its application of blunt instruments, knives, caustics and fire, and it is common to all disciplines.
- "Therefore, [surgery] is eternal, meritorious, leads to heaven, brings renown, bestows a long life, and affords a livelihood.
- "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.].8

- For, I (i.e., Brahmā) am Dhanvantari, the first god, the remover of old age, pain and death of mortals.
  - Having understood surgery, the best of the great knowledge systems, I arrived on earth again to teach it here.<sup>9</sup>
- In this context, as far as this discipline is concerned, a human being  $(puru \not sa)$  is called an amalgam of the five elements and the embodied soul. This is where procedures  $(kriy \bar a)$  apply. This is the locus. Why?
  - Because of the duality of the world, the world is twofold: the stationary and the moving. Its nature ( $\bar{a}tmaka$ ) is twofold, depending on the preponderance of Agni and Soma.<sup>10</sup> Alternatively, it can be considered as being fivefold. The multitude of beings in it are fourfold: they are termed "sweat-born, stone-born, caul-born and egg-born".<sup>11</sup> Where they are concerned, the human being is the main thing; others are his

<sup>8</sup> This is an expansion of the scribe's abbreviation *bha* for *bhavati cātra ślokaḥ* "There is a verse about this" (sometimes plural).

<sup>9</sup> Note that this verse about the origin of surgery is the first place that the name 'Dhanvantari' is introduced in the Nepalese version of the work. Dhanvantari is here identified with Brahmā, the creator of the world.

<sup>10</sup> See Wujastyk 2004.

<sup>11</sup> This fourfold classification of beings is paralleled with closely-related vocabulary in *Bhelasamhitā* 4.4.4 (Bhela 2000: 206; Bhela 1921: 81).

support. Therefore, the human being (puruṣa) is the locus.

29 Diseases are said to be the conjunction of the person and suffering (duḥkha). There are four of them: invasive, bodily, mental and inherent. The invasive ones are caused by an injury. The bodily ones are based on food, caused by irregularities (vaiṣamya) in wind, bile, phlegm and blood.<sup>12</sup>

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

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

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

Scarification (lekhana), nourishment (bṛmhaṇa), purification (saṃśod-hana), 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  $(o\dot{s}adh\bar{\iota}-)$ . There are two types: stationary  $(sth\bar{a}vara)$  and moving (jangama).
- Of these, there are four types of stationary ones: fruit trees (*vanaspati*), flowering trees (*vṛkṣa*), herbs (*oṣadhi*) and shrubs (*vīrudh*). Amongst these, the "fruit trees" have fruit but no flowers. The "flowering trees" have flowers and fruit. The "herbs" die when the fruit is ripe. "Shrubs"

<sup>12</sup> Note that four humoral substances are assumed here.

<sup>13</sup> Pāṇini 6.3.132 provides that the final vowel of the noun oṣadhi may be lengthened  $(\to oṣadh\bar{\imath})$  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  $oṣadh\bar{\imath}$ . This form is in fact not uncommon in medical literature as well as in epics, purāṇas, smṛtis, and other parts of Sanskrit literature.

<sup>14</sup> Ca.sū.1.71–72 also describes these four types of medicinal plant in similar terms but with slightly differing names: <code>oṣadhi</code> is a plant that ends after fruiting, <code>vīrudh</code> is a plant that branches out, <code>vanaspati</code> is a tree with fruit, and <code>vānaspatya</code> is a tree with fruit and flowers.

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).

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. <sup>16</sup> Shoots include red velvet mites (*indragopa*) and frogs (*maṇḍūka*). <sup>17</sup>|
- In this context, among the stationary remedies, skin (tvak), leaves (patra), flowers (puṣpa), fruits (phala), roots ( $m\bar{u}la$ ), bulbs (kanda), sap ( $kṣ\bar{t}ra$ ), resin ( $niry\bar{a}sa$ ), essence ( $s\bar{a}ra$ ), oil (sneha), and juice extract (svarasa)<sup>18</sup> 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. 19
- The items created by time  $(k\bar{a}lakrta)$  are clusters (samplava) as far as 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:]<sup>21</sup>

This fourfold category is taught by physicians as a cause for the agitation and quelling of bodily diseases.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The word *kunta*, though marked as "lexical" in most dictionaries, is in fact found in literature, commonly as a compound with *pipīlika*; the compound sometimes seems to be understood a type of ant (*tatpuruṣa* compound) rather than as a pair of insects (*dvandva* compound).

<sup>17</sup> On indragopa, see Lienhard 1978.

<sup>18</sup> On juice extract (*svarasa*) see CS 1.1.73, 1.4.7; Dalhana on 4.10.12 (Su 1938: 450).

<sup>19</sup> The flow of concepts in the treatise seems to be interrupted here.

<sup>20</sup> These units are presented at 1.6.5 (Su 1938: 24) and discussed by Hayashi (2017: § 59).

<sup>21</sup> See footnote 8.

<sup>22</sup> On the topic of the "group of four," the commentator <code>Dalhana</code> considers them to be "food, behaviour, earthen products and items created by time." He refers to

There are two kinds of invasive diseases. Some certainly<sup>23</sup> affect  $(ni\sqrt{pat})$  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 (*vikalpa*) of its major and minor parts (*aṅga*) such as skin (*tvak*), flesh (*māṃsa*), ducts (*sirā*), sinews (*snāyu*), bones (*asthi*) and joints (*sandhi*) are meant.
- From the mention of "diseases," all diseases caused by wind, bile, phlegm, congested humours (sannipāta), external factors (āgantu) and inherent factors (svabhāva) are intended (vyākhyāta).
- From the mention of "remedies," there is the teaching of substances, tastes, potencies, post-digestive tastes.
- From the mention of "procedures  $(kriy\bar{a})$ ," 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:]<sup>24</sup>

the author of the lost commentary entitled  $Pa\~nijik\=a$ , 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 ( $sth\=avara$ ), moving (jangama), earthen products ( $p\=arthiva$ ) and items created by time ( $k\=alakṛta$ ) (Su 1938: 9a).

<sup>23</sup> The text uses an archaic interjection here, ha.

<sup>24</sup> See footnote 8.

- This seed of medicine has been declared in brief. Its explanation will be given in one hundred and twenty chapters.<sup>25</sup>
- There are one hundred and twenty chapters in five sections (*adhyāya*).<sup>26</sup> In that regard, having divided them, according to their subject matter, into the Ślokasthāna, the Nidāna, the Śārīra, the Cikitsita and the Kalpa, we shall mention this in the Uttaratantra.<sup>27</sup>

[There is a verse about this:]<sup>28</sup>

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

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

<sup>26</sup> On  $\emph{vim\'sa}$  in the sense of "greater by 20" see P.5.2.46  $\emph{\'sadantavim\'sate\'s}$  ca.

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 (Su 1938: 1.3–4ab) there is indeed a statement that picks up the point about there being 120 chapters.

<sup>28</sup> See footnote 8.

## Sūtrasthāna 2: The Initiation of a Student

### Literature

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

### **Translation**

1

# Sūtrasthāna 3: The Table of Contents

Literature

**Translation** 

1

### Sūtrasthāna 13: On Leeches

### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of studies on Indian leeches and their application.<sup>29</sup>

A Persian version of this chapter of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* was included in *Sikandar Shāh's Mine of Medicine (Ma'din al-shifā' i Sikandar-Shāhī*) composed in 1512 by Miyān Bhūwah b. <u>Kh</u>awāṣṣ <u>Kh</u>ān.<sup>30</sup>

More recently, Brooks has explored the sense of touch in relation to leeching and patient-physician interactions.<sup>31</sup>

### **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.
- 4 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.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> HIML: IA, 209; IB, 324, n. 131.

<sup>30</sup> Siddiqi 1959: 96–109; Azeez Pasha 1971; Storey 1971: 231–232; HIML: IB, 324, n. 128; Speziale 2019: 8–9.

<sup>31</sup> Brooks 2020*a*,*b*; 2021*a*,*b*.

<sup>32</sup> This sentence is hard to construe grammatically, although its meaning seems clear. In place of विशेषस्तु, Cakrapāṇidatta and Dalhaṇa both read विशेषतस्, 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.

- 5x And there are the following about this:
- 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.<sup>33</sup>
- 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.<sup>34</sup>
  - 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.<sup>35</sup>
  - 7 A gourd is well known for being pungent, dry and sharp. So when someone is afficted by phlegm it is suitable for bloodletting.
  - 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.<sup>36</sup>
  - 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)."
  - There are twelve of them: six are venomous and just the same number are non-venomous.

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

- 33 The vulgate replaced "smooth" with "hot."
- This passage is not found in the vulgate, but it is similar to the passage cited by <code>Dalhaṇa</code> at 1.13.8 (Su 1938: 56) and attributed to Bhāluki. Bhāluki was the author of a <code>Bhālukitantra</code> that may have predated Jejjaṭa and might even have been one of the sources for the <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code> (HIML: 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.
- 36 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.
- 37 This is a folk etymology.

11 Here is an explanation of the venomous ones, together with the therapy:

- Black (kṛṣṇā)
- Mottled (*karburā*)
- Sting-gush (*alagarddā*)<sup>38</sup>
- Rainbow (*indrāyudhā*)
- Oceanic (*sāmudrikā*)
- Cow-praising (govandanā)<sup>39</sup>

#### 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.
- The one called Sting-gush is hairy, has large sides and a black mouth.
- The one called Rainbow is coloured like a rainbow, with vertical stripes.
- The one called Oceanic is slightly blackish-yellow, and is covered with variegated flower patterns.
- The one called Govandana is like a cow's testicles, having a bifurcated form on the lower side, and a tiny mouth.

When someone is bitten by them, the symptoms are: a swelling at the site of the bite, excessive itching and fainting, fever, a temperature, and vomiting. In that context the Great Antidote ( $mah\bar{a}gada$ ) should be applied in drinks and liniments ( $\bar{a}lepana$ ), etc.<sup>40</sup> A bite by the Rainbow leech is not treatable. These venomous ones have been explained together with their remedies.

- 12 Now the ones without venom.<sup>41</sup>
  - Tawny (kapilā)
  - Ruddy (piṅgalā)

<sup>38</sup> Treating गर्दा as गल्दा and translating as in RV 8.1.20, with Jamison and Brereton (2014: 1023, verse 20 and cf. commentary). But if गर्द is to be taken from √गर्द् then we might have "crying from the sting."

<sup>39</sup> The manuscripts all read गोवन्दना against the vulgate's गोचन्दना.

<sup>40</sup> The "Great Antidote" is described in the Kalpasthāna, at 5.5.61–63ab (Su 1938: 578). Palhaṇa and the vulgate included errhines in the list of therapies, and Palhaṇa added that "etc." indicated showers and baths too.

The translations of the names of these leeches are slightly whimsical, but give a sense of the original; *sāvarikā* remains etymologically puzzling.

- Dart-mouth (*śankumukhī* )
- Mouse (*mūṣikā* )
- Lotus-mouth (puṇḍarīkamukhī)
- Sāvarikā (*sāvarikā* )

### Amongst these,

- The one called Tawny has sides that look as if they are dyed with realgar and is the colour of glossy mung beans on the back.<sup>42</sup>
- The one called Ruddy is a bit red, has a round body, is yellowish, and moves fast.
- The one called Dart-mouth is the colour of liver, drinks fast and has a long mouth.
- The one called Mouse is the colour and shape of a mouse and has an undesirable smell.
- The one called Lotus is the colour of mung beans and has a mouth that looks like a lotus.
- The one called Sāvarikā has the colour of a lotus leaf and is eighteen centimetres long. But that one is used when the purpose is an animal.

The non-venomous ones have been explained.

- 13 Their lands are Yavana, Pāṇḍya, Sahya, Potana and so on.43 Those in
- 42 The compound स्निग्धमुद्भवर्णा is supported by all the manuscript witnesses and is translated here. Nevertheless, the reading of the vulgate, that separates स्निग्धा, f., "slimy" as an adjective for the leech, seems more plausible: "it is slimy and the colour of a mung bean."
- This passage is discussed by Karttunen (2015:109–110, 388–389). At the time of the composition of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, Yavana would most likely have referred the Hellenistic Greek diaspora communities in Bactria and India (Law 1984:136–137; Mairs 2013; 2014). Unproblematically, the Pāṇḍya country is the extreme south-eastern tip of the Indian subcontinent (Schwartzberg, Bajpai, et al. 1978: E8, p. 20 *et passim*), and Sahya refers to the Western Ghats (Schwartzberg, Bajpai, et al. 1978: D5–7, p. 20 *et passim*). The vulgate reading "Pautana" is not a known toponymn. Potana was the ancient capital of the Aśmaka Mahājanapada mentioned in Pali sources and in inscriptions at Ajāntā and elsewhere, and identified by Law (1984:142, 179) and P. Gupta (1989:18) with Pratiṣṭhāna, modern Paithan on the Godavarī river. The recurring ancient epithet describing the Aśmaka kingdom is that it was on the Godāvarī, and Paithan is flanked to the south west and south east by this river.

Some scholars have identified the name with modern Bodhan in Telangana (Sircar 1971: 189; Schwartzberg, Bajpai, et al. 1978: E6, p. 14, 140 *et passim*; Sen 1988: 102), but this implausible identification is traceable to a speculative suggestion by

- particular have large bodies and are strong, they drink rapidly, consume a lot, and are without venom.
- In that context, the venomous leeches are those originating in decomposing venomous insects, frogs, urine, feces and in polluted water.<sup>44</sup> The , non-venomous ones originate in decomposing sacred lotus, blue water-lily, white water-lily, fragrant lotus, pondweed and in pure waters.
- 15 There is a verse on this:

These ones move about in sweet-smelling habitats that are abundant with water. Traditionally, they do not behave in a confused manner or lie in the mud.<sup>45</sup>

- 16 They can be caught with a fresh hide or after being caught in other ways.<sup>46</sup>
- Then these should be put into a large new pot furnished with mud and the water from lakes or wells. One should provide what they need to eat. One should grind up pondweed, dried meat, and aquatic tubers, and one should give them grass and aquatic leaves to lie on, and every

Raychaudhuri (1953: 89, n. 5, 143) based on a variant form "Podana" found in some early manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata*: "This name reminds one of Bodhan in the Nizam's dominions," "possibly to be identified with Bodhan."

Dalhaṇa on 1.13.13 (Su 1938: 57) anachronistically identified "Yavana" as the land of the Turks (নুকজ) and "Pautana" as the Mathurā region. He also noted, as did Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 97), that this passage was not included by some authorities on the grounds that the habitats of poisonous and non-poisonous creatures are defined by other criteria.

- 44 The vulgate on 4.13.14 (Su 1938:57) includes fish in this list.
- 45 Dalhaṇa on 1.13.14 (Su 1938: 57) discussed why the leeches would not "behave in a confused manner" (सङ्कीर्णचारिन्), saying that they do not "eat a diet that is unwholesome because of poison etc." (विषादिविरुद्धाहारभुजः). The use of विरुद्ध is odd here, but cf. Dalhaṇa's suggestion at 4.23.4 (Su 1938: 485) that विरुद्ध refers to the chapter on wholesome and unwholesome foods (हिताहिताध्याय, 1.20 (Su 1938: 94–99)).
- 46 "Fresh hide" (आर्द्रचर्मन्) may suggest that the animal skin still includes meat or blood that is attractive to a leech.

The Nepalese witnesses all read गृहीत्वा "having (been) caught" for the vulgate's गृह्णी-यात् "one may grasp (by other means)." This is hard to construe clearly.

Dalhana on 1.13.15 (Su 1938: 57) quoted "another treatise" (तन्त्रान्तरवचनात्) that said that autumn is the time to collect leeches. He also explained that "other methods" of collecting leeches included smearing a leg or other limb with cream, butter or milk, etc., or using a piece of flesh from a freshly killed animal.

three days water and food. Every week, one should transfer them into a different pot.

18 And on this:

One should not nurture those that are thick in the middle, that are injured,<sup>47</sup> or thin, those that are not born in the proper habitat, those that will not attach, that drink little or those that are venomous.

- First of all, get the patient who has an ailment that is treatable by leech-bloodletting to sit or lie down. Then, dry any diseased opening with powders of earth and cow-dung. Then make them free from impurities, with their bodies smeared with Indian mustard and turmeric and moving about in the middle of a cup of water. After all this, the physician should make them attach to the site of the ailment. Now, for those that are not attaching, he should provide a drop of milk or a drop of blood. Alternatively, one should make some marks with a knife (śastrapada).<sup>48</sup> And if it still will not attach, make other ones attach.
- He can know that it is attached when it fixes on, hunching its neck and making a mouth like a horse's hoof. Then, he should cover it with a wet cloth and keep it there.
- Now, if the physician knows, from the arising of pricking and itching at the bite, that clean blood is being taken, he should take it off. Then, if it does not release because of the scent of blood one should sprinkle its mouth with powdered rock salt.
- Then he should coat it with rice-grain chaff, rub its mouth with sesame oil and salt and cause it to vomit by holding its tail in his left hand and very slowly rubbing it with the thumb and finger of his right hand in the proper direction, as far as the mouth, until it is properly purged.<sup>49</sup> A properly purged leech placed in a goblet of water moves about, wanting to eat. If it sinks down, not moving, it is badly purged; one should make it vomit once again.

A badly purged leech develops an incurable disease called Indrapada.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Pace Dalhana on 1.13.18 (Su 1938: 57) who glossed अमनोज्ञदर्शन as "nasty looking."

<sup>48</sup> On पद as a "mark," "imprint," or "place of application," cf. 4.1.29 (Su 1938: 399), 5.4.15 (Su 1938: 571), etc. See footnote 418.

<sup>50</sup> The Nepalese witnesses read इन्द्रपद/इन्द्रापद, but the vulgate reads इन्द्रमद, a term that is found in other texts such as the *Mānasollāsa* 6.641 (vol. 1, 87), where it is a fever

One that protects its deflated head with its body, suddenly curls up and makes the water warm is traditionally said to have Indrapada. Thus, one should keep such a one as before.<sup>51</sup>

- 23 After observing the proper or improper flow of the blood, one should rub the opening made by the leech with honey.<sup>52</sup> Alternatively, one may bind it up and smear it with ointments that are astringent, sweet, oily and cold.
- 24 And about this there is the following:

When the leeches have just drunk, one should pour ghee on it. And one should pour on to the blood things that are capable of stopping the blood.

25 Someone who knows habitats, the capture, feeding and bloodletting of leeches is worthy to treat a king.

affecting fish, and the *Garuḍapurāṇa* 1.147.3 (tr. A Board of Scholars 1957: 2, 425) where it is fever affecting clouds; see further Brooks forthcoming.

<sup>51</sup> The vulgate includes "well purged" as the object in this sentence, which makes better sense.

<sup>52</sup> In the Nepalese witnesses, the object of this passage is जलोकामुखम् "the mouth of the leech," that we have interpreted, perhaps freely, as "opening made by the leech." Logically and as transmitted in the vulgate, this passage should be about managing the wound on the patient that has been made by the leech.

### Sūtrasthāna 14: On Blood

### Previous scholarship

Meulenbeld offered both an annotated summary of this chapter as well as a study specifically on the place of blood in Ayurvedic theory.<sup>53</sup>

#### **Translation**

1 Now we shall declare the chapter about blood.

2

- Food is of four types.<sup>54</sup> It is endowed with six tastes and is made of the five elements.<sup>55</sup> It has either two or eight potencies, and is endowed with many qualities. <sup>56</sup> Chyle (*rasa*) is the most intangible essence of this food that is properly transformed. It is of the nature of fire. Chyle is situated in the heart. From the heart, it enters into the twenty-four arteries—ten upward arteries, ten downward, and four
- 53 HIML: IA, 209–201 and Meulenbeld 1991. Meulenbeld's footnotes on this chapter in HIML: IB, 325 ff. refer often to "Hoernle's note." This appears to be a reference to Hoernle's copious notes to his translation of this chapter (Hoernle 1897: 87–98). Meulenbeld (1990) also discussed Sanskrit veterinary texts in the light of their standard theory of four humours, including blood.
- 54 Dalhaṇa on 1.14.3 (Su 1938: 59) said that the four types of food are those that can be drunk, licked, eaten and chewed (पेयलेह्यभोज्यभक्ष्य). The main text of the Carakasaṃhitā is explicit about these categories at 4.3.4(1) (Ca 1941: 308): पानाशनभक्ष्यलेह्य । "things drunk, eaten, chewed or licked." Yagi (1994) discussed the distinction between भक्ष्य and भोज्य; for further Indological background on foods, see the studies by Olivelle (1995; 2001) and the classic reference works by Achaya (1994; 1998). The long, final adhyāya of the Suśrutasaṃhitā's sūtrasthāna (ch. 46) is a treatise on food in āyurveda.
- 55 Idem, Earth, water, fire, air, space
- 56 Dalhaṇa related these qualities to the twenty standard गुण of āyurveda; see, e.g., their listing by Vāgbhaṭa, translated by Wujastyk (2003*b*: 207).

sideways—and doing so day after day owing to the reaction of past activities that are caused by the invisible,<sup>57</sup> it satisfies the entire body, enlivens it, prolongs it,<sup>58</sup> and makes it grow. The motion of the entity that flows throughout the body should be understood by inference. That motion causes deterioration and growth.

With regards to the chyle that flows through all the limbs, humours, body tissues, and impurities of the body, the question arises, "Is it moist or is it fiery?" It is understood to be moist because of its fluidity while flowing<sup>59</sup> and due to attributes such as mobility, lubrication, enlivening, satisfaction, and supporting.<sup>60</sup>

- 4 That watery chyle is then reddened after reaching the liver and spleen.
- 5 There are verses about this.

Experts know that blood is the untransformed fluid that is reddened by the pure fire element within the bodies of living beings.

- It is only due to chyle that women's blood called menses exists. It increases from the twelfth year and decreases after the fiftieth year.
- 7 The menstrual blood, however, is called fiery.<sup>61</sup> That is due to the embryo being fiery and moist.<sup>62</sup>
- 8 Others state that the embryo as constituted of the five elements and the preceptors call it the living blood.
- 9 There are verses about this.

That is because blood exhibits the qualities of earth, etc. such as a fleshy smell, fluidity, redness, pulsation and thinness.

<sup>57</sup> সম্ভ (unseen): Doing any righteous or unrighteous action produces good merit and demerit respectively. This good merit and demerit are called সম্ভ (invisible) because it cannot be directly known but can only be assumed through logical deduction.

<sup>58</sup> In the sense of prolonging its lifespan

<sup>59</sup> The vulgate emends अनुसरणे to अनुसरण- against the Nepalese MSS. This is logical because mobility would seem to be one of the attributes. Although it is awkward, we read अनुसरणे as a locative absolute "while flowing."

<sup>60</sup> The duality being discussed here is that of the essential qualities of Fire and of Soma (*agni* and *soma*). See further discussion by Wujastyk (2004) and Angermeier (2021).

Dalhaṇa commented that this is to distinguish the menstrual blood from regular blood that is gentle.

<sup>62</sup> Dalhaṇa commented here that the embryo is called such because the menstrual blood is fiery and the semen is gentle (सौम्य). On the fiery/moist distinction (आग्नेय।सौम्य), see Wujastyk 2004; Angermeier 2021.

- Blood is formed from chyle, flesh from blood, lymph from flesh, bone from lymph, marrow from bone, semen from marrow, and progeny from semen.
- 11 There, the essence (chyle) of food and drink is the nourisher of these body tissues.
- 12 There is a verse about this.

A living being should be known as born from chyle. One should diligently preserve<sup>63</sup> chyle by administering food and drink, being nicely disciplined with food<sup>64</sup>.

- The verbal root *rasa* means movement.<sup>65</sup> Because it keeps moving day after day, it is called *rasa* (chyle).<sup>66</sup>
- 14 Chyle stays in every body tissue for 2548 ((25\*100)+48) *kalās* and nine *kāṣṭhas*. As such, it becomes semen after a month. For women, it becomes menses.
- 15 Here are verses about this.

According to similar and dissimilar treatises, the quantity of kalās in this group<sup>67</sup> is 18,090.

This is the particular transformation period regarding chyle that lasts for a person with mild fire<sup>68</sup>. For a person with developed fire, one should know it to last for the exact same time<sup>69</sup>

Resembling the expanse of sound, flame, and water, that entity moves along in a minute manner throughout the entire body<sup>70</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> All three manuscripts have रक्षेत which is an incorrect form. रक्षेत् is the correct form.

<sup>64</sup> आहरिण - The third case is used. The semantic property of the third case used here is unclear. Unclear regarding if there is any rule in the Aṣṭādhyāyī justifying this usage.

<sup>65</sup> kunj-1907

<sup>66</sup> In the list of verbal roots of Pāṇini, the verbal root रस(rasa) means taste and moistening. It does not mean movement.

<sup>67</sup> duration of chyle in all the body tissues as a whole

<sup>68</sup> Perhaps this refers to the digestive fire.

<sup>69</sup> Although the vulgate does not have this verse, there is an argument presented in Palhaṇa's commentary on 1.14.16 (Su 1938:63) that for a person with intense fire, chyle becomes semen after eight days, and for a person with mild fire, chyle becomes semen after a month. Palhaṇa said that this opinion is refuted by Gayadāsa Ācārya in many different ways. Palhaṇa continued that the proper understanding is that for a person with a strong fire, chyle becomes blood in a little less than a month, and for a person with a mild fire, chyle becomes blood in a little more than a month.

<sup>70</sup> Dalhana comments (Su 1938: 63) that the expanse of sound indicates the sideways

- 17 The aphrodisiac medicines, however, being used like a purgative due to their excessively strong characteristics, evacuate the semen.
- Just as it cannot be said that the fragrance in a flower bud is present in it or not, but accepting that there is the manifestation of existing entities<sup>71</sup>, it,<sup>72</sup> however, is not experienced only due to its intangibility. That same entity is experienced at another time in the blossomed flower. In the same way regarding children also, the manifestation of semen happens because of the advancement of age<sup>73</sup>. For women, the manifestation is different as rows of hair, menses, etc.
- 19 That very essence of food does not nourish very old people due to their decaying bodies.
- These entities are called body tissues  $(dh\bar{a}tu$ -s) because they bear the body<sup>74</sup>.
- Their decay and growth are due to blood. Therefore, I will speak about blood. In that regard: The blood that is foamy, tawny, black, rough, thin, quick-moving, and non-coagulating is vitiated by air. The blood that is dark green, yellow, green, brown, sour-smelling, and unpleasant to ants and flies is vitiated by bile. The blood that is orange, unctuous, cool, dense, slimy, flowing, and resembling the colour of flesh-muscles is vitiated by phlegm. The blood having all these characteristics is vitiated by the combination of all three of them. The blood that is extremely black is vitiated by blood<sup>75</sup> just as bile. The blood that has the combined characteristics of vitiations of two humours is vitiated by two humours.
- The blood that is of the colour of insect cochineal, not thick, and not discoloured should be understood to be in its natural state.
- 23 I will speak of the types of blood that should be let out in another sec-

movement of chyle, the expanse of flame indicates the upward movement of chyle, and the expanse of water indicates the downward movement of chyle.

<sup>71</sup> This is the doctrine of pre-existence of the effect (सत्कार्यवाद, satkāryavāda) first propounded by Sāṅkhya philosophers.

<sup>72</sup> fragrance

<sup>73</sup> Since chyle becomes semen in a month's time, a question arises "Why then is semen absent in young children?". The reply is given in this passage.

<sup>74</sup> The etymological meaning of the Sanskrit word धातु (dhātu) is "that which bears [the body]". Thus, the body tissues are called dhātu-s because they bear the body. This means that the body tissues are the elements that make up the body and sustain it.

<sup>75</sup> Y. T. Ācārya and N. R. Ācārya (Su 1938: 64) quote Cakrapāṇidatta in a footnote: "This is the symptom when the blood vitiated in one part of the body vitiates the blood in another part."

tion.

- Now, I speak of those that should not be let out. The swelling appearing in all the limbs of the body of a weak person that happens due to consuming sour food. The swellings of people with jaundice, piles, large abdomen, emaciation, and those of pregnant women.
- In that regard, one should quickly insert the surgical instrument that is simple, not very close, fine, uniform, not deep, and not shallow.
- One should not insert the instrument into the heart, lower belly, anus, navel, waist, groins, eyes, forehead, palms, and soles.
- In the case of swellings filled with pus, one should treat them in the same way as stated earlier.
- There, when the swelling is not pierced properly, when phlegm and air have not been sweated out, after having a meal, and due to thickness, the blood does not ooze out or oozes out less. Here is a verse regarding it.
- 28ab-cd Blood does not ooze out of humans when in contact with air, passing stool or urine, and when intoxicated, unconscious, fatigued, sleeping, or in cold surroundings.
  - 29 That vitiated blood when not taken out increases the disease.
  - The blood that is let by an ignorant physician in cases of very hot surroundings, profuse perspiration, and excessive piercing, flows excessively. That profuse bleeding causes the appearance of acute headache, blindness, and partial blindness, or it quickly causes subsequent wasting, convulsions, tremors, hemiplegia, paralysis in a limb, hiccups, coughing, panting, jaundice, or death.
- 31ab-cd The physician should let out the blood when the weather is not very hot or cold, when the patient is not perspiring or heated up, and after the patient has had a sufficient intake of gruel.
- 32ab-cd After coming out properly, when the blood stops automatically, one should know that blood to be pure and drained properly.
- 33ab-cd The symptoms of the proper drainage of blood are the experience of lightness, alleviation of pain, a complete end of the intensity of the disease, and satisfaction of the mind.
- 34ab-cd Defects of the skin, tumours, swellings, and all diseases caused by blood never arise for those who regularly drain their blood.
  - When the blood does not flow out, the physician should rub cardamom and camphor on the opening of the boil with three or four or all among crêpe ginger (Cheilocostus speciosus), butterfly gardenia (Ervatamia

coronaria Stapf), velvet-leaf, deodar, embelia, leadwort, the three spices (black pepper, long pepper, and dry ginger),  $\bar{a}g\bar{a}radh\bar{u}ma$ , turmeric, sprouts of purple calotropis, and fruit of the Indian beech, according to availability, with excessive salt. By doing so, the blood flows out properly.

When there is an excessive flow of blood, the physician should sprinkle the opening of the boil with dry powders of lodh tree, liquorice, beautyberry, pattāṅga, red chalk, elixir salve, seashell, barley, green gram, wheat, and resin of the Sāla tree, and then press it with the tip of a finger. One should tightly bind it with powdered barks of Sāla, white dammer tree, arjun, white babool, granthi, axlewood, and dhanvana (Camelthorn), or a linen cloth<sup>76</sup>, or vadhyāsita, or bone of cuttlefish, or powdered lac, along with the binding materials mentioned. After the piercing, the physician should pierce it again. The physician should serve cool clothing, food, a dwelling place, a bath, cooling ointments, and plastering. Or, one can cauterize it with heat. Or, as mentioned, one should give a decoction of kākolī, etc. sweetened by sugar and honey to drink. Or, one should consume the blood of black buck, deer, ram, buffalo, rabbit, or pig, accompanied by milk, green gram soup and meat soup<sup>77</sup>. The physician should treat the pains as mentioned.

36a Here are verses about this.

When blood flows out due to the decay of body tissue, fire becomes weak<sup>78</sup> and the wind becomes highly agitated because of that endeavour.

38ab-cd The physician should serve the patient food that is not very cold, light in digestion, unctuous, increases blood, slightly sour or not sour at all.

39ab-cd This is the four-fold method of hindering blood: joining, coagulation, haemostasis. and cauterization.

40ab-cd The astringent substance joins the opening, the cold substance coagulates the blood, the ash stops the blood, and cauterization contracts the blood vessel.

41ab-cd If the blood does not coagulate, the physician should employ joining.

<sup>76</sup> Su 1938: 66 has क्षौमेण वा ध्मापितेन - "with linen reduced to ashes". Presumably, it is this ash that is also referred to in item 40.

<sup>77</sup> Based on Dalhana's comment as found in Su 1938: 66

<sup>78</sup> This refers to the digestive fire.

	If the blood does not stop by joining the opening then he should employ haemostasis.
42ab-cd	The physician should endeavour by employing these three methods according to the procedure. If these methods are unsuccessful then cauterization is highly desirable.
43ab-cd	If the blood remains impure, the disease does not aggravate. The physician should then make the blood pure <sup>79</sup> and not drain blood in excess.
44ab-cd 44ef	Blood is the basis of the body. It is sustained by blood only. Blood is called life. One should therefore save blood.
45ab-cd	If the air in the person who underwent blood-letting is aggravated due to a cold shower, etc., the swelling with pricking pain should be sprinkled with lukewarm clarified butter.

 $<sup>\,</sup>$  <code> Palhaṇa</code> comments (Su 1938: 66) that one should purify the blood again by sedation, etc.

### Sūtrasthāna 16: Repairing Pierced Ears

### **Previous literature**

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>80</sup> A book on this topic, arising out of the present project, with edition, translation and discussion of the Nepalese transmission is published by Wujastyk, Birch, Klebanov, et al. 2023.

### **Translation**

1 Now we shall expound the method for piercing the ear.81

81 The topic of piercing the ear (kaṛnavyadha) is not discussed in the Carakasaṃhitā (HIML: IB, 326, n. 175), but it is mentioned in some texts that followed the Suśrutas-aṃhitā, such as the Kaśāpyasaṃhitā (HIML: IIA, 30). Also, the instrument for piercing the ear is described in the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā 1.26.26 (Ah 1939: 321). In the versions of the text known to Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76) and Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 125), the heading of this chapter is "the method of piercing and joining the ear" (कर्णव्याधाविध), instead of the Nepalese version's "the method of piercing the ear" (कर्णव्याधाविध). The topic of joining the ear (कर्णवन्ध) is discussed in passages 17–20 of the Nepalese version. However, it appears that only subsequent redactors reflected its importance by including it in chapter headings.

The Nepalese version also omits the opening remark on Dhanvantari that appears in subsequent versions of the text. For a discussion of the frame story in the Nepalese version, see Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. 2021.

When commenting on this statement, <code>Dalhaṇa</code> (Su 1938:76) and Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939:125) observed that only the ears of healthy people should be pierced, and they quoted the lost authority Bhoja to affirm this: "When piercing the ears of chil-

<sup>80</sup> HIML: IA, 211–212317.

- One may pierce a child's ears for the purpose of preserving and decorating. During the bright fortnight, when the child is in the sixth or seventh month, on renowned days, half days, hours and constellations, the physician, with a calming presence, sits the boy, who has received a benediction and the recitation of a blessing,<sup>82</sup> on the lap of a wetnurse.<sup>83</sup> Then, he should pull the ear with his left hand and pierce straight through with his right hand at a naturally-occurring cleft.<sup>84</sup> For a boy, do the right ear first; for a girl, do the left one. Use a needle on a thin ear; an awl on a thick one.<sup>85</sup>
- 3 One may know that it was pierced in the wrong place if there is excess blood or too much pain. The absence of side-effects is a sign that it has been pierced in the right place.<sup>86</sup>

dren who are free of disease at these times, their ear flaps and apertures, as well as limbs, increase" (1.16.1 (Su 1938:76)).

Some texts use the adjective कर्ण-वेधनी rather than ॰व्यधनी.

- 82 The causative form व्यथ्येत् is known in Classical Sanskrit (Whitney 1885: 166). The compound कृतमङ्गलस्वस्तिवाचनं "who has received a benediction and the recitation of a blessing" is an emendation based on the similar text at 3.2.25 (Su 1938: 346). Cf. also 3.10.8, 24 (Su 1938: 388, 390) that have slightly different formulations.
- 83 The versions of 1.16.3 known to Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939:126) and Dalhaṇa (Su 1938:76) have the additional compound कुमारधराङ्के ("on the lap of one who holds the child") after धात्र्यङ्के. The gender of कुमारधर is made clear by Dalhaṇa's gloss "a man who holds the child." Also, both versions add बालक्रीडनकैः प्रलोभ्य ("having enticed with children's toys") to indicate that the child should be tempted with toys to stay on the assistant's lap. According to Dalhaṇa on 1.16.3 (Su 1938:76), the toys include replica elephants, horses, bulls and parrots. Dalhaṇa further mentions that others read भक्ष्यविशेषैर्वा ("or by special treats") before बालक्रीडनकैः, but we see no trace of these small kindnesses in our witnesses.
- 84 The versions of 1.16.3 of Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 126) and Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76) add that this naturally-occurring cleft is illuminated by a ray of sunshine (आदित्यकरावभा-सिते).
  - The syntax of this slightly long sentence is unusual because of the dual object तौ "the two (ears)" at the start of the sentence, which is remote from the main verb. The other singular accusatives referring to the ear being pierced are governed by absolutives.
- 85 Dalhaṇa on 1.16.3 (Su 1938: 76) clarifies that the awl is a shoe-maker's knife for piercing leather. He also cites the authority of "the notes of Lakṣmaṇa" (Lakṣmaṇaṭip-paṇaka) on the issue of the thickness of the needle. The Notes of Lakṣmaṇa is not known from any earlier or contemporary sources and was presumably a collection of glosses on the Suśrutasaṃhitā that was available to Dalhaṇa in twelfth-century Bengal. See Meulenbeld (HIML: IA, 386).
- 86 At this point, MS Kathmandu KL 699 is missing a folio, so the rest of this chapter is

4 In this context, if an ignorant person randomly pierces a duct there will be fever, burning, swelling, pain, lumps, paralysis of the nape of the neck, convulsions, headache or sharp pain in the ear.<sup>87</sup>

- Having removed the wick (*vartti*) because of the accumulation of humours or an unsatisfactory piercing at that location, <sup>88</sup> he should smear it with barley, liquorice, Indian madder, and the root of the castor oil tree, thickened with honey and ghee. And when it has healed well, he should pierce it again. <sup>89</sup>
- 6 He should treat the properly-pierced ear by sprinkling it with raw sesame oil. After every three days one should make a thicker wick and do the very same sprinkling.<sup>90</sup>
- 7 Once the ear is free from humours or side-effects, one should put in a light dilator (*pravardhanaka*) in order to enlarge it enough.<sup>91</sup>
  - constructed on the basis of witnesses MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 and MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079.
- 87 This passage is significantly augmented in Cakrapāṇidatta's and Dalhaṇa's versions, to outline the specific problems caused by piercing three ducts called कालिका, मर्मिका and लोहितिका (1.16.4 (Su 1939: 126) and 1.16.5 (Su 1938: 77) respectively). In fact, the order of the problems mentioned in the Nepalese version has been retained in the other versions and divided between each duct. Cakrapāṇidatta's commentary on 1.16.4 (Su 1939: 126) cites several verses attributed to Bhoja on the problems caused by piercing these three ducts in the ear flap: 'लोहितिका, मर्मिका and the black ones are the ducts situated in the earflaps. Listen in due order to the problems that arise when they are pierced. Paralysis of the nape of the neck and convulsions, or sharp pain arise from piercing लोहितिका. Pain and lumps are thought to arise from piercing मर्मिका. Piercing कालिका gives rise to swelling, fever and burning.'
- 88 In addition to these reasons, Dalhaṇa at 1.16.6 (Su 1938:77) added "because of piercing with a painful, crooked and unsatisfactory needle" (क्रिष्टजिह्माप्रशस्तसूचीव्यधात्) and "because of a wick that is too thick" (गाढतरवर्तित्वात्). Dalhaṇa was aware of the reading in the Nepalese version because in his commentary on 1.16.6 (Su 1938:77) he noted that some read "because of the accummulation of humours" rather than "because of piercing with a painful, crooked and unsatisfactory needle or because of a wick that is too thick." On the concept of humoral accumulation (samudāya), see the important analysis by Meulenbeld (1992).
- 89 The description of the drug is ambigious: the word "root" could be taken with each plant, or just with the last. The vulgate reads just "castor oil root" so we assume that is the traditional interpretation.
- 90 Describing ear and nose operations similar to those here, Celsus described the use of a quill (Latin *pinna*) where the Sanskrit authors use a cotton wick (*De Medicina* VII ¶10–11, Spencer 1935–38: 3, 366–367).
- 91 Cakrapāṇidatta on 1.16.6 (Su 1939: 127) and Dalhaṇa on 1.16.8 (Su 1938: 77) pointed out that the dilator can be made of wood, such as that of the prickly chaff-flower,

- 8 A person's ear enlarged in this way can split in two, either as a result of the humours<sup>92</sup> or a blow.
  - Listen to me about the ways of joining it can have.
- 9 Here, there are, in brief, fifteen ways of mending the ear flap. 93 They are as follows: Rim-join (nemīsandhānaka), Lotus-splittable (utpalabhedyaka), Dried Flesh (vallūraka), Fastening (āsaṅgima), Cheek-ear (gaṇḍakarṇa), Take away (āhārya), Ready-Split (nirvedhima), Multi-joins (vyāyojima), Door-hinge (kapāṭasandhika), Half door-hinge (ardhakapāṭasandhika), Compressed (saṃkṣipta), Reduced-ear (hīnakarṇa), Creeper-ear (vallīkarṇa), Stick-ear (yaṣṭīkarṇa), and Crow's lip (kākaustha). 94

In this context, among these,

Rim-join: both flaps are wide, long, and equal.

Lotus-splittable: both flaps are round, long, and equal.

Dried flesh: both flaps are short, round, and equal.

Fastening: one flap is longer on the inside. Cheek-ear: one flap is longer on the outside.<sup>95</sup>

Take-away: the flaps are missing, in fact, on both sides.

Ready-split: the flaps are like a dais (*pīṭha*).

Multi-joins: one flap is small, the other thick, one flap is

equal, the other unequal.

Door-hinge: the flap on the inside is long, the other is small. Half door-hinge: the flap on the outside is long, the other is small.

the neem tree and tree cotton. Dalhaṇa added that it can also be made of lead and should have the shape of the datura flower. The manuscripts have variant readings for लघुप्रवर्धनकमामुञ्चेत् at this point that include a scribal emendation, none of which construe plausibly. It is possible that the unusual verb form आ+√मुच् puzzled the scribes and caused the implausible scribal readings and emendations.

<sup>92</sup> Dalhaṇa on 1.16.9 (Su 1938: 77) notes that the word दोष here can refer to either a humour, such as wind, as we have understood it, or a disease generated from a humour.

<sup>93</sup> The Nepalese version uses the word सन्धान to refer to joining a split in an ear flap, which is consistent with the terminology in the verse cited above (8). However, 1.16.10 of Dalhaṇa's version (Su 1938:77) uses the term बन्ध here and at the very beginning of the chapter (i.e., 1.16.1) to introduce the topic of repairing the ear.

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

<sup>95</sup> For an artist's impression of this join, see Majno 1975: 291 (reproduced as Figure 3.3 in Wujastyk 2003*b*: 155).

These ten options for joins of the ear should be bound. They can mostly be explained as resembling their names. The five from compressed (saṃkṣipta) on are incurable. Among these, "Compressed" has a dry ear canal and the other flap is small. "Reduced ear" has flaps that have no base and have wasted flesh on their edges. "Creeper-ear" has flaps that are thin and uneven. "Stick-ear" has lumpy flesh and the flaps are stretched thin and have stiff ducts. "Crow-lip" has a flap without flesh with compressed tips and little blood. Even when they are bound up, they do not heal because they are hot, inflamed, suppurating, or swollen. 8

A person wishing to perform a join of any of these should therefore have supplies specially prepared according to the recommendations of the "Preparatory Supplies" chapter.<sup>99</sup> And in this regard, he should particularly gather<sup>100</sup> top layer of fermented liquor, milk, water, fermented rice-water, and powdered earthenware crockery (*kapālacūrṇa*).<sup>101</sup>

<sup>96</sup> Cakrapāṇidatta on 1.16.9–13 (Su 1939: 128–129) and Dalhaṇa on 1.16.10 (Su 1938: 77–78) provide examples of how the names of these joins describe their shapes. For example, the rim-join (nemīṣandhānaka) is similar to the join of the rim of a wheel (cakradhārā).

<sup>97</sup> Dalhaṇa on 1.16.10 (Su 1938:77–78) mentions that some do not read the statement that only five are incurable, and they understand the causes of unsuccessful joins given below (i.e., heat, inflammation, suppuration and swelling) as also pertaining to the first ten when they do heal.

<sup>98</sup> The version of 1.16.11–13 known to Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 78) has four verses (श्लोक) at this point that are not in the Nepalese manuscripts. The additional verses iterate the types of joins required for ear flaps that are missing, elongated, thick, wide, etc. All four verses were probably absent in the version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* known to Cakrapāṇidatta. He cites the verses separately in his commentary, the *Bhānumatī* (Su 1939: 128–129), introducing each one as 'some people read' (के चित्पवन्ति). However, in Trikamajī Ācārya's edition of the *Sūtrasthāna* of the *Bhānumatī*, the root text is largely identical to the one commented on by Dalhaṇa (Su 1938), even in instances like this where Cakrapāṇidatta's commentary indicates that he was reading a different version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. See further the discussion on p.?? above.

<sup>99</sup> *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.5 (Su 1938: 18–23), probably verse 6 especially, that lists the equipment and medications that a surgeon should have ready.

<sup>100</sup> The reading in the Nepalese manuscripts of विशेषतश्वाग्रोपहरणीयात् has been emended to विशेषतश्वाग्रोपहरेत् to make sense of the list of ingredients, which is in the accusative case. Also, the repetition of अग्रोपहरणीयात् in the Nepalese version suggests that its second occurrence, which does not make good sense here, is a dittographic error.

<sup>101</sup> The term कपालचूर्ण is unusual. Palhaṇa (Su 1938: 79) defines it as the powder of fragments of fresh earthen pots and Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 129) as the powder of earth-

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

After arranging the join in the ear so that it is neither proud, depressed, nor uneven, and observing that the blood has stopped, one should anoint it with honey and ghee, bandage each ear with tree cotton and gauze (plota), and bind it up with a thread, neither too tightly nor too loosely. Then, the physician should sprinkle earthenware powder on it and provide medical advice ( $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rika$ ). And he should supplement with food as taught in the "Two Wound" chapter.<sup>103</sup>

- One should avoid rubbing, sleeping during the day, exercise, overeating, sex, getting hot by a fire, or the effort of speaking.
- One should not make a join when the blood is too pure, too copious, or too thin. For when the ear is tainted by wind, then it is obstructed by blood, unhealed and will peel. When tainted with choler, is becomes pinched  $(g\bar{a}dha)$ , septic and red. When tainted by phlegm, it will be stiff and itchy. It has excessively copious suppuration and is swollen. It has a small amount of wasted  $(ks\bar{\imath}na)$  flesh and it will not grow. 105
- When the ear is properly healed and there are no complications, one may very gradually start to expand it. Otherwise, it may be inflamed

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

enware vessels.

<sup>103</sup> Suśrutasaṃhitā 4.1 (Su 1938: 396–408).

<sup>104 1.16.17</sup> of Dalhaṇa's version (Su 1938: 79) reads "impure" for the Nepalese "too pure," which would appear to make better medical sense. Emending the text to नाशुद्ध- for नातिशुद्ध- in the Nepalese version would yield the same meaning as Dalhaṇa's version.

<sup>105</sup> In his edition of Suśrutasaṃhitā, Ācārya (Su 1938: 79 n. 1) includes in parentheses the following treatment for these conditions, which according to a footnote is not found in the palm-leaf manuscript he used: 'One should sprinkle it with raw sesame oil for three days and one should renew the cotton bandage after three days' (आमतैलेन त्रिरात्रं परिषेचयेत्रिरात्राञ्च पिचुं परिवर्तयेत्).

(samrambha), burning, septic or painful. It may even split open again.

- Now, massage for the healthy ear, in order to enlarge it.

  One should gather as much as one can the following: a monitor lizard, scavenging and seed-eating birds, and creatures that live in marshes or water, <sup>106</sup> fat, marrow, milk, and sesame oil, and white mustard oil. <sup>107</sup> Then cook the oil with an admixture of the following: purple calotropis, white calotropis, heart-leaf sida, country mallow, country sarsaparilla, Indian kudzu, liquorice, and hornwort. <sup>108</sup> This should then be deposited in a well-protected spot.
- 15 The wise man who has been sweated should rub the massaged ear with it. Then it will be free of complications, and will enlarge properly and be strong. 109
- 16 Ears which do not enlarge even when sweated and oiled, should be scarified at the edge of the hole, but not outside it.<sup>110</sup>
- 17 In this tradition, experts know countless repairs to ears. So a physician who is very intent on working in this way may repair them.<sup>111</sup>

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

- 107 Palhaṇa's version of 1.16.19 (Su 1938: 79) includes ghee. However, Palhaṇa's remarks on this passage and Cakrapāṇidatta's on 1.16.18 (Su 1939: 130) indicate that they knew a version of this recipe, perhaps similar to the Nepalese one, that did not include ghee. Palhaṇa also noted that others simply read four oils, beginning with fat and without milk, whereas Cakrapānidatta said that some say it is made with four oils and milk.
- 108 The version of of this verse known to <code>Dalhaṇa</code> (vulgate (Su 1938:79)) adds several ingredients to this admixture, including prickly chaff-flower, Withania, milk-white, sweet plants and Indian ipecac. Also, it has beggarweed instead of Indian kudzu. When commenting on 1.16.19, <code>Dalhaṇa</code> (Su 1938:79) noted that some do not read sweet plants and Indian ipecac. Therefore, at his time there were other versions of this recipe circulating, with fewer ingredients, as seen in the Nepalese version.
- 109 For these aims (i.e., healing and enlarging the ear), the text known to Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 79) had an additional verse and a half describing an ointment for rubbing the ear and sesame oil cooked with various medicines for massage. Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 131) did not comment on these verses, nor verse 15 of the Nepalese version, and so the version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* known to him may not have included them.
- 110 Dalhaṇa's version of 1.16.23 (Su 1938:79–80) added another hemistich that stated more explicitly that the scarification should not be done on the outside of hole as it will cause derangement.
- 111 After verse 17, the 1938 edition of Ācārya (Su 1938:80) has in parentheses nineteen verses on diseases of the ear lobes, treatments and complications. It is possible that these verses were in some of the witnesses used by Ācārya to construct the text as they occur in other manuscripts, such as MS Hyderabad Osmania 137-3(b). However, Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939:132) and Palhaṇa (Su 1938:80) stated that some read about the diseases of the ear lobes in this chapter whereas others read about them in

- 18 If an ear has grown hair, has a nice hole, a firm join, and is strong and even, well-healed, and free from pain, then one can enlarge it slowly.<sup>112</sup>
- 19 Now I shall describe the proper method of making a repair when a nose is severed. First, take from the trees a leaf the same size as the man's nose and hang it on him.
- Next, having cut a slice of flesh (vadhra),<sup>113</sup> with the same measurements, off the cheek, the end of the nose is then scarified.<sup>114</sup> Then the undistracted physician, should quickly put it back together so that it is well joined.
- Having carefully observed that it has been sewn up properly, he should then fasten it along with two tubes. Having caused it to be raised, the powder of sappanwood, it liquorice and Indian barberry should be sprinkled on it. 118
- The wound should be covered properly with tree cotton and should be moistened repeatedly with sesame oil. Ghee should be given to the man to drink. His digestion being complete, he should be oiled and purged in accordance with the

the chapter on various treatments (*miśrakacikitsa*) (SS 5.25), which does indeed begin with a discussion of the disease परिपोट. Dalhaṇa went on to say that some believe that these verses were not composed by sages and, therefore, do not read them.

<sup>112</sup> The order of verses 17 and 18 is reversed in Dalhana's version (Su 1938: 80).

<sup>113</sup> The version of 1.16.28b known to Dalhana (Su 1938:81) reads "bound, connected (baddham)" instead of "slice of flesh (vadhra)." This is a critical variant from the surgical point of view. If the slice remains connected, it will have a continuing blood supply. This is one of the effective techniques that so astonished surgeons witnessing a similar operation in Pune in the eighteenth century (see Wujastyk 2003b:67–70).

<sup>114</sup> Or 1.16.20 could be mean, '... off the cheek, it is fixed to the end of the nose, which has been scarified.' Unfortunately, the Sanskrit of the Nepalese version is not unambiguous on the important point of whether or not the flap of grafted skin remains connected to its original site on the cheek. However, Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 81) clarified the meaning of the vulgate here by stating that one should supply the word "flesh" when reading "connected," thus indicating that he understood the flesh to be connected to the face.

<sup>115</sup> Dalhaṇa noted that the two tubes should be made of reed or the stalk of the leaf of the castor-oil plant (on 1.16.21 (Su 1938:81)). They should not be made of lead or betel nut because the weight will cause them to slip down.

<sup>116</sup> The Sanskrit term उन्नामियत्वा in 1.16.21 is non-Pāṇinian.

<sup>117</sup> For पत्ताङ्ग (sappanwood), there are manuscript variants पत्ताङ्ग (MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333) and पत्तङ्ग (MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079). Also, MS Kathmandu KL 699 (f. 14r:1) has पताङ्ग in a verse in 1.14 (cf. 1.14.36 (Su 1938:66)). The text known to Dalhana has पतङ्ग (1.16.29 (Su 1938:81)) and this term is propagated in modern dictionaries.

<sup>118</sup> Dalhaṇa glossed अञ्चन as रसाञ्चन, elixir salve (Su 1938: 81).

instructions specific to him. 119

23 And once healed and really come together, what is left of that slice of flesh (vadhra) should then be trimmed.<sup>120</sup> If it is reduced, however, one should make an effort to stretch it, and one should make its overgrown flesh smooth.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>120</sup> The vulgate transmission has lost the word বঘ and replaced it with अर्घ "half," which makes little sense in this surgical context.

<sup>121</sup> Dalhaṇa accepted a verse following this, 1.16.32 (Su 1938:81), which pointed out that the procedure for joining the nose is similar to that of joining the lips without fusing the ducts. He noted that earlier teachers did not think this statement on the nose and lips was made by sages, but he included it because it was accepted by Jejjaṭa, Gayadāsa and others, although they did not comment on it because it was easy to understand. Cakrapāṇidatta also did not comment on this additional verse (Su 1939: 133).

# Sūtrasthāna 28: Unfavourable Prognosis in Patients with Sores

### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002. 122

Goswami studied the commentaries of Dalhaṇa and Cakrapāṇidatta on this and the following adhyāyas up to 32, focussing on the topic of omens (ariṣṭa). He concluded that both authors were influenced by the Indriyas-thāna of the Carakasaṇihitā in their commentaries on this topic.<sup>123</sup>

### **Translation**

Thus, living creatures and their strength, complexion (*varṇa*) and energy (*ojas*) are rooted in food. That (food) depends on the six flavours (*rasa*). Thus, the flavours depend on substance (*dravya*), and substances depend on medicinal herbs. There are two kinds of them (herbs): stationary and mobile.<sup>124</sup>



# Nidānasthāna 1: The Diagnosis of Diseases Caused by Wind

#### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>125</sup>

### **Translation**

- 1 And now we shall explain the chapter about diagnosis of diseases caused by wind. 126
- 3 Suśruta asks after holding the feet of Dhanvantari who is the foremost of the upholders of righteousness and who emerged with nectar.
- 4 O King!<sup>127</sup> Divodāsa<sup>128</sup> the best of the orators! Let us know about the naturalized and disordered form of wind, its places in the body and types of the diseases caused by its contamination.
- 5–9ab On hearing his words, the venerable sage replied that being independent, constant and omnipresent this wind is revealed as self-born and supreme being. It is worshiped by all words and situated in the form of life-force in all beings. It is the cause of origin, continued existence and

<sup>125</sup> HIML: IA, 234. (Ruben 1954b) studied the wind doctrines in the *Carakasaṃhitā*.

<sup>126</sup> Present chapter discribes the diseases caused by vitiated wind and its mixing with other humours. In the medical term it is known as rheumatism.

<sup>127</sup> H and N both mss read भूपते instead of कौपनैः in the vulgate.

<sup>128</sup> https://doi.org/10.20935/AL2992

destruction of beings. It is unmanifest though manifests in/through action, cold, dry, light in weight, variable, moving horizontally with two attributes i.e., sound and tangibility<sup>129</sup>. Having all chief qualities which are sattva, rajas and tamas but predominated by rajas. It has inconceivable power. It is inducer of humours<sup>130</sup> and distinguished in the group of diseases<sup>131</sup>. *It moves quickly, moves again and again,* stays in stomach and intestine.

- 9cd Now, listen to the description of wind which moves inside the body.
  - 10 Unvitiated wind makes possible objects of senses connect with intellect. It maintains a state of equilibrium between the humours, semen/7 fluids? and Gastric fluid and actions done by body, speech and intellect bring to one's right place. 132
  - Just as the five types of bile have been described based on their name, place and their actions, similarly, one type of air is of five types based on name, place, action and diseases.
  - 12 Five types of wind:
    - 1. Vital wind (prāṇa)
    - 2. udāna
    - 3. samāna
    - 4. vyāna
    - 5. apāna

above five types of wind remain in their equilibrium and hold the body $^{133}$ .

<sup>129</sup> According to Dalhaṇa, it has power to divide humours, fluids, feces etc. moving inside the body and it is the cause to the disease in the limbs. It carries humours, chyle, semen/7 fluids? and feces further in the body. The wind which is moving outside is holding the earth and body. (सा चास्य शक्तिः शरीरदोषमूत्रपुरीषादिविभागोऽवयवसंस्थानका(क)रणं दोषधातुमलसंवहनादिश्च, शरीराद्बहिस्तु संचरतो धरणीधारणादिः Su 1938:257)

<sup>130</sup> Palhaṇa suggests नेता=प्रेरक (Su 1938:257)

<sup>131</sup> Dalhana suggests राट्=राजते not राजा

<sup>132</sup> According to Dalhaṇa, सम्पत्तिः=सम्पन्नता at 1.6.3 (Su1938:23). Dalhaṇa commented that Gayadāsa reads `इन्द्रियार्थोपसंप्राप्तिंऽ but not written here because of being detailed. (ग-यदासाचार्यस्तु इमं श्लोकं `इन्द्रियार्थोपसंप्राप्तिऽ इत्यादि कृत्वा पठित, स च विस्तरभयान्न लिखितः) But H and N MSS suggest 'इन्द्रियार्थोपसम्पत्तिः'

<sup>133</sup> Dalhaṇa suggests स्थान=साम्य, यापयन्ति=धारयन्ति (The manuscripts all read प्राणोदानः स-मानश्च व्यानोपानस्तथैव च . against the vulgate's प्राणोदानौ समानश्च व्यानश्चापान एव च . I think प्राणोदानौ, व्यानापानौ or व्यानश्चापान एव च should be read)

The wind that flows through the mouth is called the vitality (prāṇa), which holds the body. It propels down food inside the stomach and engages with the gastric fluid<sup>134</sup>. Unvitiated Vital wind mostly causes hiccups, asthma etc. diseases.

- The wind which flows upwards in the body, the best among all five winds is called udāna. Singing, speech etc. individual things done by the same wind. Unvitiated udāna wind mostly causes diseases above the collar bone e.g., nose, eyes, head and ears<sup>135</sup>.
- 16–17ab The samāna wind flows in stomach and duodenum. It helps gastric fluids in the digestion of food and separates the substances produced from it e.g., chyle, impurities, urine and feces. Unvitiated samāna wind causes diseases like a chronic enlargement of spleen (gulma), weak digestion, and diarrhea.
- 17cd–18 The vyāna wind moves inside the whole body and circulates chyle and expels sweat and blood outside the body. It helps in the movements of limbs in every way. Contaminated vyāna wind causes all diseases occurring in the body.
- 19–20ab Staying in the abdomen, the apāna wind propels wind of body, feces, urine, semen, womb and menstruation to come out of the body at their proper time. Contaminated apāna wind causes terrible diseases that occur in the bladder and anus.
- 20cd-21ab Contaminated vyāna and apāna wind causes defect of semen and gonorrhea, while simultaneous contamination of all the five winds surely leads to death.
- 21cd-22ab I shall therefore describe all the diseases caused by the contamination of winds staying in the various places of the body.
- 22cd-24ab Contaminated wind in the stomach causes disease like vomiting, loss of consciousness, fainting, thirst, heart-seizure, pain in lateral sides of stomach. It also causes rumbling of the bowels, acute pain, inflated belly, pain while discharging urine and feces, suppression of urine and pain in the loins.
  - 24cd Contaminated wind residing in the ear causes loss of function of the senses.

<sup>134</sup> Dalhaṇa suggests head, chest, throat and nose as locations of prāṇa. (Sus1938:259) Gayadāsa suggests अग्नि for प्राण.

<sup>135</sup> Dalhaṇa suggests it also causes diseases like cough etc. (चकारादन्यादिप प्राणोदानौ, व्या-नापानौ कासादीन करोति .)

- Residing in the skin, <sup>136</sup> contaminated wind causes discoloration of skin, throbbing of parts of the body, dryness, numbness, itching, pricking pain, swelling. It being inherent in the flesh of body causes swelling with pain and being inherent with the fat of the body causes swelling with slight pain but do not become wound. <sup>137</sup>

  Residing in the artery it causes acute pain, contraction and filling up of the artery. <sup>138</sup> It stuns, vibrates and destroys <sup>139</sup> the muscle tissues by residing in the muscle. Residing in the joints it causes pain and swelling. Residing in the bone it causes fracture and dryness of bones which also cause to acute pain and, in the marrow, it dries up marrow which may never be cured. Residing in the semen it causes non-production and distorted production of semen. <sup>140</sup>
- 30–31ab Contaminated wind moves from the hand, foot, head, then it may be omnipresent or pervade the entire body of men and causes stiffness, convulsion, numbness and acute pain.
- 31cd-32ab Wind (5 types) mixed with other doṣas (bile etc.) in the places mentioned above produces mixed types of pains.
- Prāṇa wind surrounded by bile causes vomiting and burning sensation, by phlegm it causes weakness, exhaustion, laziness and bad taste.
- 35cd–36ab Udāna wind surrounded by bile causes loss of consciousness, stupor, dizziness and fatigue, by phlegm it causes absence of perspiration, slowness of digestion, sensation of coldness.
- 36cd-37ab Samāna wind surrounded by bile causes perspiration, a burning sensation, heat and stupor, association with phlegm it causes erection in urine, feces and limbs.
- 37cd–38ab Apāna wind associated with bile causes a burning sensation, heat and the voiding of blood with urine, with phlegm it causes a feeling of heaviness in the lower part of the body and coldness.

<sup>136</sup> Dalhaṇa and Gayadāsa both suggest त्वक्=रस. Gayadāsa explained that chyle stays in the skin and therefore, in the verse त्वक्स्थ should be read as रसस्थ as we read secondary meaning in the sentences like गङ्गायां घोषः.

<sup>137</sup> The MS H does not read व्रणांश्च रक्तगो ग्रन्थीन् सशूलान् मांससंश्रितः . against the vulgate. (Su 1938: 261).

<sup>138</sup> According to Dalhana सिराकुञ्चनं is also known as कुटिला सिरा (Su 1938: 262)

<sup>139</sup> Dalhaṇa and Gayadāsa both suggest the meaning of हन्ति for being not capable of both stretching and contraction. सन्धिगतः संधीन् हन्ति प्रसारणाकुञ्चनयोरसामर्थ्यं करोति (Su 1938: 262) ...

<sup>140</sup> Palhaṇa and Gayadāsa both suggest that a distorted production विकृतां प्रवृत्तिम् is too fast, too slow, knotty and discolored.

38cd-39ab Vyāna wind surrounded by bile causes a burning sensation, tossing of the limbs and fatigue, by phlegm it causes stiffening limbs, uddaņḍaka? and pain in the swelling.

- Persons who are of delicate nature, follow faulty diet and lifestyle, also afflicted with intoxicating drinks, sexual enjoyment, exercise causes vitiation of wind and blood.??
  - Riding elephant, horse and camel, lifting great weights, consuming vegetables which are pungent, hot, sour, alkali and being frequently distressed situation causes contamination of wind.
- 81–44 Blood flowing in the body blocks the passage of contaminated wind which moves quickly in the body. Excessively irritated wind-being contaminated by wind and dominance of wind, it is called वातरक्त Gout<sup>141</sup>.
- Vātarakta causes pricking pain, dryness, loos of sensation in the feet. Contaminated Bile mixed with blood causes sharp burning sensation, excessive heat and soft swelling with red color in the feet. Contaminated Phlegm mixed with the blood causes itching in the feet. It makes feet white, cold, dry, thick and hard. All defects <sup>142</sup> in the blood contaminated by humours (wind, bile, phlegm) manifest their symptoms in the feet.
  - 48 This disease spreads all over the body like rat poison by staying in feet or sometimes hands.
  - Gout spreads in the knee and the skin bursts and starts bleeding makes it incurable. It is mitigatable if it is of a year's old.
- 50–51 When vitiated wind enters in the all arteries it causes quickly convulsions again and again and because of frequent contractions ( $\bar{a}k\bar{s}epa$ ) it is called convulsions ( $\bar{a}k\bar{s}epaka$ ).
- 52–56 Because in this situation a person often sees darkness and fall, it calls spasmodic contraction (apatānaka) 143. If wind mixed with phlegm stays excessively in the arteries, it stiffs body like a staff and it is called दण्डापतानकः epilepsy with convulsions. Vitiated wind entered in the arteries and bends the body like a bow, it is called धनुःस्तम्भ Tetanus.

<sup>141</sup> In the medical term वातरक्त is known as Gout. Cakrapāṇi called it आढ्यरोगः Carakas-aṃhitā sū.14.18 and ci.28.66

<sup>142</sup> Gayadāsa suggests सर्वे दुष्टाः शोणितं चापि nominative plural instead of locative singular.

<sup>143</sup> Gayadāsa accepted the Nepalese reading ताम्यते which vulgate does not read. Gayadāsa gives definition of अपतानक as येनापताम्यते means a situation in that a person sees the dark.

When vitiated wind accumulated in the regions of finger, ancle, abdomen, heart, chest, and throat swiftly attack on the group of vain and ligaments, it gets a person's eyes stuck, chin stuns, side breaks and vomiting phlegm he moves inwards like a bow and this situation is known as emprosthotonos (antarāyāma). When vitiated wind attacks on outside ligaments, body of a person will stretch forward like a bow. In this situation, if the chest, hip or thigh break, wise men call it incurable.

- Aggravated phlegm and bile mixed with wind or only vitiated wind causes fourth convulsive disease due to trauma.
- Convulsions due to miscarriage, excessive bleeding, and injury are incurable 144.
- 60–62 When excessively agitated and strong wind flows in the arteries which spread downward, upward, and sideways, it loses the joints and kills the other side of body. The best of physicians calls it paralysis (pakṣāghāta). <sup>145</sup> Then half of his entire body becomes inefficient and unconscious. Afflicted by wind he suddenly falls or dies.
  - 62.1 Bile integrates with wind causes burning sensation, affliction, and infatuation. When it integrates with phlegm causes coldness, morbid swelling, and heaviness. 146.
    - A paralysis (*pakṣāghāta*) caused by wind <sup>147</sup> is curable with most difficulty. It becomes curable when caused by bile and phlegm mix with the wind. It becomes incurable when caused by the loss of bodily constituents.
- Verses from 64–66 are not found in the Nepalese manuscripts. These verses discuss the term spasmodic contradiction (āpatantraka) which is the same as अपतानक. Dalhaṇa commented on ni.1.64-66 (Su 1938:267) that because of having the similar condition in both situations, some scholars do not read the अपतन्त्रक. In the verse ni.1.59 Dalhaṇa commented that the आक्षेपक and अपतानक is same (Su 1938:266) and again

<sup>144</sup> According to Dalhaṇa convulsion (ākṣepākā) is also known as अपतानक (Su 1938:266). He further mentions that even if fortunately, it is cured, it cripples the limb.

<sup>145</sup> In the ca.6.28.55 पक्षाघात is described as monoplegia (ekāṅgaroga). In that case it damages one of the limbs. In the medical terms paralysis (apakṣāghāta) is known as hemiplegia.

<sup>146</sup> This verse is not available in vulgate. It deals with the symptoms when bile and phlegm mix with the wind. It is already discussed in su.2.1.38.

<sup>147</sup> Here the term যুद्धवात suggests the meaning of the wind that is devoid of bile and phlegm.

he suggested that the अपतानक and अपतन्त्रक both are similar condition. Therefore, आक्षेपक, अपतानक and अपतन्त्रक should be the same. Gayadāsa further commented that the Caraka has not read आक्षेपक as अपतानक and therefore described the अपतन्त्रक separately (Su 1938:267).

- 67 This verse also not found in the Nepalese Manuscripts. The verse describes rigidity of neck (*manyāsthambha*). According to Dalhaṇa, rigidity of neck is a prior symptom of spasmodic contradiction.
- 68–72 By speaking very loudly, eating hard foods, excessively laughing and yawning, lifting heavy loads and sleeping in an awkward position, vitiated wind lodges into face painfully and produces spasm of the jawbones (*ardita*) disease. In that case, half of the face and neck become curved, head trembles, speech hindrances, deformity occurs in the eys, eyebrows and cheeks.<sup>148</sup> Experts in diseases call this disease spasm of the jaw-bones (*ardita*).
  - Spasm of the jawbones cannot be cured when it stays in a person for three years, who is very weak, stays without blinking, trembles, and constantly speaks gibberish.
  - Arteries of Heel and toes stricken by vitiated wind prevents stretching of thighs. This disease is known as sciatica ( $grdhras\bar{i}$ ).
  - Arteries which run to the tips of fingers from behind the roots of the upper arm affected by vitiated wind terminates all activities of arms and back. This disease is called paralysis of arms and back (*viśvañci*).

    149
  - 76 Vitiated wind and blood in the joint of knee causes synovitis of knee join (koṣṭukaśīrṣa). In this extremely painful situation, the shape of swelling in knee joints seems like a head of Jackal.
  - 77 Vitiated wind resides in the waist attacks on the arteries of thigh causes limpness (*khañja*) and when it attacks on both the thighs a person becomes lame (*paṅgu*).
  - 78 A person who trembles at the beginning of walking or walks limping and whose foot joint has become loose is called lathyrism (kalāyakhañja).
  - 79 Vitiated wind residing in the ankle-joint causes pain when one steps on uneven ground. This disease occurs is called वातकण्टक.

<sup>148</sup> Dalhaṇa suggests नेत्रादीनाम् इत्यादि शब्दात् भूगण्डादि उपसङ्ग्रहः

<sup>149</sup> Both the MSS N and H read विश्वञ्चि instead of the vulgate reading विश्वाची. There is no such word found in other Āyurveda texts.

- 80 Vitiated wind mixed with bile and blood cause burning sensation in feet. It should be declared as burning sensation in feet (*pādadāha*).
- 81 A person whose feet tingle and become insensible due to vitiation of phlegm and wind is called पादहर्ष.
- 82 Vitiated wind lying in the shoulder dries the shoulder joints and it is called अंसशोष. It also bends the arteries of shoulder, and this disease is called अवबाहुक. 150
- 83 Vitiated wind singly or mixed with phlegm cover the channel of ears causes deafness.
- Vitiated wind saturated with phlegm covering the arteries which conduct the sound of speech makes a person inactive (akriya), dumb ( $m\bar{u}ka$ ). He mumbles (mimmira) through the nose and stammers (gadgad). <sup>151</sup>
- 85 Vitiated wind penetrating into the cheekbones, temporal bones, head and neck causes piercing pain in the ears. It is called ear-ache (karnaśula). 152
- 86–87 The pain that arises from the bladder or feces goes down as if it were breaking the rectum and......? is called तूनी, whereas the pain, rising upward from the rectum extending up to the region of the intestines, is called प्रतितूनी.
- Retention of vitiated wind inside abdomen causes distension of the stomach and flatulence and intense pain and rumbling inside, is called tympanites (ādhmāna). Vitiated wind mixed with phlegm causes সন্থাध्मान. It rises in the stomach anda causes pain in the heart and sides.
- 90–91 A knotty stone-like tumour caused by wind appearing in the stomach having an elevated shape and stretched upward direction which obstructing the passage of faeces and urine should be known as वाताष्ठीला. A tumour of similar shape rose obliquely in the abdomen obstructing the passage of wind, faeces and urine should be known as प्रत्यष्ठीला.

<sup>150</sup> Palhaṇa and Gayadāsa both have defined two diseases i.e., अंसशोष and अवबाहुक respectively.

<sup>151</sup> Nepalese Manuscripts read मिर्मिर instead of the Vulgate's reading मिन्मिण. Dictionary of MW suggests the meaning of मिर्मिर = having fixed unwinking eyes which is not relevant to the disease of tongue.

<sup>152</sup> In the medical terms, this disease is known as Otitis.

<sup>153</sup> There's an addition in MS N. नाभेरधस्तात् संजातः संचारी यदि वाऽचलः



## Śārīrasthāna 2: On Semen and Menstrual Fluid

### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>154</sup> Das (2003: chs 6–8) also studied topics of this chapter.

### Conceptual background

Das (2003: ch. 13) provides an overview of the conceptual background of ayurveda on the topics discussed in this adhyāya. In brief ...

### **Translation**

- 1 We shall now explain the anatomy that is the purification of sperm (*śukra*) and blood (*śoṇita*).
- 3 Semen (*retas*)<sup>155</sup> is incompetent to produce offspring if it is [characterized by] wind, bile, phlegm, blood (*śoṇita*),<sup>156</sup> decomposition (*kuṇapa*), lumps (*granthi*),<sup>157</sup> stinking pus (*pūtipūya*), low volume (*kṣīṇa*), urine,

JG in the light of your reflections, I removed "women's fertile". I've put śārīram back in.

JG could you provide a standard citation reference for this inform-

<sup>154</sup> HIML: IA, 244-246.

<sup>155</sup> The Nepalese version has -रेतांसि "semen" (in the plural) as the subject of the sentence: "seeds are unable to produce offspring...." In the vulgate, -रेतसः is a masculine bahuvrīhi, making "men whose semen has..." the subject of the sentence.

<sup>156</sup> Note that the list begins with the four entities, wind, bile, phlegm and blood, perhaps hinting at a four-humour system (see Wujastyk 2000: 485–486).

<sup>157</sup> Contemporary medicine understands that normal ejaculate contains coagula which,

or feces.

#### JG translation

- 1 We shall now discuss male and female reproductive function and anatomy.
- 2 This is how Dhanvantari was teaching.
- 3 Sperm becomes unable to result in offspring when it is under a negative effect of wind, bile, phlegm or blood, of decomposition, lumps, purulent matter or real pus, of volume depletion or of the presence of urine or faeces.
- When the disfunction is caused by wind, there is a colour and a type of pain that typically goes with wind problems; if caused by bile the colour and the pain are typical of bile afflictions; if caused by phlegm the discoloration and suffering are characteristic for phlegm disease; and if caused by some female bleeding there will be a discoloration due to blood and a sensation similar to that when there is a bile affliction. Moreover when caused by blood and decomposition, or if the affection is caused by both phlegm and wind disfunction, or when the sperm is characterized by the presence of lumps and clots, and if caused by both bile and female bleeding problems, the sperm becomes foul-smelling; if caused by both bile and wind troubles the volume gets depleted; when there is some episode of despair a smell of urine and faeces will occur. Some of these sperm abnormalities can be treated, e.g. cases of foul-smelling sperm, sperm containing an abnormal amount of clotting lumps, and when it reeks of pus and causes excruciating pain. However, when sperm contains urine or faeces there is no treatment.
- Moreover, in the period of about ten days following the onset of the menses when the woman is receptive to becoming pregnant the sperm can be vitiated by any of the three pathologies that may occur during the first quarter of the menstrual cycle, either separately or by two or three of them or even all three together but this will not necessarily lead to subfertility. Rather it is the pain caused or the discoloration of the sperm itself that suggest one of these afflictions.

however, dissolve after about half an hour. But coagula that do not dissolve may sometimes be a sign of an underlying disorder.

Among these, the kind which shows decomposition, or coagula, or putrid pus is incurable. The other types, however, can be treated.

- 6 Such are the facts. A smart professional getting the most out of his professional competence will, normally speaking, be able to treat the first three among these sperm pathologies. What is needed therefore can be either lubrification, or making the tissues exude or any other tricks of the trade, such as something like an enemas or an instillation.
- 6A When the sperm is negatively affected by wind disorders, one should applicate an oily enema containing Bengal quince and Indian kudzu.
- 6B One could also consider administering an oily preparation, well-cooked and medicated with simple deodar drenched in honey, in the form of an enema.
- 6C One can also make the patient drink clarified butter finished with pomegranate, citron fruit, rock salt, a caustic (*kṣāra*), and two kinds of salt.
- 6D When sperm disfunction is due to bile issues, one can prescribe application of a preparation based on the milky juice of plants cooked with honey or else sharply tasting betel leaves in milk or curd.
- 6E One could apply also a salve of axlewood and sal into the vagina.
- 6F Or apply externally an oily preparation of well-cooked honey.
- 6G Of course that oily preparation could also be applied in the form of an enema.
- 6H One can also make him swallow a beverage of clarified butter finished with the "five roots": nightshade, betel, moonseed in honey, dog's tooth and sugarcane stalks.
- 6I If the sperm is afflicted because disturbances in phlegm, one can consider an oily ghee-based preparation with adstringent leaves of the golden shower tree.
- 6J The oil processed as a medicated decoction of long pepper, honey and false black pepper should be administered as an anointment but similarly also in the form of an enema.
- 6K One should try a solution of cooled-down clarified butter, compounded with the juice of basil, Indian gooseberry, long pepper and stone-breaker plant in case of kidney gravel disease.
- 6L Here are some more verses.
  - 7 In case the sperm shows signs of decomposition, one should make the patient drink a medicated fluid containing dhātaki flowers, cutch-tree, pomegranate and arjuna tree bark.

I have replaced the plantnames with entries from my plant database.

- 8 In case of apparent disintegration of the sperm, he should drink clarified butter with heart of sāl. Moreover in case of lumps and clots, he should even eat a preparation of ashes obtained after burning of a figtree.
- 9 In case the sperm appears purulent, a mixture of mangrove canon ball in some food leftovers or anything else should be prepared. When the sperm is depleted, one should perform these instructions straight away as soon as they have been explained.
- One should make the patient drink ghee with citra, koshira and hingu by way of an antidote. A wise person should then perform one by one the six oleation processes on his own body.



### Cikitsāsthāna 4: On the Treatment of Wind Diseases

### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>158</sup>

### **Translation**

1 Now we shall describe the treatment of wind diseases.

2

- 3 When the wind enters the stomach and one vomits as a result, one should sequentially administer the six-bearing (মন্ত্র্বেण) remedy with cool water for seven nights. 159
- 4 The remedy constituting of leadwort, ??, velvet-leaf, ??, Himalayan monkshood, and myrobalan cures serious diseases and is called the six-bearing (ষদ্ধব্য).
- 5 When the wind has entered the abdomen (पक्षाशय), one should treat it with evacuation of the bowels (विरेचन) using an unctuous substance. One should also treat it with cleansing enemas and excessively salty foods. 160

158 HIML: IA, 265-266.

- 159 The vulgate has the reading छर्दियत्वा which means "after making [him] vomit". Thus, vomiting is a part of the treatment. Whereas in the H manuscript, vomiting is the symptom of the ailment that needs to be cured.
- 160 In H, the reading সামা: should be read as সামা: for it to mean "foods". Otherwise, সামা: means "throwing/discharging" or "darts/spears".

This is a change we should make in the edition.

You need not give all the grammatical details about śrotādi. Assume you are talking to knowledgeable Sanskrit scholars.

- 6 Once the wind has entered the lower belly, a cleansing enema is recommended. And, on the wind having entered the ears, etc., the wind-slayer sequence should be executed.<sup>161</sup>
- 7 On the wind having entered the skin, flesh, and blood, one should rub oil on the body (अभ्यङ्ग), apply a poultice on the body (उपनाह), massage the body (मर्दन), smear ointments on the body (आलेपन), and do bloodletting (असृग्विमोक्षण).
- 8 On the wind having entered the ligaments, joints, and bones, the wise [physician] should employ the application of an unctuous poultice (स्ने-होपनाह), cauterization (अग्निकर्म), binding (बन्धन), and massage.
- 9 On the wind being concealed within the bones, it (wind) should be beaten by churning those body parts with hands. A strong physician should then insert a narrow tube within the bone and suck out the wind completely from the bone.<sup>162</sup>
- On the wind having entered the semen, one should perform the treatment for the defects of the semen. 163
- The intelligent physician should conquer the wind situated within the whole body by immersion, *kuṭī*, *karṣa*, *prastara*, oil massage, enema, and blood-letting. Or, in case of wind situated in one part of the body and

<sup>161</sup> In the H manuscript reading "श्रोतादि...," there appears to be a double sandhi. See Nidānasthāna Ch. 1 verse 12 for another example of double sandhi. Furthermore, the syllable in H after "चानिल" is not clear. It could be "ह्य" or "हा" or perhaps something else. The reading in the vulgate for this syllable is "हा". Thus, the complete word becomes "अनिलहा" which means "the slayer of wind". This makes proper sense in this verse. We have considered this reading ("अनिलहा") for our translation.

<sup>162</sup> The H manuscript has the reading अस्थीन which is the accusative plural form of अस्थि. The accusative case does not make sense here. The vulgate has the reading अस्थिन, the locative singular form of अस्थि. This reading makes proper sense in the verse. Therefore, we have accepted the vulgate reading अस्थिन for translating this verse.

<sup>163</sup> Dalhaṇa comments (Su 1938: 421) that this treatment for the defects of the semen is mentioned [earlier] as the যুক্তমাणিনযুদ্ধি, the purification of the semen and the blood. This is the Śārīrasthāna Ch. 2, যুক্তমাणিনবিযুদ্ধি. The second hemistich of this verse is not a part of this sentence but is a part of the sentence in the next verse. That is because the remedies described in this hemistich are appropriate for the disease described in the first hemistich of the next verse.

<sup>164</sup> In H, the last syllable नि of the compound word does not make sense. The vulgate has the compound word ending with भिः which makes proper sense. For making a meaningful translation, we have accepted the vulgate reading here. Furthermore, Dalhaṇa describes the treatments kuṭī, karṣū, and prastara in his commentary in (Su 1938: 421). Regarding blood-letting, he comments there that because the verse has the plural form

contained within it, the intelligent physician should cure it with horns.

- On the wind having mingled with phlegm, bile, and blood, the physician should treat it with non-hostile remedies. However, on the wind being inactive, the physician should perform blood-letting many times.
- [On the wind being inactive], one should also lick the milk of the *pan-camūlī* accompanied with salt and ??¹65 mixed with oil, and one should indeed consume meat soup made sour with fruit.¹66
- 14-15 Or, one should consume cereal soup with a good amount of ghee, or the food that is beneficial and that curtails the wind. However, cottony jujube, etc.<sup>167</sup> with a wind-removing remedy combined with all sour substances and with the meat from a water body along with lots of unction, lukewarm<sup>168</sup> and salty, is well known as *Sālvala*.
- 16ab For patients with diseases of the wind, one should always apply this  $(s\bar{a}lvala)$  as a poultice.
- Whether a body part has become contracted or bent, is troubled by a [wind] disease, or has become numb, one should tightly bind it with a long strap made of tree bark, cloth, or wool [after applying the *sālvala* poultice]. Or, after massaging the affected body part and applying the *śālvala* poultice on it, one should insert it into a sack made of the hide of a cat, mongoose, *udra* or deer.
  - Vomiting and *nasya* done under the supervision of an expert physician alleviates the wind that has entered the chest, loins, shoulders, or the nape of the neck. *Śirobasti* and blood-letting alleviate the wind situated in the head.
  - 20-21ab In that (*śirobasti*), the oil should be held carefully for a duration of one thousand *mātrās*. Enema (बस्ति) alone curtails the wind that is situated throughout the whole body or in one part. This is just as the wind [curtails] its force.<sup>171</sup>

सिरामोक्षेः, five blood vessels have to be drained of blood if the wind is not pacified by oil massage, etc.

<sup>165</sup> Āgāradhūma seems to be a plant as seen in Monier Williams' Sanskrit dictionary.

<sup>166</sup> The vulgate reading दिह्यात् (should apply) totally changes the meaning.

<sup>167</sup> For grammatical accuracy, there needs to be a visarga at the end of the word काकोल्यादि.

<sup>168</sup> Perhaps सुखोष्णम् is an indeclinable. But, it could also be a grammatical inaccuracy where it should have a *visarga* at the end: सुखोष्णः.

<sup>169</sup> This seems to be the correct spelling as against the unclarity in the earlier verses.

<sup>170</sup> some aquatic animal

<sup>171</sup> The last four words in H, तस्य वेगम् इवानिलः do not make sense in the context.

Perhaps kalka here could also mean the Terminalia Bellerica (विभीतक).

- Oils, perspiration, oil massage, enema, unctuous purging of the bowels, *śirobasti*, oiling the head, unctuous smoke, gargling with lukewarm water, *nasya*, unctuous paste, milks, meats<sup>172</sup>, soups, oils<sup>173</sup>, any unctuous substance, unctuous and salty meals that are made sour by fruits, bathing with lukewarm water, massages, saffron, ??, cassia cinnamon, costus, cardamom, crape jasmine, garments made of silk, wool, and fur, soft cotton garments, inner rooms with sunlight, no wind flow, and a soft bed, taking the warmth of fire, and celibacy, etc. are to be collectively employed for patients with wind diseases.
  - One should take *akṣa* quantities of unguent pastes<sup>174</sup> of turpeth,<sup>175</sup>??, ??, ??, ??, ??, and embelia, a Bengal quince fruit equivalent measure of ??-root and ??, two *pātra* quantities of both *triphalā*-decoction<sup>176</sup> and yogurt, and one *pātra* measure of ghee.<sup>177</sup> One should mix these ingredients all at once and cook the mixture properly. This (resultant) is ??-ghee. Unctuous purging of bowels is prescribed for treating wind disorders.<sup>178</sup> This procedure of making ??-ghee should also be referred for making ??-ghee and ??-ghee.<sup>179</sup>
  - One should collect the wooden logs of the instruments that have been used for a long time for extracting oil from sesame seeds. One should then have them chopped into very tiny pieces and then pound those pieces. Next, one should put them in a big vessel, submerge them in water, and boil them. Thereafter, one should collect the oil from the surface of the water with a goblet or by hand. Thereafter, one should properly cook wind-alleviating herbs with this oil that was effectively

<sup>172</sup> The plural indicates milk and meat from various animals.

<sup>173</sup> This is the second occurrence of the word सेहाः in this sentence. This seems to be an anomaly.

<sup>174</sup> কলে also means an unguent paste. Refer to Apte's dictionary.

<sup>175</sup> In H, perhaps it should have been त्रिवृद् instead of तृवृत्.

<sup>176</sup> त्रिफलारस is here taken to mean a decoction of triphalā.

<sup>177</sup> The exact measurements of *akṣa* and *pātra* are given in Þalhaṇa's commentary in Su 1938: 422.

<sup>178</sup> It should be understood here that the unctuous substance to be used for purging the bowels is the ??-ghee.

<sup>179</sup> अशोक and रम्यक are the Ashoka and Chinaberry respectively.

cooked.<sup>180</sup> This is the *anutaila* (अनुतैल)<sup>181</sup> that is mentioned in wind disorders. It is called *anutaila* because it is produced from tiny oily objects.<sup>182</sup>

Alternatively, one should burn a great amount of ??-wood on the ground for one night. When the fire gets extinguished the ash should be removed. Then, the ground that is relieved of the fire should be soaked with a hundred pots of oil cooked with ??, ??, and other herbs, and left in that condition for one night. Thereafter, one should take all the earth that is oily<sup>183</sup> in a big vessel and totally cover it with water. The oil that rises up in that vessel should be taken out with both hands and kept nicely covered. Thereafter, one should properly cook that oil for as long as possible<sup>185</sup> with one thousand parts of each of the following—a decoction of wind-alleviating herbs, meat soup, milk, and kāñjika<sup>186</sup>—and thus prepare the sahasra-pāka (that which is cooked with thousands). The admixture added to the oil contains the hemavata herbs<sup>187</sup>, herbs of the southern region, Withania, and other wind-alleviating herbs.

While the oil is being cooked, conchshells should be blown loudly, umbrellas should be held, huge drums should be resounded, and whisk fans should be waved. Thereafter, the perfectly cooked oil should be poured into a golden or silver pot and stored. This  $sahasra-p\bar{a}ka$  is the oil possessing undiminishing potency and is fit for

<sup>180</sup> In H, the word दन्तप्रतीवायं in the compound word वातप्रौषधदन्तप्रतीवायं does not appear to make sense. Perhaps the syllable य should be प, thus making the word प्रतीवापं that refers to an admixture of substances to medicines either during or after decoction. Refer to Monier-Williams's Sanskrit dictionary.

<sup>181</sup> The न् should be read ण्.

<sup>182</sup> The word अनु in the compound word अनुतैलद्रव्येभ्यः should be read अणु.

<sup>183</sup> In H, the word यावन् should have been यावान्.

<sup>184</sup> The reading in H, कटाहेभ्यः सिंचेत्, does not make sense here. Thus, we have accepted the vulgate reading कटाहे ऽभ्यासिंचेत् for the translation.

<sup>185</sup> The phrase "यावता कालेन शक्नुयात् पक्तम्" appears as a part of a new sentence in H. But, we should take it to be a part of the earlier sentence for it to make proper sense.

<sup>186</sup> Dalhana comments (Su 1938: 423) that the word अम्ल here means কান্ত্ৰিক which is the water drained after boiling rice and is a little fermented. Refer Monier Willams's Sanskrit Dictionary.

<sup>187</sup> The word should be हैमवताः as in the vulgate. It means "the herbs of the snowy mountains". Dalhaṇa comments (Su 1938: 423) that हैमवताः refers to the herbs that grow in the northern region.

<sup>188</sup> These activities are a symbolic way of showing reverence.

kings.

- Thus, that which is cooked with a thousand parts is called *sahasra-pāka*. One should collect fresh leaves of castor oil tree, ??, ??, weaver's beam tree, Indian beech, ??, and leadwort. These leaves should be completely pounded along with salt in a mortar. This mixture should be put in a pot filled with oil 190. It (pot) should be smeared 191 with cowdung. Thereafter, the pot should be heated. This (resultant) is the *patra-lavaṇa* (leaf-salt) that is mentioned in wind disorders.
- In the same way, one should pound the stalks of ?? and eggplants smeared with salt and fill a pot with it.<sup>193</sup> In that pot, one should add ghee, oil, fat, and marrow. Then, one should smear it<sup>194</sup> and heat it as earlier. This (resultant) is the *sneha-lavaṇa* (fat-salt) that is mentioned in wind disorders.
- One should collect the fresh fruits, roots, leaves, and branches of all the twenty [herbs]: ??, ??, Tellicherry bark, Bengal quince, purple calotropis, ??, ??, ??, ??, ??, ??, ??, ??, Indian beech, ??, poison berry, ??, marking-nut tree, ??, ??. One should then mix them with salt and heat them as earlier. The oil on top should be poured out completely with the salty mixture intact [at the bottom]. This mixture should be cooked thoroughly. The admixture added to it consists of long pepper, etc. This (resultant) is the salt called *kalyāṇaka* that is mentioned in wind disorders and in meals and drinks for the patients troubled by *plīhāgnisaṇga*, indigestion, loss of appetite, and piles.

Thus ends the fourth chapter on the treatment of wind diseases.

Euphorbia Antiquorum (Antique spurge)

<sup>189</sup> In H, the ending नाम should be णाम due to sandhi.

<sup>190</sup> स्नेहघट can also mean a pot filled with ghee

<sup>191</sup> The H or vulgate do not specify with words that it is the pot to be smeared. But, it is to be understood.

<sup>192</sup> The word दाहयेत् usually refers to burning, but sometimes it can refer to heating.

<sup>193</sup> In H, there should be a visarga after लवणा.

<sup>194</sup> As earlier, the pot should be smeared with cow-dung.

<sup>195</sup> It is to be understood that all these fresh branches, leaves, fruits, and roots of the herbs should be completely pounded together with salt. The mixture should then be put into a pot filled with oil or ghee. The pot should be smeared with cow-dung and then heated.

## Cikitsāsthāna 5: On the Treatment of Serious Wind Diseases

### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>196</sup>

## **Translation**

1 Now we shall describe the treatment of serious wind diseases.

2

- 3 One group says that the blood afflicted by wind (wind-blood) (vāta-rakta) is of two types: spreading out over a surface (उत्तान) and deep (अवगाढ). 197 However, this is not correct. 198 Why? Just as leprosy, after spreading over a surface it (afflicted blood) becomes deeply situated. Therefore, its being of two different types is refuted.
- When the wind is aggravated by fighting a strong person, etc. 199, one's corrupted blood caused by eating heavy or hot food before the last meal is digested blocks the path of the aggravated wind. It then combines with the wind and simultaneously creates pain due to the wind-blood.

<sup>196</sup> HIML: IA, 266.

<sup>197</sup> Dalhaṇa comments (Su 1938: 424) that उत्तान refers to being situated in the skin and flesh, and अवगाढ refers to being situated internally.

<sup>198</sup> In H, the word तन् should be तत्.

<sup>199</sup> These factors that aggravate the wind are mentioned in Nidānasthāna, Ch. 12, text 6.

This [condition] is called wind-blood (*vāta-śoṇita*). At first, it is situated in the hands and feet.<sup>200</sup> Later, it spreads throughout the body. Its early forms are pricking pain, burning, itching, ulcer, trembling<sup>201</sup>, roughness of the skin, pulsation in the blood vessels, tendons, and tubular vessels<sup>202</sup>, weakness of the thighs, as well as the sudden appearance of dark brown, tawny, or red spots on the soles of the feet, fingers, ankles, and wrists. The disease becomes fully manifest in the person who does not undertake the means to revert the disease or applies a wrong treatment. Its symptoms have been mentioned. Among them, weakness occurs for the one who does not counter the disease.

- Generally, wind-blood occurs in those who are very delicate, those who eat the wrong foods and enjoy improperly, those who are fat, and even in those who indulge in pleasure.
- In that regard, one should treat the patient who is not degenerating due to wasting of life air, thirst, fever, unconsciousness, dyspnea, trembling, and loss of appetite, is not oppressed by the contraction [of limbs], is strong, composed, and has the means.
- 7 In the treatment, at the beginning itself one should do blood-letting of the wind-affected body part little by little and more than once. That (slow blood-letting) is because of the danger of further aggravation of wind. One should avoid doing blood-letting of the part hardened or weakened by excessive wind.<sup>203</sup> Thereafter, one should make the patient do the remedies of vomiting, etc. If the wind that is mixed [with blood] or separated is very aggravated then one should make him consume aged ghee or goat-milk. Or, [one can give him] half a measure of oil added with an *akṣa* of liquorice and cooked with hare foot uraria<sup>204</sup>, or the oil that is sweetened by sugar and honey and cooked with dried ginger and bulrush. Or, one should boil milk with an eight times volume of the decoction of the following herbs: beautyberry, ??, ??, hare foot uraria<sup>205</sup>, ??, wild asparagus, ??, and ??. This milk should then be used to cook oil with the admixture of pastes of ??, ??, ??, ??, deodar,

<sup>200</sup> In H, the word तन् should be तत्.

<sup>201</sup> In H, there should not have been the स् after स्तम्भ.

<sup>202</sup> In addition to blood vessels, it would also include the nerves.

<sup>203</sup> In H, the reading अम्लान does not make sense given the context. Therefore, we have accepted the vulgate reading ম্লান for the translation.

<sup>204</sup> Dalhaṇa glosses (Su 1938: 425) śṛgālavinnā as pṛśniparṇī.

<sup>205</sup> According to Dalhaṇa, śṛgālavinnā is pṛśniparṇī.

sweet flag, and ??. This (resultant) should be utilised in drinks, etc. Or, one should use the oil that is cooked with a decoction of wild asparagus, prickly chaff-flower<sup>206</sup>, ??, liquorice, giant potato, heart-leaf sida, country mallow, and ??<sup>207</sup>, with the admixture of cottony jujube, etc. Or, one should use the heart-leaf sida-oil that is cooked as *śatapāka*.<sup>208</sup> Or, [the affected body part] should be moistened with milk that is boiled with the roots of wind-alleviating herbs, or it should be moistened with sour things.<sup>209</sup> In that regard, five remedies prepared with milk are described. For preparing a poultice, milk should be cooked in ghee, oil, fat, marrow, and *dugdha*<sup>210</sup> separately with each of these powdered grains or pulses—barley, wheat, sesame, mung beans, or green gram that is mixed with unctuous pastes of cottony jujube, purple roscoea, ??, ??, heart-leaf sida, country mallow, hare foot uraria<sup>211</sup>, ??, ??, sugar, bulrush<sup>212</sup>, ??, and sweet flag. Or, the essence of unctuous fruits<sup>213</sup> can be used as a poultice. Or, a veśavāra<sup>214</sup> prepared from the flesh of a fat ci*licima* fish<sup>215</sup> can be used instead. Or, [one can use] the poultice contain-

206 Dalhaṇa glosses (Su 1938: 425) mayūraka as apāmārga.

The webpage https://hindi.shabd.in/vairagya-lashatakam-bhag-acharya-arjun-tiwari/post/117629 says that this verse belongs to the Nitiratna. I could not find this text.

<sup>207</sup> Dalhana comments (Su 1938: 425) that sacred grass, ??, ??, ??, and ?? are called *tṛna* (grass).

<sup>208</sup> Śatapāka seems to be an oil that is prepared with a hundred parts of some things similar to sahasrapāka that is prepared with one thousand parts of some herbs. Refer Cikitsāsthāna Ch. 4 text 29 for the preparation of sahasrapāka.

<sup>209</sup> Dalhaṇa comments (Su 1938: 425) that the sour things (amla) are ??, ??, ??-water, etc. Surā is some kind of liquor, sauvīraka is perhaps the fruit of the jujube tree, and tuṣa is perhaps Terminalia Bellerica (विभीतक).

<sup>210</sup> În the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, the word for milk is *kṣīra* or *payas* but not *dugdha*. Therefore, the word *dugdha* here can mean the sap of plants or something that is extracted.

<sup>211</sup> śrgālavinnā

<sup>212</sup> For kaśerukā

<sup>213</sup> Dalhana comments (Su 1938: 425) that the unctuous fruits mentioned here are sesame, castor, flax, ??, etc.

<sup>214</sup> In H, the reading वैशवारो does not make sense. It should have been वेशवारो, as shown in the vulgate, which is the reading we have accepted here.

*Veśavāra* is boneless meat minced, steamed, and added with spices, ghee, etc. Refer to 'Ayurveda Medical Dictionary' by Ranganayakulu Potturu.

Perhaps the word वैशवार is an earlier form of the word वेशवार.

<sup>215</sup> H has the compound word नलपीनमत्स्य. नलमीन is a particular fish known as cilicima (चिलिचिमः). See Amarakośa. Also, if the name is नलमत्स्य then the word पीन (fat) within the name is not according to proper Sanskrit. But, it can be allowed because the word मत्स्य (fish), instead of being a part of the name, can be considered to mean fish in general and thus the word पीन becomes its modifier. Thus, नलपीनमत्स्य can mean "a

- ing Bengal quince-rind<sup>216</sup>, crape jasmine, deodar, ??, ??, peas, costus, ??, liquor, yogurt, and whey. Or, [one can use] the ointment prepared by mixing citron, *amla*<sup>217</sup>, salt, and ghee with honey and horseradish tree-root. Or else, [one can use] the unctuous sesame paste.
- When the [condition of wind-blood] has a predominance of bile, the patient should be made to drink a decoction of grapes, ??-fruit, Indian ipecac, liquorice, sandalwood, and white teak. This decoction is sweetened with honey and sugar before consumption. Or, the decoction of wild asparagus, pointed gourd, cassia cinnamon, *triphalā*, ??, and heart-leaved moonseed should be given. [The patient should be administered] ghee that is prepared with sweet, bitter, and astringent [remedies].<sup>218</sup>

[The patient] should be sprinkled with a decoction of ??, lotus stalk, ??, and ?? mixed with goat-milk<sup>219</sup>, or with rice water that is mixed with milk, sugarcane juice, honey, and sugar, or with whey and sour rice gruel mixed with a decoction of grapes and sugarcane. Or else, [the patient] should be sprinkled with ghee that is prepared with *jīvanīya*<sup>220</sup> or sprinkled with ghee that is purified for one hundred times.

The poultice [to be applied] should be made of rice flour or of the paste of sour rice gruel mixed with ??, ??, ??²²²¹, ??, ?!, turmeric, horned pondweed, sacred lotus, etc. The poultice should be mixed with ghee.

- 9 The [condition of wind-blood] with a predominance of blood should be treated in the same way. Also, blood-letting should be done repeatedly.
- 10 However, when the [condition of wind-blood] has a predominance of

fat fish that is a ਜਲ (cilicima)".

Dalhaṇa says in his comment (Su 1938: 425) that नलमीन is a type of रोहित (rohita). Monier Williams says that rohita is a kind of fish: Cyprinus Rohitaka. Regarding the rohita fish, there is a subhāṣita: अगाधजलसञ्चारी न गर्वं याति रोहितः | अङ्गुष्ठोदकमात्रेण शफरी फर्फरायते || This indicates that rohita is a deep water fish.

<sup>216</sup> The word पेसिका in H should be read पेशिका.

<sup>217</sup> Perhaps it could mean vinegar or sour curds. Refer to Monier Williams Sanskrit Dictionary.

<sup>218</sup> Dalhana comments (Su 1938: 425) that the sweet remedies are cottony jujube, etc., bitter remedies are pointed gourd, etc., and astringent remedies are *triphalā*, etc.

<sup>219</sup> The compound word ending with कषायेण is taken to be a bahuvrīhi for अजाक्षीरेण (goatmilk).

<sup>220</sup> Jīvanīya seems to be a group of medicinal herbs. There is an Ayurvedic preparation called jīvanīya-ghṛta. Refer to the Āyurvedīya Śabdakośa vol. 1.

<sup>221</sup> तालीस should be read तालीश

phlegm, the patient should be made to consume a decoction of emblic and turmeric that is sweetened with honey, or a decoction of  $triphal\bar{a}$ , or a paste of liquorice, ??, chebulic myrobalan, and ??. He should be made to drink chebulic myrobalan with water mixed with a little urine. He should be sprinkled with oil, urine, salty water, and liquor that are acidic<sup>222</sup>. Or, he should be sprinkled with a decoction of golden shower tree, etc.

The patient should be massaged with ghee cooked with sour cream, urine, liquor, ??<sup>223</sup>, liquorice, ??<sup>224</sup>, and ??.

The poultice should be made of either the paste of white mustard, or the paste of sesame and Withania, or the paste of ??<sup>225</sup>, selu plum, and wood apple, or the paste of honey, horseradish tree, and hogweed,<sup>226</sup> or the paste of dry ginger, long pepper, black pepper,<sup>227</sup> ??, and poison berry.<sup>228</sup> These five poultices are prepared with salty water. Thus, they have been described.

In case of combined aggravation of two humours or simultaneous aggravation of all three humours, the stated methods of treating those aggravations should be combined.<sup>229</sup>

In all [aggravations], one should consume chebulic myrobalan with jaggery. Or, one should have a diet of rice cooked in milk for ten days and should drink a mixture of long peppers crushed in milk, with increasing by five long peppers each night. Then one should reduce them again by the order of five more [each night].<sup>230</sup> In this way, one should [reduce] all the long peppers. This is called *Pippalīvarddhamānakam* (Increasing Long Peppers). It indeed cures wind-blood, intense fever,<sup>231</sup>

The provisional edition should be modified accordingly.

<sup>223</sup> Monier Williams states Rumex Vesicarius for śuktā

<sup>224</sup> DCS has this entry: Cryptolepsis buchananii Roem. et Schult. (Surapāla (1988), 453) Decalepis hamiltonii Wight et Arn. (Surapāla (1988), 453)

<sup>225</sup> According to V. S. Apte, दारु can mean देवदारु.

<sup>226</sup> H has a short अ at the end instead of the long आ.

<sup>227</sup> व्योषतिक्ता refers to the group of these three pungent spices. Also see Sūtrasthāna 14.35.

<sup>228</sup> In H, the Sanskrit syntax does not match up with what the author is trying to say. The name of the fifth paste should also have been in the nominative case, as the other four pastes.

<sup>229</sup> It means that the respective methods of treating the aggravation of individual humours should be combined.

<sup>230</sup> In H, the letter ञ্ in भूयञ्च should have been য্.

<sup>231</sup> Perhaps विषमज्वर could mean irregular fever.

loss of appetite, jaundice, abdominal affection, piles, heavy breathing, cough, wasting disease, weak digestion, and heart disease.

The poultice is a paste of ??, sandalwood, ??, ??, wild asparagus, bulrush,<sup>232</sup> ??, ??, liquorice, ??, ??, ??, heart-leaf sida, country mallow, and Holostemma creeper mixed with milk. Or it is a paste of white teak, liquorice, and ?? mixed with ghee and cream. Or it is olibanum cooked with milk that is mixed with ??, ??, ??, liquorice and the group of sweet herbs.

Old ghee that is cooked with emblic and ?? and sweetened with sugar and honey is for drinking. Old ghee that is cooked with jīvanīya or that is cooked with a decoction of ?? is for sprinkling. Cooked heart-leaf sida oil is for sprinkling, bathing, enema, and eating<sup>233</sup>. One should eat food preparations made of rice, ??, barley and wheat accompanied with milk, meat soup, or mung beans soup that is not sour. Blood-letting also [should be done]. The treatments of vomiting, purging of bowels, enema, and oily enema should be conducted when the humours are highly aggravated.

13

14 There are verses in this regard.<sup>234</sup>

There is immediate relief by the application of remedies such as these by which the physicians cure the chronic condition of wind-blood.

- Poultice, sprinkling [oil], plaster, oil massage,<sup>235</sup> spacious and comfortable rooms<sup>236</sup> with no wind, soft pillows, comfortable beds, and soft massages are recommended in the condition of wind-blood.
  - Exercise, mating, anger, eating hot, sour, or salty foods, sleeping during the day, and food that is slimy or heavy should be avoided.
  - One should treat the person who is affected with spasmodic contraction, who does not have droopy eyes and crooked eyebrows, whose

<sup>232</sup> H has कशेरुका.

<sup>233</sup> Perhaps it means that one should eat foods cooked in that oil.

<sup>234</sup> The word भवति in H should have been भवन्ति.

<sup>235</sup> In H, the part व्यजनानिलाः does not make proper sense in the verse. Emending it to व्यजनानि च could be a consideration, but fanning (व्यजन) a patient with wind-blood is not good, as understood from the recommendation that such a patient should stay in a non-windy room. Therefore, we have accepted the vulgate reading for the first half of this verse.

<sup>236</sup> In H, read the स सरणानि as श.

<sup>237</sup> In H, the reading अपताकिनम् should have been अपतानकिनम्.

fingers have not become rigid, who is not perspiring or trembling, who is not in a state of delirium, who is not bed-ridden,<sup>238</sup> and who is not restrained externally. There at the beginning itself,<sup>239</sup> after rubbing the patient with oil and making him perspire, one should treat him with a strong *avapīḍa*<sup>240</sup> in order to clear his head. Then, the patient should be made to drink filtered ghee that is properly cooked with a decoction of beggarweed and other herbs, sugarcane juice, milk, and yogurt. In that way, the wind does not spread exceedingly.

Thereafter, one should gather wind-alleviating herbs such as deodar, etc. and other constituent parts, along with barley, ??, and ??, and the flesh of a freshwater aquatic creature all at one place and prepare a decoction of them. One should take this decoction and mix it properly with sour substances and milk, and then cook the *pratīvāpa*<sup>241</sup> of liquorice in this mixture along with ghee, oil, body fat, and bone marrow. This is *trivṛt* that should be recommended in treatments of sprinkling, oil massage, applying a poultice, oral consumption, oily enema, and errhine for patients having spasmodic contractions.

The patient should then be made to sweat by the methods described earlier. If the wind is stronger then the patient should be immersed in [a vessel] filled with lukewarm fluid used for sprinkling (*trivṛt*). Or he should be kept in the hot fireplace of a blacksmith.<sup>242</sup> Or else he should be made to sweat by [a mixture of] ??, *veśavāra*,<sup>243</sup> and milk.

Oil cooked with the juice of radish, ??, ??, and ?? should be used in sprinking, etc. for patients with spasmodic contractions. <sup>244</sup> Sour yogurt mixed with black pepper and drunk on an empty stomach alleviates spasmodic contractions. Or else, ghee, oil, body fat, or bone marrow

There, Dalhana comments that deliberation on avapīḍa had been done earlier when it was mentioned. Find that description to know more details.

<sup>238</sup> V. S. Apte has खद्मयति. The Āyurvedīya Śabdakośa has the entry खद्मापातिन् which means "one who is inclined to fall from bed." Perhaps the reading in H has an error of the letter या which should have been पा.

<sup>239</sup> In H, प्रागैव should have been प्रागेव.

<sup>240</sup> The Āyurvedīya Śabdakośa has the entry अवपीड that means administering an oily paste through the nose. Refer SS Cikitsāsthāna Ch. 40 text 44 for a better understanding of avapīḍa.

<sup>241</sup> It refers to an admixture of substances to medicines either during or after decoction. Refer to Monier-Williams's Sanskrit dictionary.

<sup>242</sup> H has the reading रथाकारचुल्ल्याम् that means "fireplace shaped like a chariot", but the vulgate reading रथकारचुल्ल्याम् makes more sense here. Thus, we have accepted it.

<sup>243</sup> Refer the above text no.7 for *veśavāra*. In H, the syllable ਕੈ should have been ਕੇ.

<sup>244</sup> The word तैलम् is not present in H but is present in the vulgate. We have accepted it.

[can be consumed on an empty stomach].

This procedure of treatment thus described is for spasmodic contractions caused only by wind. When mixed humours cause it then the treatment should also be mixed. And when the spasms subside the patient should be given *avapīḍa*-s. One should also consider the fats of cock, crab, black fish, and porpoise.<sup>245</sup> Milk prepared with wind-alleviating medicines. Gruel prepared with barley, ??, ??, radish, yogurt, ghee, and oil.

One should treat this recurring spasm for ten nights with oil massage, purging of bowels, enemas, and oily enemas. One should also look up the treatment of diseases caused by wind. One should also undertake preventive measures.

One should treat the paralytic (hemiplegic) patient whose limbs are not languid, who is in pain, and who is self-composed. There, at the beginning itself the patient should be massaged with oil and made to sweat. After cleansing the patient with a mild purifier,<sup>246</sup> he should be administered with an oily enema and then a non-oily enema. Then at the appropriate time, he should be treated with special enemas of the brain and the head according to the method prescribed in the treatment of ākṣepaka.<sup>247</sup> Anutaila should be used for massage.<sup>248</sup> Sālvala should be used for poultice.<sup>249</sup> heart-leaf sida oil should be used for oily enema. In this way, the unremitting patient should take the treatment for three to four months.

**2**0

21

One should treat the patient with  $ardita^{250}$  who is strong and possesses the means with the method prescribed in treating wind diseases. The unique thing is the treatment with enemas of the brain and the head, errhine, smoke, poultice, and steam bath through tubes. Then, one should take the great five roots ( $pa\bar{n}cam\bar{u}l\bar{l}$ ) with grass and prepare its

Search for the section where the treatment of ākṣepaka is described.

Make the first letter of sentence capital.

<sup>245</sup> H has the reading रसान् which means "juices". It seems unrealistic that juice would be extracted by crushing these whole animals. Vulgate has the reading बसाः instead of रसान् which appears to be the more probable reading. Thus, we have accepted it.

<sup>246</sup> According to P. V. Sharma, this refers to mild evacuatives (purgatives).

<sup>247</sup> Refer Nidānasthāna 1.50-51 for ākṣepaka.

<sup>248</sup> For the procedure of preparing anutaila, refer Cikitsāsthāna 4.28.

<sup>249</sup> For the procedure of preparing sālvala, refer Cikitsāsthāna 4.14-15.

<sup>250</sup> Refer Nidānasthāna 1.71-72 for ardita.

decoction in milk mixed with twice the water. Then, the decoction with the milk remaining<sup>251</sup> should be brought down [the stove] and filtered. It should then be mixed with a  $prastha^{252}$  of oil and again placed over fire and cooked thoroughly. Then, the oil mixed with milk should be brought down [the stove] and then churned after it cools down. This is called  $k\bar{s}\bar{i}rataila$  that should be used in drinks, etc. for patients with ardita.

- In the diseases of <code>gṛdhrasī</code>, <code>viścañcī</code>, <code>kroṣṭukaśīrṣa</code>, <code>paṅgukalāya</code>, lameness, <code>vātakaṇṭaka</code>, burning sensation in the foot, numbness of the foot, <code>avabāhuka</code>, deafness, and <code>dhamanīvāta</code>, one should pierce the blood vessel as described earlier and, barring the case of <code>avabāhuka</code>, one should look up the treatment for wind diseases.
- 24 However, in the case of *karṇamūla*,<sup>253</sup> lukewarm juice of ??<sup>254</sup> mixed with liquorice, oil, and salt should be put into the ears.<sup>255</sup> Or else one can use goat urine, liquorice, and oil. Or else one can use oil that is cooked with citron, pomegranate, ?? juice, and urine.<sup>256</sup> Or else one can use oil that is cooked with sour liquor, buttermilk, and urine. One should also make the patient sweat with a steam bath through tubes. One should also look up the treatment for wind diseases. More will be said later.
- In the case of tūnī and pratitūnī, one should make the patient drink ghee and salt with hot water. Or else one should administer the powder of long pepper and other herbs with hot water. Or else one should make the patient drink ghee that is made thick with asafoetida and ??.<sup>257</sup> One should also treat the patient with enemas.

<sup>251</sup> It means that the water has evaporated.

<sup>252</sup> Dalhana comments (Su 1938: 425) that a *prastha* is a measure of weight that is equal to 32 *pala-s*.

<sup>253</sup> The vulgate has the reading कर्णशूले which appears to be a more credible reading according to the context.

<sup>254</sup> शुझवेर appears to be a name of ginger. Refer to the Sanskrit dictionary of Monier Williams.

<sup>255</sup> In H, the reading रसैः does not seem to make sense here. Hence we have accepted the vulgate reading रसम्.

<sup>256</sup> In H, the word ਜੈਲ should have been ਜੈਲਸ੍ to make proper sense. The vulgate has this reading. Thus we have accepted it.

<sup>257</sup> यवश्वार is an alkali prepared from the ashes of burnt green barleycorns. Refer to the Sanskrit dictionary of Monier Williams.

- In the case of *ādhmāna*,<sup>258</sup> however, one should do *avatarpaṇa*,<sup>259</sup> heating the hands, *phalavartikriyā*,<sup>260</sup> stimulation of digestion, and [administer] digestives. One should also employ the purging of bowels and enemas. In the case of *pratyādhmāna*,<sup>261</sup> one should employ vomiting, fasting, and stimulation of digestion.
- In the case of  $aṣṭh\bar{\imath}l\bar{a}$  and  $pratyaṣṭh\bar{\imath}l\bar{a}$ , the procedure is that of gulma and internal abscess.
- The beneficial asafoetida, the three pungent spices (long pepper, black pepper, and dry ginger), sweet flag, ?? grains, ??, pomegranate, ??, velvet-leaf, leadwort, ??, rock salt, ??, ??, ??, natron, long pepper root, ??, ??, ?? (juniper berry), and ?? (cumin seeds) should be powdered. This powder should be mixed with a lot of citron juice. Then it should be made into pills each weighing one akṣa. Thereafter the patient of wind disease should consume one pill every morning. This medicine indeed cures gulma, rapid breathing, cough, loss of appetite, heart disease, ādhmāna, pārśvodara, bastiśūla, anāhamūtra, painful piles, plīhodara, and pāṇḍuroga. Also, this medicine is excessively used in cases of tūnī and pratitūnī.
- 29 There are verses in this regard.

The wind that has entered into the body tissues should be correctly understood as either pure or vitiated by humours<sup>263</sup> and should be cured accordingly.

The wind that is accompanied by fat causes a swelling that is painful, hard, and cold. The physician should properly treat it like a

<sup>258</sup> Refer to *Nidānasthāna* 1.88. V. S. Apte explains it as "swelling of the belly". P.V. Sharma has translated it as flatulence.

<sup>259</sup> We are unclear about its meaning. The vulgate has the reading अपतर्पण that means fasting.

<sup>260</sup> The entry फलवर्ति has the meaning "suppository" in the Sanskrit dictionary of Monier Williams. The Cambridge dictionary explains suppository as "a small, solid pill containing a drug that is put inside the anus, where it dissolves easily." Refer to the link https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/suppository. Last accessed 30-Oct-2023.

<sup>261</sup> Refer to *Nidānasthāna* 1.89. According to the Sanskrit dictionary of Monier Williams, it is a kind of tympanites or wind-dropsy.

<sup>262</sup> Refer to Nidānasthāna 1.90 and 1.91.

<sup>263</sup> In H, the reading लक्षणोन्याम् does not make sense. Hence I cannot translate it. Perhaps the correct reading could be लक्षणाभ्याञ्च. This would connect with the two conditions of the wind as stated in the verse.

- treating a swelling.
- When the wind accompanied by phlegm and fat enters the thighs, it causes pain in and immobility of the thighs due to numbness, pain, and fever.
- Also, the thighs become pained, stiff, cold, and do not quiver due to sleep. They become heavy and as if belonging to someone else.<sup>264</sup>
- That is called ūrūstambha. Others call it āḍhyavāta. In that case, one should drink the ṣandharaṇa powder with cool water.
- Similarly, consuming the powder of long pepper and other herbs with hot water is beneficial. Or else, one should consume the powder of triphalā with honey and ??.
- Or else, one should drink the best ?? or ?? with urine. Such a person cures the wind that is afflicted by phlegm and accompanied by fat, as well as heart disease, loss of appetite, gulma, and internal abscess.

One should employ salty urine [therapy], sudation, and hard rubbing. One should also apply [the paste of ] mustard and ?? fruits mixed with urine.<sup>265</sup>

One should eat old ??s, ??, ??, etc. along with uncooked<sup>266</sup> flesh of wild animals and unsalted vegetables that are beneficial.

When the phlegm and fat become amply reduced one should again employ the treatment of oil massage, etc. for the patient.

<sup>264</sup> In H, the verb वर्तते should have been in the dual. Also, the word आस्थिरौ does not make sense. The vulgate has the sensible reading अस्थिरौ which we have accepted here.

<sup>265</sup> The word दिहेत् in H is not a proper Sanskrit word. We have taken its proper form दिह्यात् as given in the vulgate.

<sup>266</sup> The vulgate has the reading अघृतैः that means without ghee.

# Cikitsāsthāna 15: On Difficult Delivery

#### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter on fetal malpresentation and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to  $2002.^{267}$  Das made observations about the afterbirth ( $apar\bar{a}$ ) that is mentioned in 4.15.17 (Su 1938: 432). Selby has explored gyencological narratives in ayurveda.  $^{269}$ 

## **Translation**

- 1 And now we shall explain the difficult delivery medically treated.
- Nothing else is more difficult than the extraction of a foetus since it has to be performed in the region of vagina, liver, spleen, intestines and the uterus. Actions like pushing up, pulling down, cutting off, incising, removing, pressing and straightening must be done using one hand, without hurting the foetus or the pregnant woman, Therefore, having considered that and obtaining permission, one should proceed with care.
- 4 Eight types of the positions of difficult foetus have earlier been mentioned briefly. Even if, in the natural birth process also the large / wrong way of the head, shoulders or hips of a foetus / child cling firmly in the passage.

<sup>268</sup> Das 2003: 517.

<sup>269</sup> Selby 2005*a*,*b*.

- 5 In the case of a live foetus, the delivering ladies should attempt to deliver it. And, during this process, they should be made to hear the sacred verses repeatedly meant for expulsion of a foetus.
  - 6 O beautiful woman, may the divine nectar and the moon and the sun and Uccaiśravas reside icumbhalakan your house.
  - 7 O lady, may this nectar extracted from the water release this tiny foetus of yours. May the fire, wind, sun and Indra together with the ocean bestow upon you the peace.
- And, as mentioned before (3.10.16-20) the medicine should be administered. In the case of a dead fetus, (the physician) having inserted (his) hand lubricated with the *dhanvaka*, *mṛttikā* – soil, the *śālmalī* - the seemul and ghee into the vagina of a woman lying on her back, whose thighs are bent with the elevated waist with the support of the cloth of *cumbhalaka* should take away the fetus. In the case, the fetus coming out with both the thighs, should be stretched out in a normal way. If the fetus has reached with only one thigh, spreading out its other thigh it should be taken out. If the fetus is coming out with its buttocks portion, squeezing the buttocks upward, spreading the thighs it should be taken out. A fetus having come in a transverse position like an oblique (तियेक्चीनस्य ?) iron club, lifting upward its half of the lower part from behind, straightening its half of the upper part, bringing it to the passage of vagina, it should be taken out. The last two positions of the dead fetus cannot be accomplished. Thus, in this state, instrument should be employed / surgery should be undertaken.
- But, the live fetus should not be torn apart in any case. As, the live fetus may kill the mother and self soon.
- Next, assuring safety to the lady, cutting the head of the fetus with the instrument that has disc on the top (मण्डलाग्र) or finger shaped instrument(अङ्गुलिशस्त्र); removing the skull, the fetus should be taken out holding the forceps at its chest and armpit. If the head of the fetus is not separated, the fetus should be drawn out from its orbital regions or cheek (with the forceps); if the shoulders are stuck up in the passage, the fetus should be taken out by cutting its arm / arms at the shoulder region; tearing the abdomen when bloated with wind just like a stretched leather bag used for holding water, casting off the intestine,



- the loosened fetus should be taken out. Or else, if its thighs are adhered to the passage, the bones of the thighs should be cut and fetus is removed.
- 13 The fetus is adhered to the passage from whichever its body part, the physician by separating that part should remove the fetus carefully and by all means the woman should be protected.
- For, irritated wind causes different movements of the fetus. In this situation, the wise physician should act intelligently.
- And, the learned physician should not delay even for moment in removing the dead fetus as it kills mother in no time like a breathless animal.
  - If impacted with hip, the hip bones should be cut and then delivered.



## Kalpasthāna 1: Protecting the King from Poison

### Introduction

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 follow: dry and dark look on the face, stuttering speech, excessive perspiration and yawning, trembling, stumbling, looking around while speaking, agitation while working, and not remaining in his place.<sup>270</sup>

Next, the text discusses the signs of poison in toothbrushes, in food, drink, massage oil and other items that are likely to come into physical contact with the king. In passages that are again paralleled in the *Arthaśāstra* the work describes how poisoned food kills insects and crackles in a fire, flashing blue and the reactions of various birds to poison are described.<sup>271</sup>

The work then moves on to the various symptoms experienced by the king after being poisoned, and remedies appropriate to each case. Poison

<sup>270</sup> *Arthaśāstra* 1.21.8 (Kangle 1969: 1, 30), translation by Olivelle (2013: 97). 271 Cf. *Arthaśāstra* 1.21.6, *ibid.*, Olivelle (2013: 96).

exhibits characteristic signs when added to milk and other drinks.<sup>272</sup> Further forms of poisoning, their symptoms and treatments are described and finally the king is advised to live amongst trusted friends and to protect his heart by drinking various ghee compounds. He should eat the meat and soup made from various animals, including peacock, mongoose, alligator, deer. The chapter ends with the description of an emetic.

### Literature

A brief survey of this chapter's contents and a detailed assessment of the existing research on it to 2002 was provided by Meulenbeld.<sup>273</sup> Translations of this chapter since Meulenbeld's listing have appeared by Wujastyk (2003*b*: 131–139), P. V. Sharma (1999–2001: 3, 1–15), and Srikantha Murthy (2000–02).<sup>274</sup>

## Manuscript notes

 MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 has foliation letter numerals, for example on f. 323a, that are similar to MS Cambridge Add. 1693,<sup>275</sup> dated to 1165 CE noted in Bendall's chart of Nepalese letter-numerals Bendall 1883: Lithograph V, after p. 225

<sup>272</sup> Cf. *Arthaśāstra* 1.21.6 again.

<sup>273</sup> HIML: IA, 289–290.

<sup>274</sup> For a bibliography of translations to 2002, including Latin (1847), English (1877), Gujarati (1963) and Japanese (1971), see HIML: IB, 314–315.
275 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.<sup>276</sup>

3 Divodāsa, the king of the earth, was the foremost supporter of religious discipline and virtue. With unblemished instruction he taught his students, of whom Suśruta was the leader.<sup>277</sup>

## [Threats to the king]

- 4–5 Evil-hearted enemies who have plucked up their courage, may seek to harm the king, who knows nothing of it. He may be assailed with poisons by or by his own people who have been subverted, wishing to pour the poison of their anger into any vulnerability they can find.<sup>278</sup>
  - 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.<sup>279</sup>
  - 276 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 Suśrutasamhitā as the teacher of Suśruta.
    - The mention of Dhanvantari here is the only other time in the Nepalese transmission that this authority is cited as the source of Ayurvedic teaching, and the unique occurrence of this actual phrase, "as was declared by the Venerable Dhanvantari." See the discussion by Klebanov (2021a: 28–32), who concludes that the earliest recoverable recension of the *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).
  - 277 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."
  - 278 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.
  - 279 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,<sup>280</sup> have clean utensils and be staffed by men and women who have been vetted.<sup>281</sup>
- 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. <sup>282</sup>
- 18cd–19ab An expert knows people's body language (*ingita*) through abnormalities in voice, movement and facial expression. He should be able to identify a poisoner by the following signs.

Cf. Arthaśāstra 1.21.8.

- Wanting to speak, he gets confused, when asked a question, he never arrives at an answer, and he talks a lot of confused nonsense, like a fool. He laughs for no reason, cracks his knuckles and scratches at the ground. He gets the shakes and glances nervously from one person to another. His face is drained of colour, he is grimy (*dhyāma*) and he cuts at things with his nails.<sup>283</sup> A poisoner goes the wrong way and is absent-minded.
  - I shall explain the signs to look for in toothbrush twigs, in food and drink as well as in massage oil (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)

<sup>280</sup> We read महच्छुचिः with the Nepalese manuscripts and against the vulgate's महच्छुचि. We understand शुचिस् as a neuter noun meaning "light" following Apte (Apte: 1050a).

<sup>281</sup> Verses detailing the ideal staff are omitted in the Nepalese manuscripts. Cf. Su 1938: 560; Wujastyk 2003*b*: 132.

<sup>282</sup> The word सौपोदनैकपूपिक "chefs for the boiled rice soups and cakes" is grammatically interesting. The term सूपोदन (as opposed to सूपोदन) is attested in the *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).

<sup>283</sup> 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.<sup>284</sup> It will excite a peacock and the terrified parakeet and the hill myna screech. The swan trembles very much, and the racket-tailed drongo churrs.<sup>285</sup> The chital deer sheds tears and the monkey releases excrement.<sup>286</sup>
- Vapour rising from tainted food gives rise to a pain in the heart, it makes the eyes roll, and it gives one a headache.<sup>287</sup>
- 35, 36cd In such a case, an errhine and a collyrium that are costus, ??, spikenard and honey (*madhus*);<sup>288</sup> a paste of sandalwood on the heart may also provide relief.<sup>289</sup>
  - 284 The verb अच्छेति "rises up" is a rare form best known from epic Sanskrit (see Oberlies 2003: 212, §7.6.1). The transmitted form क्रोञ्च is obviously a colloquial version of Sanskrit क्रोञ्च. 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 Kāṇyakubja. For क्रोञ्च he says that people pronounce it कुरञ्ज and कोंचि. The form कोञ्च is found in Pāli (see Cone 2001: 731, who notes that Ardhamāgadhī has the same form). Elsewhere, Dalhaṇa calls the bird क्रोञ्चिर, क्रोञ्च, and कैचर (1.46.105 (Su 1938: 223), 6.31.154 (Su 1938: 684) and (6.58.44 (Su 1938: 790) respectively).
  - 285 Dalhana seemed confused about the racket-tailed drongo (भृङ्गराज). He called it a generic drongo (भ्रमरक), a word that can also mean "bee," (Dave 1985: 62), and then said that it is like the black drongo (धूम्याट) (for a nice explanation of this name, see Dave 1985: 62–63) and that people call it "the king of birds."
  - 286 MS Kathmandu KL 699 reads "bull (বৃषभ)" 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.
  - 287 "Tainted" translates उपिक्षप्त. 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 भोक्तुं दत्तस्य), 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)."
  - 288 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.
  - 289 **sing-1972** discussed the difficulties in identifying लामज्ज, a plant cited more often in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* than in the *Carakasaṃhitā*; Dalhaṇa adopted the common view that

- 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 blue water-lily.<sup>290</sup>
- 38–39 If he eats that food, through inattention or by mistake, then his tongue will feel like a pebble  $(aṣṭh\bar{\imath}l\bar{a})$  and it will lose its sense of taste. It stings and burns, and his saliva  $(\acute{s}le\lq{s}man)$  dribbles out.<sup>291</sup> In such a case, he should apply the treatment recommended above for vapour  $(b\bar{a}\lq{s}pa)$ , and what will be stated below under "toothbrush twigs".<sup>292</sup>
  - On reaching his stomach, it causes stupor  $(m\bar{u}rcch\bar{a})$ , vomiting, the hair stands on end, there is distension, a burning feeling and an impairment of the senses.<sup>293</sup>
  - In this case, vomiting must quickly be induced using the fruits of emetic

- 290 "Beautyberry" (Callicarpa macrophylla Vahl.) is one identification of श्यामा, but vaidyas and commentators have different ideas about the plant's identity (see glossary). On translating इन्द्रगोप as "velvet-mite," see Lienhard 1978. Dalhana'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. Dalhana 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 गुडूची, 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).
- 291 The word সম্বীলা is normally feminine. The Nepalese manuscripts read it with a short अ- ending. Gayadāsa noticed that some manuscripts read সম্বীল with a short -अ ending (MS Bikaner RORI 5157, f. 5v:7–8) and Dalhaṇa reproduced his observation. The vulgate reading "from his mouth (चास्यात्)" is more obvious (lectio facilior), but is not attested in the Nepalese manuscripts.
- 292 Poisoned toothbrushes are discussed in verses 48 ff. below.
- 293 I translate मूर्च्छा in the light of the metaphors discussed by Meulenbeld (2011), that include thickening and losing consciousness.

it is 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."

nut, gourd, red gourd, and luffa, taken with milk and watered butter-milk, 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  $(d\bar{u}\bar{s}\bar{\imath}vi\bar{s}\bar{a}ri)$ ' should be drunk with honey and curds (dadhi).<sup>294</sup>
- 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.<sup>295</sup>
- Vegetables, soups, food and meat are soggy and tasteless. They seem to go stale suddenly, and they have no aroma.
- 47 All edibles lack aroma, colour or taste. Ripe fruits rapidly rot  $(pra\sqrt{kuth})$  and unripe ones ripen.<sup>296</sup>
- When a toothbrush twig has poison on it, the bristles are corroded and the flesh of the tongue, gums and lips swells up.<sup>297</sup>
- 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.<sup>298</sup>
- 50 Alternatively, the rubbing (*pratisāraṇa*) can be done with either the roots of sage-leaved alangium, the bark of blackboard tree or siris

I'm still unhappy about this

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

fn about

<sup>294</sup> The 'slow-acting poison' is discussed at 5.2.25 ff. (Su 1938: 565).

<sup>295</sup> Both Nepalese witnesses read विकृत (distorted) twice, which is tautologous. In the first occurrence both read विकृता without proper termination. One might read the sandhi in the second occurrence as or not distorted (vāvikṛtā), but this gives no better sense. The scribe of MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333, apparently the original hand, added in the margin the alternate reading "double (yamalā)" as in the vulgate. Perhaps the scribe too was troubled by the tautology. It is also evidence that he was aware of a witness with variant readings similar to the vulgate. We emend for grammar but retain the lectio difficilior.

<sup>296</sup> The root ्रकुथ् "stink, putrify, rot" is apparently known only from its few uses in the Suśrutasamhitā.

<sup>297</sup> Gayadāsa and Dalhana pointed out that "tooth socket (दन्तवेष्ट)" and "gum (दन्तमांस)" have the same meaning (2.16.14–26 (Su 1938: 331–332)).

<sup>298</sup> This recipe is different from the vulgate.

seeds.299

- 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 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.<sup>301</sup>
  - In the case of a dry rub (*utsādana*), a shower (*parīṣeka*), an infusion, a massage ointment (*anulepana*), or in beds, clothes, or armour, the physician should understand that it is the same as for oil massage (*abhy-aṅga*).<sup>302</sup>
- When a comb has poison in it, the hair falls out, the head aches and blood oozes from the follicles (*kha*) and lumps (*granthi*) appear on the head. In such a case, one should repeatedly apply an ointment of black earth soaked with bear's bile, <sup>303</sup> ghee, beautyberry,<sup>304</sup> 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.<sup>305</sup>

Bear's bile instead of deer's bile.

<sup>299</sup> The spelling of the name अङ्कोल varies अङ्कोट, अङ्कोठ, अङ्कोल (GVDB: 5); Dalhaṇa noted that the form अङ्कोल is a colloquialism (1.37.12 (Su 1938: 161)). The sentence is awkward and we have emended হিথিমামক to be a plural, as in the vulgate, rather than the ablative singular of the Nepalese witnesses. We follow Dalhaṇa in interpreting the compound to refer to the distinctive bean-like siris seeds, rather than to mung beans (5.1.50 (Su 1938: 562)).

<sup>300</sup> The feminine स्फोटा for "boils" is unattested.

<sup>301</sup> 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.

<sup>302</sup> See verse 52 above.

<sup>303</sup> Dalhaṇa comments here that 'bile is that fluid which goes along inside the tube attached to the liver' (कालखण्डलग्रनलिकामध्यगतजलं पित्तम्) 5.1.57 (Su 1938: 562).

<sup>304</sup> See note 290.

<sup>305</sup> The plant identifications in this passage follow Dalhana's glosses, although he noted

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).<sup>306</sup> In this case, the drink is honey and ghee, and the ointment (pralepa) is sandalwood with ghee, curds, honey, verbena, scarlet mallow and hogweed.<sup>307</sup>
- 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 (*liṅga*) 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 Him-

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.

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.

67–68 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

a difference of opinion on the identity of woodrose (lit. "mouse-ear").

punarṇṇavā in the N & K MSS

śrita for śrta

The expression धूमो वागारसंज्ञित: '...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 399, p. 123.

<sup>306</sup> See the description of this condition at 2.13.40 (Su1938:323), where the skin on the face is characterized as having pale circular patches that are itchy and have spots.

<sup>307</sup> The common plant-name पुनर्नवा is read as पुनर्णवा in both Nepalese witnesses. This unusual form is technically-speaking legal according to Pāṇini 8.4.3, but is not attested in published texts. पुनर्णवा 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 1920–25: 20, where it is the name of a constellation.

explain more

Medical difference from Sharma.

example where the vulgate clarifies that these should be used separately; appears to be a gloss inserted into the vulgate text.

The two uses of prāpta are hard to translate. prāptāḥ → kṣipram is an example of the vulgate banalizing the Sanskrii text to make sense of a diffi-

√ vyadh not √ vedh (also elsewhere and for the ears), causative optat-

cult passage.

- are also recommended as something good.<sup>308</sup>
- 69 When poison is mixed in with eye make-up (añjana), he gets tears and rheum (upadeha), with a burning feeling, pain, faulty vision (dṛṣtivibhrama), and possibly even blindness.<sup>309</sup>
- 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.
- 72–73 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 (spho!a) 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  $(avad\bar{a}rana)$ .<sup>310</sup>
  - One should apply the stated procedure for massage oil (*abhyaṅga*) to poisoned slippers and ornaments.
- 75cd–76 In the case of the affliction (*upasarga*) by poison which has been described above, starting from 'vapour' and ending with 'ornaments,' the physician should observe the side-effects (*upadrava*) and then prescribe the therapy called the Great Fragrance (*mahāsugandha*) antidote, which I shall describe.<sup>311</sup>
- 77–78ab He should prescribe it in drinks, liniments (*ālepana*), errhines (*nasya*), and in eye ointment (*añjana*). 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.<sup>312</sup>

<sup>308</sup> The syntax of the Nepalese version is slightly unclear, but the vulgate has smoothed out the difficulties.

<sup>309</sup> The term translated as "faulty vision" could also mean "rolling eyes." "Eye make-up" is normally made of Indian barberry.

<sup>310</sup> The reading अवदारुण in MS Kathmandu KL 699 is not attested elsewhere in Sanskrit literature. On "sepsis" for पाक, see Wujastyk 2003b: xlv–xlvi.

<sup>311</sup> 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.

<sup>312</sup> In early Ayurvedic literature, the plant अजरुहा is mentioned only here and its identity

79cd–80 He should always guard his heart when amongst people who are not his friends.<sup>313</sup> Before eating, he should drink the kinds of ghee called "Invincible" and "Immortal".<sup>314</sup> He should drink ghee (*sarpiṣ*), honey, curds (*dadhi*), milk (*payas*), or cold water.

- 81 He should consume monitor lizard, peacock, mongoose, chital deer, and blackbuck too, that destroy poison, and their juices.
- 82 As discerning person should add well-crushed black creeper,<sup>315</sup> liquorice, and sugar to the meats of monitor 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.<sup>316</sup>
  - 85 If poison might have been drunk, a person who has protected his heart should make himself vomit using long pepper, liquorice, honey, sugar, sugar cane juice, and water.

The first chapter in the Kalpas.

is unknown. It may be a fern of the Nephrodium family, according to T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB:7). Dalhana, on 5.1.78 (Su 1938: 563), cited a description of the two plants from the little-known authority Usanas (HIML: IA, 660 et passim) who described अजरहा 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.

<sup>313</sup> The Carakasaṃhitā described "protecting the heart" (हृदयावरण) as drinking several sweet, oily drinks to surround the heart and keep it safe (6.23.46 (Ca 1941: 574)). Dalhaṇa on 5.1.79–81 (Su 1938: 563) explained it as taking a number of anti-toxic medicines, including those listed in the present passage, in order to cover or hide (प्रच्छादन) the heart. Note that the Nepalese version reads the opposite of the vulgate: one should guard one's heart when amongst enemies, not friends. This is far more logical; it is also the reading known to the 1.8.89a (As 1980: 79).

<sup>314</sup> These ghee compounds are described in later chapters: see 5.2.47–49 (Su 1938: 566) and 5.6.13 (Su 1938: 581).

<sup>315</sup> Dalhana on 5.1.82 (Su 1938: 563) equated this with turpeth.

<sup>316</sup> On this expression, see Yagi 1994.

## Kalpasthāna 2: Poisonous Plants

#### 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.<sup>317</sup>

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.<sup>318</sup> 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.<sup>319</sup>

<sup>317</sup> After *Suśrutasaṃhitā, kalpasthāna* 2.5 (Su 1938: 564). From the view of Sanskrit authors, Kirāṭas and Śabaras were tribal peoples. The eleventh-century author Bhikṣu Govinda, however, cast his treatise as a dialogue with a Kirāṭa king called Madana who was a master of the alchemical art (HIML: IIA, 620).

<sup>318</sup> See Wujastyk 2003*b*: 80–81.

<sup>319</sup> Valuable reference sources on Indian plant toxicology in general include Pillay 2013: chs. 10, 11 and Barceloux 2008: parts 1.II, 3 and 4.

## Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>320</sup>

## **Translation**

- 1 And now I shall explain what should be known about stationary poisons.<sup>321</sup>
- 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  $(k \circ \bar{\imath} ra)$ , pith  $(s \bar{\imath} ra)$ , resin  $(niry \bar{\imath} sa)$ , the elements  $(dh \bar{\imath} tu)$ , and the tuber.
- 5 In that context,
  - the eight root-poisons are:322
    - 1. liquorice (?),323
    - 2. sweet-scented oleander,<sup>324</sup>
    - 3. jequirity,<sup>325</sup>
    - 4. false daisy,<sup>326</sup>

- 321 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.
- 322 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).
- 323 Liquorice eaten in excess can be poisonous, but it is unlikely to be the plant intended here. T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 124) noted that the poisonous root mentioned in this passage, "remains to be identified."
- 324 The roots of sweet-scented oleander are highly toxic, as are most parts of the plant (Pillay and Sasidharan 2019).
- 325 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.
- 326 The plant is usually called just *bhaṅgurā* without the prefix *su-* "good." However, there is no reported toxicity associated with *E. prostrata*. The vulgate reads सुगन्धा (snakeroot).

<sup>320</sup> HIML: IA, 290-291.

- 5. (?),<sup>327</sup> and ending with
- $6. ??.^{328}$
- 7. country sarsaparilla (?),<sup>329</sup> and
- 8. medhshingi,<sup>330</sup>
- the leaf-poisons include:
  - aconite leaf (?),
  - drum-giver (?),
  - thorn apple, and
  - big thorn apple;
- the fruits of items like: jequirity, marking-nut tree, and poison-altar (?) are
  - kumudavati (kumadavati)<sup>i</sup>,
  - renuka (?)<sup>ii</sup>,
  - kurūkaka (?)iii,
  - 'little bamboo' (venuka) iv, 331,
- 327 This poisonous root cannot at present be securely identified. Similar-sounding candidates include <code>karkaṭaka</code>, <code>karahāṭa</code> (emetic nut), and <code>karaghāṭa</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.
- 328 The roots of both rose and white leadwort are very toxic.
- 329 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.
- 330 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 (**mchu-2021a**; Meulenbeld 1989; Wujastyk 2002). 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.
- 331 Not poisonous.

i unknown; see?

ii ?; see Piper aurantiacum Wall. (NK: #1924) is not poisonous.

iii ?; see?

iv Bambusa bambos, Druce?; see NK #307

- thorn apple  $(karambha)^{v}$ ,
- 'big thorn apple' (mahākarambha)vi,
- 'pleaser' (nandanā) vii,
- 'crow' (kāka)<sup>viii</sup>,
- the flower-poisons include those of:
  - rattan (vetra)<sup>ix</sup>,
  - wild chinchona (kādamba)<sup>x</sup>,
  - black pepper  $(vall\bar{\imath}ja \rightarrow marica)^{xi}$ ,
  - thorn apple (karambha)xii, and
  - big thorn apple (mahākarambha)<sup>xiii</sup>;
- the seven bark, pith  $(s\bar{a}ra)$  and resin  $(niry\bar{a}sa)$  poisons are:
  - 'gutboiler' (antrapācaka) xiv,
  - 'blade' (kartarīya)<sup>xv</sup>,
  - wild mustard (saurīyaka)<sup>xvi</sup>,
  - emetic nut  $(karagh\bar{a}ța \rightarrow karah\bar{a}ta? \rightarrow madana)^{xvii}$ ,
  - thorn apple (*karambha*)<sup>xviii</sup>,
  - wild asparagus (*nandana*  $\rightarrow$  *bahuputrā*?)<sup>xix</sup>, and

v Datura metel, L.; see AVS 2.305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī), NK #796 ff., Potter 292 f., ADPS 132.

vi Datura metel, L.?; see AVS 2.305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī), NK #796 ff., Potter 292 f., ADPS 132.

vii ?; see?

viii ?; see ?

ix Calamus rotang, L.; see AVS 1.330, NK #413

x Anthocephalus cadamba, Miq.; see NK #204

xi Piper nigrum, L.?; see NK #1929; Rā.6.115, Dha.4.85, Dha.2.88

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.

xiv unknown; see?

xv unknown; see?

xvi Cleome viscosa, L.? (cf. Rā.4.144); see AVS 2.116, NK #615

xvii Randia dumetorum, Lamk.; see NK #2091

xviiiDatura metel, L.; see AVS 2.305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī), NK #796 ff., Potter 292 f., ADPS 132.

xix Asparagus racemosus, Willd.; see ADPS 441, AVS 1.218, NK #264, IGP 103, IMP 4.2499ff., Dymock 482ff.

- munj grass (*nārācaka*)<sup>xx</sup>;<sup>332</sup>
- the three milky sap  $(k \sin a)$ -poisons are:
  - purple calotropis ( $kumudaghn\bar{\iota} \rightarrow arka?$ )<sup>xxi</sup>,<sup>333</sup>
  - oleander spurge (*snuhī*)<sup>xxii</sup>, and
  - 'web-milk' (jālakṣīri)<sup>xxiii</sup>;
- the two element  $(dh\bar{a}tu)$ -poisons are:
  - 'foam-stone' (phenāśma) xxiv, and
  - orpiment (haritāla) xxv;334
- the thirteen tuber-poisons are:
  - jequirity (*kālakūta*)<sup>xxvi</sup>,<sup>335</sup>
  - wolfsbane (vatsanābha)\*\*xvii,

- 333 The name of this poison, kumuda-ghnī, means 'lotus killer'. In Sanskrit literature, the kumuda lotus is associated with the moon, since it blossoms by night. Since the sun causes this lotus to close, it is therefore an 'enemy' of the lotus. One of the chief words for the sun, arka, is also the name of Calotropis gigantea, which indeed has a milky juice which is a violent purgative, poison and abortifacient.
- 334 Dutt (Dutt: 38–42) conjectured that 'foam-stone' may be impure white arsenic obtained by roasting orpiment.
- 335 The much later (perhaps sixteenth century) alchemical *Rasaratnasamuccaya* of pseudo-Vāgbhaṭa (21.14) says that the *kālakūṭa* poison, here translated as 'jequirity', is similar to '*kākacañcu*' or 'Crow's Beak', which is indeed a name for the plant jequirity or *Abrus precatorius*, L., more commonly called *guñjā* (not to be confused with *gañjā*). The black seed-pod is described as having a 'sharp deflexed beak' in botanical descriptions, so the Sanskrit name is quite graphic and appropriate. The poisonous scarlet seeds of *A. precatorius* can have a distinct black dot or tip, which could perhaps be translated '*kāla-kūṭa*', or 'Black Tip'.

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

```
xx Saccharum bengalense, Retz.?; see NK #2184
xxi Calotropis gigantea, (L.) R. Br.; see ADPS 52, AVS 1.341, NK #427, Potter 63
xxii Euphorbia neriifolia, L., or E. antiquorum, L.; see ADPS 448, AVS (2.388), 3.1, NK
#988, IGP 457b
xxiiiunknown; see ?
xxivunknown; see ?
xxv Arsenii trisulphidum; see NK v. 2, p. 20 ff.
xxviAbrus precatorius, L.? Cf. RRS 21.14.; see AVS 1.10, NK #6, Potter 168.
xxviAconitum napellus, L.; see AVS 1.47, NK #42, Potter 4 f.
```

<sup>332</sup> The bark of wild asparagus (Asparagus racemosus, Willd.) is toxic.

- Indian mustard (sarṣapa) xxviii
- leadwort  $(p\bar{a}laka \rightarrow citraka)^{xxix}$ ,
- 'muddy' (kardama)<sup>xxx</sup>, the
- 'Virāṭa's plant' (vairāṭaka)xxxi,
- nutgrass (*mustaka*)<sup>xxxii</sup>,
- atis root (śṛṅgīviṣa) xxxiii
- sacred lotus (prapuṇḍarīka) xxxiv,
- radish (mūlaka)<sup>xxxv</sup>,
- 'alas, alas' (hālāhala) xxxvi,
- 'big poison' (mahāviṣa)xxxvii, and
- galls (karkaṭa) xxxviii.336

Thus, there are fifty-five stationary poisons.

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

## The effects of poisons

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

```
xxviBrassica juncea, Czern. & Coss.; see AVS 1.301, NK #378
xxixPlumbago zeylanica (indica? rosea?), L.; see Rā. 6.124, ADPS 119, NK #1966, 1967
xxx unknown; see ?
xxxiunknown; see ?
xxxiCyperus rotundus, L.; see ADPS 316, AVS 2.296, NK #782
xxxiAconitum heterophyllum, Wall. ex Royle; see AVS 1.42, NK #39
xxxiNelumbo nucifera, Gaertn.; see Dutt 110, NK #1698
xxxRaphanus sativus, L.; see NK #2098
xxxuinknown; see Cf. Soḍhalanighantu p.43 (sub bola) = stomaka = vatsanābha
xxxuinknown; see ?
xxxVBius succedanea, L.; see NK #2136
```

<sup>336</sup> Leadwort root is a powerful poison. Nutgrass is tuberous, but non-toxic. Atis has highly toxic tuberous roots. Neither sacred lotus nor galls are toxic. The 'alas, alas' poison (\$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). KEWA: iii.585 also cites a claim for an Austro-Asiatic origin for the word.

writhing, and wheezing (śvāsa).

Fruit-poisons cause swelling of the scrotum, a burning feeling and writhing. Flower-poisons will cause vomiting, distension ( $\bar{a}dhm\bar{a}na$ ) and sleep ( $sv\bar{a}pa$ ).

The consumption of poisons from bark, pith  $(s\bar{a}ra)$  and resin  $(niry\bar{a}sa)$  will cause foul breath, hoarseness  $(p\bar{a}ru\bar{s}ya)$ , a headache, and a discharge of phlegm (kapha).<sup>337</sup>

The milky sap  $(k \circ \bar{\imath} ra)$ -poisons make one froth at the mouth, cause loose stool, and make the tongue feel heavy.<sup>338</sup> The element  $(dh \bar{a} tu)$ -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  $(k\bar{a}lak\bar{u}\!\!\!/ta)^{xxxix}$ , there is numbness and very severe trembling. With wolfsbane  $(vatsan\bar{a}bha)^{xl}$ , there is rigidity of the neck, and the faeces, and urine become yellow.

With sārṣapa  $(s\bar{a}rṣapa)$ ,<sup>339</sup> 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  $(p\bar{a}laka \rightarrow citraka)^{xli}$ , there is weakness in the neck, and speech gets jumbled.<sup>340</sup>

<sup>337</sup> At 1.2.6 (Su 1938: 11), Palhaṇa glosses hoarseness (*pāruṣya*) as *vāgrūkṣatā*, "a rough, dry voice."

<sup>338</sup> At 6.54.10 (Su 1938: 773), Dalhaṇa glosses loose stool (viḍbheda) as dravapurīṣatā, "having liquid stool."

<sup>339</sup> 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.

<sup>340</sup> The verse in the Nepalese version ends with a plural verb that does not agree with the dual of the sentence subject.

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

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

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

With the one called 'muddy'  $(kardama)^{xlii}$ , there is a discharge (praseka), the faeces pour out, and the eyes turn yellow. The 'Virāṭa's plant'  $(vairāṭaka)^{xliii}$  causes pain in the body and illness in the head. Paralysis of one's arms and legs and trembling are said to be caused by mustaka  $(mustaka)^{.341}$ 

- With great aconite ( $mah\bar{a}vi$ ;a) one's limbs grow weak, there is a burning feeling and swelling of the belly.<sup>342</sup>
- 16a With puṇḍarīka (puṇḍarīka), one's eyes go red, and one's belly becomes distended.<sup>343</sup>
- 16b With mūlaka ( $m\bar{u}$ laka), one's body is drained of colour and the limbs are paralysed.<sup>344</sup>
- 17a With hālāhala (*Aconite*), a man turns a dark colour (*dhyāma*), and gasps.<sup>345</sup>
- 17b With atis root  $(\dot{s}\dot{r}\dot{n}g\bar{\imath}v\dot{\imath}\dot{s}a)^{xliv}$ , one gets violent knots (granthi) and stabbing pains in the heart.<sup>346</sup>
- 18a With markaṭa (monkey), one leaps up, laughs, and bites. 347
  - 341 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.
  - 342 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.
  - 343 The word puṇḍarīka very commonly means sacred lotus, Nelumbo nucifera, Gaertn. The entire plant is edible and cannot be the poison intended here. T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 252) noted that this poison is unidentified and that it is also listed as a poison in Carakasaṇḥitāci.23.12.
  - 344 The word *mūlaka* very commonly means the radish, *Raphanus sativus*, L. The root is edible and cannot be the poison intended here. T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 317) noted that this poison is unidentified.
  - 345 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.
  - 346 T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 407) noted that *vatsanābha* and *śṛṅgīviṣa* are two different varieties of poisonous Aconites that are difficult to distinguish.
  - 347 T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 299) said of markaṭa, "an unidentified vegetable

xlii unknown; see?

xliii unknown; see?

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

-> ativișa

Look up the ca. reference.

18b-19a Experts have said that one should know that the thirteen highly potent tuber-poisons, which are mentioned here, have ten qualities (guṇa).

19b-20a The ten are:

- dry (rūkṣa),
- hot,
- sharp,
- rarified (*sūkṣma*),
- fast-acting,
- pervasive (*vyavāyin*),
- expansive (vikāsin),
- limpid (viśada),
- light, and
- indigestible.
- 20b Because of dryness, it may cause inflammation of the wind; because of heat it inflames the choler and blood. Because of the sharpness it unhinges the mind, and it cuts through the connections with the sensitive points (*marman*). Because it is rarified it can infiltrate and distort the parts of the body.<sup>348</sup>
- Because it is fast-acting it kills quickly, and because of its pervasiveness it affects one's whole physical constitution (prakrti).<sup>349</sup> 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

poison." Cf. Suvedī and Tīvārī 2000: v.36 for synonyms that lead to the non-toxic jujube tree.

<sup>348</sup> We read the active *vikaroti* with Dalhana against the transmitted passive *vikriyeta*, since it must be the parts of the body that are distorted, not the poison.

<sup>349</sup> Dalhaṇa on 5.2.22 (Su 1938: 565) explained this as "takes the form of pervading the whole body (akhiladehavyāptirūpam)."

- by itself,<sup>350</sup> becomes a slow-acting poison  $(d\bar{u}s\bar{t}visa)$ .<sup>351</sup> 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.
- 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.<sup>352</sup>
- 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.<sup>353</sup> and it rapidly becomes inflamed on days that are nasty because of cold and wind.
- Listen to its initial symptoms (*liṅga*): it causes heaviness due to sleep, yawning, disjunction (*viśleṣa*) and horripilation (*harṣa*) and a bruising of the limbs (*aṅgamarda*).<sup>354</sup> Next, it causes intoxication from food (*annamada*) and indigestion, loss of appetite (*arocaka*), the condition of having a skin disease (*koṭha*) with round blotches (*maṇḍala*),<sup>355</sup> dwindling away (*kṣaya*) of flesh, swelling of the feet, hands, and face, the fever called *pralepaka*, vomiting and diarrhoea.<sup>356</sup> The slow-acting poison might cause wheezing, thirst and fever, and it might also cause distension of the abdomen.
  - These various disorders are of many different types: one poison may produce madness, while another one may cause constipation  $(\bar{a}n\bar{a}ha)$ , and yet another may ruin the semen. One may cause emaciation, while

<sup>350</sup> Palhana specified that this refers to the ten qualities that are mentioned above (5.2.26 (Su 1938: 565)).

<sup>351</sup> Dalhana cited this verse at 1.46.83 (Su 1938: 222) while explaining dūṣīviṣa.

<sup>352</sup> Similar symptoms of slow-acting poison are described at 2.7.11–13 (Su 1938: 296) in the context of contamination dropsy (*duṣyodara*). This this may explain why the vulgate inserted reference to this disease at this point.

<sup>353</sup> The expression *ayathāyathoktān* "stated to be unsuitable" is hard to understand here, but is clearly transmitted in the Nepalese version.

<sup>354</sup> Palhaṇa 5.2.30ab (Su 1938: 565) glossed "disjunction" as the loss of function of the joints in regard to movement.

<sup>355</sup> The last ailment could perhaps be ringworm.

<sup>356</sup> The *pralepaka* fever was described by Dalhana, at 6.39.52 (Su 1938: 675), as an accumulation of phlegm in the joints. Its symptoms are described in 6.39.54

- another pallid skin disease (kuṣṭha).
- Something is "corrupted" by repetitively keeping to bad locations, times, foods, and sleeping in the daytime. Or, traditionally, "corrupting poison" (slow-acting poison  $(d\bar{u}s\bar{\imath}-visa)$ ) is so called because it may corrupt  $(d\bar{u}sayet)$  the body tissue  $(dh\bar{a}tu)s$ .

#### 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  $(\dot{sula})$  in the stomach  $(\bar{a}m\bar{a}\dot{s}aya)$ , 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.<sup>357</sup>

#### Remedies for the stages of slow poisoning

- In the first shock of the poison, the physician should make the man, who has vomited and been sprinkled with cold water, drink an antidote (agada) mixed with with honey and ghee.
- In the second, he should make the man who has vomited and been purged drink as before;

<sup>357</sup> 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).

- on the third, drink an antidote and a beneficial nasal medicine (nasya) as well as an eye salve ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ).
- In the fourth, the physician should make him drink an antidote that is salt with a little oil.<sup>358</sup>
- In the fifth, he should be prescribed the antidote together with a decoction (*kvātha*) of honey and liquorice.
  - In the sixth, the cure (*siddhi*) is the same as for diarrhoea. And in the seventh, he perishes.<sup>359</sup>
- In between any one of these shocks, once the above treatment has been done, he should give the patient the following cold gruel  $(yav\bar{a}g\bar{u})$  together with ghee and honey, that will take away the poison.
- 45–46 A gruel  $(yav\bar{a}g\bar{u})$  made of the following items in a stewed juice  $(ni\hbar k v\bar{a}tha)$  destroys the two poisons: luffa gourd, 360 wild celery, 361 velvet-leaf, sunflower, 362 heart-leaved moonseed, myrobalan siris, and selu
  - 358 At 6.52.30 (Su 1938: 769) Dalhana noted that *sindhu* can be interpreted as salt (*saindhava*).
  - 359 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 अवसीदेत् 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 ( $k\bar{a}kapada$ ) 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  $Su\acute{s}rutasam\dot{n}hit\bar{a}$  from the  $Carakasam\dot{n}hit\bar{a}$  6.23.66–67 (Ca 1941: 574).
  - 360 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.
  - 361 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.
  - 362 At 5.2.45 (Su 1938: 566) Dalhaṇa said that this plant has leaves like the *paṭola*, pointed gourd, T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 280, 443) argued plausibly that this is a syn-

plum, white siris, the two kinds of turmeric,<sup>363</sup> and the two kinds of poison berry,<sup>364</sup> hogweed, peas, the three heating spices, the two kinds of Indian sarsaparilla<sup>365</sup> and blue water-lily.

onym for *arkapuṣpī*, panacea twiner, as Þalhaṇa also stated in 1.45.120 (Su 1938: 206), and the leaves of Holostemma and Trichosanthes are indeed strikingly similar. The appearance of the plant, a creeper with sun-like flowers, fits the name. But there remains much controversy about the identities of these candidates (e.g., ADPS: 195–198).

<sup>363</sup> I.e., turmeric and Indian barberry.

<sup>364</sup> I.e., poison berry and yellow-berried nightshade.

<sup>365</sup> 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, blue water-lily, sugar, embelia, sandalwood, cassia cinnamon, beautyberry, rosha grass, the two turmerics,<sup>366</sup> the two Indian nightshades,<sup>367</sup> the two kinds of Indian sarsaparilla,<sup>368</sup> beggarweed, and heart-leaf sida.

## Curing the 'slow-acting' poison

- 50–52 Someone suffering from "slow-acting poison  $(d\bar{u}s\bar{i}visa)$ " should be well sweated, and purged both top and bottom. Then he should be made to drink the following eminent antidote which removes "slow-acting poison:"
  - Take long pepper, rosha grass, spikenard, lodh tree, cardamom, natron, scented pavonia, red chalk, as well as gold, and pondweed.
  - This antitoxin, taken with honey, eliminates slow-acting poison. It is called the "enemy of slow-acting poison  $(d\bar{u}_{\bar{s}\bar{l}vi\bar{s}\bar{a}ri})$ ," and it is not prohibited in other situations.
- If there are any other side-effects (*upadrava*), such as fever, a burning feeling, hiccups, constipation (*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.

<sup>366</sup> I.e., turmeric and Indian barberry.

<sup>367</sup> I.e., poison berry and yellow-berried nightshade.

<sup>368</sup> I.e., country sarsaparilla and black creeper.

## Kalpasthāna 3: Poisonous Insects and Animals

### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>369</sup>

#### **Translation**

- 1 And now we shall explain the rule (*kalpa*) that is the required know-ledge about mobile poisons.<sup>370</sup>
- The full explanation about the sixteen carriers (adhiṣṭhāna) of the mobile poisons, that have been mentioned by me in brief, will be stated.<sup>371</sup>
- 4 In that context, they are:<sup>372</sup>
  - gaze and breath,
  - teeth, nails, and bites
  - urine and faeces,
  - menstrual blood,

- semen,
- tail.
- contact with saliva,
- nipping with the mouth

369 HIML: IA, 291–292.

Come back to the issue of "kalpa". Look up passages in the Kośa.

<sup>370</sup> In contrast to stationary, plant poisons. No reference is made to Dhanvantari (see Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. 2021).

<sup>371 &</sup>quot;Carrier" for base, foundation (*adhiṣṭhāna*) aims to capture the idea that the author will describe the creatures in which poisons inhere.

<sup>372</sup> 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.

<sup>373</sup> This interpretation comes from Dalhana on 5.3.4 (Su 1938: 567), but he reads विशिधित.

(mukhasaṃdaṃśā),

- fart (avaśardhita),<sup>373</sup>
- anus,<sup>374</sup>
- bones,

- bile,
- bristles ( $\sin ka$ ), and
- corpses.

#### 5 In that context,

location of the poison	creatures <sup>375</sup>
in their breath and gaze	divine snakes
in their fangs	the ones on earth <sup>376</sup>
in their nails, mouths and fangs	cats, dogs, monkeys, men (nara), <sup>377</sup> crocodiles, frogs, 'cook-fish' (pākamatsya), <sup>378</sup> monitor lizards, cone snails (śambūka), 'poisonous snakes' (pracalāka), <sup>379</sup> geckos (gṛhagoḍikā), <sup>380</sup> 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

<sup>374</sup> Dalhaṇa on 5.3.4 (Su 1938: 567) noted this reading.

<sup>375</sup> Many of these names are mere dubious placeholders.

<sup>376</sup> Dalhaṇa on 5.3.5 (Su 1938: 567) cited the otherwise unknown authority Sāvitra on the topic of poisonous snakes (HIML: ???, ???).

<sup>377</sup> Probably dittography from the previous word, monkey ( $v\bar{a}nara$ ). But it is supported in both Nepalese witnesses, so it must go back to an earlier exemplar.

<sup>378</sup> 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)).

<sup>379</sup> *Arthaśāstra* 14.1.14, 23 (Olivelle 2013: 448), where it might also be a chameleon, but the latter are not venomous.

<sup>380</sup> 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*).

1 (.1	
location of the poison	creatures
in their stings (śūla)	scorpions, 'earth scorpions' (viśvambhara), wasps (varaki), <sup>381</sup> 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' ( <i>citraśīrṣa</i> ), 'lids' ( <i>śārava</i> ), 'bellied' ( <i>kukṣita</i> ), 'wood-enemies' ( <i>dārukāri</i> ), 'liquors' ( <i>medaka</i> ), and 'darts' ( <i>śārikā</i> ).

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.<sup>382</sup> It is covered with froth and covered with streaks. The frogs and fish die, the birds are crazed and, along with the wetland creatures, they wander about aimlessly.
- 8 Men, horses and elephants who swim in it experience vomiting, delusion, fever, swelling and sharp pains.<sup>383</sup> He should try to purify that

<sup>381</sup> 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."

<sup>382</sup> अस normally means "tears," but rarely means "blood."

<sup>383</sup> On the polysemy of elephant/snake ( $n\bar{a}ga$ ), see Semeka-Pankratov 1979.

- 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.
- 10–11 And in the same way, putting a handful of the ash in a pot, one may also purify water that one wants.

  If any one of the limbs of cows, horses, elephants, men or women, touch a place on the ground that enemies have spoiled with poison, or a ford or rock or a flat surface, then it swells up and burns and its hair and nails fall out on that place.<sup>384</sup>
  - In that situation, he should grind up country sarsaparilla together with all the aromatic items, with alcoholic drinks. And then he should sprinkle the paths that need to be used with waters mixed with mud.<sup>385</sup> And if there exists another path, he should go by that.<sup>386</sup>
  - 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 minerals<sup>387</sup> together with gold and sarsaparilla, and a portion of of nutgrass equal to that,

<sup>384 &</sup>quot;Swells up" translates an unclear reading that was probably शूयित, which may be an irregular form of  $\sqrt{2}$ , श्वा, श्वि (see Whitney 1885: 175–176).

<sup>385</sup> Our "alcoholic drinks" translates सुरा. For a discussion of this term at our period see mchu-2021a.

<sup>386</sup> 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."

<sup>387 &</sup>quot;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 सुतारः, 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<sub>Dict</sub>: 5, 233) and the word पारद 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).

together with the bile called "brown cow".<sup>388</sup> 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.<sup>389</sup>
- 17 The smoke and air can be purified by putting into the air: lac, turmeric, Himalayan monkshood, and myrobalan, with Himalayan mayapple, costus, cardamom,<sup>390</sup> and peas, and beautyberry.

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.<sup>391</sup>
- 19 Pitiless Fury took a body and burst out of the mouth of furious Brahmā's store of fiery energy.<sup>392</sup>
- 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  $(vi \not= a\bar{d}a)$  of the Daityas. Observing that, it was named "poison  $(vi \not= a)$ " because of it's ability to produce a "sinking down."
- 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,

<sup>388</sup> सुरेन्द्रगोप and कुरुविन्द are both uncertain, see index. Dalhaṇa's opinion has been followed here, but it seems fair to say that all commentators were guessing.

<sup>389</sup> The syntax of this verse is somewhat loose; the vulgate has regularized it, smoothing out the difficulties.

<sup>390</sup> 

<sup>391</sup> 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.

<sup>392 &</sup>quot;Fury" is here anthropomorphised.

- whatever substance a poison reaches, it establishes itself there and by its nature it takes on that substance's savour.<sup>393</sup>
- 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.<sup>394</sup>
- 27 Breathing is obstructed because its pathway is blocked by phlegm. Even if life continues, a man remains without consciousness.
- 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 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.<sup>395</sup>
- 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.
- thaving come upon a body,<sup>396</sup> 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.
  - <sup>1</sup> [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.] <sup>397</sup>

<sup>393</sup> The scribal emendation in MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 of नियच्छित to निगच्छित suggests that the scribe had more than one manuscript before him, one of them representing the reading of the vulgate recension.

<sup>394</sup> Probably a reference to the five breaths. Dalhana referred to winds (বার), but this does not seem correct since it is a reference to humours rather than breaths.

<sup>395</sup> The verb पठ् "is declared, read aloud" here could possibly suggest that the author is working within a written, not oral, tradition.

<sup>396 &</sup>quot;Having come upon" translates प्रख्याप्य, which is hard to interpret unless it is a rare form connected with the sense "to see."

<sup>397</sup>  $M\bar{a}dhavanid\bar{a}na$ , 69.20–21 (MN $_1$ : 480) has verses that are directly parallel to this section:

darvīkarāṇāṃ viṣam āsughāti sarvāṇi coṣṇe dviguṇībhavanti ajīrṇapittātapapīḍiteṣu bāleṣu

35.3 tWhen, in a wound, the poison that is connected with these qualities runs, ...Therefore, not everything that is damaged by poison and eaten causes death.

398

- [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 (*gṛhadhūma*) with wind,<sup>399</sup> and who vomits foam, as "someone who has drunk poison."
  - 37 Therefore, fire burns a heart that is pervaded by poison. For, having pervaded of its own accord the location of consciousness, it abides.<sup>400</sup>

## 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, 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

vrddheşu bubhukşiteşu 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 <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code> at this point. This suggests that Mādhavakara (fl. ca. 700, Bengal) knew and used the Nepalese version.

- 398 At this point, witness H inserts a marginal Indravajrā verse about diseases that afflict immoral women.
- 399 মূহ খুম is not a plant in this context *pace* MW: 362. See the discussion in note 305, p. 99. 400 Dalhaṇa 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.
- 401 याम्ये means "southerly" but Dalhana on 5.3.38 (Su 1938: 570) interpreted it as "in Yama's direction" as "under the seventh asterism."

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

- 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,<sup>402</sup> 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,<sup>403</sup>
  - 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.<sup>404</sup>

<sup>402</sup> Dalhaṇa, on 5.3.40 (Su 1938: 570), glossed लताभिस् "by means of whips," as "when the body is struck by whips."

<sup>403</sup> nāsāvasāda & plural sakanthabhangāh

<sup>404</sup> 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:¶6.3.3 "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 + अनिपातः.

## Kalpasthāna 4: Snakes and Invenomation

#### Introduction

The fourth chapter of the Kalpasthāna of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* addresses the topic of snake bites and snake venom. Unusually for the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, the discussion is framed as a question from Suśruta to the wise Dhanvantari. Suśruta's questions are about the number of snakes, how they are classified, the symptoms of their bites and the pulses or stages of toxic shock experienced by a victim of snakebite and related topics. The taxonomy of snakes is presented in tabular form in Figures 1 and 2.<sup>405</sup>

## 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.<sup>406</sup> There also exists an substantial herpetological literature from colonial India as well as more recent studies of snakes in the context of cultural and religious life.

The ophiological literature of the colonial period began in the late nineteenth century with the work of Fayrer, whose publication included striking colour paintings of snakes.<sup>407</sup> Fayrer provided a biological taxonomy

<sup>405</sup> On the idea of notational variants in scientific translation, see Elshakry 2008; Sarukkai 2016; Wujastyk 2021*a*: 81–83.

<sup>406</sup> HIML: IA, 292–294. In addition to the translations mentioned by Meulenbeld (HIML: IB, 314–315), a translation of this chapter was included in P. V. Sharma 1999–2001: 3, 35–45.

<sup>407</sup> Fayrer 1874, first published in 1872.

of snakes as well as chapters on mortality statistics during the nineteenth century, treatment and effects of poison, and experimental data. Ewart (1878) included descriptions of appearance and behaviour of poisonous snakes and sometimes their local names and reproducing Fayrer's illustrations. Wall (1913: 75–124) provided a useful analysis of the medical effects of snake envenomation in India arranged by the varied symptomology of different snakes. He also discussed the difference between the symptoms of toxicity and fright (69–75) and also the difficulties arising out of uncertainty about the effects of snake-bite (124–126). The *Suśrutas-aṃhitā* too recognized the emotional and somatic effects of fright (see note 420 below). Wall (1921) provided a wealth of detail of the snakes of Sri Lanka, including line drawings.

Doniger (2015) provided a good survey of snakes as protagonists in religious literature from the *Atharvaveda* through the epics, *Purāṇas* and Buddhist literature. Semeka-Pankratov (1979) traced semiotics of the term *nāga* through Vedic, Pali and Sanskrit literature. Slouber (2016: 31–33 *et passim*) discussed the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*'s *Kalpasthāna* as a precursor and influence on later Tantric traditions of snake-bite interpretation and therapy. In particular, the Tantric *Kriyākālaguṇottara* text that Slouber presented divided snakes into two basic categories, divine and mundane, as the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* does.<sup>409</sup> But unlike the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, in the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* the chief taxonomic principle for both groups is the four *varṇas*.

A discussion of this chapter specifically in the light of the Nepalese manuscripts was published by Harimoto.<sup>410</sup> 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.<sup>411</sup>

<sup>408</sup> Calling his work a supplement to Fayrer (1874), but also being cited by Fayrer, Ewart 1878 evidently also collected local indigenous knowledge from his "snakeman" (p. 22).

<sup>409</sup> Slouber 2016: 144-145.

<sup>410</sup> Harimoto 2011: 101–104.

<sup>411</sup> The two editions that Harimoto noted, Su 1938 and Su 1889, present identical texts.

## **Translation**

1 Now we shall explain the procedure (*kalpa*) about what should be known concerning the venom in those who have been bitten by snakes.<sup>412</sup>

- 3 Suśruta, grasping his feet, questions the wise Dhanvantari, the expert in all the sciences.
- 4 "My Lord, please speak about the number of snakes, and their divisions, the symptoms of someone who has been bitten, and the knowledge about the successive shocks (*vega*) of poisoning".<sup>413</sup>
- 5 On hearing his query, that distinguished physician spoke. "The venerable snakes such as Vāsukī and Takṣaka are uncountable.
- 6–9ab "They are snake-lords who support the earth, as bright as the ritual fire, ceaselessly roaring, raining and scorching. They hold up the earth, with its oceans, mountains and continents. If they are angered, they can destroy the whole world with a breath and a look. Honour to them. They have no role here in medicine.
  - "The ones that I shall enumerate in due order are those mundane ones with poison in their fangs who bite humans.<sup>414</sup>
- 9cd–10 "There are eighty kinds of snakes and they are divided in five ways: Darvīkaras, Maṇḍalins, Rājīmats, and Nirviṣas. And Vaikarañjas that are traditionally of three kinds.<sup>415</sup>
  - "Of those, there are twenty and six hooded snakes, and the same number of Mandalins are known. There are thirteen Rājīmats. 416

412 The Sarvāṅgasundarī, commenting on 1.16.17 (Ah 1939: 246), glossed कल्प as प्रयोग.

- 414 The next few verses are discussed in detail by Harimoto (2011: 101–104), who shows that in the taxonomy of snakes, the Nepalese version of the  $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$  has greater internal coherence than the vulgate recension.
- 415 Harimoto (2011) translated these names as "hooded," "spotted," "striped," "harmless," and "hybrid." Figure 1 shows the taxonomy described in the vulgate text; Figure 2 shows the different and more logical division of the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.
- 416 The phrasing of this śloka is awkward.

<sup>413</sup> The expression "successive shocks" translates वेग, which is other contexts may mean "(natural) urge." Here, it is rather the discrete stages or phases of physiological reaction to envenomation. Cf. the symptoms of cobra poisoning described by Wall (1913: 80).

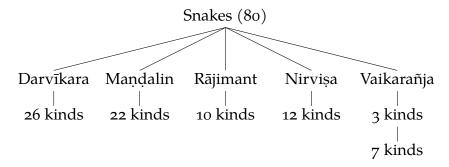


Figure 1: The taxonomy of snakes in the vulgate, 5.4.9–13ab (Su 1938: 571).

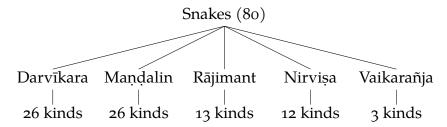


Figure 2: The taxonomy of snakes in the Nepalese version.

- "There are said to be twelve Niriviṣas and, according to tradition, three Vaikarañjas.
- "If they are trodden on, ill-natured or provoked or even just looking for food, those very angry snakes will bite. And that is said to happen in three ways: serpented (*sarpita*), torn (*darita*) and thirdly without venom (*nirviṣa*). Some experts on this want to add "hurt by the snake's body".<sup>417</sup>
  - 15–16 "The physician can recognize the following as "ophidian (*sarpita*)": Where a rearing snake makes one, two or more puncture-marks of its teeth, when they are deep and without much blood,<sup>418</sup> accompanied

<sup>417</sup> This might refer to constriction. The phrase reads like a commentarial addition rather than the main text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

<sup>418</sup> The word उद्भूत "aroused" was glossed by Dalhaṇa at 5.4.15 (Su 1938: 571) as उन्मोट्य, a word not found as such in standard dictionaries (MW; KEWA; AyMahā; Apte). Semantic considerations suggest that the word is not related to √muṭ "break" or mūta/mūṭa "woven basket." Perhaps it is related to the Tamil போடி (mōṭi,) whose meanings include "arrogance, grandeur, display" (DED₂: #5133) or to faintly-documented forms like moṭyate "is twisted" (CDIAL: #10186). Dalhaṇa's उन्मोट्य may thus mean "twisting up" or "making an arrogant display."

by a little ring of spots (cuñcumālaka), 419 lead to degeneration, and are close together and swollen.

17 Where there are streaks with blood, whether it be blue or white, the grammar physican should recognize that to be "torn (darita)," having a small amount of venom.



- 18 The physician can recognize the locations of the bites of a person in a normal state as being free from poison, when the location is not swollen, and there is little corrupted blood.
- The wind of a timid person who has been touched by a snake can get irritated by fear. It causes swelling. 420 That is "hurt by a snake's body."
- 20 Locations bitten by sick or frightened snakes are known to have little poison. Similarly, a site bitten by very young or old snakes has little poison.
- 21 Poison does not progress in a place frequented by eagles, <sup>421</sup> gods, holy sages, spirits, and saints, or in places full of herbs that destroy poison.<sup>422</sup>

Note that पद "puncture-mark" (more literally, "footprint") is being used in the same sense as in 1.13.19 (Su 1938: 57) when describing the marks on the body where a knife scarifies the skin before leeching. See footnote 48.

- 419 The usual dictionary lexeme is অস্থ্য , not चुञ्च as in the Nepalese witnesses. We translate "spots" following Dalhana and Gayadasa on 5.4.15 (Su 1938: 571), where they described a group of spots or swellings at the site of the bite. On the history of the word मालक, see Kieffer-Pülz 1996.
- 420 Wall (1913: 69) remarked on the difficulty of separating toxicity symptoms from the psychosomatic effects of terror:

The gravity of symptoms due to fright does not appear to me to be sufficiently recognised, though there is no doubt in my mind that fatal cases from this cause are abundant, especially among the timid natives of this country.

Wall went on to give several case studies in which patients experienced syncope or even died as a result of bites from toxicologically harmless creatures.

421 Dalhana on 5.4.21 (Su 1938: 571) identified the सुपर्ण as a गरुड. On the bird called सु-पर्ण, Dave (1985: 72 ff, 514) too noted that it may be a synonym for Garuda, and in some contexts may refer to the Golden Eagle, Golden Oriole, Lammergeyer, etc. Dave (1985: 199 ff, 492) noted again that the Garuda is a mythical bird but may refer to the Himalayan Golden Eagle and other species of eagle. He pointed out that historically, The original physical basis for गरुड as the नागाशी (snake-eater) was most probably the Sea-Eagle who picks up sea-snakes from the sea or sand-beach and devours them on a nearby tree... (Dave 1985: 201).

Dave continued with interesting reference to Śrīharṣa's Nāgānanda.

422 For "spirits" the Nepalese version has भूत while the vulgate reads यक्ष.

## [Types of snake]

- 22 Darvīkara snakes are know to have hoods, to move rapidly, and to have rings, ploughs, umbrellas, crosses, and hooks on them.
- Maṇḍalin snakes are known for being large and slow-moving. They are decorated with many kinds of circles. They are like a flaming fire because of their poisons.
- Rājimant snakes are smooth and traditionally said to be, as it were, mottled with multicoloured streaks across and above.

#### [Classes of snake]

- Snakes that are shine like pearls and silver, and that are amber and that shine like gold, and smell sweet are traditionally thought of as being of the Brāhmana caste.
- Warrior snakes, however, are those that look glossy and get very angry. The have the mark of the sun, the moon, the earth, an umbrella and bitumen.
- 27 Merchant snakes may traditionally be black, shine like diamond or have a red colour or be grey like pigeons.
- Any snakes that are coloured like a buffalo and a tiger, with rough skin and different colours are known as servants.<sup>423</sup>
- All snakes that are variegated (Rājīmats) move about during the first watch of the night. The rest, on the other hand, the Maṇḍalins and the Darvīkaras, are diurnal.<sup>424</sup>
- 29 Wind is irritated by all hooded snakes; bile by Maṇḍalins and phlegm by those with many stripes.
- Because of the two classes having greater, lesser or equal class, there is the characteristic of irritating two humours.

  And he will explain the opposing view that is to be known as a result

of the non-union of a male and female.<sup>425</sup>

- 423 Presumably "different" from the earlier-mentioned castes.

  The sequence of the following three verses is slightly different from the vulgate (5.4.29–31 (Su 1938: 572)).
- 424 The readings of the vulgate, that Rājīmats are active in the early night, the Maṇḍalins in the later night, and Darvīkaras in the day, seem clearer.
- 425 The sense of the last phrase here is quite different from the vulgate, which says only that "details" will be explained below.

#### [Enumeration of snakes]

The Black snake (kṛṣṇasarpa); (mahāpadma); The Big Black (mahākṛṣṇa); The Grass Flower (apuspa); 16. The Black Belly (krsnodara); The Curd Mouth 17. (dadhimukha); The All Black (sarvakṛṣṇa);<sup>426</sup> 4. The White Pigeon 18. The Lotus Mouth 5. (śvetakapota);427 (pundarīkamukha); The Rain Cloud (valāhako); The Brown Hut Mouth 19. The Great Snake (babhrūkutīmukha); (mahāsarpa); The Variegated (*vicitra*); 20. The Conch Keeper The Flower Sprinkle Beauty (puspābhikīrnnābha); (śamkhapāla); The Red Eye (lohitākṣa); The Mountain Snake 9. 22. The Gavedhuka (gavedhuka); (girisarpa); 10. The Snake Around The Straight Snake 11. 23. (parisarpa); (rjusarpa); The Break Hood The White Rip (*śvetadara*); 12. 24.

25.

26.

- (khaṇḍaphaṇa);
- 13. The Kūkuṭa (kūkuṭa);
- 14. The Lotus (padma);
- 15. The Great Lotus

## 34.2 Here are the Mandalins

- 1. The Mirror Ring (ādarśamaṇḍala);
- 2. The White Ring (śvetamaṇḍala);
- 3. The Red Ring (raktamaṇḍala);
- 4. The Speckled (*pṛṣata*);5. The Gift of God (*devadinna*);
- 6. The Gitt of God (weenming),
- 6. The Pilindaka (*pilindaka*);
- 7. The Big Cow Snout (vṛddhagonasa);
- 8. The Jackfruit (panasaka);

- 9. The Big Jackfruit (mahāpanasaka);
- 10. The Bamboo Leaf (veṇupatraka);
- 11. The Kid (*śiśuka*);
- 12. The Intoxicator (*madanaka*);

The Big Head (mahāśīrṣa);

The Hungry Sting (alagarda);

- 13. The Morning Glory (pālindaka);
- 14. The Stretch (tantuka);
- 15. The Pale as a Flower (puṣpapāṇḍu);

<sup>426</sup> Not in vulgate.

<sup>427</sup> The vulgate adds The Big Pigeon (mahākapota).

- The Six Part (sadanga); 16. The Hand Decoration 22. The Flame (agnika); (hastābharaṇaka); 17. The Tatra (tatra);<sup>428</sup> The Brown (babhru); 18. 23. The Ochre (kaṣāya); The Mark (citraka); 19. 24. The Khalusa (*khalusa*); The Deer Foot (enīpada).429 20. 25. The Pigeon (pārāvata); 21. Here are the Rājīmats.<sup>430</sup> 34.3 The Lotus (pundarīka); The Grass Drier (*tṛṇaśoṣaka*); The Stripe Speckle (*rājicitra*); 8. The White Jaw (svetahanu); The Finger Stripe (angulirāji); The Grass Flower 3. The Two Finger Stripe (darbhapuspa);<sup>431</sup> (dvyangulirāji); The Red Eye (lohitāksa);432 10. The Drop Stripe (bindurāji); The Ringed (cakraka); The Mud (*kardama*); The Worm Eater (kikkisāda); 12. Here are the Nirvisas. The Rain Cloud (valāhako);<sup>433</sup> The Two-day (dvyāhika); Thei Snake Flag (ahipatāka); The Milk Flower The White Leaf (*śukapatra*); (kṣīrikāpuṣpa); 3. The Goat Swallower The Flower All (puspasakalī); 10. (ajagara); The Chariot of Light 11. The Stimulator (*dīpyaka*); (jyotīratha); The Ilikinī (*ilikinī*); The Little Tree (vrksaka); 12. The Year-Snake (varsāhīka);
- The Vaikarañjas originate out of contrary unions amongst the three colours. Thus:
  - ı. The Mākuli (*mākuli*);



<sup>428</sup> This seems implausible, but otherwise the list of Mandalins would be short.

<sup>429</sup> The list is short by one item. Perhaps the one of the snakes named in the vulgate, *citramaṇḍala, gonasa* or *piṅgala*, should be considered here.

<sup>430</sup> The following list is one item short. The vulgate text, however, has several names that do not appear in the Nepalese Rājīmat list, for example Sarṣapaka and Godhūmaka.

<sup>431</sup> Also in the Darvīkara list.

<sup>432</sup> Also in the Darvīkara list.

<sup>433</sup> Also in the Darvīkara list.

<sup>434</sup> The word *varṇa* in this chapter normally means "colour" not "class." ("Class is expressed by "jāti.") While *kṛṣṇasarpa* is clearly a colour-type, it is less obvious that *gonasī* is a special colour, and *rājimat* is a group of snakes.

- 2. The Poṭa Throat (poṭagala);
- 3. The Oil Stripe (*snigdharāji*);

Amongst those, the Mākuli (*mākuli*); is born when a male Black Snake mates with a female Cow Snout (*gonasa*), or the reverse. The Poṭa Throat (*poṭagala*) is born when a male Rājila mates with a female Cow Snout (*gonasa*) or the reverse. The Oily Stripe (*snigdharāji*) is born when a male Black Snake mates with a female Rājimat, or the reverse. Their poison is like that of their father, because it is the superior one out of the two; but others say it is like the mother. Thus eighty of these snakes have been described.

- Amongst them, males have large eyes, tongues and heads. 435 Females have small eyes, tongues and heads. Neuters have both characteristics, and are slow to exert themselves or be angry. 436
- In that context we shall give instruction in a general way about the sign of having been bitten by any of the snakes.

For what reason?

Because poison acts quickly, like a fire with an oblation, a honed sword, or a thunderbolt.<sup>437</sup> And ignored for even a period of time, it can drag the patient away. There is not even an opportunity to follow the literature.<sup>438</sup>

And when the symptom of being bitten is stated, there will be three ways of treating it because there are three kinds of snake. Therefore we shall explain it in three ways. "For this is good for people who are ill, and it removes confusion and in this very case it prevents all symptoms".<sup>439</sup>

<sup>435</sup> The vulgate includes the snake's mouth in this and the next list.

<sup>436</sup> The reading मन्दचेष्टाक्रोधा is an awkward compound; possibly the original reading was मन्दचेष्टाः + अक्रोधा and sandhi was applied twice.

<sup>437</sup> Perhaps the image suggested by "a fire with an oblation" is that of the Pravargya, in which a large flame rises suddenly from the ritual fire.

<sup>438</sup> The idea seems to be that there is no time to consult the verbose āyurvedic teachings. The "extensive meaning of the collection of statements (वाक्समूहार्थविस्तार)" is singled out as one of Āyurveda's virtues in 5.8.142 (Su 1938: 594). Alternatively, perhaps the patient is unable to understand what the doctor is saying to him.

<sup>439</sup> In the next passage, the symptoms of snake poisoning are indeed explained under three headings.

## [Symptoms of snakebite]

In this context, the poison of a Darvīkara causes the skin, nails, eyes, mouth, urine, feces, and the bitemark to be black; there is driness, the joints hurt and the head feels heavy; the waist, back and neck feel weak; there is yawning, the voice becomes faint, there is gurgling, paralysis, dry throat, cough, wheezing, and hiccups; the wind goes upwards, the patient convulses with sharp pain, black saliva dribbles out, foam appears, the ducts (*srotas*) are blocked and every kind of pain that is due to wind.

The poison of a Maṇḍalin causes the skin, nails, eyes, teeth, mouth, urine, feces, bitemark to be yellow; there is a desire for cold, a temperature, giving off fumes,<sup>440</sup> a burning feeling, thirst, intoxication, fainting, fever, haemorrhaging (śonitāgamana), and the degeneration of the flesh and fat above and below. There is swelling, suppuration of the bite, metamorphopsia (viparītadarśana), anger caused by the suffering, and every kind of pain that is due to bile.<sup>441</sup>

The poison of a Rājīmat causes the skin, nails, eyes, teeth, mouth, urine, feces, and bitemark to be pale; there is a cold fever, the hair stands on end, there is stiffness and swelling of the limbs including the site of the bite. There is a discharge of viscous phlegm, vomiting, itchy eyes, and a rattling sound. The breath is obstructed and there is every kind of pain due to phlegm.

In that context, "someone bitten by a male gazes upwards, by a female horizontally, and by a neuter, downwards." One bitten by a pregnant snake has a pale face and becomes swollen (ādhmāta). One bitten by a recently-delivered snake is afflicted with abdominal pain and urinates with blood. One bitten by a hungry snake craves food. Those bitten by an old snake have delayed and slow reactions. And those bitten by a young snake are fast and sharp. One bitten by a non-venomous snake

<sup>440</sup> The term "giving of fumes (परिधूपायन)" is not in MW: 596 as such, although परिधूपन, परिधूपन and परिधूपायन are cited and referred to the Suśrutasaṃhitā. "Giving off fumes (परिधूपन)" is listed at Suśrutasaṃhitā 2.6.13 (Su 1938: 291) amongst the symptoms of urinary disease caused by phlegm. The editors note a variant reading परिधूपायन but do not tell us in which manuscript (Su 1938: 291, n. 3). Dalhaṇa on 2.6.13 (Su 1938: 292) glossed परिधूपन as "hot all over (समन्ततस्तापः)" and in our current passage as "hot over the whole body (सर्वाङ्गसन्तापः)" (Su 1938: 573). See also AyMahā: 1, 429: धूमायन "अङ्गानां धूमोद्गमनमिव" citing the Suśrutasaṃhitā.

<sup>441</sup> Ghosh et al. (2023) describes visual disturbances due to snake envenomation.

has the characteristic marks of non-poisoning. Some say that one bitten by a blind snake becomes blind. A constrictor (*ajagara*) is deadly because it swallows, not because of poison.

In that context, all snake toxins have seven toxic impulses (*viṣavega*). Thus, at the first pulse of the Darvīkaras the poison corrupts the blood. That corrupted blood turns black. Because of that there is blackness.

That corrupted blood turns black. Because of that, there is blackness and a feeling develops of ants crawling about on the body.

In the second pulse, it corrupts the flesh. That causes lumps having extreme blackness.

In the third, it corrupts the fat. That causes a discharge at the bite, heaviness of the head and a seizure of the eyes.<sup>442</sup>

In the fourth, it penetrates the trunk of the body (*koṣṭha*). From there, it irritates the humors, particularly phlegm. That causes exhaustion and oozing phlegm, and dislocation of the joints.

In the fifth pulse, it penetrates the bones. That causes breaking of the joints, hiccups and burning.

In the sixth pulse, it penetrates the marrow. That causes humours in the seat of fire in the gut  $(grahan\bar{\iota})$ , heaviness of the limbs, diarrhoea, pain in the heart and fainting.<sup>443</sup>

In the seventh, it penetrates the semen and greatly irritates the vyāna breath (vyāna), and causes the phlegm (kapha) to run imperceptibly out of the tubes (srotas). That causes the appearence of mucous (śleṣman), breaking of the hips, back and shoulders, impediment to all movements and shortness of breath.

Thus, at the first pulse of the Mandalins, the poison corrupts the blood. Corrupted by that, it turns yellow. That causes a yellow appearence and a feeling of heat all over (*paridāha*).

In the second pulse, it corrupts the flesh. And that causes the limbs to be very yellow and an extreme feeling of heat all over  $(parid\bar{a}ha)$ , and swelling at the bite.

In the third, it corrupts the fat. That causes a discharge at the black bite and sweating.

In the fourth, it penetrates as before and brings on fever.

<sup>442</sup> Dalhana on 5.4.39 (Su 1938: 574) glossed the last expression as "blocking the vision (दृष्ट्यवरोध)."

<sup>443</sup> The "seat of fire in the gut (মहणी)" is an ayurvedic organ in the digestive tract that does not correspond to any specific organ known to contemporary anatomy. For discussion, see AyMahā: v. 1, 304; Meulenbeld 1974b: 619; Das 2003: 544–545.

In the fifth, it causes heat in all the limbs. In the sixth and seventh, it is the same as before.



# Uttaratantra 17: Preventing Diseases of the Pupil

#### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>444</sup>

The history of couching in India has been discussed since the nineteenth century,  $^{445}$ 

## **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  $(dh\bar{\imath}madarsin)$ ".<sup>446</sup>
- 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

<sup>444</sup> HIML: IA, 305-306.

<sup>445</sup> Scott 1817; Breton 1826; Jack 1884; Hendley 1895; Elliot 1918; Śāstrī 1940; V. Deshpande 1999; 2000; Wujastyk 2003*b*; Fan 2005; Leffler et al. 2020.

<sup>446</sup> 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.

where is cutting with a knife related to removing bile or phlegm. crucible (*puṭapāka*), together with an eyewash (*tarpaṇa*),<sup>447</sup> but not cutting with a blade (*śastrakṣata*).<sup>448</sup>

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;
- Cow's flesh (*gomāṃsa*), black pepper (*marica*), siris (*śirīṣa*) and red arsenic (*manaḥśilā*);
- stalk (*vṛnta*) from a wood apple (*kapittha*) with honey (*madhu*);<sup>449</sup>
- or the the fruits of the velvet bean (*svayaṃgupta*).
- 8 The physician should make a collyrium with ground up metal (kupyaka),<sup>450</sup> Asoka tree (aśoka), Sal tree (śālā), mango (amra), beautyberry (priyaṃgu), Indian lotus (nalina), blue lotus (utpala), together with hareṇu (hareṇu), emblic (āmalaka), myrobalan (pathyā), long pepper (pippali). It should be combined with ghee and honey (kṣaudra).
- 9–10 Also, when bile and phlegm have developed, the physician should apply harenu (*harenu*) with the expressed juice (*svarasa*) of the flowers from mango (*amra*) and Jambu (*jambū*) trees.

  Then this collusium, matured (*sviralsya*) with ghos and honey (*ksaudra*)

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 ( $gu\rlap/qik\bar{a}$ ). This is good for both day and night blindness.
- 11cd–12ab Elixir-salve ( $ras\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$ ), honey (kṣaudra), ghee, scramberry ( $t\bar{a}l\bar{i}\acute{s}a$ ), together with gold and ochre, with the juice of cow-dung ( $go\acute{s}akrt$ ) are for

maṣī burned charcoal. Find refs.

<sup>447</sup> These therapies are described in SS.6.18 (Su 1938: 633–640).

<sup>448</sup> Dalhaṇa interpreted this as blood-letting (*sirāvedha*), which is discussed in SS.1.14 (Su 1938).

<sup>449</sup> Wood apple (कपित्थ) in this verse is ablative singular or accusative plural, neither of which construe obviously.

<sup>450</sup> A metal other than gold or silver, according to V. Jośī and N. H. Jośī (AyMahā: 1.217). Perhaps lead, which is used in making contemporary collyrium.

- an eye afflicted with bile.
- Alternatively, wise physician should first grind together elixir-salve  $(\hat{sita})$  and stibnite  $(sauv\bar{t}raka)$ , infused  $(bh\bar{a}vita)$  with the blood of birds and animals (rasa). Then he mixes it with the bile of a tortoise or with extract of rohu carp (rauhita). It should always be used with powdered collyrium to quell the bile.
  - Thus, a collyrium of white teak ( $k\bar{a}r\acute{s}mar\bar{\imath}$ ) flowers, liquorice (madhuka), tree turmeric ( $d\bar{a}rv\bar{\imath}$ ), lodh tree (lodhra) and elixir salve ( $ras\bar{a}\~njana$ ) is always good as a collyrium in this case.
  - Alternatively, for those who cannot see during the day, this pill  $(gudik\bar{a})$ , with sandalwood, is recommended: salt  $(nad\bar{\imath}ja)$ , conch shell and the three spices, collyrium, realgar  $(mana\dot{n}\dot{s}il\bar{a})$ , the two turmerics  $(rajana)^{452}$  and liver extract  $(yakrdrasa)^{.453}$
  - One should grind up kohl (*srotoja*),<sup>454</sup> and Sind salt (*saindhava*) and long pepper and also harenu (*harenu*). Such wicks with goats urine are good in a collyrium for night blindness (*kṣaṇadāndhya*).
- Alternatively, in such a case, grind together Indian sarsaparilla  $(k\bar{a}l\bar{a}nus\bar{a}riva)^{455}$  long pepper, dried ginger  $(n\bar{a}gara)$  and honey, the leaf of the scramberry  $(t\bar{a}l\bar{i}\acute{a}apatra)$ , the two turmerics (rajana), a conch shell and liver extract (yakrdrasa). Then shade-dried wicks take away illness (ruj).
- 18cd–19ab Wicks made of red arsenic ( $mana h sil \bar{a}$ ), chebulic myrobalan ( $abhay \bar{a}$ ), the three spices (vyo sa). Indian sarsaparilla ( $s\bar{a}riva$ ), cuttlefish bone (samudraphena), combined with goat's milk are good.
- One should cook a honey collyrium ( $k = audr \bar{a} \bar{n} = audr \bar{a} = audr \bar$

<sup>451</sup> This was Palhaṇa's preferred interpretation of rasa "juice" in this context. He also noted that some take elixir-salve ( $\hat{s\bar{\imath}}ta$ ) to be camphor.

<sup>452</sup> 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.

<sup>453</sup> This verse appears as no. 27 in the vulgate.

<sup>454</sup> Glossed by Palhaṇa as a kind of collyrium. Cf. **nadk-1954** and P. V. Sharma 1982: 197–198

<sup>455</sup> 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.

- should be mixed with cow urine, ghee and cuttle fish  $(arṇavamala)^{456}$  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 liver, together with liver extract, is good for eyes afflicted by phlegm.<sup>457</sup>
  - 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.<sup>458</sup>
- As is well known, there are six diseases that can be alleviated (*yāpya*); in those cases (*tatra*) one should release the blood by bloodletting. And for the sake of wellbeing one should also purge using aged ghee combined (*upahita*) with purgative aids (*aṅga*).
  - When an eye-disease is caused by wind (*pavanodbhava*) they say that castor oil (*pañcāṅgulataila*) mixed with milk is good.<sup>459</sup> In the case of diseases of blood (*śonita*) and bile (*pitta*), one should drink ghee with the three fruits; it is particularly cleansing.<sup>460</sup> In the case of phlegm,

<sup>456</sup> At SS 6.12.31, Dalhaṇa glossed *arṇavamala* as cuttlefish bone (*samudraphena*). It may be worth considering whether the unusual term *arṇavamala* "ocean-filth" might refer to ambergris.

<sup>457</sup> On the identities of <code>elā</code> and <code>hareṇu</code>, Watt (Watt\_Comm: 511 ff) described the former as "true" or "lesser" or "Malabar" cardamom, <code>Elettaria</code> cardamomum, Maton & White. In contrast, the "greater" cardamom is <code>Amomum</code> subulatum (that Watt discussed on p. 65) that is commonly used as an inferior substitute for <code>E. cardamomum</code>. T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 467 f) 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 <code>Dalhaṇa</code> described it as aromatic and identical to <code>renukā</code> (SS.ci.2.75).

<sup>458</sup> We read the locative as if an instrumental; if the locative were intended then it would be the spit that would be coated with oil and ghee.

<sup>459</sup> Dalhaṇa said that the unexpressed topic of this recipe is partial blindness (*timira*). 460 Blood-bile (*śonita-pitta, rakta-pitta*) is a widely-recognized disease in ayurveda, but

- a purgative by means of turpeth (*trivṛt*) is recommended. In the case of all three humours, sandal (*sugandhi*) in oil is prepared with it (turpeth).<sup>461</sup>
- In cases of partial blindness (*timira*), aged ghee is recommended. It is good if it is kept in an iron vessel.
- One should know that ghee with the three mylobalans is always good, and it is made with what is called periploca of the woods (meṣaviṣāṇa). A man who is suffering from partial blindess should lick the finely-ground three fruits mixed with ghee off his hand (sapāṇa). 462
  - 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.
    - 31 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). 463
      - Ghee which has been extracted from milk cooked with the meat of aquatic creatures and those from marshlands should be prescribed.
    - tAn enclosed roasting (puṭākhya) with Sindh salt and the product of the meat of a carnivore (kravyabhuj) and a deer (eṇa), is combined with honey and ghee.<sup>464</sup>

the compound here is definitely dual, which rules out that interpretation. One would expect blood-bile because the previous verse

The term 'enclosed roasting' (puṭapāka) does occur in the Suśrutasaṃhitā in the

<sup>461</sup> The expression "the fragrant one in oil (*tailasugandhi*)" is puzzling. The word *sugandhi* has different referents in the *Nighaṇṭu* literature but is not common as a noun in the extant literature. "Sandal" is just one of its possible meanings.

<sup>462 &</sup>quot;Off his hand" translates the adverbial *sapāṇam*, an unusual word. Dalhaṇa reproduced a reading close to the Nepalese recension but says that Jejjaṭa rejects it and so he also does (Su 1938: 627).

<sup>463 &</sup>quot;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.

<sup>464</sup> Palhaṇa noted (Su 1938: 628a) that puṭāhvaya (see verse 35 below) is a synonym for puṭapāka, and that the process is described in the Kriyākalpa chapter, i.e., SS.6.18.33–38 (Su 1938: 635). On the puṭa process in the Suśrutasaṃhitā, which is earlier and different than that of rasaśāstra literature, see the discussion by Wujastyk (2019: 83):

- 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. †465
- Having prepared (*niṣevita*) a collyrium made of kohl (*srotas*) and gradually combine it with juices (*rasa*), milk and ghee. 466

  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  $(k \bar{s}araka)$  and Sindh salt (saindhava) that has been repeatedly prepared with the mouth of a black snake, is good in the case of bloodshot blindness  $(r\bar{a}gin\ timira)$ .
- 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*).<sup>468</sup>
- 36 And realgar (*manaḥśilā*) mixed with elixir salve (*rasāñjana*) and honey is a liquid collyrium (*dravāñjana*) which is, in this case, combined with mahua (*madhūka*).<sup>469</sup>
  - Alternatively, experts on this say that finely ground blue vitriol (*tuttha*) extracted from a gold mine is the "same collyrium (*samāñjana*)".<sup>470</sup>

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.

- 465 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.
- 466 Palhana specified that the juices are meat soups of various animals (Su 1938: 628).
- 467 Dalhana described this blindness as a type of *kāca* disease caused by wind (Su 1938: 628). 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.
- 468 The expression taken hot (puṭāhvaya) is a guess.
- 469 The expression liquid collyrium (*dravāñjana*) is only known from <code>Dalhaṇa's</code> comments on 6.17.11ab (Su 1938: 626). The recipe in the present collyrium is different from that discussed by <code>Dalhaṇa</code>.
- 470 On *tuttha*, which may also be identified with zinc oxide or as crushed sea-urchin shells, see Falk (1991: 112 ff.); zinc oxide is a component of skin-balms but is not recommended for application in the eyes themselves. The expression "same collyrium (*samāñjana*)" is a hapax legomenon glossed inexplicably by Dalhaṇa as "a collyrium with an equal amount of fermented barley" (*tulyasauvīrāñjana*) (Su 1938: 628).

Conch mixed with equal parts of sheep's horn and stibnite (añjana) removes the impurity of the glassy opacity ( $k\bar{a}ca$ ) because of the application of collyrium (añjana).471

- The extracts (rasa) produced from aflame of the forest (palāśa), Rohīta tree (rohīta),<sup>472</sup> mahua (madhūka), ground with the supernatant layer (agra) of the spirits (madira) is applied.
- 38 Alternatively, one should cook an errhine with cuscus grass (uśīra), lodh tree (lodhra), the three fruits (triphalā), beauty berry (priyangu) to pacify eye diseases caused by phlegm.<sup>473</sup>
  - 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 (*uśīra*) alone.
- 39 A ghee that is cooked (bhāvita) from a decoction of a non-flowering tree (vanaspati)<sup>474</sup> as well as turmeric (haridrā) and spikenard (nalada) is good in a eyewash (tarpaṇa).
  - Alternatively, one may have an enclosed roasting (puṭapāka) done with arid-land animals (jāngala)475 and a plentiful amount of long pepper (*māgadha*), Sindh salt and honey.
- 40 A treatment (*kriyā*) with realgar (*manahśilā*), the three spices, conch, honey, along with Sindh salt, green vitriol (kāsīsa) and elixir salve  $(ras\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana).476$ 
  - They say that an elixir salve (rasānjana) combined with myrobalans, treacle and dried ginger is good.<sup>477</sup>
- 41 Alternatively, a collyrium that has been prepared many times in the eight types of urine<sup>478</sup> is put into water with the three fruits. Having find ref.

<sup>471</sup> The ablative "from collyrium" is hard to construe, but Dalhana used this term and phrase in his commentary on 6.17.41ab (Su 1938: 629).

<sup>472</sup> Probably Soymida febrifuga A. Juss.

<sup>473</sup> Dalhana invoked a general rule (paribhāṣā) to indicate that this mixture should be cooked with sesame oil.

<sup>474</sup> These are fig trees. The Sauśrutanighantu (252) specifies the Udumbara. Cf. the classification in CS.1.1.71–72, 1.8, *et passim*.

<sup>475</sup> On this term, see SS.1.35.42 (Su 1938:157) and the discussion by Zimmermann (1999: 25-31).

<sup>476</sup> Dalhana glossed treatment (kriyā) specifically as inspissation (rasakriyā) (Su 1938: 629).

<sup>477</sup> We emend हिते to हितम्, against the MSS.

<sup>478</sup> See Suśrutasamhitā mūtravarga

- stored it in the mouth of a nocturnal creature  $(nis\bar{a}cara)^{479}$  one should place it in a conch (salilotthita) for two months.<sup>480</sup>
- 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  $(ml\bar{a}yin)$ .<sup>481</sup>
- For one who has a humour, the physician should consider the rule in all humoral cases and then smear the ointment on the face.<sup>482</sup>

  The treatment that is good for removing watery eye (*syanda*) should be properly applied in all these humoral cases, according to the individual.<sup>483</sup>
- The physician should not employ substances in errhines etc., when the humours intensify, and also when disease spreads. And further, in the *Kalpa*, there is a good deal more said about collyriums, and that should be considered and then applied.<sup>484</sup>
- Someone who uses matured ghee, the three fruits, wild asparagus, as well as mung beans, emblic and barley has nothing to fear from cases of severe blindness (*timira*).
- 46 Blindness is dispelled by milk prepared with wild asparagus or in emblics, or again cooked barley (*yavaudana*) followed by the water of three fruits with plenty of ghee.
- When there is bloodshot blindness (*rāgiṇi timire*), the wise physician should not cut a vein. A humour injured (*utpīḍita*) by the instrument rapidly destroys vision.
- 48 Non-bloodshot blindness (araga timira) in the first layer (paṭala) is treat-

Check out these refs.

meaning of kalpa

<sup>479</sup> Dalhaṇa glossed nocturnal creature (niśācara) as "vulture," although elsewhere in the Suśrutasaṃhitā it is more commonly interpreted as a spirit or demon. In the present context, following verses 33 and 34, it is probably a snake.

<sup>480</sup> We interpret "water-born (salilotthita)" as "conch" in line with jalodbhava, but the term is uncertain.

<sup>481</sup> The vulgate follows Dalhaṇa in glossing  $ml\bar{a}yin$  as  $pariml\bar{a}ya$ . The description of this condition at SS.6.7.27–28 appears to refer to "blue dot" or "cerulean" cataract.  $\sqrt{mlai}$  derivatives can mean "dark" or "black."), which is normally a different ailment.

<sup>482</sup> The vulgate edition omits part of this verse (ab) combining earlier and later passages.

<sup>483</sup> The term watery eye (*syanda*) refers to the specific disease *abhiṣyanda*. See SS.6.6.5, 1.46.51, etc.

<sup>484</sup> Dalhana noted that *Kalpa* means the Uttaratantra adhyāya 18 (Su 1938: 633 ff).

able. And bloodshot blindness ( $r\bar{a}ginitimire$ ) in the second layer, with difficulty. And in the third layer it can be mitigated ( $y\bar{a}pya$ ).<sup>485</sup>

- 49 I shall explain the therapy for success when there is a cataract (*liṅganāśa*) caused by phlegm. It may be white, like a full moon, an umbrella, a pearl (*muktā*) or a spiral (*āvarta*).
- 50 Or it may be uneven, thin in the middle, streaked or have excessive shine (*prabha*). A humour (*doṣa*) in the pupil may be characterized as being painful or having blood.<sup>486</sup>
- 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  $(p\bar{\imath}d-)$  properly into the eye,  $^{487}$  at the naturally-occurring (daivakre) 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.  $^{488}$
  - 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  $(sal\bar{a}k\bar{a})$ .
  - 56 Without injuring, gently pushing the phlegm in the circuit of the pupil against the nose, he should remove it by means of sniffing

<sup>485</sup> Although the text says with difficulty (*kṛcchra*), the implication is that it is untreatable (*asādhya*) (cf. 6.17.2 (Su 1938: 625) above). The three categories, treatable, untreatable and possibly mitigated are standard categories of triage.

<sup>486</sup> In the vulgate, and in parallel passages in the AS, the reading "it may be (*bhavet*)" is replaced with the negative "if, then not (*na ced*)" (cf. utt.17.1–3a (As 1980: 712)). These characteristics are then read as conditions that preclude surgery; for the Nepalese recension, they are simply descriptions of the appearance of a cataract.

<sup>487</sup> We understand the locative *nayane* as the place of pressing; other interpreters take it as an accusative dual. The idea is that the eye is held steady by the surgeon.

<sup>488</sup> Dalhana remarked on 6.17.61ab (Su 1938: 630) that when the piercing is not correctly done, blood issues and there is no sound.

<sup>489</sup> 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.

- (ucchingana).490
- Whether the humour is solid ( $sty\bar{a}na$ ) or liquid (cala), one should apply sweating to the eye externally, with leaves ( $bha\dot{n}ga$ ) that remove wind, after fixing the needle ( $s\bar{u}c\bar{\iota}$ ) properly.<sup>491</sup>
- But if the humour cannot be destroyed or if it comes back, one should apply the piercing (*vyadha*) once again, with appropriate oils and so on.
- Now the pupil (drsti) shines like the sun (hari) in a cloudless sky; then, when objects become visible, one may slowly remove the probe  $(sal\bar{a}k\bar{a})$ .
- 60 Having smeared ghee on the eye, one should cover it with a bandage. Then, he must lie down supine in a house free from disturbances.<sup>493</sup>
- At that time, he should not belch, cough, sneeze, spit or shiver. Afterwards there should be restrictions  $(yantran\bar{a})$  as in the case of someone who has drunk oil.<sup>494</sup>
- 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.

<sup>490</sup> Dalhana described sniffing (*ucchingana*) at 6.19.8 (Su 1938: 641), clearly intending inward sniffing.

<sup>491</sup> We interpret *bhaṅga* as leaves, following the usage elsewhere in this sthāna 4.32.9, 6.11.5 (Su 1938: 513, 614) where *bhaṅga* means shoots (*pallava*). A similar procedure is described at 6.17.25a (As 1980: 716a), where sweating of the eye is done by means of the leaves of a castor-oil plant.

<sup>492</sup> 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.

<sup>493</sup> Dalhaṇa explained disturbances specifically as dust, smoke, drafts and sunlight 6.17.67 (Su 1938: 631a).

<sup>494</sup> Þalhaṇa 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).

#### [Complications]

When there is a misshapen eyeball (*vilocana*), the eye may fill because of the release of blood from a vein.<sup>495</sup>

- A hard probe leads to shooting pain  $(s\bar{u}la)$ , a thin to unsteadiness of the humours (doṣapariplava),<sup>496</sup>
- a thick-tipped probe leads to a large wound, and a sharp one may cause harm in many ways; a very irregular one may cause a discharge of water, a rigid (*sthirā*) one brings about a loss of function (*kriyāsaṅga*).<sup>497</sup>
- 66 Therefore, one should make a good probe that is free from these defects.

#### [Characteristics of the probe]

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

67 A commendable probe should be made of silver, iron or gold ( $\dot{satak}$ - $umbh\bar{\iota}$ ).<sup>498</sup>

#### [Complications]

Redness, swelling, lumps, driness (coṣa), bubbling (budbuda), <sup>499</sup> pigs' eye ( $s\bar{u}kar\bar{a}kṣit\bar{a}$ ), <sup>500</sup>, irritation (adhimantha), etc. and other diseases arise from faults in the piercing,

69–70 or even from bad behaviour. One should treat them each accordingly. Listen to me once again about compounds for painful red eyes.

<sup>495</sup> The condition of "misshapen eye" is referred to briefly in 6.61.9 (Su 1938: 800), where Dalhaṇa glossed it as "bent brow and eye (vakrabhrūnetra)." The vulgate's reading of "with blood (śonitena)" is easier to construe.

<sup>496</sup> There is a medically significant difference here from the vulgate, which reads "a rough (*khara*) probe" not a "thin" probe.

<sup>497</sup> This translation of loss of function (*kriyāsaṅga*) is given on the basis of Palhaṇa's gloss of *kriyāsaṅgakarin* at 3.8.19 (Su 1938: 382) as "causing the destruction of actions such as moving (*gamanādikriyāvināśakarī*)."

<sup>498</sup> The vulgate reads "copper (tāmra)" in place of "silver."

<sup>499</sup> Palhaṇa glossed "bubbling (budbuda)" as "prolapse (māṇṣsanirgama) that looks like bubbles."

<sup>500</sup> The expression "pigs' eye" appears to be a *hapax*. It was glossed as "downward vision (*adhodrstitva*)" by Dalhana.

- Red chalk (gairikah), Indian sarsaparilla (śariva), panic grass ( $d\bar{u}rva$ ), 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*).<sup>501</sup> This is immediately beneficial when someone is looking for relief.
- 72 A paste with Holostemma (payasyā),<sup>502</sup> Indian sarsaparilla (śārivā), cassia cinnamon (patra), Indian madder (mañjiṣṭhā), and liquorice (madhukair) stirred with goat's milk, pleasantly warmed, is said to be healthy.<sup>503</sup>
- Alternatively, it can be made in this way with Himalayan cedar, Himalayan cherry (*padmaka*) and dried ginger. Or, in the same way, with grapes, liquorice and the Lodh tree mixed with Sindh salt.
- Alternatively, goats' milk with the Lodh tree, Sindh salt, red grapes and liquorice, cooked, should be used in irrigation because it removes pain and redness.
- Having cooked it with liquorice, water-lily, and costus, mixed with grapes  $(dr\bar{a}ks\bar{a})$ , lac  $(l\bar{a}ks\bar{a})$ , white sugar  $(sit\bar{a})$ , with wild asparagus, Hare Foot Uraria  $(prthakparn\bar{i})$ ,  $^{504}$  nutgrass  $(must\bar{a})$ , 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.

<sup>501</sup> On the adverbial use of gently (*mṛdu*), see Gombrich 1979.

<sup>502</sup> The identity of *payasyā* is debated (GVDB: 538), and was already in doubt at the time of Dalhaṇa but likely candidates may be those suggested by Dalhaṇa, who suggests either *arkapuṣpī* or *kṣīrakākolī*, that may be *Holostemma adakodien* Schult. and *Leptadenia reticulata* (Retz.) Wight & Arn. (ADPS: 195-196). The *Sauśrutanighaṇṭu* glosses it as *kṣīrikā* or *arkapuṣpikā* (Suvedī and Tīvārī 2000: v. 307).

<sup>503</sup> The expression "stirred with goat's milk  $(aj\bar{a}k\bar{s}\bar{\imath}r\bar{a}rdita)$ " is difficult. It may be connected with the rare root ard documented by Whitney (1885: 15). Cf.  $\sqrt{ard}$  gatau ( $Dh\bar{a}tup\bar{a}tha$  1.56).

<sup>504</sup> Suvedī and Tīvārī 2000: 18.

<sup>505</sup> Palhaṇa mentioned that these drugs include Deodar (*bhadradāru*) and other wind-destroying drugs. The *vātasaṃśamana* group is listed in *Suśrutasaṃhitā sūtrasthāna* 1.39.7.

<sup>506</sup> Dalhana noted that this would include errhines, ointments, etc.

77cd–78ab If pain does not end in this way, one should administer blood-letting to the vein of someone who has previously been oiled and sweated. Then the wise physician should apply cauterization in the advised manner.<sup>507</sup>

- 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 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.

or a dual?

<sup>507</sup> The vulgate reads  $v\bar{a}pi$  for  $c\bar{a}pi$ , so Dalhana saw blood-letting and cautery as alternatives, not a sequence of treatments. Dalhana listed the places that cauterization may be applied, such as the brow, forehead, etc.

## Uttaratantra 38: Diseases of the Female Reproductive System

#### Introduction

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

#### Literature

The chapter is summarized, with notes on vocabulary and references to further research literature, in HIML: IA, 313. ( $\overline{\text{Tivar}}$  1990) dedicated a monograph to this topic, and Selby (2005a,b) has explored gyencological narratives in ayurveda.

#### Placement of the Chapter

In the vulgate text (Su 1938) the current chapter, 6.38, is found after the Uttaratantra's subsection on paediatrics, the *Kumāratantra*, see Table  $3.5^{0.8}$  But in the Nepalese version, this is chapter 6.58 of the Uttaratantra. And it is also counted as chapter 23 of the subsection *Kāyācikitsā*.

508 Or Kumārabhṛtya as this section is named in MS Kathmandu KL 699.

Section	Chapters	Internal count
Śālakyatantra	1–26	1–26
Kumāratantra	27-38	1–12
Kāyacikitsātantra	39-59	1-21
Bhūtavidyātantra	60–62	1-3
Tantrabhūṣaṇādhyāya	63–66	1-4

Table 3: Subdivisions of the Uttaratantra, in the vulgate.

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:

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 6.37.13bc (Su 1938: 667)] and because (2) the disorders of the female reproductive system are the causes for the inborn disorders of children.<sup>509</sup>

- In the placement of the Nepalese version,
  - 6. Yonivyāpatpratiṣedha is preceded by

<sup>509</sup> Þalhaṇa on 6.38.1 (Su 1938: 668): ग्रहोत्पत्त्यध्यायानन्तरं 'तिर्यग्योनिं मानुषं च' इति वचनेन योने-र्नामसंकीर्तनात् कुमारजन्मविकारकारणत्वाञ्च योनेर्व्यापञ्चिकित्सितार्थं योनिव्यापत्प्रतिषेधाध्यायारम्भो यु-ज्यत [...]।

Parallels 155

- 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.<sup>510</sup>
- Parallel chapters in the Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha and the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā form a part of the Śalyatantra section of each text.

#### **Parallels**

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

A close literary parallel to the first part of the chapter is found in  $M\bar{a}dhavanid\bar{a}na$  (MN<sub>3</sub>) 62, or at least its version printed in Y. T.  $\bar{A}c\bar{a}rya$  (MN<sub>3</sub>: 361). The readings of the MN<sub>3</sub> as it stands now usually side with the vulgate version rather than with the Nepalese. In addition to the basic text, there are several valuable pointers made in the Madhukośa, an early commentary on the MN<sub>3</sub>. This part of the text is authored by Śrīkaṇṭhadatta, who was most like a direct student of Vijarakṣita. The latter wrote the first part of the Madhukośa, up to chapter 32, and, what is more, can be dated to the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries.<sup>511</sup>

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

<sup>510</sup> See 1.3.37ab (Su 1938: 15): नैगमेषचिकित्सा च ग्रहोत्पत्तिः सयोनिजा ॥.

<sup>511</sup> Meulenbeld 1974*b*: 22–26.

### Philological notes

#### **Metrical alterations**

#### The original opening verses

From verse *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 6.38.5.1 onwards, the Nepalese version of the text continues with three hemistichs in the same classical *upajāti* metre (the syllabic pattern above).<sup>513</sup> By contrast, the vulgate contains two complete verses (four hemistichs) in the *anuṣṭubh* metre, again with only loosely-related content.<sup>514</sup> The three final hemistichs of this group are borrowed verbatim from the *Carakasaṃhitā*.<sup>515</sup> We can be sure of the direction of borrowing because one of these shared verses says that the twenty kinds of diseases of the female reproductive system "have already been indicated in the *Compendium of Diseases* (rogasaṃgraha)".<sup>516</sup> This statement does not make any sense in the context of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, where no such Compendium exists.<sup>517</sup> By contrast, in the *Carakasaṃhitā* this reference points back to chapter 1.19 (Ca 1941: 109–112), which calls itself "The Compendium of Diseases".<sup>518</sup> This Compendium lists all the diseases dealt with in later sections of the text, and specifically mentions the twenty diseases of female reproductive system.<sup>519</sup> Even the vocabulary and wording of this

<sup>512</sup> Suśrutasaṃhitā 6.38.3–4ab (Su 1938: 668).

<sup>513</sup> The metre of these verses is not perfect.

<sup>514</sup> Suśrutasamhitā 6.38.4cd-6ab (Su 1938: 668).

<sup>515</sup> *Carakasaṃhitā* 6.30.7cd–8 (Ca 1941: 634).

<sup>516</sup>  $Su\acute{s}rutasaṃhit\bar{a}$  6.38.5ab (Su 1938: 668): विंशतिर्व्यापदो योनेर्निर्दिष्टा रोगसंग्रहे ॥  $\leftarrow$   $Carakasaṃ-hit\bar{a}$  6.30.7cd (Ca 1941: 634).

<sup>517</sup> The remark was not commented on by Dalhana.

<sup>518</sup> Carakasamhitā 1.19.9cd (Ca 1941: 112): रोगाध्याये प्रकाशिताः.

<sup>519</sup> Carakasaṃhitā 1.19.3 (Ca 1941: 110): विंशतिर्योनिव्यापदः।

passage is identical to the later verses. It is beyond doubt that this passage originated in the *Carakasaṃhitā* and was borrowed by the editors of the vulgate text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. $^{520}$ 

<sup>520</sup> The above three hemistichs in *anuṣṭubh* are also repeated in the  $MN_3$  62.1–2ab. Given that the subsequent verses in the  $MN_3$  stem from the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, it is likely that  $MN_3$  62.1–2ab too was borrowed from from the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and not from its original location in the *Carakasaṃhitā*).

- 1 And now I shall explain the countermeasures against disorders of the female reproductive system (*yonivyāpat*).<sup>521</sup>
- \*3 Since for good men, a woman is the most pleasurable thing, therefore a physician should diligently attend to the diseases located in the female reproductive system (*yoni*), because he is entirely devoted to it (that is, to curing these diseases) for the sake of (people's) happiness.<sup>522</sup>
- \*4 A corrupted female reproductive system (yoni) cannot consume semen  $(b\bar{\imath}ja)$ , and therefore, the woman cannot take a fetus (that is, become pregnant). She gets severe prolapses  $(ar\acute{s}as)$ , abdominal lump (gulma) and similarly many other diseases (roga).
- \*5 Humours (doṣa), wind  $(v\bar{a}ta)$ , etc., corrupted due to faulty medical treatment  $(mithyopac\bar{a}ra)$ , 523 sexual activity, fate, and also defects (doṣa) of menstrual blood  $(\bar{a}rtava)$  and semen  $(b\bar{\imath}ia)$ , produce various diseases in the female reproductive organ (yoni). These 20 diseases are taught here distinctly and one by one along with their treatment

<sup>521</sup> On this broad understanding of the term *yoni* as "female reproductive system" see Das 2003: pp. 572–5.

<sup>522</sup> As our translation indicates, the sentence construction does not allow an unambiguous identification of who or what is the referent of the pronoun *tad* in the compound form *tadadhīna* 'devoted to it.' Our current understanding is that *tad* refers to the 'most pleasurable thing' mentioned in pāda a. It could, however, also refer to 'them,' that is, the 'good men.'

<sup>523</sup> In our translation of the compound मिथ्योपचार, we decided for the technical meaning of the term उपचार, that is, "medical application" or "treatment." The combination मिथ्या+उप- $\sqrt{$ चर् is attested several times in medical literature. At least once, at Carakasaṃhitā 3.3.38 (Ca 1941: 245), it is given an explicit gloss by Cakrapāṇidatta: मिथ्योपचरितानिति असम्यक् चिकित्सितान् "... given improper therapy". In the Suśrutasamhitā (Su 1938), it is used once in a passage (6.18.30 (Su 1938:635)) where it refers specifically to the wrong application of irrigation (*tarpaṇa*) and roasting (*puṭapāka*), both of which are mentioned in the previous verse. Another use of the compound in a similar meaning is found in a citation from Bhoja's work quoted by Gayadāsa at Suśrutasaṃhitā 2.5.17 (Su 1938: 287): श्वित्रं तु द्विविधं प्रोक्तं दोषजं व्रणजं तथा। तत्र मिथ्योपचा-राद्धि व्रणस्य व्रणजं स्मृतम् ॥ "... arises from wrong treatment of the wound." In contrast to this, the parallel verse in  $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$  6.38.5ab (Su 1938: 668) =  $Carakasamhit\bar{a}$ 6.30.8 (Ca 1941: 634) = MN<sub>3</sub> 62.1 reads मिथ्याचार "wrong conduct." All commentators (Cakrapāṇidatta on the Carakasaṃhitā, Śrīkaṇṭhadatta on the MN<sub>3</sub>, and Dalhaṇa on the Suśrutasaṃhitā) explain that the wrong conduct stands here specifically for unwholesome diet. The parallel in *Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdayasaṃhitā* 6.33.27 (Ah 1939: 895) = *Aṣṭāṅ*gasaṅgraha 6.38.34a (As 1980: 829) plainly reads दुष्तभोजन "corrupted food" instead.

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

- \*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 (*raktakṣayā*),
  - 2. Vomiting (vāminī), and
  - 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  $(and\bar{i}n\bar{i})$ ,
  - 3. two Huge (mahatī),
  - 4. With a needle-like opening (sūcīvaktrā),
  - 5. Sarvātmikā (sarvātmikā).

# Uttaratantra 65: Rules of Interpretation

#### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002. Earlier explorations of this topic include Nārāyaṇa 1949; Dasgupta 1952; Oberhammer 1967–68; Muthuswami 1976; Lele 1981; Scharfe 1993; Mejor 2000; A. Singh 2003.

Preisendanz (2013: 105–106, fn. 109) provided further references to the discussion of *yukti* in Buddhist literatures. Manevskaia (2008) gave examples of the use of tantrayuktis in Buddhist commentarial literature. Chevillard (2009) discusses the translation of the *tantrayuktis* in Tamil literary tradition, with a specific focus on *Tolkāppiyam* and its commentaries.

#### **Early Sources**

An ancient tradition of enumerating the *tantrayuktis* served as a foundational source not only for medical texts but also for works in various other disciplines, including Arthaśāstra, philosophy, and even grammar. The *Suśruta Saṃhitā* stands as the earliest Āyurvedic text that presents a compilation of a list of *tantrayuktis* followed by their definitions and usage. Mentions to Tantrayuktis are also found in the *Caraka Saṃhitā* 8.12 (Ca 1941) which introduce four additional *tantrayuktis*. However, the *tantrayuktis* remain undefined in the *Caraka Saṃhitā*.

The enumeration and definitions of the *tantrayuktis* in the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* closely parallel their treatment in the *Arthaśāstra*. For a sideby-side comparison of the *tantrayuktis* in the Suśruta Saṃhitā and the Arthaśāstra, please refer to Table 4.

Table 4: Tantrayuktis in  $Su\'{sruta}$   $Samhit\bar{a}$  (S) and  $Artha\'{s}\bar{a}stra$  (A)

Terms	Definitions
adhikaraṇa	तत्र यमर्थमधिकृत्योच्यते तदधिकरणम्।
adhikaraṇa	यमर्थमधिकृत्योच्यते तदधिकरण।
уода	येन वाक्यं युज्यते स योगः।
yoga	वाक्ययोजना योग।
padārtha	योऽर्थोऽभिहितः सूत्रे पदे वा स पदार्थः। पदस्य पदयोः पदानां वा योऽर्थः स पदार्थः। अपरिमि- ताश्च पदार्थाः।
padārtha	पदावधिकः पदार्थः।
•	यदुक्तं साधनं भवति स हेत्वर्थः।
hetvartha	हेतुरर्थसाधको हेत्वर्थः।
uddeśa / samuddeśa	समासवचनं समुद्देशः।
uddeśa	समासवाक्यमुद्देशः।
nirdeśa	विस्तरवचनं निर्देशः।
nirdeśa	व्यासवाक्यं निर्देशः।
upadeśa	एवमित्युपदेशः।
upadeśa	एवं वर्तितव्यमित्युपदेशः।
apadeśa	अनेन कारणेनेत्यपदेशः।
apadeśa	एवमसावाहेत्यपदेशः।
pradeśa	प्रकृतस्यातिक्रान्तेन साधनं प्रदेशः।
predeśa	वक्तव्येन साधनं प्रदेशः।
atideśa	I .
atideśa	उक्तेन साधनमतिदेशः।
apavarga	अभिप्रमृज्यापकर्षणमपवर्गः।
apavarga	अभिप्लुतव्यपकर्षणमपवर्गः।
	adhikaraṇa adhikaraṇa yoga yoga yoga padārtha  padārtha  hetvartha hetvartha uddeśa / samuddeśa uddeśa nirdeśa nirdeśa upadeśa upadeśa apadeśa apadeśa apadeśa aradeśa

Early Sources 159

Sequence	Terms	Definitions
(S) 12.	vākyaśeṣa	येन पदेनानुक्तेन वाक्यं समाप्यते स वाक्य- शेषः।
(A) 17.	vākyaśeṣa	येन वाक्यं समाप्यते स वाक्यशेषः।
(S)		
(A) 12.	иратāпа	दृष्टेनादृष्टस्य साधनमुपमानम्।
(S) 13.	arthāpatti	यदकीर्तितमर्थादापद्यते सार्थापत्तिः।
(A) 13.	arthāpatti	यदनुक्तमर्थादापद्यते सार्थापत्तिः।
(S) 14.	viparyaya	यद्यस्य प्रातिलोम्यं तद्विपर्ययः।
(A) 16.	viparyaya	प्रतिलोमेन साधनं विपर्ययः।
(S) 15.	prasaṅga	प्रकरणान्तरेण समानः प्रसङ्गः।
(A) 15.	prasaṅga	प्रकरणान्तरेण समानोऽर्थः प्रसङ्गः।
(S) 16.	ekānta	यदवधारणेनोच्यते स एकान्तः।
(A) 26.	ekānta	सर्वत्रायत्तमेकान्तः।
(S) 17.	anekānta	क्वचित्तथा क्वचिदन्यथा सोऽनेकान्तः।
(A)		
(S) 18.	pūrvapakṣa	यस्तु निःसंशयमभिधीयते स पूर्वपक्षः । <sup>452</sup>
(A) 24.	pūrvapakṣa	प्रतिषेद्धव्यं वाक्यं पूर्वपक्षः।
(S) 19.	nirṇaya	तस्योत्तरं निर्णयः।
(A) 25.	uttarapakṣa	निर्णयवाक्यमुत्तरपक्षः।
(S) 20.	anumata	परमतमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतम् ।
(A) 18.	anumata	परवाक्यमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतम् ।
(S) 21.	vidhāna	प्रकरणानुपूर्व्यादभिहितं विधानम्।
(A) 2.	vidhāna	शास्त्रस्य प्रकरणानुपूर्वी विधानम्।
(S) 22.	anāgatāpekṣaṇa	एवं वक्ष्यतीत्यनागतापेक्षणम् ।
(A) 27.	anāgatāvekṣaṇa	पश्चादेवं विहितमित्यनागतावेक्षणम्।
(S) 23.	atikrāntāpekṣaṇa	इत्युक्तमित्यतिक्रान्तापेक्षणम् ।
(A) 28.	atikrāntāvekṣaṇa	1
(S) 24.	saṃśaya	उभयहेतुनिदर्शनं संशयः।
(A) 14.	saṃśaya	उभयतो हेतुमानर्थः संशयः।
(S) 25.	vyākhyāna	तत्रातिशयोपवर्णनं व्याख्यानम् ।

 $<sup>\</sup>overline{\text{452 This definition of } p\bar{u}rvapakṣa \text{ in the Nepalese version is problematic.}}$ 

Sequence	Terms	Definitions
(A) 19.	vyākhyāna	अतिशयवर्णना व्याख्यानम् ।
(S) 26.	svasaṃjñā	अन्यशास्त्रासामान्या स्वसंज्ञा।
(A) 23.	svasaṃjñā	परैरसमितः शब्दः स्वसंज्ञा।
(S) 27.	nirvacana	लोकप्रथितमुदाहरणं निर्वचनम् ।
(A) 20.	nirvacana	गुणतः शब्दनिष्पत्तिर्निर्वचनम् ।
(S) 28.	nidarśana	दृष्टान्तव्यक्तिर्निदर्शनम् ।
(A) 21.	nidarśana	दृष्टान्तो दृष्टान्तयुक्तो निदर्शनम् ।
(S) 29.	niyoga	इदमेवेति नियोगः।
(A) 29.	niyoga	एवं नान्यथेति नियोगः।
(S) 3o.	vikalpa	l i
(A) 30.	vikalpa	अनेन वानेन वेति विकल्पः।
(S) 31.	samuccaya	l,
(A) 31.	samuccaya	अनेन चानेन चेति समुच्चयः।
(S) 32.	ūhya	यदनिर्दिष्टं बुद्धिगम्यं तदूह्यम्।
(A)	ūhya	अनुक्तकरणमूह्यम् ।

Yuktidīpikā (circa late sixth to early eighth century), an anonymous commentary on Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Sānkhyakārikā, initiates its discourse with a detailed discussion of the characteristics of a scientific treatise, some of which align with the tantrayuktis.<sup>453</sup> In the Yuktidīpikā, these terms are referred to as tantraguṇa or tantrasampat. They are: (1) sūtropapatti (2) pramāṇopapatti (3) avayavopapatti (4) anyūnatā (5) saṃśayokti (6) nirṇayokti (7) uddeśa (8) nirdeśa (9) anukrama (10) saṃjñā and (11) upadeśa.<sup>454</sup>

Discussions on the *tantrayuktis* are also found in Tamil technical literature, the earliest of which is the *Tolkāppiyam*.<sup>455</sup> A list of 32 *tantrayuktis*, called *utti* or *tantiravutti* in Tamil, are given in the 27<sup>th</sup> (the final) chapter titled *Marapiyal* "Chapter on conventions" of the last book called

<sup>453</sup> See Oberhammer 1967–68: 605–614 for a detailed discussion of the use of the *tantray-uktis* in the *Yuktidīpikā*.

<sup>454</sup> सूत्रप्रमाणावयवोपपत्तिरन्यूनता संशयनिर्णयोक्तिः। उद्देशनिर्देशमनुक्रमश्च संज्ञोपदेशाविह तन्त्रसम्पत्॥ Yuktidīpikā: 3

<sup>455</sup> For a detailed discussion of the treatment of the *tantrayuktis* in the *Tolkāppiyam* see Chevillard 2009.

Terminology 161

Poruļ "Matters" of the Tolkāppiyam. There is no consensus regarding the dating of the Tolkāppiyam. However, if we endorse Zvelebil's view, which posits that the final redaction of the Tolkāppiyam occurred around the fifth century AD, it follows that this section of the Tolkappiyam cannot postdate the fifth century. If we follow the dating of Zvelebil, we can safely argue that by that time, Sanskrit tantrayuktis had already been translated into Tamil. Nevertheless, determining the correspondence between specific tantrayuktis and Tamil uttis poses a challenge. A major factor contributing to this challenge is the disagreement between two commentators of the Tolkāppiyam, namely Iļampūraṇar (11th or 12th century) and Pērāciriyar (possibly 13th century), regarding the interpretation of the list of uttis. It is still not clear which list of 32 tantrayuktis was before the author of the Tolkāppiyam.

After the *Tolkāppiyam*, several other Tamil texts refer to the *tantrayuktis*. Among them the *Yāpparuṅkalam* (possibly 10th century), the *Vīracoliyam* (11th century), *Naṇṇūl* (late 12th or early 13th century), and their commentaries hold significant importance in this context.

### **Terminology**

The definitions of *tantrayuktis* exhibit numerous variations across different texts. Here we will discuss each of the *tantrayuktis* that occur in the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* in comparison with their definitions in other texts.

#### **Characteristics of the Manuscript Transmission**

#### **Translation**

- 1 Now we shall explain the chapter called, "the enunciation of the logical methods of the system (*tantrayukti*)."
- 3 There are thirty-two logical methods of the system. They are as follows:
  - 1. topic (adhikaraṇa)
  - 2. construing (*yoga*)
  - 3. word meaning (padārtha)
- 4. premise (hetvartha)
- 5. mention (*samuddeśa*)
- 6. description (*nirdeśa*)

)

7.	prescription (upadeśa)	21.	itemization (vidhāna)
8.	statement of reason (apadeśa)	22.	future reference
9.	indication (pradeśa)		(anāgatāpekṣaṇa)
10.	prediction (atideśa)	23.	past reference
11.	exception (apavarga)		(atikrāntāpekṣaṇa)
12.	ellipis (vākyaśeṣa)	24.	doubt (saṃśaya)
13.	implication (arthāpatti)	25.	explication ( <i>vyākhyāna</i> )
14.	contraposition (viparyaya)	26.	field-specific term
15.	recontextualization		(svasaṃjñā)
	(prasaṅga)	27.	interpretation (nirvacana)
16.	invariable statement ( <i>ekānta</i> )	28.	illustration ( <i>nidarśana</i> )
17.	variable statement (anekānta)	29.	compulsion (niyoga)
18.	objection (pūrvapakṣa)	30.	option (vikalpa)
19.	determination (nirnaya)	31.	aggregation (samuccaya)
20.	consent (anumata)	32.	deducible (ūhya)

- 4 It is said about this, "what is the purpose of these methods?" The answer is, "construing sentences and construing meanings". 456
- 5-6 There are two verses about this:

The logical methods of the system prohibit statements employed by people who do not speak the truth. They also bring about the validity of one's own statements. And they also clarify meanings that are stated back to front, that are implicit, unclear and any that are partially stated.

- 8 Among them, "topic (*adhikaraṇa*)" refers to the object, with reference to which statements are made, such as flavour (*rasa*) or humour (*doṣa*).<sup>457</sup>
- "Construing (*yoga*)" is that by which a sentence is construed, as when words that are in a reversed order, whether placed close or apart, have their meanings unified.

Sesame oil he should drink, with heart-leaved moonseed, neem tree, maidenhair fern, Indrajao, and long pepper

<sup>456</sup> Dalhana on 6.65.4 (Su 1938: 815) explained "construing a sentence" as "connecting up a sentence that is not connected," and "construing a meaning" as "clarifying or making appropriate a meaning that is implied or inppropriate."

<sup>457</sup> The idea here is that "rasa" may be the topic of a chapter, and statements in that chapter are all understood to be about that topic

that is cooked with heart-leaf sida and country mallow, and deodar, always for a benefit in the case of the disease goitre.

In this verse, one ought to say, first, "one should drink cooked...." However, the word "cooked" is used in the second line.<sup>458</sup> Unifying the meanings of words in this way, even though they are far apart, is construing.

- The meaning that is conveyed in an aphorism  $(s\bar{u}tra)$  or a word is called word-meaning  $(pad\bar{u}rtha)$ . In other words, word-meaning is the meaning of one or more words. Word-meanings are unlimited.
  - Where two or three meanings such as 'fat,' 'sweat' or 'anointment' appear to be possible, the valid meaning is the one that construes with prior and subsequent elements. For example, when it is said that, "We are going to explain the chapter on the *veda*-origin" the mind may be confused about which "*veda*" will be spoken about. *Sāmaveda* and so on are the Vedas. Taking note of the prior and subsequent elements, the two roots *vind* "find" and *vid* "know" have a single meaning. Subsequently, the understanding takes place that there is a wish to talk about the origin of āyurveda. So that is the meaning of the word.
- The sense of the cause (*hetvartha*) is a statement that is a premiss ( $s\bar{a}d$ -*hana*). For example, just as a lump of earth is moistened by water, so a
  wound is moistened by substances like milk with green gram.<sup>461</sup>

Palhaṇa at 1.1.1 (Su 1938: 1)

- 458 The Nepalese version reads द्वितीये पादे which would properly mean the second quarter of the first line; the vulgate reads "third quarter" which seems more correct.
- 459 There is a dangling relative clause, यो ऽर्थः, in the Nepalese version that is avoided in the vulgate recension by the addition of स ग्रहीतव्यः.
- 460 The Nepalese text here is hard to follow, and the vulgate has a significantly different reading. But the problem situation seems to be as follows. The <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code> opens with a statement saying that it will describe the "origin of the <code>veda"</code> (<code>vedotpatti</code>). The problem is, what does this word "<code>veda"</code> refer to? Is it the Veda, as in <code>Sāmaveda?</code> Or something derived from the roots <code>vind</code> or <code>vid?</code> Context ("prior and subsequent elements") can help us to know that "<code>veda"</code> means only "<code>āyurveda"</code> and that the <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code> is talking about the origin of ayurveda, specifically. This same issue is also addressed by <code>Dalhaṇa</code> at 1.1.1 (<code>Su1938:1</code>).
- 461 The way this principle is expressed here seems to be describing the application of a general principle (water makes things wet) to a specific context. We can know the moistening of a wound because we know the more general case of moistening earth. However, etymologically, ইন্বের্থ does not mean "analogy," but rather, something like "purpose of the reason." The phrase "the sense of cause" that we have used leans on the use of the term in commentaries on the <code>Aṣṭādhyāyī</code> (<code>Kaumudī</code> on 2.3.23). The vulgate of the <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code> rewrites the principle, making it clearer that the prin-

- 12 A mention (*samuddeśa*) is a brief statement such as "spike (*śalya*)". 462
- A description (*nirdeśa*) is a detailed statement. For example, "in the body or exogenous".<sup>463</sup>
- "Prescription (*upadeśa*)" refers to statements like "it should be this way." For example, one should not stay awake at night; one should not sleep during the day.
- "Statement of reason (*apadeśa*)" refers to statements like "this happens because of this." For example, in the sentence "Sweet substances increase phlegm," the reason is stated.<sup>464</sup>
- Substantiation of the subject matter through past evidence is "indication (*pradeśa*)." For example, he pulled out Devadatta's splinter (*śalya*), therefore he will pull out Yajñadatta's.
- Substantiation of the subject matter through a future event is "prediction (*atideśa*)." For example, if his wind moves upwards, that will cause him to have colic."<sup>465</sup>
- A deviation after generalization is exception (*apavarga*). For example, those afflicted by poison should not go through sudorific treatment other than the cases of poisoning by urinary worms.
- Ellipsis (*vākyaśeṣa*) refers to an unstated word that completes a sentence. For example, despite not mentioning the word 'person', when mentioning someone as 'the one having a head, hands, feet, flanks, and abdomen,' it's apparent that the reference is to a person.
- arthāpatti (*Implication*) refers to an unstated idea that becomes evident through context. For example, when one said, "We will eat rice" it becomes evident from the context that he did not wish to drink gruel.
- When there is the reversal of it it is contraposition (*viparyaya*). For example, when it is said, "Weak, dyspneic, and fearful people are difficult to treat," the converse holds true: "Those who are strong and so on are easily treatable."

ciple means "clarification by analogy." Cf. also Cakrapāṇi's discussion at Si.12.41 (Ca 1941:736), where he explained the principle as using an explanation from one situation to clarify another situation. Cf. *Arthaśāstra* 5.1.13 (Olivelle 2013: 436), which is also unclear.

<sup>462</sup> Generally, शल्य refers to any painful foreign body embedded in the flesh that requires surgical removal.

<sup>463</sup> This is a reference to 1.26.4 (Su 1938: 121) where शल्य is described in more detail as being of two kinds.

<sup>464</sup> A techical term also in Nyāyaśāstra (Jhalakīkar 1978: 54).

<sup>465</sup> A techical term also in Nyāyaśāstra (Jhalakīkar 1978: 6–7).

Recontextualization (*prasaṅga*) refers to a concept common to another section. For example, a concept belonging to another section is brought up by mentioning it repeatedly throughout.

- Invariable statement (*ekānta*) is one that is stated with certainty. For example, turpeth causes purgation; emetic nut induces vomiting.
- Variable statement (*anekānta*) is one that is true in one way in some cases and in another way elsewhere. For example, some teachers identify the main element as substance, others as fluid, some as semen, and some as digestion.
- A first point of view (pūrvapakṣa) is something stated with certainty. For example, how are the four types of diabetes caused by wind incurable?<sup>466</sup>
- Its answer is determination. For example, afflicting the body and trickling downwards, it creates urine mixed with fat, fatty tissues, and marrow. Thus, those caused by wind are incurable.
- 28 Consent (*anumata*) refers to others' opinion that is not rejected. For example, when the assertor says that there are six flavours and that somehow gets accepted with affirmation, it is termed consent.
- 29 Itemization (*vidhāna*) refers to sequentially ordered statements within a chapter. For example, the eleven lethal points of thigh are mentioned sequentially in a chapter.
- 30 A statement like "Thus will be stated" is future reference (anāg-atāpekṣaṇa) such as when he says in the Sūtrasthāna, "I will mention it in the Cikitsāsthāna."
- A statement like "Thus has been stated" is past reference (atikrāntāpekṣaṇa) such as when one says in the Cikitsāsthāna, "As mentioned in the Sūtrasthāna..."
- An indication pointing to causes on both sides is doubt (*saṃśaya*). For example, a blow to <sup>467</sup> is fatal, whereas cutting hands and feet is not fatal.
- An elaborate description is explication (*vyākhyāna*). For example, the twenty-fifth entity, , is being explicated here. Thus, no other Āyurvedic texts discuss entities beginning with matters.

466 The adverb निःसंशयम् is problematic: the example expresses a query or doubt, the opposite of certainty, which is answered in the next passage. It would seem to make more sense to read something like यस् तु ससंशयम् अभिधीयते स पूर्वपक्षः, but our manuscripts are unanimous in their reading.

467 নলম্ভবে is one of the muscle-group of lethal points mentioned in 3.6.7 (Su 1938: 370).

See chapter 40 of Sūtrasthāna.

vasā / medas / majjan

Does bhūtādi a compound or it means ahaṅkāra o ego?

- Field-specific term (svasanijna) is uncommon in other field of studies. The term used in one's own systems is called field-specific term, such as in this system, denotes honey and ghee, and denotes ghee, sesame oil and fat.
- A customary potrayal is interpretation (*nirvacana*). For example, one goes along the shade fearing heat.
- Providing examples is illustration (*nidarśana*). For example, just as fire spreads rapidly in a dry forest when accompanied by wind, a wound intensifies affected by wind, bile, and phlegm.
- A statement like "This is the only way..." ...compulsion (*niyoga*). For example, one should consume only a healthy diet.
- A statement like "This and this..." is option (vikalpa). For example, in the section on meat, the major ones are blackbuck, deer, quail and partridge.  $^{468}$
- A summarized statement is aggregation (*samuccaya*).<sup>469</sup> For example, let there be rice with meat broth, rice with milk, or burley with ghee.

A meaningful reading of these two rules would be 39 idam vedam veti vikalpah / yathā rasodanah kṣīrodanah saghṛtā vā yavāgūr bhavatv iti // 38 saṃkṣepavacanam samuccayah / yathā māṃsavarge eṇahariṇalāvatittirāh pradhānā iti

What is not explicitly stated but can be understood through discernment is deducible ( $\bar{u}hya$ ). For example, in the section on rules of foods and drinks, four types of foods and drinks are mentioned—masticable (bhaksya), edible (bhojya), suckable (lehya), and drinkable (peya). Thus, while four types are needed to be stated, two types are actually mentioned. Here it is deducible that in the section on foods and drinks, by specifically mentioning two types, the four types are also mentioned. Furthermore, a masticable item is not excluded from the category of food because it shares the same characteristic of solidity. A suckable item is not excluded from being classified as a drink because it shares

<sup>468</sup> The example here matches समुच्चय (next text), not विकल्प. There seems to have been a metathesis of terms. Y. T. Ācārya and N. R. Ācārya (Su 1945: 1005, footnote 6) notes that this text and the next have been swapped in the Calcutta edition that includes Hārāṇacandra's commentary Bhaṭṭācārya 1910–17: 2, in the same way as in the Nepalese version.

<sup>469</sup> As stated in the previous footnote, the example here is of विकल्प, not समुच्चय.

the same characteristic of liquidity. Four types of aliments are rare. They are usually just twofold. Therefore, lord Dhanvantari says "Twofold is popular".

## **Editions and Abbreviations**

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

Parādkar, Hariśāstrī (1939) (eds.), श्रीमद्वाग्भटविरचितम् अष्टाङ्गहृदयम्, श्रीमदरुणदत्तविरचितया सर्वाङ्गसुन्दराख्यया व्याख्यया, हेमाद्रिप्रणीतया आयुर्वेदरसायनाह्वया टीकया च समुल्लसितम् = The Astāngahṛidaya (6th edn., Muṃbayyām: Nirṇayasāgara

Press), ark:/13960/t3tt6967d.

Anup Anup Sanskrit Library.

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

English Dictionary (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Company), ISBN: 4-653-00038-7; Reprinted from Gode and Karve 1957–59.

AS Asiatic Society.

As 1980 Āṭhavale, Anaṃta Dāmodara (1980) (ed.), अष्टाङ्गसङ्गृहः

श्रीमद्भृद्धवाग्भटविरचितः इन्दुव्याख्यासिहतः [= Vāgbhaṭa's Āṣṭāṅ-gasaṅgraha with Indu's Commentary] (Puṇe: M. A. Āṭhavale, Śrīmad Ātreya Prakāśanam), ark:/13960/s25bwqsd0n7.

AyMahā Jośī, Veṇīmādhavaśāstrī, and Jośī, Nārāyaṇa Harī (1968),

आयुर्वेदीय महाकोशः अर्थात् आयुर्वेदीय शब्दकोशः संस्कृत–संस्कृत (Muṃbaī: Mahārāṣṭra Rājya Sāhityta āṇi Saṃskṛti

Mamdala), ark:/13960/t22c41g8t.

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

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

Sastri 1933: #11085).

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

> lish Translation, Commentary and Critical Notes (Haridas Ayurveda Series, 8; Varanasi: Chaukhambha Visvabharati).

BLBritish Library.

Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1941) (ed.), महिषेणा पुन-Ca 1941

> र्वसुनोपदिष्टा, तच्छिष्येणाग्निवेशेन प्रणीता, चरकदृढबलाभ्यां प्रतिसंस्कृता चरकसंहिता, श्रीचक्रपाणिदत्तविरचितया आयुर्वेददीपिकाव्याख्यया संव-लिता (3rd edn., Mumbayyām: Nirnaya Sagara Press), ark:/

13960/t48q2f20n.

**CDIAL** Turner, R. L. (1966–85), A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-

Aryan Languages (London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press), ISBN: 0197135501, URL; With Indexes compiled by Dorothy Rivers Turner (OUP, London, 1969), Phonetic Analysis by R. L. and D. R. Turner (OUP, London, 1971), and Addenda and Corrigenda edited by J. C. Wright (School

of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1985).

 $DED_2$ Burrow, Thomas, and Emeneau, Murray B. (1984), A

*Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (2nd edn., Oxford:

Clarendon Press), ark:/13960/t4wj06g26, URL.

**EWA** Mayrhofer, Manfred (1986–2001), Etymologisches Wör-

terbuch des Altindoarischen (Heidelberg: Carl Winter,

Universitätsverlag), ISBN: 3-533-03826-2.

Pāndeya, Rāmateja (1963) (ed.), श्रीकृष्णद्वैपायनव्यासप्रणीतं Garudapurāna

> गरुडपुराणम् (Vidyabhawan Prachyavidya Granthamala, ३; reprint, Caukhambā Vidyābhavana, Pandita-Pustakālaya:

 $K\bar{a}\dot{s}\bar{i}$ ), ark:/13960/t6pz7tg7j.

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

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

9069801248.

**IOLR** Eggeling, Julius, et al. (1887–1935), *Catalogue of the Sanskrit* 

*Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (London: Secret-

ary of State for India), ark:/13960/s2kbk5zcrg9.

**KEWA** 

Mayrhofer, Manfred (1953–72), Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen; a Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag).

KL

Kaiser Library.

Mānasollāsa

Shrigondekar, Gajanan K. (1925–61) (ed.), मानसोल्लासः = Mānasollāsa [or Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi] of King Someśvara (Gaekwad's Oriental Series; Baroda: Oriental Institute), ark:/13960/t87h8tn95; v. 2: ark:/13960/t3gz41v8m.

 $MN_1$ 

Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1920) (ed.), महामित-श्रीमाधवकरप्रणीतं माधवनिदानम् श्रीविजयरक्षित-श्रीकण्थदत्ताभ्यां विरचितया मधुकोशाख्यव्याख्यया, श्रीवाचस्पतिवैद्यविरचितया आत-ङ्कदर्पणव्याख्याया विशिष्टांशेन च समुल्लसितम् = Mādhavanidāna by Mādhavakara with the Two Commentaries, Madhukosha by Vijayarakshita & Shrīkanthadatta and Ātankadarpaṇa by Vāchaspati Vaidya (1st edn., Bombay: Nirnaya Sagara Press), ark:/13960/t9z08jn5j.

 $MN_3$ 

Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1932) (ed.), महामित-श्रीमाधवकरप्रणीतं माधवनिदानम् श्रीविजयरक्षित-श्रीकण्थदत्ताभ्यां विरचितया मधुकोशाख्यव्याख्यया, श्रीवाचस्पितवैद्यविरचितया आत-ङ्कदर्पणव्याख्याया विशिष्टांशेन च समुष्ठसितम् = Mādhavanidāna by Mādhavakara with the Two Commentaries, Madhukosha by Vijayarakshita & Shrīkanthadatta and Ātankadarpaṇa by Vāchaspati Vaidya (3rd edn., Bombay: Nirnaya Sagara Press), ark:/13960/t66452x0h; Reprinted Varanasi: Chowkhambha, 1986.

MW

Monier-Williams, Monier, Leumann, E., Cappeller, C., et al. (1899), *A Sanskrit–English Dictionary Etymologically and Philologically Arranged, New Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press); 1970 reprint.

**NAK** 

National Archives of Kathmandu.

**NCC** 

Raghavan, V., et al. (1949–), New Catalogus Catalogorum, an Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit and Allied Works and Authors,

39 vols. (Madras University Sanskrit Series; Madras: University of Madras); v.1: revised edition, 1968. Searchable at https://vmlt.in/ncc/.

**NGMCP** 

NGMCP (2014), "Nepal-german Manuscript Cataloguing Project. Online Title List and Descriptive Catalogue," Universität Hamburg and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, URL.

PW

Böhtlingk, Otto, and Roth, Rudolph (1855–75), *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* (St. Petersburg: Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften), URL, accessed 18/05/2023.

**PWK** 

Böhtlingk, Otto (1879), Sanskrit-wörterbuch in kürzerer fassung (St. Petersburg: Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften), URL, accessed 18/05/2023.

RORI

Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute.

Su 1889

Bhaṭṭācāryya, Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara (1889) (ed.), सुश्रुतः. सूत्र-निदान-शारीर-चिकित्सा-कल्पोत्तर-तन्त्र-कल्पित आयुर्वेद. भगवता धन्वन्तरिणोपदिष्टः सुश्रुतनामधेयेन तच्छिष्येण विरचितः (3rd edn., Calcutta: Saratī Press), ark:/13960/t1nh6j09c; HIML: IB, 311, edition b.

Su 1915

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

Su 1931

Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1931) (ed.), सृश्रुत-संहिता, वैद्यवरश्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया समुष्ठसिता, महर्षिणा सृश्रुतेन विरचिता, सूत्र-निदान-शारीर-चिकित्सा-कल्पस्थानोत्तरतन्त्रात्मकः. आचार्योपाह्वेन त्रिविक्रमात्मजेन यादवशर्मणा संशोधिता = The Sushrutasaṃhitā of Sushruta with the Nibandhasangraha Commentary of Shree Dalhaṇāchārya (2nd edn., Mumbayyāṃ: Pāṇḍuraṅga Jāvajī at the Nirṇayasāgaramudrāyantrālaye), ark :/ 13960 / t9j41sg94, accessed 09/06/2020; HIML: IB, 312 edition \*v. Su 1938

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

Su 1938<sup>2</sup>

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

Su 1939

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

Su 1945

Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikramācārya, and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (1945) (eds.), महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता (मूलमात्रा). पाठान्तर-परिशिष्टादिभिः संवलिता = the Suśrutasaṃhitā of Suśruta with Various Readings, Notes and Appendix etc. (Mumbāi: Nirṇayasāgarākhyamudraṇālaye), ark:/13960/t8kd4jh7n.

**TMSSML** 

Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji Saraswati Mahal Library.

Visnudh.

Śarman, Madhusūdana, and Śarman, Mādhavaprasāda (1912) (eds.), विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणम् = [Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa] (Mumbai: Khemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa at the Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press), ark:/13960/t6qz6fr23; Lithograph format. Edited on the basis of a manuscript belonging to the astrologer Śudhākaraśarman of the Varanasi Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā.

Yuktidīpikā

Wezler, Albrecht, and Motegi, Shujun (1998) (eds.), *Yuktidīpikā: the most significant commentary on the Sāṃkhyakārikā* (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien herausgegeben vom Institut für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets an der Universität Hamburg, 44; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag).

## **Index of Manuscripts**

Thanjavur TMSSML 10773: 169

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

```
Bikaner RORI 5157: 96

Cambridge Add. 1693: 92

Hyderabad Osmania 137-3(b): 43

Kathmandu KL 699: 38, 44, 95, 153

Kathmandu NAK 1-1079: 11, 21, 39, 44

Kathmandu NAK 1-1146: 21

Kathmandu NAK 5-333: 11, 39, 44, 92, 97, 122

NAK 5-333: 110
```

## **Bibliography**

- Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1941) (ed.), महर्षिणा पुनर्वसुनोपदिष्टा, तच्छि-ष्येणाग्निवेशेन प्रणीता, चरकदृढबलाभ्यां प्रतिसंस्कृता चरकसंहिता, श्रीचक्रपाणिदत्तवि-रचितया आयुर्वेददीपिकाव्याख्यया संवलिता (3rd edn., Mumbayyāṃ: Nirnaya Sagara Press), ark:/13960/t48q2f20n.
- Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikramācārya, and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (1945) (eds.), महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता (मूलमात्रा). पाठान्तर-परिशिष्टादिभिः संवलिता = the Suśrutasaṃhitā of Suśruta with Various Readings, Notes and Appendix etc. (Mumbāi: Nirṇayasāgarākhyamudraṇālaye), ark:/13960/t8kd4jh7n.
- Acharya, Diwakar (2012), "Description of Microfilm A 45/5," NGMCP, URL, accessed 27/02/2023.
- Achaya, K. T. (1994), *Indian Food: A Historical Companion* (Delhi: Oxford University Press), ISBN: 0195628454.
- —— (1998), A Historical Dictionary of Indian Food (Delhi: Oxford University Press), ISBN: 0195642546.
- Adriaensen, Rob, Barkhuis, Roelf, and Ruijters, Jean-Louis (1984), "An English Translation of Suśrutasaṃhitā, Nidānasthāna 1, 1–39, Together with Gayadāsa's Nyāyacandrikā," in Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Workshop on Priorities in the Study of Indian Medicine* (Groningen: Forsten), 277–310. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.8201537.
- Āgāśe, Ve. Śā. Rā. Rā. Kāśīnātha Śāstrī, and Āpaṭe, Hari Nārāyaṇa (1904) (eds.), वाचस्पतिमिश्रविरचितटीकासंविलतव्यासभाष्यसमेतानि पातञ्जल-योगसूत्राणि तथा भोजदेवविरचितराजमार्तण्डाभिधवृत्तिसमेतानि पातञ्जलयोगसूत्राणि (Ānandāśramasaṃskṛtagranthāvaliḥ, 47; Puṇyākhya-pattana: Ānandāśramamudraṇālaya), ark:/13960/t40s27g36.

Agrawal, V. S. (1963), *India As Known to Pāṇini: A Study of the Cultural Material in the Aṣṭādhyāyī* (2nd edn., Varanasi: Prthvi Prakashan); First published in 1953.

- Angermeier, Vitus (2020), Regenzeiten, Feuchtgebiete, Körpersäfte. Das Wasser in der klassischen indischen Medizin (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften).
- ——(2021), "Agni and Soma Revisited: A Primordial Āyurvedic Concept?," in Toke Lindegaard Knudsen, Jacob Schmidt-Madsen, and Sara Speyer (eds.), *Body and Cosmos* (Leiden: Brill), chap. 3, 15–32. DOI: 10.1163/9789004438224 004.
- Azeez Pasha, M. (1971), "English Translation of Madan-ul-Shifa, Tibbe Sikandar Shahi (Sikandar Shah's Mine of Medicine)," Bulletin of the Department of History of Medicine (Osmania University, Hyderabad), 2/4: 227–2324; continued in BDHM 3(1) 29–38; BIHM 1(3/4) 127–134; & BIHM 2(1), 17–22.
- Baber, Zaheer (1996), *The Science of Empire: Scientific Knowledge, Civilization, and Colonial Rule in India* (Albany: State University of New York Press).
- Bakker, Hans T. (2019), "Some Methodological Considerations with Respect to the Critical Edition of Puranic Literature," in *Holy Ground: Where Art and Text Meet* (Leiden: Brill), 175–84. DOI: 10.1163/9789004412071010.
- Barceloux, Donald G. (2008), *Medical Toxicology of Natural Substances. Foods, Fungi, Medicinal Herbs, Plants, and Venomous Animals* (Hoboken, NJ, etc.: John Wiley & Sons), ISBN: 047172761X.
- Bausi, Alessandro, et al. (2015), *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies. An Introduction* (Hamburg: Tredition). DOI: 10.5281/ZENODO.46784.
- Bedekar, V. M. (1967), "The Legend of the Churning of the Ocean in the Epics and the Purāṇas: A Comparative Study," *Purāṇa*, 9/1: 7–61, ark:/13960/t57d2r97r.
- Bendall, Cecil (1883), Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit, Manuscripts in The, University Library, Cambridge: With Introductory Notices and Illustrations of the Palaeography and Chronology of Nepal and Bengal (Cambridge: University Press), ark:/13960/t03x8vz7b.

Bhaṭṭācārya, Candrakānta (1910–17) (ed.), सुश्रुतसंहिता प्रथमखण्डम् सूत्रस्थानात्मकम् हाराणचन्द्रचक्रवर्तिकविराजविरचितसुश्रुतार्थसन्दीपनभाष्य- समेतम्...चन्द्रकान्त भट्टाचार्थ्य-प्रमुखैः संशोधितम् = [The Suśrutasaṃhitā with the Commentary Suśrutārthasandīpanabhāṣya by Hārāṇacandra Cakravarti] (Kalikātā: Satya Press); Edition "t" in HIML: IB, 312.

- Bhattarai, Bidur (2020), Dividing Texts. Conventions of Visual Text-Organisation in Nepalese and North Indian Manuscripts (Studies in Manuscript Cultures; Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter), 388.
- Biardeau, Madeleine (1964), *Théorie de la connaissance et la philosophie de la parole dans la brahmanisme classique* (Paris & La Haye: Mouton & Co.), ark:/13960/t42r7g950.
- Birch, Jason, Wujastyk, Dominik, Klebanov, Andrey, Parameswaran, Madhu K., et al. (2021), "Further Insight into the Role of Dhanvantari, the Physician to the Gods, in the Suśrutasaṃhitā," *Academia Letters*. DOI: 10.20935/AL2992.
- Birch, Jason, Wujastyk, Dominik, Klebanov, Andrey, Rimal, Madhusudan, et al. (2021), "Dalhaṇa and the Early 'Nepalese' Version of the Suśrutasamhitā." doi: 10.20935/a13733.
- Böhtlingk, Otto (1879), Sanskrit-wörterbuch in kürzerer fassung (St. Petersburg: Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften), url, accessed 18/05/2023.
- Böhtlingk, Otto, and Roth, Rudolph (1855–75), *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* (St. Petersburg: Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften), URL, accessed 18/05/2023.
- Bollée, Willem (2010), "Remarks on the Cultural History of the Ear in India," in Nalini Balbir (ed.), Svasti: Essays in Honour of Professor Hampa Nagarajaiah for His 75th Birthday (Bangalore: K. S. Mudappa Smaraka Trust), 141–67, URL, accessed 23/01/2022.
- Breton, P. (1826), "On the Native Mode of Couching," *Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta*, 2: 341–82, ark:/13960/t3dz8nn5t, URL, accessed 02/06/2021.
- Bronkhorst, Johannes (2016), *How the Brahmins Won: From Alexander to the Guptas* (Leiden: Brill). DOI: 10.1163/9789004315518.
- —— (2021), "Patañjali's Āryāvarta = Śuṅga realm?," *Academia Letters*. DOI: 10.20935/al291; Article 291.

Bronner, Yigal (2021) (ed.), "The Pandit Project" (30 Sept.), URL.

- Brooks, Lisa Allette (2018), "Epistemology and Embodiment: Diagnosis and the Senses in Classical Ayurvedic Medicine," *Asian Review of World Histories*, 6: 98–135. DOI: 10.1163/22879811–12340027.
- ——(2020*a*), "A Surgeon's Hand: Reflections on Surgical Tactility in Early Ayurveda," *Asian Medicine*, 15/1: 30–62. DOI: 10 . 1163 / 15734218–12341460.
- ——(2020*b*), "Whose Life is Water, Whose Food is Blood: Fluid Bodies in Āyurvedic Leech Therapy," in Natalie Köhle and Shigehisa Kuriyama (eds.), Fluid Matter(s): Flow and Transformation in the History of the Body (Asian Studies Monograph Series, 14; Canberra: ANU Press). DOI: 10.22459/fm.2020.
- ——(2021*a*), "The Vascularity of Ayurvedic Leech Therapy: Sensory Translations and Emergent Agencies in Interspecies Medicine," *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 35/1: 82–101. DOI: 10.1111/maq.12595.
- ——(2021*b*), "Translating Touch in Āyurveda: Medicine, Sense, and Subjectivity in Early south Asia and Contemporary Kerala," PhD thesis (University of California, Berkeley).
- ——(forthcoming), "Leech Logic," in An Editor (ed.), A Book.
- Burghart, Marjorie (2016), "The TEI Critical Apparatus Toolbox: Empowering Textual Scholars through Display, Control, and Comparison Features," *Journal of the Text Encoding Initiative*, 10/Issue 10. DOI: 10.4000/jtei.1520.
- ——(2017), "Textual Variants," in Marjorie Burghart, James Cummings, and Elena Pierazzo (eds.), *Digital Editing of Medieval Texts: A Textbook* (DEMM), URL, accessed 04/07/2021.
- Burnell, Arthur Coke (1880), *A Classified Index to the Sanskrit Mss. in the Palace at Tanjore* (London: Trübner), ark:/13960/t4xh86j61; Bhelasamhitā described on pp. 67 ff.
- Carpue, J. C. (1816), An Account of Two Successful Operations for Restoring a Lost Nose from the Integuements of the Forehead...Including Descriptions of the Indian and Italian Methods (London: Longman et al.), ark:/13960/t2q57fn42, accessed 20/03/2019.

Chadha, Gita, and Thomas, Renny (2022) (eds.), *Mapping Scientific Method: Disciplinary Narrations* (Science and Technology Studies; Abingdon and New York: Routledge). DOI: 10.4324/9781003298908.

- Chevillard, Jean-Luc (2009), "The Metagrammatical Vocabulary inside the Lists of 32 Tantrayukti-s and its Adaptation to Tamil: Towards a Sanskrit-Tamil Dictionary," in Eva Wilden (ed.), Between Preservation and Recreation: Tamil Traditions of Commentary. Proceedings of a Workshop in honour of T.V. Gopal Iyer (École Française d'Extrême-Orient Collection Indologie, 109; Pondichéry: Institut français de Pondichéry / École Française d'extrême-Orient), 71–132, URL, accessed 15/11/2023.
- Cone, Margaret (2001), *A Dictionary of Pāli* (Oxford: The Pali Text Society), ISBN: 0 86013 394 x.
- Cordier, P. (1903), "Récentes découvertes de mss. médicaux sanscrits dans l'Inde (1898–1902)," *Muséon, Nouvelle Série*, 4: 321–52, ark:/13960/t26b2j457, accessed 02/01/2020; Reprinted in Rosu 1989: 539–70.
- Coult, Ro. (1731), "An Account of the Diseases of Bengall," in *Indian Science* and *Technology in the Eighteenth Century* (Impex India), 141 f., 276.
- Crawford, D. G. (1930), *Roll of the Indian Medical Service*, 1615–1930 (London, Calcutta, Simla: Thacker).
- Das, Rahul Peter (2003), *The Origin of the Life of a Human Being. Conception and the Female According to Ancient Indian Medical and Sexological Literature* (Indian Medical Tradition; Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas), ISBN: 81-208-1998-5.
- Dasgupta, S.. N. (1952), "Speculations in the Medical Schools," in *A History of Indian Philosophy*, ii (Reprint of 1932 edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), chap. 13, 273–436, URL, accessed 26/01/2018.
- Dave, K. N. (1985), *Birds in Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass), ISBN: 0-89581-676-8, ark:/13960/t2c94cv80.
- Deshpande, Madhav (1988), "Pāṇini and the Northwestern Dialect: Some Suggestions on Sūtra 3.3.10," in Mohammad Ali Jazayery and Werner Winter (eds.), *Languages and Cultures: Studies in Honor of Edgar C. Polomé*, xxxvi (Trends in linguistics. Studies and monographs; Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter), 111–23.

Deshpande, Madhav M. (2010), "Pañca Gauḍa and Pañca Drāviḍa: Contested Borders of a Traditonal Classification," in Klaus Karttunen (ed.), Anantaṃ Śāstram. Indological and Linguistic Studies in Honour of Bertil Tikkanen (Studia Orientalia, 108; Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society), 29–58, ISBN: 9789519380742.

- Deshpande, Vijaya (1999), "Indian Influences on Early Chinese Ophthalmology: Glaucoma As a Case Study," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 62: 306–22. DOI: 10.1017/S0041977X00016724.
- ——(2000), "Ophthalmic Surgery: A Chapter in the History of Sino-indian Medical Contacts," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 63/3: 370–88, ISSN: 0041-977X. DOI: 10.1017/s0041977x00008454.
- Deshpande, Vijaya Jayant (2019), "An Investigation into Ancient Greco-Indian Medical Exchanges: Sostratus vs Suśruta," *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 54/2: 144–61. DOI: 10.16943/ijhs/2019/v54i2/49659.
- Dimitrov, Dragomir, and Tamot, Kashinath (2007), "Kaiser Shamsher, His Library and His Manuscript Collection," *Kaiser Shamsher, His Library and His Manuscript Collection*, 3 (Jan.): 26–36, URL.
- Dixit, U., and Deole, Y. S. (2020), "Tantrayukti," in Basisht G. (ed.), *Charak Samhita New Edition* (Charak Samhita Research, Training and Skill Development Centre (CSRTSDC)), 151–1. DOI: 10.47468/csne.2020.e01.s09.022.
- Doniger, Wendy (2015), "Introduction: Sympathy for the Devi: Snakes and Snake Goddesses in Hinduism," in Kaiser Haq, *The Triumph of the Snake Goddess* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 1–28. DOI: 10.4159/9780674089136-intro.
- Eaton, Richard M. (1993), *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier*, 1204–1760 (Berkeley: University of California Press), ark:/13030/ft067n99v9/.
- Edgerton, Franklin (1939), "The Epic Triṣṭubh and Its Hypermetric Varieties," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 59/2: 159–74. DOI: 10.2307/594060.
- ——(1953), Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary. Vol. 2: Dictionary (William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series; New Haven: Yale University Press).

Eggeling, Julius, et al. (1887–1935), Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office (London: Secretary of State for India), ark:/13960/s2kbk5zcrg9.

- Elliot, Robert Henry (1918), *The Indian Operation of Couching for Cataract: Incorporating the Hunterian Lectures Delivered before the Royal College of Surgeons of England on February 19 and 21, 1917* (London: H. K. Lewis).
- Elshakry, Marwa S. (2008), "Knowledge in Motion: The Cultural Politics of Modern Science Translations in Arabic," *Isis*, 99/4: 701–30. DOI: 10.1086/595767, URL, accessed 24/02/2019.
- Emeneau, M. B. (1969), "Sanskrit Syntactic Particles "kila, khalu, nū-nam"," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 11/4: 241–68.
- Ewart, Joseph (1878), *The Poisonous Snakes of India: For the Use of the Officials and Others Residing in the Indian Empire* (London: J & A Churchill), ISBN: 81-7002-011-5, ark:/13960/t9z07w72g; Reprinted Delhi: Himalayan Books, 1985.
- Falk, Harry (1991), "Silver, Lead and Zinc in Early Indian Literature," *South Asian Studies*, 7/1: 111–7. DOI: 10.1080/02666030.1991.9628430.
- Fan, Ka Wai (2005), "Couching for Cataract and Sino-Indian Medical Exchange From the Sixth to the Twelfth Century AD," *Clinical and Experimental Ophthalmology*, 33/2: 188–90. DOI: 10.1111/j.1442-9071.2005.00978.x; unaware of V. Deshpande 1999; 2000.
- Fayrer, Joseph (1874), The Thanatophidia of India, Being a Description of the Venomous Snakes of the Indian Peninsula with and Account of the Influence of their Poison on Life and a Series of Experiments (2nd edn., London: Churchill), ark:/13960/t9h49dg5c; First edition 1872.
- Fitzgerald, James L. (2009), "A Preliminary Study of the 681 Triṣṭubh Passages of the Mahābhārata," in Robert P. Goldman and Muneo Tokunaga (eds.), *Epic Undertakings* (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference; Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishe), 95–117.
- Flood, Gavin D. (2022) (ed.), Wiley Blackwell Companion to Hinduism (2nd edn., Hoboken, NJ: Wiley & Sons, Limited), ISBN: 9781119144861.
- Froese, R., and Pauly, D. (2022) (eds.), "Fishbase: The Global Encyclopedia about Fish," URL.

Gaṇapatiśāstrī, T. (1920–25), Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpaḥ (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 70; Anantaśayane: Rājakīyamudraṇayantrālaye), ark:/13960/t4pk5sj0j.

- Ghosh, Ritwik, et al. (2023), "Snakebite envenomation-induced posterior reversible encephalopathy syndrome presenting with Bálint syndrome," *Neurología* (*English Edition*), 38/6 (July): 440–2, ISSN: 2173-5808. DOI: 10.1016/j.nrleng.2022.06.001.
- Giesche, Alena, et al. (2023), "Recurring Summer and Winter Droughts from 4.2–3.97 Thousand Years Ago in North India," *Nature: Communications Earth & Environment*, 4/1: 1–10. DOI: 10.1038/s43247-023-00763-z.
- Gode, P. K., and Karve, C. G. (1957–59) (eds.), Revised and Enlarged Edition of Prin. V. S. Apte's the Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary (Poona: Prasad Prakashan), ark:/13960/t3gx47212, accessed 20/10/2017.
- Gombrich, Richard (1979), "'He Cooks Softly': Adverbs in Sanskrit Grammar," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 42/2: 244–56. DOI: 10.1017/s0041977x0014580x.
- Goswami, Pradip Kumar (2011), "Comparative Studies of Bhanumati and Nibandha Samgraha with Special Reference to Arista Vijnana (prognostic Science)," AYU (An International Quarterly Journal of Research in Ayurveda), 32/2: 147. DOI: 10.4103/0974-8520.92540.
- Gupta, Parmanand (1973), *Geography In Ancient Indian Inscriptions* (*Up to 650 A.D.*) (Delhi: D. K. Publishing House), ark:/13960/t3907cf2d.
- ——(1989), Geography from Ancient Indian Coins & Seals (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company), ISBN: 9788170222484.
- Gupta, Sri Madhusudana (1835–36) (ed.), Āyur-veda-prakāśa [also Called Suśruta-saṃhitā] by Suśruta. the Suśruta, or System of Medicine, Taught by Dhanwantari, and Composed by His Disciple Suśruta, 2 vols. (Calcutta: Education Press and Baptist Mission Press), ark:/13960/t6841qw6x.
- Haas, E. (1876), "Über die Ursprünge der Indischen Medizin, mit besonderem Bezug auf Suṣruta," Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 30/4: 617–70, URL.
- Harimoto, Kengo (2010), "[Preliminary Edition of the Nepalese MSS of the Suśrutasaṃhitā, adhyāyas 1.1–3, 6.4]" (prepublished).

——(2011), "In Search of the Oldest Nepalese Manuscript," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 84/1–4: 85–106, ISSN: 0392-4866, URL, accessed 08/09/2019.

- ——(2013), "Description of microfilm C 80/7," NGMCP, URL, accessed 27/02/2023.
- —— (2014), "Nepalese Manuscripts of the Suśrutasaṃhitā," *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* (*Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu*), 62/3: 23–29 (1087-1093). DOI: 10.4259/ibk.62.3\_1087, URL, accessed 08/09/2019.
- Hayashi, Takao (2017), "The Units of Time in Ancient and Medieval India," *History of Science in South Asia*, 5/1: 1–116. DOI: 10.18732/h2ht0h.
- Hemarāja Śarman (1938) (ed.), काश्यपसंहिता (वृद्धजीवकीयं तन्त्रं वा) महर्षिणा मारीचकश्यपेनोपदिष्टा ... हेमराजशर्मणा लिखितेन विस्तृतेन उपोद्धातेन सहिता ... स-त्यपाल भिषगा कृतया विद्योतिनी हिन्दीव्याख्यया ... समुल्लसिता (1st edn., Mumba: Nirṇayasāgara Press), ark:/13960/t3mw5gb9p.
- Hendley, T. Holbein (1895), A Medico-topographical Account of Jeypore, Based on the Experience of Twenty Years' Service As a Residency Surgeon and Thirteen As Superintendent of Dispensaries at Jeypore, Rajputana (Calcutta: Calcutta Central Press Company).
- Hessler, Franciscus (1844–55), Suśrutas Ayurvédas: id est Medicinae Systema a Venerabili D'hanvantare Demonstratum a Susruta Discipulo Compositum; Nunc Primum Ex Sanskrita in Latinum Sermonem Vertit, Introductionem, Annotationes Et Rerum Indice Franciscus Hessler (Erlangen: Ferdinandum Enke), ark:/13960/t17m45r97.
- Hoernle, A. F. Rudolf (1893–1912) (ed.), *The Bower Manuscript: Facsimile Leaves, Nagari Transcript, Romanised Transliteration and English Translation with Notes* (New Imperial Series, 22; Calcutta: Government of India and under the patronage of the Bengali Government, Archaeological Survey of India), ark:/13960/t05z1bg4q.
- ——(1897), सुश्रुतसंहिता = The Suçruta-Saṃhitā or the Hindū System of Medicine According to Suçruta Translated from the Original Sanskrit (Bibliotheca Indica, 911; Calcutta: Asiatic Society), ark:/13960/t8pd1kw9r, accessed 03/01/2018; No more published; Hoernle does not state which edition he is translating, but it includes the "Dhanvantari phrase".

Hoernle, A. F. Rudolf (1906a), "Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine I: The Commentaries on Suśruta," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*: 283–302, URL, accessed 26/06/2019.

- ——(1906b), "Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine II: On Some Obscure Anatomical Terms," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 4: 915–41, URL, accessed 25/06/2019.
- ——(1907*a*), "Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine II: On Some Obscure Anatomical Terms (Continued from the He Journal, 1906, p. 941)," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*: 1–18, URL, accessed 25/06/2019.
- ——(1907b), Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India: Osteology or the Bones of the Human Body (Oxford: Clarendon Press), ark:/13960/t1pg9cq8b.
- Hofer, Theresia (2007), "Swami Laxmi Ram's Ayurvedic Pharmacy in Jaipur, India," *Wellcome History*, 34: 2–3, URL, accessed 16/03/2022.
- Holwell, J. Z. (1767), An Account of the Manner of Inoculating for the Small Pox in the East Indies With...Observations on The...Mode of Treating That Disease in Those Parts (London: T. Becket & P. A. de Hondt), ark:/13960/t3ws9h63c.
- Jack, David Morton (1884), "A Thesis on Cataract in India: Its Pathology and Treatment," Wellcome Library, London, MS 3007, URL, accessed 02/06/2021.
- Jamison, Stephanie W., and Brereton, Joel P. (2014), *The Rigveda* (South Asia Research; New York: Oxford University Press), ISBN: 9780199370184; With commentary at http://rigvedacommentary.alc.ucla.edu/.
- Jhalakīkar, Bhīmācārya (1978), न्यायकोशः (सकलशास्त्रोपकारकन्यायादिशास्त्रीयप-दार्थप्रकाशकः) = Nyāyakośa or Dictionary of Technical Terms of Indian Philosophy (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute), ark:/13960/ t4cp7242f.
- Kangle, R. P. (1969), *The Kauṭilīya* Arthaśāstra (2nd edn., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass), ISBN: 81-208-0042-7, ark:/13960/t3gz6qh1s, accessed 23/09/2021.

Karttunen, Klaus (2015), *Yonas and Yavanas in Indian Literature* (Studia Orientalia, 116; Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society), 454, ISBN: 978-951-9380-88-9, URL; Published electronically in 2016 as a back issue of *Studia Orientalia*.

- Keith, Arthur Berriedale (1908), review of A. F. Rudolf Hoernle (1907), "Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine II: On Some Obscure Anatomical Terms (Continued from the Hoe Journal, 1906, p. 941)," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*: 1–18, URL, accessed 25/06/2019, in *Zeitschrift Der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1/62: 134–9, URL, accessed 17/04/2021.
- Kieffer-Pülz, Petra (1996), "The Meaning of Māḷa(ka)/māla(ka) in Pāli," in N. Balbir, G.-J. Pinault, and J. Fezas (eds.), Langue, style et structure dans le monde indien, Centenaire de Louis Renou. Actes du Colloque international (Paris, 25–27 janvier 1996 (Paris), 285–325, URL, accessed 17/05/2023.
- Klebanov, Andrey (2010), "The \*Nepalese Version of the Suśrutasaṃhitā and Its Interrelation with Buddhism and the Buddhists," MA thesis (Hamburg: Hamburg University, Sept.), URL, accessed 08/09/2019.
- ——(2012), "Description of microfilm B 29/19," NGMCP, URL, accessed 27/02/2023.
- —— (2021*a*), "On the Textual History of the Suśrutasaṃhitā (1): A Study of Three Nepalese Manuscripts," *eJIM: Electronic Journal of Indian Medicine*, 12/1: 1–64. DOI: 10.21827/ejim.12.1.37385.
- ——(2021*b*), "On the Textual History of the Suśrutasaṃhitā, (2): An Anonymous Commentary and its Identified Citations," in Toke Lindegaard Knudsen, Jacob Schmidt-Madsen, and Sara Speyer (eds.), Body and Cosmos: Studies in Early Indian Medical and Astral Sciences in Honor of Kenneth G. Zysk (Leiden, Boston: Brill), 110–39. DOI: 10.1163/9789004438224\_008.
- Kuist, James M. (1982), The Nichols File of The Gentleman's Magazine (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), ISBN: 0-299-08480-9, ark:/13960/t53g2ct2z.
- Kulikov, Leonid (2006), "The Sanskrit -yet- Optative: A Formation Not Yet Recorded in Sanskrit Grammars," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, 50: 27–68. doi: 10.1553/wzksls27, url.

Lariviere, Richard W. (2003), *The Nāradasmṛti. Critically Edited with an Introduction,annotated Translation, and Appendices* (2nd edn., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass), ISBN: 8120818040; First edition: Philadelphia, 1989.

- Law, Bimala Churn (1984), *Historical Geography of Ancient India* (New Delhi: Orient Books Reprint), ark:/13960/t3d01t737; Reprint of 1954 Paris edition.
- Leffler, Christopher T., et al. (2020), "The History of Cataract Surgery: From Couching to Phacoemulsification," *Annals of Translational Medicine*, 8/22: 1551–97, ISSN: 2305-5847. DOI: 10.21037/atm-2019-rcs-04, URL, accessed 02/11/2020.
- Lele, W. K. (1981), The Doctrine of the Tantrayukti-s: Methodology of Theoretico-scientific Treatises in Sanskrit (Chaukhamba Surabharati Studies, 3; Varanasi: Chaukhamba Surabharati Prakashan), ark:/13960/s28vqzhkdjq.
- Li, Charles (2017), "Critical Diplomatic Editing: Applying Text-critical Principles As Algorithms," in Peter Boot et al. (eds.), Advances in Digital Scholarly Editing. Papers Presented at the Dixit Conferences in the Hague, Cologne, and Antwerp (Leiden: Sidestone Press), 305–10, ISBN: 978-90-8890-485-1, URL, accessed 10/11/2020.
- ——(2017–), "Saktumiva," url, accessed 21/01/2023.
- —— (2018), "Limits of the Real: A Hypertext Critical Edition of Bhartṛhari's Dravyasamuddeśa, with the Commentary of Helārāja," en, PhD thesis (Cambridge: University of Cambridge). DOI: 10.17863/CAM.31454.
- ——(2022a), "Helayo: Reconstructing Sanskrit Texts from Manuscript Witnesses," *Journal of Open Source Software*, 7/71: 4022. DOI: 10.21105/joss.04022.
- ——(2022b), "Reconstructing a Sanskrit Text" (19 Nov.), URL, accessed 20/01/2023.
- Lienhard, Siegfried (1978), "On the Meaning and Use of the Word Indragopa," *Indologica taurinensia*, 6: 177–88, URL, accessed 06/02/2021; The indragopa is a 'red velvet mite'.

Longmate, Barak (1794), "A Curious Chirurgical Operation," *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 64.4 (Oct.): 883, 891, 892; I am grateful to the late John Symons of the Wellcome Library who identified the author 'B. L.' as the journalist Barak Longmate. See also Kuist 1982: 87.

- Maas, Philipp André (2013), "A Concise Historiography of Classical Yoga Philosophy: leslie," in Eli Franco (ed.), *Historiography and Periodization of Indian Philosophy* (Vienna: Sammlung de Nobili), 53–90, URL, accessed 27/05/2016.
- Mairs, Rachel (2013), "Greek Settler Communities in Central and South Asia, 323 BCE to 10 CE," in Ato Quayson (ed.), *A Companion To Diaspora And Transnationalism* (Oxford: John Wiley and Sons Ltd), 443–54, ISBN: 9781405188265.
- (2014), The Hellenistic Far East: Archæology, Language, and Identity in Greek Central Asia: Archæology, Language, and Identity in Greek Central Asia (Berkeley: University of California Press), 250, ISBN: 9780520292468. DOI: 10.1525/9780520959545.
- Majno, Guido (1975), *The Healing Hand. Man and Wound in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), ark:/13960/t4hm7xf2c.
- Malamoud, Charles (1996), "Paths of the Knife: Carving up the Victim in Vedic Sacrifice," in *Cooking the World: Ritual and Thought in Ancient India. Translated from the French by David White* (Delhi, Bombay, etc.: Oxford University Press), 169–80.
- Mānasa-taraṅgiṇī (2019), "Kaiṭabha, Poison and Death: Meanderings through Tradition," mAnasa-taraMgiNI Blog (1 Sept.), URL, accessed 31/01/2023.
- Manevskaia, Ilona (2008), "Preliminary Observations on Compositional Methods in Haribhadra's Ālokā," in Richard Gombrich and Cristina Scherrer-Schaub (eds.), *Buddhist Studies* (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, 8; Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass), 97–117.
- Manucci, Niccolò (1907–08), Storia Do Mogor or, Mogul India, 1653–1708 by Niccolao Manucci, Venetian; Translated with Introduction and Notes, by William Irvine (The Indian Texts Series; London: J. Murray), URL, accessed 04/10/2021.

Masai, François (1950), "Principes et conventions de l'édition diplomatique," *Scriptorium*, 4: 177–93. DOI: 10.3406/scrip.1950.2294.

- McHugh, James (2021), An Unholy Brew: Alcohol in Indian History and Religions (New York: Oxford University Press), 416 pp., ISBN: 9780199375936.
- Mehta, S. R., and Sashindran, V. K. (2002), "Clinical Features And Management Of Snake Bite," *Medical Journal Armed Forces India*, 58/3 (July): 247–9. DOI: 10.1016/s0377-1237(02)80140-x.
- Mejor, Marek (2000), "Some Observations on the Date of the *Yukti-dīpikā* (apropos of a New Edition)," in Piotr Blcerowicz and Marek Mejor (eds.), On the Understanding of Other Cultures, vii (Studia Indologiczne; Warszawa: Instytut Orientalistyczny, Uniwersytet Warszawski), 255–89.
- Meulenbeld, Gerrit Jan (1974b), The Mādhavanidāna and Its Chief Commentary: Chapters 1–10. Introduction, Translation, and Notes (Leiden: Brill), ISBN: 978-90-04-03892-9, ark:/13960/t25b8q97g.
- ——(1984), "The Surveying of Sanskrit Medical Literature," in id. (ed.), Proceedings of the International Workshop on Priorities in the Study of Indian Medicine (Groningen: Forsten), 37–56.
- —— (1989), "The Search for Clues to the Chronology of Sanskrit Medical Texts As Illustrated by the History of Bhaṅgā (cannabis Sativa Linn.)," Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik, 15: 59–70.
- ——(1990), "Conformities and Divergences of Basic Ayurvedic Concepts in Veterinary Texts," *Journal of the European Ayurvedic Society*, 1: 1–6, URL, accessed 16/02/2022.
- ——(1991), "The Constraints of Theory in the Evolution of Nosological Classifications: A Study on the Position of Blood in Indian Medicine (Āyurveda)," in *Medical Literature from India, Sri Lanka, and Tibet,* 91–106, ISBN: 90-04-09522-5, URL.
- ——(1992), "The Characteristics of a Doṣa," *Journal of the European Āy-urvedic Society*, 2/1: 1–5, ark:/13960/t8hf69z8j.
- ——(2008), The Mādhavanidāna with "Madhukośa," the Commentary by Vijayarakṣita and Śrīkaṇṭhadatta (Ch. 1-10). Introduction, Translation, and Notes (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass).

—— (2011), "The Relationships between Doṣas and Dūṣyas: A Study on the Meaning(s) of the Root Murch-/mūrch," *eJournal of Indian Medicine*, 4/2: 35–135, URL, accessed 13/10/2017.

- Miles, M. (1999), "Personal Communication," Mar.; Letter of 4 March.
- Moureau, Sébastien. (2015), "The Apparatus Criticus," in Alessandro Bausi et al. (eds.), *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction* (Hamburg: Tredition), 348–52, ISBN: 978-3-7323-1768-4, URL, accessed 04/07/2021.
- Mukhopādhyāya, Girindranāth (1913), The Surgical Instruments of the Hindus, with a Comparative Study of the Surgical Instruments of the Greek, Roman, Arab, and the Modern Eouropean (sic) Surgeons (Calcutta: Calcutta University), ark:13960/t1zd2pq29, accessed 29/01/2018; Vol.2: ark:/13960/t9r25qd8m. Reprinted as a single volume, New Delhi, 1987.
- Muthuswami, Nurani Easwara (1976) (ed.), *Tantrayuktivicāraḥ* [by Nīlameghabhiṣaj] (Kerala Praśāsanāyurveda Granthāvaliḥ, 1; 2nd edn., Trivandrum: Publications Division, Govt. Ayurveda College), URL, accessed 09/03/2018; Etext transcribed from edition by Manoj Sankaranarayana and Pavana J.
- Narayana, Ala, and Thrigulla, Saketh Ram (2011), "Tangible Evidences of Surgical Practice in Ancient India," *Journal of Indian Medical Heritage*, 16: 1–18, URL, accessed 02/06/2021.
- Nārāyaṇa, Śaṃkaraśarman (1949), *Tantrayuktiḥ*, ed. Vayaskara N. S. Mooss (Vaidyasārathigranthāvaliḥ, 6; Koṭṭayanagaryāṃ: Vaidyasarathi Press), url, accessed 09/03/2018.
- NGMCP (2014), "Nepal-german Manuscript Cataloguing Project. Online Title List and Descriptive Catalogue," Universität Hamburg and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, URL.
- Oberhammer, Gerhard (1967–68), "Notes on the Tantrayukti-s," *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, 31–2: 600–16, URL.
- Oberlies, Thomas (2003), *A Grammar of Epic Sanskrit* (Indian Philology and South Asian Studies, 5; Berlin: De Gruyter), ISBN: 9783110144482. DOI: 10.1515/9783110899344.
- Olivelle, Patrick (1995), "Food in India," *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 23/3: 367–80. DOI: 10.1007/bf01463136.

Olivelle, Patrick (2001), Food for Thought. Dietary Rules and Social Organization in Ancient India (Gonda Lectures, 9; Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences), URL, accessed 28/06/2023.

- —— (2005), Manu's Code of Law: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Manava-dharmasastra, With the editorial assistance of Suman Olivelle (South Asia research; New York: Oxford University Press), ISBN: 0195171462.
- (2013), King, Governance, and Law in Ancient India: Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. a New Annotated Translation (New York: Oxford University Press), ISBN: 9780199891825. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:osobl/9780199891825.003.0001.
- Osbaldeston, Tess Anne, and Wood, R. P. A. (2000), Dioscorides. De Materia Medica. Being an Herbal with Many Other Medicinal Materials Written in Greek in the First Century of the Common Era. a New Indexed Version in Modern English [Introductory Notes by R. P. Wood] (Johannesburg: IBIDIS Press), ISBN: 0-620-23435-0, URL.
- Pandey, Anshuman (2012), "Proposal to Encode the Newar Script in ISO/IEC 10646," URL.
- Pāṇḍeya, Rāmateja (1963) (ed.), श्रीकृष्णद्वैपायनव्यासप्रणीतं गरुडपुराणम् (Vidyabhawan Prachyavidya Granthamala, 3; reprint, Caukhambā Vidyābhavana, Pandita-Pustakālaya: Kāśī), ark:/13960/t6pz7tg7j.
- Pass, Gregory (2003), Descriptive Cataloging of Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance, and Early Modern Manuscripts (Chicago: American Library Association), ISBN: 0-8389-8218-2, URL.
- PBS (2020), "Modern Day Blood-letting in North Africa," PBS (11 Dec.), URL; Filmed in Farchana, Chad, amongst Sudanese refugees from Darfur, for the series *Our Human Planet*.
- Pillay, V. V. (2013), *Modern Medical Toxicology* (New Delhi: Jaypee Brothers Pvt. Ltd), ISBN: 9789350259658.
- Pillay, Vijay V., and Sasidharan, Anu (2019), "Oleander and Datura Poisoning: An Update," *Indian Journal of Critical Care Medicine*, 23/Supplement 4: 5250–5. DOI: 10.5005/jp-journals-10071-23302.

Preisendanz, Karin (2007), "The Initiation of the Medical Student in Early Classical Āyurveda: Caraka's Treatment in Context," in Birgit Kellner et al. (eds.), Pramāṇakīrtiḥ. Papers Dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday. Part 2, ii, 2 vols. (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 70.2; Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische Und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien), 629–68, ISBN: 9783902501097, URL.

- —— (2013), "Logic, Debate and Epistemology in Ancient Indian Medical Science: An Investigation Into the History and Historiography of Indian Philosophy. Part I," in Dominik Wujastyk, Anthony Cerulli, and Karin Preisendanz (eds.), *Medical Texts and Manuscripts in Indian Cultural History* (Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors), 63–139, ISBN: 978-9350980194.
- Prets, Ernst, and Prandstetter, Joachim (1991–2006), Terminologie der frühen philosophischen Scholastik in Indien: Ein Begriffswörterbuch zur altinidischen Dialektik, Erkenntnislehre und Metholologie, ed. Gerhard Oberhammer (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosoophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 223, 248, 343; Wien: Verlag der Österreicheischen Akademie der Wissenschaften); Beitraäge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens; Nr. 9, 17, 49.
- Price, Kenneth M. (2013), "Electronic Scholarly Editions," in Ray Siemens and Susan Schreibman (eds.), *A Companion to Digital Literary Studies* (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd), 434–50. DOI: 10 . 1002 / 9781405177504.ch24, URL, accessed 04/07/2021.
- Rādhākāntā Deva, Rājā (1876), মৃত্রকেল্पट्रुमः = Shabda Kalpadrumah, Or, the Tree Bearing All the Words That May Be Wished For (Calcutta: Baradākānta Mitra & Co. at the New Bengal Press), ark:/13960/t9x10x61b.
- Rai, Saurav Kumar (2019), "Invoking 'Hindu' Ayurveda: Communalisation of the Late Colonial Ayurvedic Discourse," *The Indian Economic & Social History Review*, 56/4: 411–26. DOI: 10.1177/0019464619873820; Online first.
- Rama Rao, B., et al. (2005), Sanskrit Medical Manuscripts in India (New Delhi: Central Council for Research in Ayurveda & Siddha), ark:/13960/t88h7763b.

Rama Sastri and Krishnamurthi Sastri, S. R. (1952) (eds.), पातञ्जलयोगसू-त्रभाष्यिववरणम्। (राङ्करभगवत्पादप्रणीतम्) = Pātnjala[sic]-yogasūtra-bhāṣya Vivaraṇam of Śaṅkara-Bhagavatpāda. Critically Edited with Introduction (Madras Government Oriental Series, 94; Madras: Government Oriental Manuscripts Library), ark:/13960/t7jq3m14w, accessed 20/10/2017.

- Rây, Priyadaranjan, Gupta, Hirendra Nath, and Roy, Mira (1980), *Suśruta Saṃhita (a Scientific Synopsis*) (New Delhi: Indian National Science Academy), ark:/13960/t64511t6v, accessed 13/09/2019.
- Raychaudhuri, Hemachandra (1953), *Political History of Ancient India* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta), ark:/13960/s25hz0hz29p.
- Renou, Louis (1940), "Sur certaines anomolies de l'optatif Sanskrit," Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, 41: 5–17, ark:/12148/ bpt6k121049.
- Rhys Davids, Thomas William, and Stede, William (1921–25), *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* (London: The Pali Text Society), ark:/13960/t4nk3nc12.
- Rimal, Madhusudana, and Wujastyk, Dominik (2022), "MS Kathmandu NAK 1/1146," Pandit Project (18 May), URL.
- Roelli, Philipp (2020) (ed.), *Handbook of Stemmatology* (Berlin: De Gruyter). DOI: 10.1515/9783110684384.
- Roelli, Philipp, and Macé, Caroline (2015), "Parvum Lexicon Stemmatologicum. A Brief Lexicon of Stemmatology." DOI: 10.5167/uzh-121539.
- Roşu, Arion (1989), *Un demi-siècle de recherches āyurvédiques. Gustave Liétard et Palmyr Cordier: Travaux sur l'histoire de la médecine indienne* (Paris: Institut de Civilisation Indienne).
- Ruben, Walter (1926), "Zur Frühgeschichte der indischen Philosophie," in W. Kirfel (ed.), Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens Festgabe Hermann Jacobi zum 75. Geburtstag <11. Februar 1925> dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern (Bonn: Kommissionsverlag Fritz Klopp), 346–57.
- ——(1954*a*), Geschichte der indischen Philosophie [collected articles] (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag), ark:/13960/t9v18cc78.

——(1954*b*), "Medizin (Caraka) und Logik (Nyāya) (um 100 u. Z.)," in id., *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie* [collected articles] (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag), chap. 21, 212–22, ark:/13960/t9v18cc78.

- Saha, Mridula (2015), The History of Indian Medicine Based on the Vedic Literature Satapatha Brahmana (Kolkata: The Asiatic Society), ISBN: 978-9381574294.
- Sarukkai, Sundar (2016), "Translation As Method: Implications for History of Science," in Bernard Lightman, Gordon McOuat, and Larry Stewart (eds.), *The Circulation of Knowledge Between Britain, India and China* (Leiden: BRILL), 309–29. DOI: 10.1163/9789004251410\_014.
- Sastri, Hrishikesh, and Gui, Siva Chandra (1895–1917), *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of Calcutta Sanskrit College* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press).
- Sastri, P. P. S. (1933), A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library Tanjore: Natya, Sangita, Kamasastra, Vaidya & Jyotisa, nos. 10650 11737 (Srirangam: Sri Vani Vilas Press), ark:/13960/t3nw8bc12.
- Śāstrī, Vardhamāna Pārśvanātha (1940) (ed.), उग्रादित्याचार्यकृत कल्याणकारक (राष्ट्रभाषानुवादसिहत) = The Kalyāṇa-kārakam of Ugrādityacharya, Edited with Introduction, Translation, Notes, Indexes and Dictionary (Sakhārāma Nemacaṃda Graṃthamālā, 129; Solāpura: Seṭha Goviṃdajī Rāvajī Dośī), ark:/13960/t2q617g4d.
- Scharfe, Hartmut (1993), *Investigations in Kauṭalya's Manual of Political Science* (2nd edn., Oxford: Harrassowitz), ISBN: 3447033304, URL; 2nd. rev. ed. of Untersuchungen zur Staatsrechtslehre des Kauṭalya.
- Schwartzberg, Joseph E., Bajpai, Shiva G., et al. (1978) (eds.), *A Historical Atlas of South Asia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), URL.
- Scott, H. (1817), "Some Remarks on the Arts of India, with Miscellaneous Observations on Various Subjects," *Journal of Science and the Arts*, 2: 67–72, ill. after 133, ark:/13960/t9870jt4g; Breton 1826: 358–363 cites Scott's description of cataract couching.
- Selby, Martha Ann (2005*a*), "Narratives of Conception, Gestation, and Labour in Sanskrit Ayurvedic Texts," *Asian Medicine*, 1/2: 254–75, ISSN: 1573-420X. DOI: 10.1163/157342105777996638.

Selby, Martha Ann (2005*b*), "Sanskrit Gynecologies in Postmodernity: The Commoditization of Indian Medicine in Alternative Medical and Newage Discourses on Women's Health," in *Asian Medicine and Globalization*, chap. 8, 120–31, URL, accessed 22/03/2018.

- Semeka-Pankratov, Elena (1979), "A Semiotic Approach to the Polysemy of the Symbol *nāga* in Indian Mythology," in Irene Portis Winner and Jean Umiker-Sebeok (eds.), *Semiotics of Culture* (Approaches to Semiotics, 53; The Hague, Paris, NY: Mouton), 237–90. DOI: 10.1515/9783110823134-009; The contents of this volume were published simultaneously in *Semiotica* (1/3) 1979.
- Sen, Sailendra Nath (1988), *Ancient Indian History and Civilization* (Delhi: New Age International), ark:/13960/t8gf8pz34.
- Sena, Gaṅgāprasād, et al. (1886–93) (eds.), सुश्रुतसंहिता...दल्लनाचार्य्य-कृत-निवन्ध-संग्रह, चक्रपाणिदत्त-कृत-भानुमती-टीका...वङ्गानुवाद...इरेजि प्रतिशब्द (Calcutta: Maṇirāma Press); Edition "g" in HIML: IB, 311.
- Sharma, Har Dutt (1939), Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collections of Manuscripts Deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XVI, Part I, Vaidyaka (Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Government Manuscripts Library, XVI.I; Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute), ark:/13960/t0ms6rc70, accessed 23/10/2019.
- Sharma, Priya Vrat (1972), *Indian Medicine in the Classical Age* (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office).
- —— (1975), *Āyurved Kā Vaijñānik Itihās* (Jayakṛṣṇadāsa Āyurveda Granthamālā; Vārāṇasī: Caukhambā Orientalia).
- ——(1982), Dalhaṇa and his Comments on Drugs (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal).
- —— (1999–2001), Suśruta-Saṃhitā, with English Translation of Text and Dalhaṇa's Commentary Alongwith (sic) Critical Notes, 3 vols. (Haridas Ayurveda Series, 9; Varanasi: Chaukhambha Visvabharati).
- Shastri, R. Shama (1920) (ed.), बोधायनगृह्यसूत्रम् The Bodhāyana Grihyasutra (Mysore: University of Mysore), ark:/13960/t2t492622.
- Shiffman, Melvin A. (2013), "History of Otoplasty: Review of Literature," in id. (ed.), *Advanced Cosmetic Otoplasty: Art, Science, and New Clinical Techniques* (Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer), chap. 5, 43–64. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-642-35431-1 5.

Siddiqi, Muhammad Zubayr (1959), Studies in Arabic and Persian Medical Literature, ark:/13960/s25bxqt84xm.

- Sieler, Roman (2015), Lethal Spots, Vital Secrets. Medicine and Martial Arts in South India (New York: Oxford University Press), ISBN: 9780190243869.
- Singh, A. (2003), "Tantra Yukti: Method of Theorization in Ayurveda," *Ancient Science Of Life*, 22/3: 64–74.
- Singhal, G. D., et al. (1972–82), *Diagnostic* [and Other] Considerations in Ancient Indian Surgery (Varanasi: Singhal Publications); A translation of the Suśrutasamhitā in 10v.
- Sircar, Dinesh Chandra (1971), Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India (2nd edn., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass), ark:/13960/t72w2zd8w.
- —— (1987), "6. Rākshaskhāli (Sundarban) Plate; Śaka 1118," *Epigraphia Indica* (1953–54), 30: 42–3, ark:/13960/t80m25q3w.
- Śiromaṇi, Bharatacandra (1873) (ed.), चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि-दानखण्डम् (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal), ark:/13960/t1rf9jd94.
- Sleeman, W. H. (1893), Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official (London: Constable), ark:/13960/t22c4bx7w; v.2 at http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t2s52bq7w.
- Slouber, Michael (2016), Early Tantric Medicine: Snakebite, Mantras, and Healing in the Garuda Tantras (New York: OUP), 392 pp., ISBN: 9780190461812.
- Smith, Brian K. (1994), Classifying the Universe: The Ancient Indian Varṇa System and the Origins of Caste (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press), ISBN: 0-19-508498-5.
- Spencer, Walter George (1935–38), *Celsus: De Medicina. with an English Translation by W. G. Spencer*, 3 vols. (Loeb Classical Library, 292, 304, 336; Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press; William Heinemann), URL, accessed 02/06/2021.
- Speziale, Fabrizio (2019), "Rasāyana and Rasaśāstra in the Persian Medical Culture of South Asia," *History of Science in South Asia*, 7: 1–41. DOI: 10 . 18732/hssa.v7i0.40.

Spink, M. S., and Lewis, G. L. (1973) (eds.), *Albucasis on Surgery and Instruments: A Definitive Edition of the Arabic Text with English Translation and Commentary* (London: Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine), ark:/13960/t95823n1k.

- Srikantha Murthy, K. R. (2000–02), *Illustrated Suśruta Saṃhitā: Text, English Translation, Notes, Appendices and Index* (Jaikrishnadas Ayurveda Series, 102; 1st edn., Varanasi: Chaukhambha Orientalia).
- Steingass, F. (1930), A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to Be Met with in Persian Literature (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner), ark:/13960/s25bwz0337d; Reprint, Delhi: Oriental Reprint, 1973.
- Storey, C. A. (1971), *Persian Literature, a Bio-bibliographical Survey.* Vol. II.2: Medicine (London: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland), ark:/13960/t9v18bf68.
- Strauss, Bettina (1934), "Das Giftbuch des Śānāq: eine Literaturgeschichtliche Untersuchung," Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin, 4/2: [89]–[152] followed by Arabic text, ark:/13960/s2hb5j66s95.
- Suvedī, K. S., and Tīvārī, N. (2000) (eds.), सौश्रुतनिघण्टुः: ग्रन्थादौ विस्तृतेन ग्रन्थ-वैशिष्ट्यप्रकाशकेनोपोद्घातेन अवसाने च द्रव्याणामनेकभाषानामावली-पर्यायसङ्ग्रहाभ्यां समलङ्कृतः सुश्रुतसंहितायां प्रयुक्तानामौषधद्रव्याणां पर्याय-गुणकर्मवर्णात्मको ऽपूर्वग्रन्थः (Belajhuṇḍī, Ḍāṅ: Mahendrasaṃskṛtaviśvavidyālayaḥ).
- Talwar, P. K., and Kacker, R. K. (1984), *Commercial Sea Fishes of India* (Calcutt: Zoological Survey of India), ark:/13960/t5s841v5m.
- Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste (1684), *Collections of Travels through Turky* (sic), *into Persia, and the East-Indies* (London: M. Pitt), ark:/13960/t9g45vn74.
- TEI Consortium (2010), TEI P5: Guidelines for Electronic Text Encoding and Interchange, ed. C. M. Sperberg-McQueen et al. (Oxford, Providence, Charlottesville, Nancy: TEI Consortium), URL.
- Thorburn, S. S. (1876), *Bannu; or Our Afghan Frontier* (London: Trübner & Co.), ark:/13960/t39z96g7m; Reprinted Lahore: Niaz Ahmad, 1978.
- Tivārī, Premvatī (1990), Āyurvedīya prasūti-tantra evam strī-rog; pratham bhāg: Prasūti-tantra, dvitīya bhāg: Strī-rog (Jayakṛṣṇadāsa Āyurvedīya Granthamālā, 41; Varanas: Caukhamba Orientaliai).

UNESCO (2013), "International Memory of the World Register Susruta Samhita (Nepal)," UNESCO, URL, accessed 11/09/2019.

- Unicode Consortium (1991), "The Unicode Standard 15.0, Newa Range," url: https://unicode.org/charts/PDF/U11400.pdf.
- Unschuld, Paul Ulrich (1984), *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas* (Berkeley: University of California Press), ISBN: 0520050231.
- Valiathan, M. S. (2007), *The Legacy of Suśruta* (Hyderabad, Chennai, etc.: Orient Longman).
- Velankar, H. D (1925–30), Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskṛta and Prākṛta Manuscripts in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Bombay: Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay), ark:/13960/t53g00h0n; Biswas #0115.
- Wall, Frank (1913), The Poisonous Terrestrial Snakes of Our British Indian Dominions (Including Ceylon) and How to Recognize Them; With Symptoms of Snake Poisoning and Treatment (3rd edn., Bombay: Bombay Natural History Society), ark:/13960/t1zc8g94b.
- —— (1921), *Ophidia Taprobanica or the Snakes of Ceylon* (Colombo: Cottle, Government Printer), ark:/13960/t39z9q93n.
- Whitney, William Dwight (1885), *The Roots, Verb-forms, and Primary De-rivatives of the Sanskrit Language. A Supplement to his Sanskrit Grammar* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel), ark:/13960/t3qv3p906.
- Wilson, H. H. (1823), "On the Medical and Surgical Sciences of the Hindus," *The Oriental Magazine and Calcutta Review*, 1: 207–12, 349–56, URL.
- Woodcock, Martin W. (1980), Collins Handguide to the Birds of the Indian Sub-continent, Including India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal (Collins), ISBN: 0-00-219712-X; Reprinted 1990.
- Wujastyk, Dagmar (2012), Well-mannered Medicine: Medical Ethics and Etiquette in Classical Ayurveda (New York: Oxford University Press).

  DOI: 10.1093/acprof:0so/9780199856268.001.0001.
- —— (2013*a*), "Perfect Medicine. Mercury in Sanskrit Medical Literature," *Asian Medicine: Tradition & Modernity*, 8/1 (Sept.): 15–40, ISSN: 1573-4218. DOI: 10.1163/15734218-12341278.

Wujastyk, Dagmar (2019), "Iron Tonics: Tracing the Development from Classical to Iatrochemical Formulations in Ayurveda," *HIMALAYA: The Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies*, 39/1. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.7746874.

- Wujastyk, Dominik (1993), "Indian Medicine," in W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter (eds.), *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, i (London: Routledge), chap. 33, 755–78, ISBN: 0-415-04771-4, URL.
- ——(2000), "The Combinatorics of Tastes and Humours in Classical Indian Medicine and Mathematics," *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 28: 479–95. DOI: 10.1023/a:1017514013759.
- ——(2002), "Cannabis in Traditional Indian Herbal Medicine," in Ana Salema (ed.), *Āyurveda at the Crossroads of Care and Cure. Proceedings of the Indo-European Seminar on Ayurveda held at Arrábida, Portugal, in November 2001* (Lisbon: Centro de História de Além-Mar, Universidade Nova de Lisboa), 45–73, ISBN: 972-98672-5-9, URL, accessed 27/05/2019.
- ——(2003*a*), "Black Plum Island," in 2nd International Conference on Indian Studies. Proceedings (Kraków: Jagiellonian University, Institute of Oriental Philology and Księgarnia Akademicka), 637–49.
- —— (2003*b*), *The Roots of Ayurveda: Selections from Sanskrit Medical Writings* (Penguin Classics; 3rd edn., London, New York, etc.: Penguin Group), ISBN: 0-140-44824-1.
- —— (2004), "Agni and Soma: A Universal Classification," *Studia Asiatica: International Journal for Asian Studies*, IV–V, ed. Eugen Ciurtin: 347–70. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.7742068.
- ——(2013*b*), "New Manuscript Evidence for the Textual and Cultural History of Early Classical Indian Medicine," in *Medical Texts and Manuscripts in Indian Cultural History*, ed. Dominik Wujastyk, Anthony Cerulli, and Karin Preisendanz (New Delhi: Manohar), 141–57, URL.
- Wujastyk, Dominik, et al. (2020), "Suśrutasaṃhitā," PanditProject (6 Oct.), URL, accessed 14/09/2022.
- Wujastyk, Dominik (2021a), "A New Translation of Carakasaṃhitā, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 1, Based on the Vienna Critical Edition," in Toke Lindegaard Knudsen, Jacob Schmidt-Madsen, and Sara Speyer (eds.), Body and Cosmos. Studies in Early Indian Medical and Astral

Sciences in Honor of Kenneth G. Zysk (Leiden, Boston: Brill), chap. 6, 77–109. DOI: 10.1163/9789004438224\_007.

- ——(2021*b*), "MS London BL H. T. Colebrooke 908," URL, accessed 03/07/2021.
- (2021–), "Sushrutaproject: Version Control for Suśruta Text TEI Transcriptions: Suśruta Project Manuscript Transcriptions," University of Alberta, URL, accessed 21/01/2023; archived at DOI: 10.5281/zen-odo.6471655.
- Wujastyk, Dominik, et al. (2021–), "The Suśruta Project: The Textual and Cultural History of Medicine in South Asia Based on Newly-Discovered Manuscript Evidenc," ed. Dominik Wujastyk, Jason Birch, Andrey Klebanov, et al., URL, accessed 21/01/2023.
- Wujastyk, Dominik (2022), "The Science of Medicine," in Gavin D. Flood (ed.), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Hinduism* (2nd edn., Hoboken, NJ: Wiley and Sons, Ltd.), chap. 23, 399–413, ISBN: 9781119144861. DOI: 10.1002/9781119144892.ch23.
- Wujastyk, Dominik, Birch, Jason, Klebanov, Andrey, et al. (2021–) (eds.), "New Digital Edition of the Suśrutasaṃhitā: The Suśruta Project at Saktumiva," University of Alberta, url.
- Wujastyk, Dominik, Birch, Jason, Klebanov, Andrey, et al. (2023), *On the Plastic Surgery of the Ears and Nose. The Nepalese Version of the Suśrutas-aṃhitā* (Heidelberg: Heidelberg Asian Studies Publishing), ISBN: 978-3-948791-63-6. DOI: 10.11588/hasp.1203.
- Wujastyk, Dominik, Pollock, Sheldon, et al. (2008–), "SARIT: Search and Retrieval of Indic Texts," url, accessed 21/01/2023.
- Yagi, Toru (1994), "A Note on bhojya- and bhakṣya-," in Yasuke Ikari (ed.), *A Study of the Nīlamata. Aspects of Hinduism in Ancient Kashmir* (Kyoto: Kyoto Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University).
- Yano, Michio (1986), "A Comparative Study of *Sūtrasthānas*: Caraka, Suśruta, and Vāgbhaṭa," in Teizo Ogawa (ed.), *History of Traditional Medicine: Proceedings of the 1st and 2nd International Symposia on the Comparative History of Medicine—East and West* (Osaka: Division of Medical History, the Taniguchi Foundation), 325–44.

Zimmermann, Francis (1983), "Suśrutasamhita," review of G. D. Singhal et al. (1972–82), Diagnostic [and Other] Considerations in Ancient Indian Surgery (Varanasi: Singhal Publications); A translation of the Suśrutasaṃhitā in 10v. In Bulletin of the History of Medicine, 57/2: 291–3, ISSN: 00075140, eprint: 44441590, URL.

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

## Materia Medica Reference Works

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

AVS Warrier, P. K., Nambiar, V. P. K., and Ramankutty, C. (1994–96) (eds.), *Indian Medicinal Plants: A Compendium of 500 Species. Vaidyaratnam P. S. Varier's Arya Vaidya Sala, Kottakal* (Madras: Orient Longman).

BIA Prater, S. H. (1993), *The Book of Indian Animals* (3rd edn., Bombay, Delhi, etc.: Oxford University Press), ark:/13960/t6356w32f; 4th impression of 3rd corrected 1980 edition.

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

Chopra IDG Chopra, R. N., Chopra, I. C., Handa, K. L., et al. (1958), *Chopra's Indigenous Drugs of India* (2nd edn., Calcutta: Dhur & Sons), ark:/13960/t9673t140.

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

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

Dutt

Dutt, Uday Chand (1922), The Materia Medica of the Hindus...with a Glossary of Indian Plants by George King. Revised Edition...by Binod Lall Sen and Ashutosh Sen and Pulin Krishna Sen (Krishnadas Sanskrit Studies; 3rd edn., Calcutta: Madan Gopal Dass for the Adi-Ayurveda Machine Press), ark:/13960/t59c7tg9z; Reprinted Varanasi: Chowkhamba Saraswatibhavan, 1980.

Dymock

Dymock, William, Warden, C. J. H., and Hooper, David (1890), *Pharmacographia Indica: A History of the Principal Drugs of Vegetable Origin Met with in British India* (London, Bombay, Calcutta: Kegan Paul), URL, accessed 16/03/2023.

GJM<sub>1</sub>

Meulenbeld, Gerrit Jan (1974*a*), "Sanskrit Names of Plants and their Botanical Equivalents," in id., *The Mādhavanidāna and Its Chief Commentary: Chapters 1–10. Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (Leiden: Brill), chap. Appendix Four, 520–611, ark:/13960/t25b8q97g.

GJM<sub>2</sub>

Meulenbeld, Gerrit Jan (1988), "G. J. Meulenbeld's Additions to his "Sanskrit Names of Plants and their Botanical Equivalents"," in Rahul Peter Das, Das Wissen von der Lebensspanne der Bäume: Surapālas Vṛkṣāyurveda (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag), chap. Appendix 1, 425–65, ISBN: 9783515046633; Supplement to GJM1.

**GVDB** 

Singh, Thakur Balwant, and Chunekar, K. C. (1972), *Glossary of Vegetable Drugs in Brhattrayī* (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office), ark:/13960/s2cvp72x58j.

**IGP** 

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

Issar

Issar, T. P. (1994), *Blossoms of Bangalore* (Bangalore: T. P. Issar).

IW

Israel, Samuel, et al. (1988), *Indian Wildlife: Sri Lanka Nepal* (Insight Guides; Singapore etc.: APA Publications), ISBN: 9780245545238, ark:/13960/s2p9d5pqd1w.

Potter

K&B Kirtikar, K. R., Basu, B. D., and an I.C.S (1987), Indian Medi-

cinal Plants, ed. E. Blatter, J. F. Caius, and K. S. Mhaskar, 8 vols. (2nd edn., Dehradun: International Book Distribut-

ors); First published in Allahabad, 1918.

NK Nadkarni, K. M. (1982), Dr. K. M. Nadkarni's Indian Ma-

> teria Medica, with Ayurvedic, Unani-tibbi, Siddha, Allopathic, Homeopathic, Naturopathic & Home Remedies, Appendices & *Indexes ... in Two Volumes*, ed. A. K. Nadkarni, 2 vols. (3 ed., revised and enlarged by A. K. Nadkarni, Bombay: Popular

> Prakashan), ISBN: 8171541429, URL; First published in 1954.

Wren, R. C. (1956), Potter's New Cyclopaedia of Botanical Drugs and Preparations, ed. R. W. Wren (7th edn., Rustington, Sussex: Health Science Press), ark:/13960/

t14n65c9g.

Wren, R. C., Williamson, Elizabeth M., and Evans, Fred J. Potter<sub>rev</sub>

> (1994), Potter's New Cyclopaedia of Botanical Drugs and Preparations (Saffron Walden: C. W. Daniel Company Ltd.);

Reprint of revised 1988 edition.

Reptiles Daniel, J. C. (1983), The Book of Indian Reptiles (Bombay:

Oxford University Press).

Trees Bole, P. V., and Vaghani, Yogini (1986), Field Guide to the

> Common Trees of India (Bombay, Delhi, Oxford, etc.: World Wildlife Fund – India and Oxford University Press), ISBN:

0-19-561595-6; 4th reprint.

 $Watt_{Comm}$ Watt, George (1908), The Commercial Products of India, Being

an Abridgement of "the Dictionary of the Economic Products of

*India*" (London: John Murray), ark:/13960/t8cg7dm79.

 $Watt_{Dict}$ Watt, George (1889–96), A Dictionary of the Economic

Products of India (Calcutta: Dept. Revenue and Agricul-

ture, Government of India), URL, accessed 28/04/2021.

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

Dymock: 1, 428, GJM1: 602, cf. NK: 1,

```
aconite leaf (?) (visapatrikā) Unknown. Cf.
                                                 #1192; ADPS: 382, 414 and AVS: 2, 319,
   perhaps, vatsanābha (wolfsbane). Cf.
                                                  4.366 are confusing: 43, 79
   GVDB: 373: 105
                                              Bengal quince (bilva) Aegle marmelos (L.)
amaranth (tandulīyaka) Amaranthus
                                                 Corr. See AVS: 1, 62, Chevallier 159,
   hypochondriacus, L. See King 321,
                                                 NK: 1, #62, (MW: 732a): 63, 70, 72, 76
   NK: 1, #144, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 15. Cf.
                                              bitumen (adrija) \rightarrow śilājit. A tar-like, black,
   AVS: 1, 121: 98
                                                 resinous rock exudate. See
arjun (arjuna) Terminalia arjuna, Bedd.
                                                  AyMahā: 1, 21:130
   See HK: 34
                                              black creeper (pālindī) Ichnocarpus
axlewood (dhava) Anogeissus latifolia
                                                 frutescens, (L.) R.Br. or Cryptolepis
                                                 buchanani, Roemer & Schultes. See
   (Roxb. ex DC.) Wall. ex Guill & Perr.
   See AVS: 1, 163 f, Chopra: 20: 34, 120
                                                 AVS: 3, 141, 145, 203, NK: 1, #1283,
bamboo leaves (venupatrikā) Bambusa
                                                 1210, ADPS: 434. Dalhana on SS 5.1.82
                                                 identified pālindī with trivṛt (turpeth)
   bambos, Druce. See NK: 1, #307:98
                                                 and T. B. Singh and Chunekar
barley (yava) Hordeum vulgare, L. See
                                                  (GVDB: 246) supported this as a usual
   HK: 79
                                                 identification: 98, 101, 115, 116
beautyberry (priyangu) \rightarrow śyāmā.
                                              black pepper (marica) Piper nigrum, L. See
   Callicarpa macrophylla, Vahl. See
                                                  ADPS: 294, NK: 1, #1929: 79
   AVS: 1, 334, NK: 1, #420. Some say also
   Setaria italica Beauv. GVDB: 263–264.
                                              blackboard tree (saptachada) Alstonia
                                                 scholaris R. Br. GVDB: 420: 97
   See also GVDB: 413: 34, 116, 121
                                              blackbuck (harina) Antilope cervicapra, L.
beautyberry (śyāmā) Callicarpa
   macrophylla, Vahl. See AVS: 1, 334,
                                                 See BIA: 270 IW: 95, 165, et passim: 101
   NK: 1, #420: 74, 96, 98
                                              blue water-lily (utpala) Nymphaea stellata,
                                                 Willd. See GJM1: 528, IGP 790;
beggarweed (amśumatī) Desmodium
                                                  Dutt: 110, NK: 1, #1726: 25, 96, 115, 116
   gangeticum (L.) DC (Dymock: 1, 428,
                                              bulrush (kaśeru) "Two species, Scirpus
   GJM1: 602, NK: 1, #1192; ADPS: 382,
   414 and AVS: 2, 319, 4.366 are
                                                 kysoor Roxb., and S. grossus Linn. f.
   confusing): 116
                                                 are used" GVDB: 85. Also kaśeruka
beggarweed (vid\bar{a}rigandh\bar{a}) \rightarrow s\bar{a}laparn\bar{\imath}.
                                                 and kaseru: 74, 75, 78
   Desmodium gangeticum (L.) DC. See
                                              cardamom (elā) Elettaria cardamomum,
                                                 Maton. See AVS: 2, 360, NK: 1, #924,
```

Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 66: 70, 116, 121 cassia cinnamon (patra) Cinnamomum tamala, (Buch.-Ham.) Nees. See AVS: 2, 84, NK: 1, #589: 70, 76, 98, 116 castor oil tree (gandharvahasta)  $\rightarrow eranda$ . GVDB: 135, K&B: 3, 2277: 39, 72 castor-oil (eranda) Ricinus communis, L. See NK: 1, #2145, Chopra: 214: 44 certain minerals (tārāvitāra) Unknown. It is not even certain that these are minerals. The variant reading in the vulgate, tārah sutārah was glossed by Dalhana on 5.3.14 (Su 1938: 568) as follows *tāro* rūpyam, sutārah pāradah, "tāra means silver; sutāra means mercury.": 120 chaff (kāndana) The word kāndana is not found in dictionaries; kandana is threshing, separating the chaff from the grain in a mortar. Cf. Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmaņi (PWK: 2,8) (Siromani 1873: 1, 138: 21, citing the *Vāyupurāna*): 26, 211 chebulic myrobalan (*harītakī*) Terminalia chebula Retz. GVDB: 466: 77, 97 cherry (elavālu) Prunus cerasus, L.?. See BVDB 58, NK: 1, #2037, GVDB: 58: 116 chital deer (*pṛṣata*) Axis axis, Erxleben. See BIA: 292, IW: 93: 101 citron (mātulunga) Citrus medica, Linn. GVDB: 276, 306. Also spelled mātulinga, mātulanga, mātulānga: 63, 76, 81,82 cobra's saffron ( $n\bar{a}gapuspa$ )  $\rightarrow$  n $\bar{a}gake$ śara. Mesua ferrea, L. See NK: 1, #1595, GVDB: 220: 116 corky coral tree (pāribhadra) Erythrina suberosa Roxb. See GVDB 245: 120 costus (kustha) Saussurea costus, Clarke. See NK: 1, #2239: 70, 76, 98, 116, 121 cottony jujube (kākolī) Ziziphus mauritanica, Lam. See IGP: 1233, NK: 1, #2663; IGP 1233. Cf. NK: 1, #1170:69,75,76 country mallow (atibalā) Abutilon

indicum, (L.) Sweet, but may be other

kinds of mallow, e.g., Sida rhombifolia, L.. See NK: 1, #11, IGP: 1080, NK: 1, #2300, ADPS: 71, 77: 43, 75, 78, 162 country sarsaparilla (anantā) Hemidesmus indicus, (L.) R. Br. See ADPS: 434, AVS: 3, 141-5, NK: 1, #1210. But see GVDB: 13 for complications that may suggest that it is to be equated with sārivā, which may sometimes be Cryptolepis or Ichnocarpus fruitescens R. Rr. (GVDB: 429-431): 43, 105, 115, 116, 120 crape jasmine (nata)  $\rightarrow$  crape jasmine GVDB: 215: 206, 208 crape jasmine (tagara) Tabernaemontana divaricata (L.) R.Br. ex Roem. & Schultes. See GJM1: 557, AVS: 5, 232. Synonym of crape jasmine. But some say Valeriana jatamansi, Jones See GVDB: 173-174 for discussion (and charming comments on brain liquid testing). Some say tagara is Indian rose-bay or Indian valerian, but there remain many historical questions about the ancient and regional identities of this plant See, e.g., AVS: 5, 334:70, 76, 98, 116, 206, 208 crimson trumpet-flower tree (pātalā) Stereospermum chelonides, (L. f.) A. DC. See GJM1: 573, AVS: 5, 192 ff, ADPS: 362 f, AVS: 3, 1848 f, IGP 1120, Dymock: 3, 20 ff: 120 cuscus grass (uśīra) Andropogon murcatus, Retz. Also "vetiver grass." See NK: 1, #180:98 datura (dhattūra) Datura metel, L. See AVS: 2, 305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī), NK: 1, #796 ff. Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 292 f, ADPS: 132: 40 deodar (bhadradāru) Cedrus deodara, (Roxb.ex D.Don) G. Don. See AVS 41, NK: 1, #516: 34, 74, 79, 116 deodar (devadāru) Cedrus deodara (Roxb.) Loud. GVDB: 206-207: 63, 76, 162

dried ginger (śunthī) Zingiber officinale,

Roscoe. See ADPS: 50, NK: 1, #2658, flax (atasī) Linum usitatissimum, L. See AVS: 5, 435, IGP: 1232: 74 NK#1495: 75 dried meat (vallūra) MW: 929, fragrant lotus (saugandhika) A type of AyMahā: 1, 730. The term is used, *kumuda* or *utpala* (GVDB: 457) : 25 rarely, in both the CS (1.5.10) and SS garjan oil tree (aśvakarna) Dipterocarpus (1.13. 16, 6.42.75–76). It is a Dravidian turbinatus Gaertn. f. See GVDB: 28, loanword and occurs in the Arthaśāstra Chopra: 100: 120 etc. (KEWA: 3, 167): 25 giant potato ( $k \bar{s} \bar{\imath} r a v i d \bar{a} r \bar{\imath}$ ) possibly  $\rightarrow$ drum-giver (?) (lambaradā) Unknown; cf. kṣīraśukla. Ipmoea mauritiana, Jacq. See GVDB: 348: 105 ADPS: 510, AVS: 3, 222, AVS: 3, 1717 ff: elixir salve ( $ras\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$ )  $\rightarrow a\tilde{n}jana$ . See 75, 208, 210, 211 Indian barberry: 34, 44 ginger (mahausadha) Zingiber officinale, Roscoe. See ADPS: 50, NK: 1, #2658, embelia (vidanga) Embelia ribes, Burm. f. See ADPS: 507, AVS: 2, 368, NK: 1, IGP: 1232: 101 #929, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 113: 34, 70, 116 gold (hema) gold: 116 emblic (āmalaka) Phyllanthus emblica, L. gold and sarsaparilla (*surendragopa*) See AVS: 4, 256: 77, 78 Unknown. Dalhana on 5.3.15 emetic nut (karaghāta) Probably a synonym (Su 1938: 568) glossed *surendra* as for karahāṭa (emetic nut), q.v., "gold" and *gopā* as "Indian sarsaparilla." He also noted other GVDB: 74: 207 opinions that *surendra* was "Tellicherry emetic nut (karahāṭa) Randia dumetorum, bark": 120 Lamk. See GVDB: 291–292 and NK: 1, #2091. T. B. Singh and Chunekar golden shower tree (*rājadruma*) rājadruma (GVDB: 74, 77–78) noted that it may be = āragvadha. Cassia fistula L. See GVDB 37:120 a synonym for *karaghāṭa*, emetic nut, and pointed rather to Gardenia turgida golden shower tree (āragvadha) Cassia fistula L. See GVDB 37:77 Roxb. on the basis of local knowledge in U. P.: 207, 209 gourd (alābu) Lagenaria siceraria Standl. emetic nut (madana) Randia dumetorum, GVDB: 25. Some say Lagenaria Lamk. See NK: 1, #2091: 96, 164 vulgaris, Seringe (NK: 1, #1419) but this is not appropriate for false daisy (*subhangurā*) (su)bhangura = bhṛṅga? Eclipta prostrata (L.) L. See blood-letting: 21, 22, 97 green gram (māṣa) Vigna radiata (L.) R. GVDB: 288: 104 Wilcz. See ADPS: 296, IGP 1204: 34, fermented rice-water ( $dh\bar{a}ny\bar{a}mla$ )  $\rightarrow k\bar{a}\tilde{n}j\bar{i}$ , kāñjikā, sauvīra. GVDB: 458, NK: 2, 75, 163 appendix VI, #18: 41, 42 hare foot uraria ( $pr\acute{s}niparn\bar{i}$ )  $\rightarrow$  sahā? fern (ajaruhā) Nephrodium species Uraria lagopoides, DC. See GJM1: 577, Dymock: 1, 426, AVS: 1, 750 ff, NK: 1, GVDB: 7, uncertain. Perhbaps #2542; ADPS: 382, AVS: 2, 319 and Christella dentata(Forssk.) Brownsey & Jermy, which is reported to have folk AVS: 4, 366 are confusing: 74, 75 heart-leaf sida (balā) Sida cordifolia, Linn. applications against skin diseases in India: 100 See ADPS: 71, NK: 1, #2297: 43, 75, 78, 80, 116, 162 fire-flame bush (*dhātakī*) Woodfordia

heart-leaved moonseed (amrtavalli) See

heart-leaved moonseed (amrtā): 162

fruticosa (L.) Kurz. See AVS: 5, 412,

NK: 1, #2626: 97

- heart-leaved moonseed (amṛtā) → guḍūcī.

  Tinospora cordifolia, (Willd.) Hook.f.
  & Thoms.? See ADPS: 38, NK: 1, #2472,
  624, Dastur #229: 98, 114, 207
  heart-leaved moonseed (guḍūcī) Tinospora
- heart-leaved moonseed (guḍūcī) Tinospora cordifolia (Willd.) Miers.
  - GVDB: 141–142, NK: 1, #624, #2472: 76
- heart-leaved moonseed (somavallī)
  Tinospora cordifolia (Thunb.) Miers.
  GVDB: 456. Likely, but uncertain: 98
- henna (*madayantikā*) Lawsonia inermis, L. See AVS: 3, 303, NK: 1, #1448, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 151: 99
- Himalayan mayapple (*vakra*) Podophyllum emodi, Wall. (NK: #1971). But perhaps a synonm of crape jasmine and crape jasmine (GVDB: 354): 121
- Himalayan monkshood (*ativiṣā*) → *viṣā*Aconitum heterophyllum Wall.
  GVDB: 12, NK: 1, #39. Also "atis roots": 67, 99, 101, 121
- Himalayan monkshood  $(vi s\bar{a}) \rightarrow ativi s\bar{a}$  GVDB: 12, 373: 210
- hogweed (*punarnavā*) Boerhaavia diffusa, L. See ADPS: 387, AVS: 1, 281, NK: 1, #363: 77, 99, 115
- Holostemma creeper (*jīvantī*) → *sūryavallī*? Holostemma ada-kodien, Schultes. See ADPS: 195, AVS: 3, 167, 169, NK: 1, #1242: 78, 210
- honey (*kṣaudra*) Eight varieties of honey are described in the SS (NK: 2, Appendix 192). *Kṣaudra* is the product of a small bee of tawny colour, called *kṣudra*: 83, 101
- horned pondweed (śaivāla) also śaivāla, śevāra. Zannichellia palustris L. The uncertainties of this identification are discussed by T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 409). Sometimes identified with scutch grass (dūrvā) (GVDB: 409). Identified as Ceratophyllum demersum Linn. ("hornwort") by AVS: 2, 56–57x: 76, 208, 211
- hornwort ( $jalaś\bar{u}ka$ )  $\rightarrow jalan\bar{\imath}lik\bar{a}$ .

- Ceratophyllum demersum, L. See AVS: 2, 56, IGP: 232. T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 166) suggest horned pondweed. Dalhaṇa noted on 1.16.19 (Su 1938: 79) that some people interpret it as a poisonous, hairy, air-breathing, underwater creature: 43
- horseradish tree (*śigru*) Moringa oleifera Lam. See IGP 759, GJM1: 603, Dymock: 1, 396: 76, 77
- Indian barberry (añjana) → rasāñjana, dāruharidrā. Berberis aristata, DC. Dymock: 1, 65, NK: 1, #335, GJM1: 562, IGP: 141: 44, 100, 207
- Indian barberry (*dāruharidrā*) Berberis aristata, DC. See Dymock: 1, 65, NK: 1, #685, GJM1: 562, IGP 141: 115, 116
- Indian barberry (*kālīyaka*) → *dāruharidrā*, *añjana*. Berberis aristata, DC. See Dymock: 1, 65, NK: 1, #685, GJM1: 562, IGP: 141: 98
- Indian beech (*naktamāla*) Pongamia pinnata, (L.) Pierre. See AVS: 4, 339, NK: 1, #2003: 34, 72
- Indian ipecac (payasyā) Uncertain.

  Possibly Tylophora indica (Burm.f.)

  Merr. Perhaps a synonym of panacea
  twiner, giant potato, purple roscoea,
  and plants like asthma plant and Gulf
  sandmat (GVDB: 237–238). Also
  "curds" when not a plant: 43, 76, 210
- Indian kudzu (*vidārī*) → *payasyā*. Pueraria tuberosa (Willd.) DC. See ADPS: 510, AVS: 1, 792 f, AVS: 4, 391; not Dymock: 1, 424 f. See GJM2: 444, 451, AVS: 1, 187, but AVS: 3, 1719 = Ipmoea mauritiana, Jacq: 43, 63
- Indian madder (mañjiṣṭhā) Rubia cordifolia, L. See IGP, Chopra: 215, GVDB: 289: 39, 116
- Indian mottled eel (varmimatsya) Almost certainly the mottled eel. MW: 962c noted that the varmi fish "is commonly called vāmi." The "vam fish," or "বান মাছ (bān māch)" 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): 23

- Indian mustard (*sarṣapa*) Brassica juncea, Czern. & Coss. See AVS: 1, 301, NK: 1, #378: 26
- Indian sarsaparilla  $(s\bar{a}riv\bar{a}) \rightarrow anant\bar{a}$ . Hemidesmus indicus, (L.) R. Br. ADPS: 434, AVS: 3, 141–5, NK: 1, #1210; and black creeper, pālindī. Ichnocarpus frutescens, (L.) R.Br. or Cryptolepis buchanani, Roemer & Schultes AVS: 3, 141, 3.145, 3.203, NK: 1, #1283, 1210, ADPS: 434: 115, 116, 207
- Indian snakeroot (*sarpagandhā*) Rauvolfia serpentina, (L.) Benth. ex Kurz. See NK: 1, #2099, ADPS: 439, GVDB: 425; cf. SS 5.5.76–78: 211
- Indrajao (*vṛkṣaka*) → *indrayava*, *indrabīja*, *kalinga*, and *kuṭaja*. Holarrhena antidysenterica Wall. GVDB: 376, 45 and 84: 162
- jambul (*jambū*) Syzygium cumini, (L.) Skeels. See ADPS: 188, NK: 1, #967, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 168, Wujastyk 2003*a*: 97
- jasmine (*mālatī*) Jasminium grandiflorum, L. See NK: 1, #1364:98
- jequirity  $(gu\tilde{n}j\bar{a})$  Abrus precatorius, L. See AVS: 1, 10, NK: 1, #6, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 168: 104, 105
- (?) (karaṭā) Not in GVDB. Cf. perhaps karahāṭa (emetic nut): 105
- lac ( $l\bar{a}k\bar{s}\bar{a}$ ) Kerria lacca (Kerr.). See GJM1: 445, NK: 2, #32. Watt (Watt $_{Comm}$ : 1053–1066) is characteristically informative, and is definite about the antiquity of lac in India: 121
- leadwort (*citraka*) Plumbago zeylanica (or indica?), L. See RĀ. 6.124, ADPS: 119,

- NK: 1, #1966, 1967: 34, 67, 72, 82 liquorice (?) (klītaka) Glycyrrhiza glabra, L.? GVDB: 123–124 discuss the many difficulties in identifying this plant: 104 liquorice (madhuka) see yaṣṭīmadhuka: 43,
  - iquorice (таапика) see yaṣṇтаапика: 43, 74–79, 81, 101, 114, 116
- liquorice (yaṣṭīmadhuka) Glycyrrhiza glabra, L. AVS: 3, 84, NK: 1, #1136, GVDB: 329 f.: 44
- lodh tree (*lodhra*) Symplocos racemosa, Roxb. See GJM1: 597, ADPS: 279 f, NK: 1, #2420. T. B. 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*: 34, 116
- long pepper (*māgadha*) Piper longum, L. See NK: 1, #1928; but cf. AVS: 3, 245: 100
- long pepper (*pippalī*) Piper longum, L. See ADPS: 374, NK: 1, #1928: 72, 77, 81–83, 101, 116, 162
- lotus stalk (*mṛṇāla*) "Leaf stalk of sacred lotus" GVDB: 318: 76
- luffa (koṣītakī) = kośātakī. Luffa cylindrica, (L.) M. J. Roem. or L. acutangula, (L.) Roxb. ADPS: 252–253, NK: 1, #1514 etc. GVDB: 121: 97, 114, 209
- luffa gourd (kośavatī) = koṣītakī, luffa: 114 maidenhair fern (haṃsāhvayā) Adiantum lunaluatum Burm f. GVDB: 463: 162 mango (āṣura) Mangifora indica Linn
- mango (*āmra*) Mangifera indica Linn. GVDB: 37: 97
- marking-nut tree (*aruṣkara*) Semecarpus anacardium L. See *bhallātaka* (marking-nut tree): 105
- marking-nut tree (*bhallātaka*) Semecarpus anacarium, L. See NK: 1, #2269, AVS: 5, 98: 72, 100, 209
- medhshingi (*vijayā*2) Dolichandrone falcata (DC.) The *Sauśrutanighaṇṭu* gives a number of synonyms for *vijayā* (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; GVDB: 373 f, a plant used as an abortifacient and fish poison (NK: #862): 105
migraine tree (agnimantha) Premna

migraine tree (*agnimantha*) Premna corymbosa, Rottl. See AVS 1927, ADPS: 21, NK: 1, #2025, AVS: 4, 348; GJM1: 523: = P. integrifolia/serratifolia, L: 114

milk-white  $(k \cite{s} \cite{i} \cite{rasukla})$  An unidentified plant. GVDB: 126: see purple roscoea and giant potato: 43, 211

mongoose (nakula) nakula. Urva edwardsii or the often sympatric U. auropunctatus (small Indian mongoose, usually an eater of smaller creatures than snakes) (BIA: ch. 5), On mongooses and snakes, see BIA: 98–99; IW: 112: 101

monitor lizard (*godhā*) Varanus bengalensis, Schneider. See Reptiles: 58: 43, 101

mung beans (*mudga*) Phaseolus radiatus L. GVDB: 310–311: 75, 78, 146

mung beans (*māṣaka*) Phaseolus mungo Linn. GVDB: 308: 98

myrobalan ( $abhay\bar{a}$ ) Terminalia chebula, Retz. See ADPS: 172, NK: 1, #2451, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 214: 67, 114, 121

natron (*suvarcikā*) Sodium carbonate. NK: 2, #45. Palhaṇa identifies *suvarcikā* with svarjikṣāra 4.8.50 (Su 1938: 441): 82, 116

neem tree (*nimba*) Azadirachta indica A. Juss. GVDB: 226: 40, 162

nutgrass (*kuruvinda*) Unknown. Dalhaṇa on 5.3.15 (Su 1938: 568) glossed the term as nutgrass, but noted other opinions that it was a whetstone or a very special metallic gem. T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 108) added that it could be a variety of rice, ṣaṣṭika dhānya: 120

nutgrass (*mustā*) Cyperus rotundus, L. See ADPS: 316, AVS: 2, 296, NK: 1, #782:

210

panacea twiner (arkapuṣpī) → arkaparṇī,
Tylophora indica (Burm. f.) Merr.
GVDB: 23–24. Maybe identical to
Indian ipecac, giant potato and similar
sweet, milky plants. See GVDB: 24, 127,
238, 441, 443 for discussion. For
discussion in the context of
Holostemma creeper, see ADPS: 195
and AVS: 3, 171. The etymology of the
name suggests Helianthus annus Linn.,
but this plant is native to the Americas:
115, 208

peas (hareṇu) hareṇu = satīna. Pisum sativum, L. T. B. 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: 76, 115, 116, 121

peepul tree (*aśvattha*) Ficus religiosa, L. See ADPS: 63: 123

periploca of the woods (*meṣaśṛṅga*) Gymnema sylvestre (Retz.) R. Br. See AVS: 3, 107, NK: 1, #1173: 100

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): 208

plumed cockscomb (*indīvara*) Uncertain; possibly Celosia argentea Linn. But see the useful discussion in GVDB: 44–45. Possibly another name for thorn apple (*karambha*), q.v.: 212

pointed gourd (*paṭola*) Trichosanthes dioica, Roxb. GVDB: 232–233: 76, 114 poison berry (*bṛhatī*) Solanum violaceum,

Ortega. See ADPS: 100, NK: 1, #2329, AVS: 5, 151: 72, 77, 115, 116

poison-altar (?) (viṣavedikā) Unknown. Possibly, at a guess, viṣamuṣṭika (strychnine tree)? GVDB: 373 Or viṣā (Himalayan monkshood): 105

pomegranate (dādima) Punica granatum

Linn. GVDB: 201–202: 63, 81, 82 bipinnata, Stapf. See AVS: 2, 326, Kew: pondweed (paripelavā) Normally a neuter noun. T. B. Singh and Chunekar sacred lotus (kamala) Nelumbo nucifera (GVDB: 238, 264–265, 409) argued that Gaertn. GVDB: 73-74: 209 plava and śaivāla are the same thing, and sacred lotus (padma) Nelumbo nucifera, may be either Zannichellia palustris, L., Gaertn. See NK: 1, #1698: 25, 76, 98 or Potamogeton pectinatus, L: 116 sage-leaved alangium (ankolla) Alangium pondweed (śevāla) Zannichellia palustris salvifolium (Linn. f.) Wang. L. See horned pondweed: 25 GVDB: 5-6:97 prickly chaff-flower (apāmārga) sandalwood (candana) Santalum album, L. Achyranthes aspera, L. See GJM1: 524 f, See ADPS: 111, NK: 1, #2217: 76, 78, 116 AVS: 1, 39, ADPS: 44 f, AVS: 3, 2066 f, sappanwood (pattānga) Also pattanga. Dymock: 3, 135: 39, 43, 75 Caesalpinia sappan, L. AVS: 1, 323, purging nut (*mūṣikā*) Jatropha curcas, L. K&B: 2,847 f, GVDB: 234: 44 See AVS: 3, 261, NK: 1, #1374: 100 scarlet mallow (bandhujīva) Pentapetes purple calotropis (arka) Calotropis phoenicea, L. NK: #1836, GVDB: 268: 99 gigantea, (L.) R. Br. See ADPS: 52, scented pavonia (bālaka) Pavonia odorata, AVS: 1, 341, NK: 1, #427, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 57, Willd. See ADPS: 498, NK: 1, #1822: Chopra IDG: 305–308: 34, 43, 72 purple roscoea (kṣīrakākolī) GVDB: 89 scutch grass (*dūrvā*) Cynodon dactylon notes that many physicians use Roscoea (Linn.) Pers. (GVDB: 205): 208 procera Wall. in this context. But the selu plum (*śelu*) Cordia myxa, L. non identification is uncertain. Possibly Forssk. See GJM1: 529 (2), IGP: 291b, cf. connected to milk-white or giant AVS: 3, 1677 f; cf. AVS: 2, 180 (C. potato: 75, 208, 210 dichotoma, Forst.f.), NK: 1, #672 (C. radish (*mūlaka*) Raphanus sativus, L. See latifolia, Roxb.): 77, 114 NK: 1, #2098: 79, 80 sesame oil (taila) Sesamum indicum L. rajmahal hemp  $(morața) \rightarrow m\bar{u}rv\bar{\iota}$ , GVDB: 183: 43 Marsdenia tenacissima (Roxb.) Wight siris (śirīṣa) Albizia lebbeck, Benth. See et Arn. Good discussion at AVS: 1, 81, NK: 1, #91: 114 GVDB: 314–316, 324 : 114 siris seeds (śirīṣamāṣaka) Albizia lebbeck, red chalk (gairika) gairika: 116 Benth. See AVS: 1, 81, NK: 1, #91: 97 red gourd (bimbī) Coccinia indica, W. & A. small-flowered crape myrtle (*sidhraka*) See PVS 1994.4.715; NK: 1, #534: 97 Lagerstroemia parviflora Roxb. See rice grains (taṇḍula) Oriza sativa, Linn. GVDB: 432: 120 Same as unhusked rice (*śāli*) snakeroot ( $sugandh\bar{a}$ )  $\rightarrow sarpagandh\bar{a}$ GVDB: 174; or just "grains": 26 Rauvolfia serpentina Benth. ex. Kurz. rice-grain chaff (śālitandulakāndana) See See Indian snakeroot. But may be chaff: 26 Aristolochia indica Linn. Has been rock salt (saindhava) See NK: 2, M#48, identified with ??, or ??. See Watt<sub>Comm</sub>: 963–971: 26, 63, 82 (GVDB: 219, 436): 104 spikenard (*māmsī*) Nardostachys rosha grass (dhyāmaka) Cymbopogon martinii (Roxb.) Wats. See AVS: 2, 285, grandiflora, DC. See NK: 1, #1691: 116 NK: 1, #177:116 spikenard (nalada)  $\rightarrow$  māmsī. sacred grass (kuśa) Desmostachya Nardostachys grandiflora, DC. See

214 Materia Medica

strychnine tree (visamustika) Strychnos nux vomica Linn. GVDB: 373: 210 sugar (sitā) Dalhaṇa makes this equation at 1.37.25 (Su 1938: 162): 116 sugar (śarkara) Saccharum officinarum, Linn. NK: #2182: 101 sugar cane (iksu) Saccharum officinarum, Linn. NK: #2182: 101 sunflower  $(s\bar{u}ryavall\bar{\iota}) \rightarrow \bar{a}dityavall\bar{\iota}$ , sūryamukhī, Helianthus annūs Linn. GVDB: 35, 443: 114 sweet flag (vacā) Acorus calamus Linn. See GVDB: 352-355: 75, 82 sweet plants (madhuravarga) The sweet plants are enumerated at Suśrutasaṃhitā 1.42.11. See also GVDB: 127: 43 sweet-scented oleander (aśvamāraka) Nerium oleander, L. See ADPS: 223, NK: 1, #1709: 104 Tellicherry bark (kuṭaja) Holarrhena pubescens Wall. ex G.Don, with Wrightia tinctoria and W. arborea considered GVDB: 101-102, ADPS: 267–270: 72, 207 thorn apple (karambha) Datura metel, L. See GVDB: 76 for useful discussion. Also, AVS: 2, 305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī), NK: 1, #796 ff. Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 292 f, ADPS: 132. Possibly the same plant as plumed cockscomb (*indīvara*) (GVDB: 76, 44–45): 105, 210 three heating spices (tryūsana) śunthī (Dried ginger) Zingiber officinale, Roscoe. ADPS: 50, NK: 1, #2658, AVS: 5, 435, IGP 1232, pippalī (long pepper) Piper longum, L.ADPS: 374, NK: 1, #1928, and marica (black pepper) Piper nigrum, L.ADPS: 294, NK: 1, #1929: 115 three-leaved caper (varuna) Crataeva magna (Lour.) DC. See AVS: 2, 202; cf. NK: 1, #696: 100 top layer of fermented liquor (surāmanda)

NK: 1, #1691: 95

K&B: 2, 502, NK: 2, appendix VI, #49, McHugh 2021: 39: 41, 42 tree cotton (*kārpāsa*) G. arboreum L. ADPS: 231. Pace the identifications of T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 92, 247), since G. barbadense L. is native to South America and G. herbaceum L. which is native to Africa: 40, 212 tree cotton (picu) See tree cotton (kārpāsa): 42, 44 turmeric (gaurī) Curcuma longa, L. See ADPS: 169, AVS: 2, 259, NK: 1, #750: 76 turmeric (haridrā) Curcuma longa Linn. GVDB: 465: 77, 115, 121 turmeric (rajanī) Curcuma longa, L. ADPS: 169, AVS: 2, 259, NK: 1, #750: 26, 116 turpeth  $(trivrt) \rightarrow trvrt\bar{a}$ . Operculina turpethum (Linn.) Silva Manso = Ipmoea turpethum R. Br. GVDB: 197.: 70, 101, 164, 205 two kinds of salt (vasukavasira) See the discussion by T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 362–363), who note that when vasuka is mentioned together with vasira, two varieties of salt are often meant (see ??): 63 unhusked rice (*śāli*) Oriza sativa, Linn. GVDB: 395-396: 26, 211 velvet-leaf (pāṭhā) Cissampelos pariera, L. See ADPS: 366, NK: 1, #592, GJM1: 573, AVS: 1, 95; cf. AVS: 2, 277: 34, 67, 82, 114 velvet-mite (indragopa) Kerria lacca (Kerr.). Lienhard 1978: 96 verbena (phañjī) Clerodendrum serratum, L. See AVS: 2, 121, ADPS: 87:99 watered buttermilk (udaśvit) MW: 183: 97 weaver's beam tree (muskaka) Schrebera swietenioides, Roxb. See AVS: 5, 88, Lord, NK: 1, #2246: 72, 120 white babool (arimeda) Acacia leucophloea, (Roxb.) Willd. See AVS: 1, 23: 34 white calotropis (alarka) Calotropis

```
procera, (Ait.) R. Br. See NK: 1, #428,
   Chopra: 46b, Chopra IDG: 305-308: 43
white clitoria (\acute{s}vet\bar{a}) \rightarrow giry\bar{a}hv\bar{a}. Clitoria
   ternatea, L. See AVS: 2, 129, NK: 1,
   #621:98
white cutch tree (somavalka) Acacia
   polyacantha, Willd. See AVS: 1, 30, IGP
   7, GJM1: 602, AVS: 2, 935; pace NK: 1,
   #1038:99,120
white dammer tree (sarja) Vateria indica,
   L. See NK: 1, #2571, AVS: 5, 349 f,
   AVS: 1, 292 f, Chopra: 253a: 34
white siris (kiṇihī) Albizia procera, (Roxb.)
    Benth. See GVDB 98, NK: 1, #93: 115
white teak (k\bar{a}\acute{s}mar\bar{\iota}) \rightarrow madhuparṇ\bar{\iota}.
   Gmelina arborea, Roxb. See GJM1: 543,
   Trees: 51, ADPS: 240: 76, 78
white water-lily (kumuda) Nymphaea alba,
    Linn. GVDB: 105: 25
wild asparagus (bahuputr\bar{a}) \rightarrow nandana?
    Asparagus racemosus, Willd. See
   further wild asparagus (śatāvarī): 99
wild asparagus (śatāvarī) Asparagus
   racemosus, Willd. See ADPS: 441,
    AVS: 1, 218, NK: 1, #264, IGP: 103,
   AVS: 4, 249 ff, Dymock: 3, 482 ff:
```

```
74-76, 78, 146, 213
wild celery (agnika) \rightarrow may be bhal\bar{a}taka,
   lāngalī, ajamodā, moraṭa, or agnimantha,
   GVDB: 4. Uncertain: 114
wild celery (ajamodā) Apium graveolens,
   L.: 114
Withania (aśvagandhā) Withania somnifera
   (L.) Dunal. See AVS: 5, 409 f,
   Dymock: 2, 566 f., Chevallier 150: 43,
   71,77
wolfsbane (vatsanābha) Aconitum
   napellus, L. See AVS: 1, 47, NK: 1, #42,
   Potter_{rev}: 4 f. Or Aconitum
   chasmanthum Stapf ex Holmes,
   GVDB: 357: 205
wood apple (kapittha) Limonia acidissima,
   L. See AVS: 3, 327, NK: 1, #1021: 77,
   98, 100
woodrose (mūsikakarnī) Jatopha curcas, L.
   AVS: 3, 261, NK: 1, #1374. GVDB: 317;
   ADPS: 23–25 discuss this issue well:
   98, 99
yellow-berried nightshade (ksudrā)
   Solanum virginianum, L. See
```

ADPS: 100, NK: 1, #2329, AVS: 5, 164:

115, 116

'angry beetles' (toṭaka): 118	agramukta (free from the point): 148
'bellied' (kukṣita): 119	āhāra (diet): 13
'cook-fish' (pākamatsya): 118	āhārya (take away): 40
'darts' (śārikā): 119	ahipatāka (thei snake flag): 132
'earth scorpions' (viśvambhara): 119	ahorātra (day and night): 14
'flat insects' (picciṭā): 118	aids (aṅga): 142
'lids' (śārava): 119	ajagara (the goat swallower): 132
'liquors' (medaka): 119	ajagara (constrictor): 135
'orange-dwellers' (kaṣāyavāsika): 118	ajākṣīrārdita (stirred with goat's milk):
'pepper snakes' (sarṣapaka): 118	
'poisonous snakes' (pracalāka): 118	150
'pot insects' (kauṇḍinya): 118	ajeya ("invincible"): 116
'speckle-heads' (citraśīrṣa): 119	ajeya (invincible): 101
'wing-scorpions' (patravṛścika): 119	akhiladehavyāptirūpam (takes the form of
'wood-enemies' (dārukāri): 119	pervading the whole body): 111
wood-chemics (un'ukuri). 119	akriya (inactive): 58
abdominal lump (gulma): 158	ākṣepa (contractions): 55
abhayā (chebulic myrobalan): 141	ākṣepaka (convulsions): 55
abhramukta (free from clouds): 148	ākṣepaka (convulsion): 56
abhyaṅga (oil massage): 98	alagarda (the hungry sting): 131
abhyanga (massage oil): 94, 100	alagarddā (sting-gush): 23
ācāra (regimen): 13	ālepa (liniment): 139
ācārika (medical advice): 42	ālepana (liniments): 23, 100
accumulation (samudāya): 39	alleviated ( <i>yāpya</i> ): 142
accumulation (sañcaya): 14	alleviation ( <i>pratīkāra</i> ): 14
aconite (hālāhala): 110	along these lines (evam): 15
ādarśamaṇḍala (the mirror ring): 131	āmalaka (emblic): 140
adhikaraṇa (topic): 161f	āmāśaya (stomach): 112f
adhimantha (irritation): 149	amra (mango): 140
adhiṣṭhāna (base, foundation): 117	amṛta (immortal): 101
adhiṣṭhāna (located): 13	anāgatāpekṣaṇa (future reference): 162,
adhiṣṭhāna (carriers): 117	165
ādhmāna (tympanites): 58	ānāha (constipation): 109, 112, 116
ādhmāna (distension): 109	aṇḍaja (born from eggs): 14
ādhmāta (swollen): 134	ลทฺdīnī (with testicles): 159
adhodṛṣṭitva (downward vision): 149	anekānta (variable statement): 162
adhyāya (sections): 16	anekānta (variable statement): 165
affliction ( <i>upasarga</i> ): 100	aṅga (parts): 15
afterbirth ( <i>aparā</i> ): 85	aṅga (aids): 142
agada (antidote): 113	aṅgamarda (bruising of the limbs): 112
āgantu (external factors): 15	anger (krodha): 13
aggregation (samuccaya): 162, 166	aṅgulirāji (the finger stripe): 132
agnika (the flame): 132	animals ( <i>paśu</i> ): 14
agra (supernatant laver): 145	añiana (eve salve): 114

añjana (application of collyrium): 145	asādhya (untreatable): 147
añjana (stibnite): 145	āsaṅgima (fastening): 40
añjana (eye make-up): 100	āśoka (grief): 13
añjana (eye ointment): 100	aśoka (asoka tree): 140
añjana (eye make-up): 94	asoka tree (aśoka): 140
añjana (eye ointment): 100	āśrayin (substrate): 13
añjana (application of collyrium): 139	asthi (bones): 15
annamada (intoxication from food): 112	aṣṭhīlā (pebble): 96
antarāyāma (emprosthotonos): 56	asūyā (jealousy): 13
antidote (agada): 113	atibalā (strong mallow): 143
antra (gut): 113	atideśa (prediction): 162, 164
antra (entrails): 142	atikrāntāpekṣaṇa (past reference): 162,
ants (pipīlika): 14	165
anulepana (massage ointment): 94, 98	ātmaka (nature): 12
anulepana (ointment): 98	āṭopa (flatulence): 97
anumata (consent): 162	atyānandā (extremely excited): 159
anumata (consent): 165	avadāraņa (fissuring): 100
apadeśa (statement of reason): 162	avalekhana (combs): 94
apadeśa (statement of reason): 164	āvarta (spiral): 147
apakṣāghāta (paralysis): 56	avaśardhita (fart): 118
apānga (outer corner of the eye): 147	axelwood (dhava): 151
aparā (afterbirth): 85	ayana (half-year): 14
apatānaka (spasmodic contraction): 55	āyatta (depends on): 13
āpatantraka (spasmodic contradiction):	āyur (life, longevity): 9
56	āyur (life): 22
apavarga (exception): 162, 164	āyurveda (the science of life): 10
apertures of the head (kha): 99	
aphorism (sūtra): 163	babhru (the brown): 132
application of collyrium (añjana): 139,	babhrūkuṭīmukha (the brown hut
	mouth): 131
apuṣpa (the grass flower): 131	baddham (bound, connected): 44
araga timira (non-bloodshot blindness):	bala (strength): 13
	balā (country mallow): 143
146	bali (morsel): 94
ardhakapāṭasandhika (half door-hinge):	base, foundation (adhiṣṭhāna): 117
40 ardita (spasm of the jaw-bones): 57	bāṣpa (vapour): 95f, 99
arid-land animals ( <i>jāṅgala</i> ): 145	be exhausted (sāda): 113
	bearers (voḍhāra): 94
ariṣṭa (omens): 47	beauty berry (priyangu): 145
arṇavamala (cuttle fish): 142	beautyberry (priyamgu): 140
arocaka (loss of appetite): 112	bellyache (jaṭhara): 116
arśas (prolapses): 158	bent brow and eye (vakrabhrūnetra): 149
ārtava (menstrual blood): 158	beryl (vaiḍūrya): 151
arthāpatti (implication): 162	bhadradāru (deodar): 150
arthāpatti (implication): 164	bhakṣya (masticable): 166
asādhya (incurable): 139	bhanga (leaves): 148

bhavet (it may be): 147	bull (vṛṣabha): 95
bhāvita (cooked): 145	burning sensation in feet ( <i>pādadāha</i> ): 58
bhāvita (infused): 141	<b>8</b> ( <i>F</i> ). 3-
bheṣaja (treatment): 159	cakradhārā (rim of a wheel): 41
bhojya (edible): 166	cakraka (the ringed): 132
bhramaraka (drongo): 95	cala (liquid): 148
bhṛṅgarāja (racket-tailed drongo): 95	can be mitigated (yāpya): 147
ьіја (semen): 158	caraṇī (caraṇī): 159
bile ( <i>pitta</i> ): 142	caraṇī (caraṇī): 159
bilious / choleric ( <i>pittalā</i> ): 159	cardamom ( $el\bar{a}$ ): 142
bindurāji (the drop stripe): 132	carman (pelt): 14
black ( <i>kṛṣṇā</i> ): 23	carnivore ( <i>kravyabhuj</i> ): 143
black (หฺรฺกฺน). 23 black drongo (dhūmyāṭa): 95	carriers (adhiṣṭhāna): 117
	cassia cinnamon (patra): 150
black part (kṛṣṇa): 147	castor oil (pañcāṅgulataila): 142
black pepper (marica): 140	cāsyāt (from his mouth): 96
black soot (maṣī): 140	cataract ( <i>liṅganāśa</i> ): 147
blindness (timira): 146	caturvarga (fourfold grouping): 15
blink of the eye (nimeṣa): 14	catuștaya (four factors): 15
blocking the vision ( <i>dṛṣṭyavarodha</i> ): 135	caused by wind (pavanodbhava): 142
blood (rudhira): 14	causes (hetu): 159
blood (śoṇita): 61	causing a fall (sraṃsanī): 159
blood (śonita): 142	causing the destruction of actions such
blood (śoṇita): 61	as moving (gamanādikriyāvināśakarī):
blood-bile (śonita-pitta, rakta-pitta): 142	149
blood-letting (sirāvedha): 140	caustic (kṣāra): 63
bloodshot blindness ( <i>rāgiṇi timire</i> ): 146f	chebulic myrobalan ( <i>abhayā</i> ): 141
bloodshot blindness ( <i>rāgin timira</i> ): 144	chedya (excision): 15
blue dot cataract ( <i>mlāyin</i> ): 146	cheek-ear (gaṇḍakarṇa): 40
blue lotus ( <i>utpala</i> ): 140	chest ( <i>hṛd</i> ): 113
blue vitriol ( <i>tuttha</i> ): 144	chidra (opening): 147
bodily constiuents (dhātu): 111	child bearing (kaumārabhṛtya): 154
body language (iṅgita): 94	child-murderess (putraghnī): 159
body tissue (dhātu): 113	chinna (segmented): 23
bones (asthi): 15	chital deer ( <i>pṛṣata</i> ): 95
born from eggs (aṇḍaja): 14	choler (pitta): 159
born in in a caul ( <i>jarāyuja</i> ): 14	chyle ( <i>rasa</i> ): 112
born of sweat ( <i>svedaja</i> ): 14	chyle (rasa): 29
bound, connected (baddham): 44	cihna (signs): 159
box myrtle (kaṭphala): 142	circuit of the pupil ( <i>dṛṣṭimaṇḍala</i> ): 147
bristles (śūka): 118	citraka (the mark): 132
bṛṃhaṇa (nourishment): 13	citraśīrṣa ('speckle-heads'): 119
bruising of the limbs (angamarda): 112	citron (mātuluṅga): 150
bubbling (budbuda): 149	clean ( <i>pra√ sādh</i> ): 100
budbuda (bubbling): 149	clusters (samplava): 14
bulbs (kanda): 14	cock (tāmracūḍa): 144

collection (varga): 15	curds ( <i>dadhi</i> ): 97, 101
combined (upahita): 142	cure (siddhi): 114
combs (avalekhana): 94	cured (sādhya): 116
comfort (sukha ): 15	cuscus grass (uśīra): 145
compendium of diseases	cutting with a blade (śastrakṣata): 140
(rogasaṃgraha): 156	cuttle fish (arṇavamala): 142
complexion (varṇa): 13, 47	cuttlefish bone (phena): 151
compounds (yoga): 140	cuttlefish bone (samudraphena): 141f
compressed (saṃkṣipta): 41	1 11 · / 1 \
compressed (saṃkṣipta): 40	dadhi (curds): 97, 101
compulsion (niyoga): 162, 166	dadhimukha (the curd mouth): 131
conch (salilotthita): 146	dainya (misery): 13
cone snails (śambūka): 118	dais (pīṭha): 40
congested humours (sannipāta): 15	daivakṛte (naturally-occurring): 147
consent (anumata): 165	dantamāṃsa (gum): 97
consent (anumata): 162	dantaveṣṭa (tooth socket): 97
constipation (ānāha): 109, 112, 116	darbhapuṣpa (the grass flower): 132
constrictor (ajagara): 135	darita (torn): 128f
construing (yoga): 161	dark colour (dhyāma): 110
construing (yoga): 162	dart-mouth (śańkumukhī): 24
contamination dropsy (duṣyodara): 112	dārukāri ('wood-enemies'): 119
contractions (ākṣepa): 55	dārvī (tree turmeric): 141
contraposition ( <i>viparyaya</i> ): 162, 164	datta (given): 95
convulsion (ākṣepaka): 56	day and night (ahorātra): 14 decoction (kvātha): 114
convulsions (ākṣepaka): 55	decoction ( <i>kaṣāya</i> ): 94, 148
cooked (bhāvita): 145	decomposition (kuṇapa): 61
cooked barley (yavaudana): 146	deducible ( <i>ūhya</i> ): 162, 166
copper (tāmra): 149	deer (eṇa): 143
coral (vidruma): 151	defects (doṣa): 158
coṣa (driness): 149	delirium ( <i>moha</i> ): 108
cottony jujube ( $k\bar{a}kol\bar{i}$ ): 150	demons (graha): 154
counteraction ( <i>pratiședha</i> ): 139	demons ( <i>graha</i> ): 154
country mallow (balā): 143	deodar (bhadradāru): 150
cow snout (gonasa): 133	depends on $(\bar{a}yatta)$ : 13
cow's flesh (gomāṃsa): 140	depression ( <i>viṣāda</i> ): 13
cow's urine (gomūtra): 141	description ( <i>nirdeśa</i> ): 161, 164
cow-dung (gośakrt): 140	desert date ( $ingud\bar{\imath}$ ): 145
cow-praising (govandanā): 23	desire (icchā): 13
crabs (ucciţinga): 119	determination ( <i>nirṇaya</i> ): 162
creeper-ear (vallīkarṇa): 40	devadinna (the gift of god): 131
creepy-crawlies (sarīsṛpa): 11, 14	dhātrī (emblic): 141
crow's foot (kākapada): 114	dhātu (element): 104, 107
crow's lip (kākauṣṭha): 40	dhātu (bodily constiuents): 111
cuñcumālaka (little ring of spots): 129	dhātu (element): 109
curable (sādhya): 139	dhātu (body tissue): 113
Carabic (Sunityu). 139	mmn (body 1150ac). 113

dhava (axelwood): 151	dumb ( <i>mūka</i> ): 58
dhūma (inhaled smoke): 94	dung beetles (varcaḥkīṭa): 118
dhūmadarśin (seeing smoke): 139	dūrvā (panic grass): 150
dhūmyāṭa (black drongo): 95	dūṣī-viṣa (slow-acting poison): 113
dhyāma (grimy): 94	dūṣīviṣa (slow-acting poison): 116
dhyāma (dark colour): 110	dūṣīviṣāri (slow-acting poison antidote):
diet ( <i>āhāra</i> ): 13	97
dilator (pravardhanaka): 39	dūṣīviṣāri (enemy of slow-acting
dīpyaka (the stimulator): 132	poison): 116
discharge ( <i>srāva</i> ): 98, 100	duṣyodara (contamination dropsy): 112
discharge (praseka): 110	dveṣa (hatred): 13
disease (vyadhi): 15	dvyāhika (the two-day): 132
diseases (roga): 158	dvyangulirāji (the two finger stripe): 132
disjunction (viśleṣa): 112	dwindling away (kṣaya): 112
disorders of the female reproductive	
system (yonivyāpat): 158	ear-ache (karṇaśūla): 58
distension (ādhmāna): 109	earth products ( <i>pārthiva</i> ): 14
door-hinge (kapāṭasandhika): 40	earthen products ( <i>pārthiva</i> ): 15
dosa (humours): 158	edible (bhojya): 166
doṣa (humours): 14	ekāngaroga (monoplegia): 56
doșa (defects): 158	ekānta (invariable statement): 165
doṣa (humour): 111, 147, 162	ekānta (invariable statement): 162
doṣapariplava (unsteadiness of the	elā (cardamom): 142
humours): 149	element ( <i>dhātu</i> ): 104, 107, 109
	elephant/snake (nāga): 119
double (yamalā): 97	elixir salve ( <i>rasāñjana</i> ): 141, 144f
doubt ( <i>saṃśaya</i> ): 162, 165 downward vision ( <i>adhodṛṣṭitva</i> ): 149	elixir-salve (śīta): 141
	elixir-salve (rasāñjana): 140
drākṣā (grapes): 150	ellipis (vākyaśeṣa): 162
dravāñjana (liquid collyrium): 144	ellipsis (vākyaśeṣa): 164
dravya (substance): 47	embelia (vidaṅga): 145
dried flesh (vallūraka): 40	emblic (dhātrī): 141
dried ginger (nāgara): 141	emblic (āmalaka): 140
driness (cosa): 149	emprosthotonos (antarāyāma): 56
drinkable (peya): 166	eṇa (deer): 143
drongo (bhramaraka): 95	enclosed roasting (puṭapāka): 145
dṛṣṭi (pupil): 139, 148	enclosed roasting (puṭākhya): 143
dṛṣṭimaṇḍala (circuit of the pupil): 147	ends (vaktra): 149
dṛṣtivibhrama (faulty vision): 100	enemy of slow-acting poison
<i>dṛṣṭyavarodha</i> (blocking the vision): 135	(dūṣīviṣāri): 116
dry ( <i>rūkṣa</i> ): 111	energy (ojas): 47
dry rub (utsādana): 98	eṇīpada (the deer foot): 132
dry rubs (utsādana): 94	entrails (antra): 142
ducts (srotas): 134	envy ( <i>īrṣyā</i> ): 13
ducts (sirā): 15	errhine (nasya): 143
duḥkha (suffering): 13	errhines (nasya): 100

essence (sāra): 14	fourfold grouping (caturvarga): 15
evam (along these lines): 15	free from clouds (abhramukta): 148
exception (apavarga): 162, 164	free from the point (agramukta): 148
excision ( <i>chedya</i> ): 15	frogs (maṇḍūka): 14
expansive (vikāsin): 111	from his mouth ( <i>cāsyāt</i> ): 96
explication ( <i>vyākhyāna</i> ): 162, 165	fruit trees (vanaspati): 13
expressed juice (svarasa): 140	fruits (phala): 14
extensive meaning of the collection of	future reference (anāgatāpekṣaṇa): 162
statements ( <i>vāksamūhārthavistāra</i> ):	165
133	
external factors (āgantu): 15	gadgad (stammers): 58
extract (niryāsa): 100	gāḍha (pinched): 42
extract of rohu carp (rauhita): 141	gairika (ochre): 140
extracted juice (svarasa): 99	gairikaḥ (red chalk): 150
extracts (rasa): 145	gamanādikriyāvināśakarī (causing the
extremely excited (atyānandā): 159	destruction of actions such as
eye make-up ( <i>añjana</i> ): 94, 100	moving): 149
eye ointment (añjana): 100	gaṇḍakarṇa (cheek-ear): 40
eye salve (añjana): 114	garlands ( <i>sraj</i> ): 94
eyewash ( <i>tarpaṇa</i> ): 100, 140, 144f	gauze (plota): 42
	gavedhuka (the gavedhuka): 131
fart (avaśardhita): 118	geckos (gṛhagoḍikā): 118
fastening (āsaṅgima): 40	general rule ( <i>paribhāṣā</i> ): 145
fat ( <i>vasā</i> ): 144	gently ( <i>mṛdu</i> ): 150
faulty medical treatment ( <i>mithyopacāra</i> ):	ghee (sarpiș): 101
158	ghee (sarpis): 140
faulty vision ( <i>dṛṣṭivibhrama</i> ): 100	girisarpa (the mountain snake): 131
feeling of heat all over (paridāha): 135	given (datta): 95
female reproductive organ (yoni): 158f	giving of fumes (paridhūpāyana): 134
female reproductive system ( <i>yoni</i> ): 158	giving off fumes (paridhūpana): 134
field-specific term (svasamjñā): 166	glassy opacity (kāca): 145
field-specific term (svasamjñā): 162	godhā (monitor lizard): 142
filaments (kiñjalka): 140	gold (śātakumbhī): 149
first point of view (pūrvapakṣa): 165	gomāṃsa (cow's flesh): 140
fissuring (avadāraṇa): 100	gomūtra (cow's urine): 141
flame of the forest (palāśa): 145	gonasa (cow snout): 133
flatulence (āṭopa): 97	gośakṛt (cow-dung): 140
flavour (rasa): 162	gośakṛt (juice of cow-dung): 140
flavours (rasa): 13, 47	govandanā (cow-praising): 23
flesh (māṃsa): 15	graha (demons): 154
flooded (pariplutā): 159	graha (demons): 154
flowering trees (vṛkṣa): 13	grahaṇī (seat of fire in the gut): 135
flowers (puṣpa): 14	granthi (lumps): 109
follicles (kha): 98	granthi (knots): 110
fortnight (pakṣa): 14	granthi (lumps): 61, 98
four factors (catustaya): 15	grapes (drākṣā): 150

gṛdhrasī (sciatica): 57	horripilation (harṣa): 112
great aconite ( <i>mahāviṣa</i> ): 110	horseradish tree ( <i>śigru</i> ): 146
great antidote (mahāgada): 23	hot all over (samantatastāpaḥ): 134
great fragrance (mahāsugandha): 100	hot over the whole body
great poison ( <i>mahāviṣa</i> ): 110	(sarvāṅgasantāpaḥ): 134
greed (lobha): 13	<i>hṛd</i> (chest): 113
green vitriol (kāsīsa): 145	huge (mahatī): 159
gṛhadhūma (soot): 123	human being (puruṣa): 12f, 15
gṛhagoḍikā (geckos): 118	humour ( <i>doṣa</i> ): 111, 147, 162
grief (āśoka): 13	humours (doṣa): 14
grimy (dhyāma): 94	humours (doṣa): 158
gruel (yavāgū): 114	, , , ,
guḍikā (pill): 140f	icchā (desire): 13
gulma (abdominal lump): 158	if, then not (na ced): 147
gum (dantamāṃsa): 97	ilikinī (the ilikinī): 132
guṇa (qualities): 111	illness ( <i>ruj</i> ): 141
gut (antra): 113	illustration ( <i>nidarśana</i> ): 162, 166
8 ()	immortal ( <i>amṛta</i> ): 101
haemorrhaging (śonitāgamana): 134	implication (arthāpatti): 162
hālāhala ( <i>aconite</i> ): 110	implication (arthāpatti): 164
half door-hinge (ardhakapāṭasandhika):	impotent (śaṇḍhī): 159
40	in those cases (tatra): 142
half-year ( <i>ayana</i> ): 14	in yama's direction ( <i>yāmya</i> ): 123
hare foot uraria ( <i>pṛthakparṇī</i> ): 150	inactive (akriya): 58
hareṇu ( <i>hareṇu</i> ): 140, 142	incurable ( <i>asādhya</i> ): 139
hareṇu (hareṇu): 140ff	indian lotus (nalina): 140
hareṇu ( <i>hareṇu</i> ): 140f	indian madder ( <i>mañjiṣṭhā</i> ): 150
hari (sun): 148	indian sarsaparilla (śārivā): 150
haridrā (turmeric): 145	indian sarsaparilla ( <i>sāriva</i> ): 141
harṣa (overexcitement): 13	indian sarsaparilla (kālānusāriva): 141
harṣa (horripilation): 112	indian sarsaparilla (śārivā): 150
hastābharaṇaka (the hand decoration):	indication ( <i>pradeśa</i> ): 162, 164
132	indigo $(n\bar{\imath}l\bar{\imath})$ : 97
hatred ( <i>dveṣa</i> ): 13	indragopa (red velvet mites): 14
herbs (oṣadhi): 13	indrāyudhā (rainbow): 23
hetu (causes): 159	infertile (vandhyā): 159
hetvartha (the sense of the cause): 163	inflamed (vidagdha): 139
hetvartha (premise): 161	inflamed (samrambha): 43
himalayan cherry (padmaka): 150	infused (bhāvita): 141
hīnakarṇa (reduced-ear): 40	iṅgita (body language): 94
hoarseness (pāruṣya): 109	iṅgudī (desert date): 145
holostemma ( <i>payasyā</i> ): 150	inhaled smoke (dhūma): 94
honey (madhu): 140	inherent ( <i>svābhāvika</i> ): 13
honey (kṣaudra): 140	inherent factors (svabhāva): 15
honey (madhus): 95	injured ( <i>utpīḍita</i> ): 146
honey collyrium ( <i>kṣaudrāñjana</i> ): 141	inspissation ( $rasakriy\bar{a}$ ): 145
J J \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

intended (vyākhyāta): 15	kalpa (rule): 117
interpretation (nirvacana): 162, 166	kalpa (procedure): 127
intestines (pakvāśaya): 97, 112	kāma (lust): 13
intestines (pakvādhāna): 113	kaṇabha (wasps): 119
intoxication from food (annamada): 112	kanda (bulbs): 14
invariable statement ( <i>ekānta</i> ): 162	kanṭaka (spots): 99
invariable statement ( <i>ekānta</i> ): 165	kapālacūrņa (powdered earthenware
invincible ( <i>ajeya</i> ): 101	crockery): 41
irregularities (vaiṣamya): 13	kapāṭasandhika (door-hinge): 40
irrigated (pratipūraņa): 99	kapha (phlegm): 109, 112f, 135, 159
irrigation (tarpaṇa): 158	kapha (mucus): 99
irrigation (seka): 139	kapilā (tawny): 23
irritation (adhimantha): 149	kapittha (wood apple): 140
irritation ( <i>prakopa</i> ): 14	kapittha (wood apple): 140
īrṣyā (envy): 13	karburā (mottled): 23
it may be (bhavet): 147	kardama (the mud): 132
itemization (vidhāna): 162	karma (regimen): 148
itemization (vidhāna): 165	karman (therapies): 15
items created by time (kālakṛta): 14f	karṇaśūla (ear-ache): 58
,	kaṛṇavyadha (piercing the ear): 37
jala (water): 22	karṇinī (protuberant): 159
jalaukas (water-dwellers): 22	kārśmarī (white teak): 141
jambu ( <i>jambū</i> ): 140	kaṣāya (the ochre): 132
jambū (jambu): 140	kaṣāya (decoctions): 94, 148
jāṅgala (arid-land animals): 145	kaṣāyavāsika ('orange-dwellers'): 118
jangama (mobile): 104	kāśipati (lord of kāśī): 93
jaṅgama (moving): 13, 15	kāsīsa (green vitriol): 145
jarāyuja (born in in a caul): 14	kāṣṭhā (trice): 14
jaṭhara (bellyache): 116	
jātī (royal jasmine): 151	kaṭphala (box myrtle): 142
jealousy ( <i>asūyā</i> ): 13	kaumārabhṛṭya (child bearing): 154
joints (sandhi): 15	kaundinya ('pot insects'): 118
juice extract (svarasa): 14	kavala (mouthwash): 98
juice of cow-dung (gośakṛt): 140	kha (apertures of the head): 99
juices (rasa): 144	kha (follicles): 98
<i>jyotīratha</i> (the chariot of light): 132	khaluṣa (the khaluṣa): 132
	khaṇḍaphaṇa (the break hood): 131
kāca (glassy opacity): 145	khañja (limpness): 57
kākapada (crow's foot): 114	khara (rough): 149
kākauṣṭha (crow's lip): 40	kikkisāda (the worm eater): 132
kākolī (cottony jujube): 150	kinihī (white siris): 145
kalā (minutes): 14	kiñjalka (filaments): 140
kālakṛta (items created by time): 14f	kitchen (mahānasa): 94
kālānusāriva (indian sarsaparilla): 141	kiṭipa (lice): 118
kalāyakhañja (lathyrism): 57	knots (granthi): 110
kalka (mash): 116	knowledge (veda): 9

kohl ( <i>srotoja</i> ): 141, 151	layer (paṭala): 146
kohl ( <i>srotas</i> ): 144	leaves (bhaṅga): 148
koṣṭha (trunk of the body): 135	leaves (patra): 14
koṣṭukaśīrṣa (synovitis of knee join): 57	lehya (suckable): 166
koṭha (skin disease): 112	lekhana (scarification): 13
kravyabhuj (carnivore): 143	lice ( <i>kiṭipa</i> ): 118
kṛcchra (with difficulty): 147	life (āyur): 22
kriyā (treatment): 145	life, longevity ( $\bar{a}yur$ ): 9
kriyā (procedures): 15	limpid (viśada): 111
kriyā (treatment): 15	limpness (khañja): 57
kriyā (procedures): 12	linga (symptom): 99
<i>kriyākāla</i> (the time for therapies): 15	linga (symptoms): 112
kriyāsanga (loss of function): 149	linganāśa (cataract): 147
kṛmi (worms): 14	liniment ( <i>ālepa</i> ): 139
krodha (anger): 13	liniments ( <i>ālepana</i> ): 23, 100
kṛṣṇā (long pepper): 140	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
kṛṣṇā (black): 23	liquid (cala): 148
kṛṣṇa (black part): 147	liquid collyrium ( <i>dravāñjana</i> ): 144
kṛṣṇasarpa (the black snake): 131	liquorice (madhuka): 141
kṛṣṇodara (the black belly): 131	liquorice (madhukair): 150
kṣaṇadāndhya (night blindness): 141	little ring of spots (cuñcumālaka): 129
kṣāra (caustic): 63	liver (yakṛt): 141f
kṣāraka (lye): 144	liver extract (yakṛdrasa): 141
kṣaudra (honey): 140	lobha (greed): 13
kṣaudrāñjana (honey collyrium): 141	located (adhiṣṭhāna): 13
kṣaya (dwindling away): 112	lodh tree ( <i>lodhra</i> ): 141, 145
kṣīṇa (low volume): 61	lodhra (lodh tree): 141, 145
kṣīṇa (wasted): 42	logical methods of the system
kṣīra (milky sap): 104, 109	(tantrayukti): 161
kṣīra (sap): 14	lohitākṣa (the red eye): 131f
kṣīra (milky sap): 107	long pepper (māgadhī): 144
kṣīrikāpuṣpa (the milk flower): 132	long pepper (pippali): 140
kukṣita ('bellied'): 119	long pepper ( <i>māgadhi</i> ): 142
kūkuṭa (the kūkuṭa): 131	long pepper (kṛṣṇā): 140
kuṇapa (decomposition): 61	long pepper ( <i>māgadhī</i> ): 142
kunta (small insects): 14	long pepper ( <i>māgadha</i> ): 145
kupyaka (metal): 140	loose stool (viḍbheda): 109, 120
kuśa (kuśa grass): 144	lord of kāśī (kāśipati): 93
kuśa grass (kuśa): 144	loss of appetite (arocaka): 112
kuṣṭha (pallid skin disease): 113	loss of function (kriyāsaṅga): 149
kvātha (decoction): 114	lotus-mouth (puṇḍarīkamukhī): 24
Routin (decocnor). 114	lotus-splittable (utpalabhedyaka): 40
lac ( <i>lākṣā</i> ): 150	lotus-spots (padminīkaṇṭaka): 99
lākṣā (lac): 150	low volume (kṣīṇa): 61
lame (paṅgu): 57	lumps (granthi): 61, 98, 109
lathyrism (kalāyakhañja): 57	lust (kāma): 13

lūtā (spiders): 11	māsa (month): 14
lye (kṣāraka): 144	mash (kalka): 116
	maṣī (black soot): 140
madanaka (the intoxicator): 131	massage oil (abhyaṅga): 94, 100
madhu (honey): 140	massage ointment (anulepana): 94, 98
madhuka (liquorice): 141	masticable (bhakṣya): 166
madhūka (mahua): 144ff	mātsarya (malice): 13
madhukair (liquorice): 150	mātuluṅga (citron): 150
madhus (honey): 95	matured (vipakva): 140
madirā (spirits): 141	medaka ('liquors'): 119
madira (spirits): 145	medical advice (ācārika): 42
māgadha (long pepper): 145	medicines cooked in a crucible
māgadhī (long pepper): 142, 144	(puṭapāka): 140
māgadhi (long pepper): 142	men ( <i>nara</i> ): 118
mahāgada (great antidote): 23	menstrual blood ( <i>ārtava</i> ): 158
mahākapota (the big pigeon): 131	mental ( <i>mānasa</i> ): 13
mahākṛṣṇa (the big black): 131	mention ( <i>samuddeśa</i> ): 161, 164
mahānasa (kitchen): 94	<i>meṣaśṛṅga</i> (perploca of the woods): 151
mahāpadma (the great lotus): 131	
mahāpanasaka (the big jackfruit): 131	meṣaviṣāṇa (periploca of the woods):
mahāsarpa (the great snake): 131	143
mahāśīrṣa (the big head): 131	metal ( <i>kupyaka</i> ): 140
mahāsugandha (great fragrance): 100	metamorphopsia ( <i>viparītadarśana</i> ): 134
mahatī (huge): 159	milk (payas): 101
mahāviṣa (great aconite): 110	milky sap (kṣīra): 104, 107, 109
mahāviṣa (great poison): 110	mimmira (mumbles): 58
mahua ( <i>madhūka</i> ): 144ff	minutes ( <i>kalā</i> ): 14
mākuli ( <i>mākuli</i> ): 132	misery (dainya): 13
mākuli (mākuli): 133	<i>miśrakacikitsa</i> (various treatments): 44
mākuli ( <i>mākuli</i> ): 133	misshapen eyeball (vilocana): 149
mākuli (mākuli): 132	mithuna (triad): 166
malice ( <i>mātsarya</i> ): 13	mithuna (pair): 166
māṃsa (flesh): 15	mithyopacāra (faulty medical treatment):
māmsanirgama (prolapse): 149	158
manaḥśilā (realgar): 141, 145, 151	mitigatible ( <i>yāpya</i> ): 139
manaḥśilā (red arsenic): 140f	mlāyin (blue dot cataract): 146
manaḥśilā (realgar): 144	mobile (jaṅgama): 104
mānasa (mental): 13	moha (delirium): 108
maṇḍala (round blotches): 112	monitor lizard ( <i>godhā</i> ): 142
maṇḍūka (frogs): 14	monkey (markaṭa): 110
mango (amra): 140	monkey (vānara): 118
mañjiṣṭhā (indian madder): 150	monoplegia (ekāṅgaroga): 56
manyāsthambha (rigidity of neck): 57	month (māsa): 14
marica (black pepper): 140	morsel (bali): 94
markaṭa (monkey): 110	mottled (karburā): 23
marks with a knife ( <i>śastrapada</i> ): 26	mouse (mūṣikā ): 24

mouthwash (kavala): 98	night blindness (kṣaṇadāndhya): 141
moving (jangama): 13, 15	niḥkvātha (stewed juice): 114
mṛdu (gently): 150	$n\bar{l}\bar{l}$ (indigo): 97
mucous (śleṣman): 135	nimeṣa (blink of the eye): 14
mucus (kapha): 99	nipping with the mouth
muhūrta (three-quarters of an hour): 14	(mukhasaṃdaṃśā): 118
<i>mūka</i> (dumb): 58	nirdeśa (description): 161, 164
mukhasaṃdaṃśā (nipping with the	nirṇaya (determination): 162
mouth): 118	nirvacana (interpretation): 162, 166
muktā (pearl): 147	nirvedhima (ready-split): 40
muktvā (separate): 147	nirvișa (without venom): 128
mūla (root): 13	niryāsa (resin): 14
mūla (roots): 14	niryāsa (extract): 100
mūlaka (mūlaka): 110	niryāsa (resin): 104, 106, 109
mūlaka ( <i>mūlaka</i> ): 110	niśācara (nocturnal creature): 146
multi-joins (vyāyojima): 40	nișevita (prepared): 144
mumbles (mimmira): 58	nișevita (used): 142
mūrcchā (stupor): 96	nivāta (no wind): 14
mūṣika (rodents): 11	niyoga (compulsion): 162, 166
mūṣikā (mouse): 24	no wind (nivāta): 14
mustā (nutgrass): 150	nocturnal creature (niśācara): 146
mustaka ( <i>mustaka</i> ): 110	non-bloodshot blindness (araga timira):
mustaka (mustaka): 110	146
myrobalan (pathyā): 140	non-flowering tree (vanaspati): 145
	nourishment ( <i>bṛṇṇhaṇa</i> ): 13
na ced (if, then not): 147	numbness (svāpa): 100
nadīja (salt): 141	nutgrass (mustā): 150
nāga (elephant/snake): 119	
nāgara (dried ginger): 141	objection (pūrvapakṣa): 162
nalada (spikenard): 145	oceanic (sāmudrikā): 23
nalina (indian lotus): 140	ochre (gairika): 140
nara (men): 118	off his hand (sapāṇa): 143
nasal medicine ( <i>nasya</i> ): 114	oil (sneha): 14
nasal medicines (nasya): 139	oil massage (abhyaṅga): 98
nasya (errhine): 143	oil stripe ( <i>snigdharāji</i> ): 133
nasya (snuff): 94	oily stripe ( <i>snigdharāji</i> ): 133
nasya (snuff): 99	ointment (pralepa): 96, 99
nasya (errhines): 100	ointment (anulepana): 98
nasya (nasal medicine): 114	ojas (energy): 47
nasya (nasal medicines): 139	ojas (vital energy): 13
naturally-occurring (daivakṛte): 147	omens (ariṣṭa): 47
nature (ātmaka): 12	opening ( <i>chidra</i> ): 147
needle $(s\bar{u}c\bar{\iota})$ : 148	ophidian (sarpita): 128
nemīsandhānaka (rim-join): 41	option ( <i>vikalpa</i> ): 162, 166
nemīsandhānaka (rim-join): 40	or not distorted (vāviķṛtā): 97
nidarśana (illustration): 162, 166	oṣadhi (herbs): 13

oṣadhi (remedies): 15	parts (aṅga): 15
oṣadhī- (remedies): 13	pāruṣya (hoarseness): 109
outer corner of the eye (apānga): 147	past reference (atikrāntāpekṣaṇa): 162,
overexcitement (harṣa): 13	165
	paśu (animals): 14
pacification ( <i>upaśama</i> ): 14	paṭala (layer): 146
pacification (saṃśamana): 13	pāthā (velvet leaf): 145
pādadāha (burning sensation in feet): 58	pathyā (myrobalan): 140
padārtha (word meaning): 161	patra (cassia cinnamon): 150
padārtha (word-meaning): 163	patra (leaves): 14
padma (the lotus): 131	patravṛścika ('wing-scorpions'): 119
padmaka (himalayan cherry): 150	
padminīkaṇṭaka (lotus-spots): 99	pavanodbhava (caused by wind): 142
pain (śūla): 113	payas (milk): 101
pain and injury (vedanābhighāta): 10	payasyā (holostemma): 150
pair (mithuna): 166	pearl (muktā): 147
pāka (sepsis): 100	pebble (aṣṭhīlā): 96
pākamatsya ('cook-fish'): 118	pelt (carman): 14
pakṣa (fortnight): 14	periploca of the woods ( <i>meṣaviṣāṇa</i> ):
pakṣāghāta (paralysis): 56	143
pakvādhāna (intestines): 113	perploca of the woods ( <i>meṣaśṛṅga</i> ): 151
pakvāśaya (intestines): 97, 112	person (puruṣa): 165
palāśa (flame of the forest): 145	pervasive (vyavāyin): 111
pālindaka (the morning glory): 131	peya (drinkable): 166
pallava (shoots): 148	phala (fruits): 14
pallid skin disease (kuṣṭha): 113	phena (cuttlefish bone): 151
panasaka (the jackfruit): 131	phlegm ( <i>kapha</i> ): 109, 112f, 135, 159
pañcāṅgulataila (castor oil): 142	phlegmatic (śleṣmalā): 159
pangu (lame): 57	physical (śārīravad): 15
panic grass ( <i>dūrvā</i> ): 150	picciṭā ('flat insects'): 118
paralysis ( <i>apakṣāghāta</i> ): 56	pīḍ- (press): 147
paralysis (pakṣāghāta): 56	piercing (vyadha): 148
paralysis of arms and back (viśvañci): 57	piercing the ear (karnavyadha): 37
pārāvata (the pigeon): 132	pigs' eye (sūkarākṣitā): 149
paribhāṣā (general rule): 145	pilindaka (the pilindaka): 131
paridāha (feeling of heat all over): 135	pill (guḍikā): 140f
paridhūpana (giving off fumes): 134	pinched (gāḍha): 42
paridhūpāyana (giving of fumes): 134	piṅgalā (ruddy): 23
pariplutā (flooded): 159	pipīlika (ants): 14
parisarpa (the snake around): 131	pippali (long pepper): 140
parīṣeka (shower): 98	pith ( <i>sāra</i> ): 104, 106, 109
parśvabheda (ribs crack): 113	pīṭha (dais): 40
pārthiva (earthen products): 15	pitta (choler): 159
pārthiva (earth products): 14	pitta (bile): 142
partial blindness (timira): 142f	pittalā (bilious / choleric): 159
particulars (vikalpa): 15	plīhan (spleen): 142

plota (gauze): 42	pṛṣata (the speckled): 131			
plutā (sprung): 159	pṛṣata (chital deer): 95			
poṭa throat (poṭagala): 133	pṛthakparṇī (hare foot uraria): 150			
poṭagala (poṭa throat): 133	puṇḍarīka (the lotus): 132			
powdered earthenware crockery	puṇḍarīka ( <i>puṇḍarīka</i> ): 110			
(kapālacūrṇa): 41	puṇḍarīka (puṇḍarīka): 110			
<i>pra√sādh</i> (clean): 100	puṇḍarīkamukha (the lotus mouth): 131			
<i>pra√kuth</i> (rot): 97	puṇḍarīkamukhī (lotus-mouth): 24			
prabha (shine): 147	pupil ( <i>dṛṣṭi</i> ): 139, 148			
pracalāka ('poisonous snakes'): 118	purification (saṃśodhana): 13			
practical purposes (prayojanavat): 14	puruṣa (human being): 12f, 15			
pradeśa (indication): 162, 164	puruṣa (person): 165			
pragāḍha (steeped): 143	pūrvapakṣa (objection): 162			
prakopa (irritation): 14	pūrvapakṣa (first point of view): 165			
prakṛti (temperament): 13	puṣpa (flowers): 14			
pralāpa (ranting): 108	puṣpābhikīrṇnābha (the flower sprinkle			
pralepa (ointment): 96, 99	beauty): 131			
prasaṅga (recontextualization): 162	pนรุpapāṇḍน (the pale as a flower): 131			
prasaṅga (recontextualization): 165	puṣpasakalī (the flower all): 132			
praseka (discharge): 110	puṭāhvaya (taken hot): 144			
pratīkāra (alleviation): 14	puṭākhya (enclosed roasting): 143			
pratīkāra (remedy): 139	puṭapāka (medicines cooked in a			
pratipūraņa (irrigated): 99	crucible): 140			
pratisāraņa (rub): 97	puṭapāka (roasting): 158			
pratisāraņa (rubbing): 97	puṭapāka (enclosed roasting): 145			
pratiședha (counteraction): 139	<i>pūtipūya</i> (stinking pus): 61			
pravardhanaka (dilator): 39	putraghnī (child-murderess): 159			
prayojanavat (practical purposes): 14	1			
prediction (atideśa): 162, 164	qualities (guṇa): 111			
premise (hetvartha): 161	racket tailed dropge (hkritegrāja): of			
premiss (sādhana): 163	racket-tailed drongo ( <i>bhṛṅgarāja</i> ): 95 <i>rāgin timira</i> (bloodshot blindness): 144			
prepared (nișevita): 144	rāgiņi timire (bloodshot blindness): 146f			
prepared with tilvaka ( <i>tailvaka</i> ): 140	rainbow (indrāyudhā): 23			
prepared with turpeth ( <i>traivṛta</i> ): 140	rainy seasons ( $varṣ\bar{a}$ ): 14			
prescription ( <i>upadeśa</i> ): 162	rajana (turmerics): 141			
prescription ( <i>upadeśa</i> ): 164	<i>rājicitra</i> (the stripe speckle): 132			
press ( $p\bar{i}d$ -): 147	rājimat (striped snake): 114			
priyangu (beautyberry): 140	raktakṣayā (with bloodloss): 159			
priyangu (beauty berry): 145	raktamaṇḍala (the red ring): 131			
probe (śalākā): 147f	ranting (pralāpa): 108			
procedure (kalpa): 127	ranting (pratupu): 108 rarified (sūkṣma): 111			
procedures ( <i>kriyā</i> ): 12, 15	rasa (chyle): 112			
prolapse (māṃsanirgama): 149	rasa (juices): 144			
prolapses (arśas): 158	rasa (flavours): 13, 47			
protuberant ( <i>karninī</i> ): 159	rasa (extracts): 145			
F = 2 - 2 - 2 - 2 - 2 - 2 - 2 - 2 - 2 - 2				

ṛtu (season): 14
rub (pratisāraṇa): 97
rubbing (pratisāraņa): 97
ruddy ( <i>piṅgalā</i> ): 23
rudhira (blood): 14
ruj (illness): 141
rūkṣa (dry): 111
rule (kalpa): 117
-= 1- (1 1 1- 1)
sāda (be exhausted): 113
ṣaḍaṅga (the six part): 132
sādhana (premiss): 163
sādhya (curable): 139
sādhya (cured): 116
saindhava (sind salt): 141
saindhava (salt): 114 saindhava (sindh salt): 144
saindhava (sind salt): 140
sal tree $(\hat{sala})$ : 140
<i>śālā</i> (sal tree): 140
śalākā (probe): 147f
salilotthita (conch): 146
salilotthita (water-born): 146
saliva (śleṣman): 96
salt ( <i>nadīja</i> ): 141
salt (saindhava): 114
śalya (splinter): 164
śalya (spike): 164
samāñjana (same collyrium): 144
samantatastāpaḥ (hot all over): 134
śambūka (cone snails): 118
same collyrium (samāñjana): 144
śaṃkhapāla (the conch keeper): 131
saṃkṣipta (compressed): 40
saṃkṣipta (compressed): 41
samplava (clusters): 14
saṃrambha (inflamed): 43
saṃśamana (pacification): 13
saṃśaya (doubt): 162, 165
saṃśodhana (purification): 13
samuccaya (aggregation): 162, 166
samudāya (accumulation): 39
samuddeśa (mention): 161, 164
samudraphena (cuttlefish bone): 141f
sāmudrikā (oceanic): 23
saṃvatsara (year): 14

sañcaya (accumulation): 14	semen (retas): 61
sandal (sugandhi): 143	semen ( <i>bīja</i> ): 158
sandhi (joints): 15	separate (muktvā): 147
śaṇḍhī (impotent): 159	sepsis (pāka): 100
śańkumukhī (dart-mouth): 24	serpented (sarpita): 128
sannipāta (congested humours): 15	shine ( <i>prabha</i> ): 147
sap ( <i>kṣīra</i> ): 14	shooting pain (śūla): 149
sapāṇa (off his hand): 143	shoots (pallava): 148
sāra (pith): 104, 106	shoots (udbhid): 14
sāra (essence): 14	shower (parīṣeka): 98
sāra (pith): 109	shrubs (vīrudh): 13
śārava ('lids'): 119	siddhārthaka (white mustard): 150
śārikā ('darts'): 119	siddhi (cure): 114
śārīravad (physical): 15	side-effects (upadrava): 100, 116
sarīsṛpa (creepy-crawlies): 11, 14	signs (cihna): 159
sāriva (indian sarsaparilla): 141	<i>śigru</i> (horseradish tree): 146
śārivā (indian sarsaparilla): 150	sind salt (saindhava): 140f
sarpis (ghee): 140	sindh salt ( <i>saindhava</i> ): 144
sarpiş (ghee): 101	sinews (snāyu): 15
sarpita (serpented): 128	sirā (ducts): 15
sarpita (ophidian): 128	sirāvedha (blood-letting): 140
sārṣapa (sārṣapa): 109	siris ( <i>śirīṣa</i> ): 140, 151
sārṣapa (sārṣapa): 109	śirīṣa (siris): 140, 151
sarṣapaka ('pepper snakes'): 118	śiśuka (the kid): 131
sarvakṛṣṇa (the all black): 131	śīta (elixir-salve): 141
sarvāngasantāpaḥ (hot over the whole	sitā (white sugar): 150
body): 134	śīta (elixir-salve): 141
sarvātmikā (sarvātmikā): 159	skin ( <i>tvak</i> ): 14f
sarvātmikā (sarvātmikā): 159	skin disease (koṭha): 112
śastrakṣata (cutting with a blade): 140	sleep (svāpa): 109
śastrapada (marks with a knife): 26	śleṣmalā (phlegmatic): 159
śātakumbhī (gold): 149	śleșman (saliva): 96
sauvīraka (stibnite): 141	śleṣman (mucous): 135
sāvarikā (sāvarikā ): 24	slice of flesh (vadhra): 44f
sāvarikā (sāvarikā): 24	slow-acting poison $(d\bar{u}s\bar{i}-visa)$ : 113
scarification (lekhana): 13	slow-acting poison $(d\bar{u}s\bar{i}visa)$ : 116
sciatica ( <i>gṛdhrasī</i> ): 57	slow-acting poison antidote (dūṣīviṣāri):
scramberry ( <i>tālīśapatra</i> ): 141	97
scramberry (tālīśa): 140	small insects (kunta): 14
season (rtu): 14	snāyu (sinews): 15
seat of fire in the gut (grahaṇī): 135	sneha (oil): 14
sections (adhyāya): 16	sniffing (ucchiṅgana): 148
seeing smoke ( <i>dhūmadarśin</i> ): 139	snigdharāji (oily stripe): 133
segmented (chinna): 23	snigdharāji (oil stripe): 133
seka (irrigation): 139	snuff (nasya): 94

snuff (nasya): 99	sthirā (rigid): 149
sole-heart (talahṛdaya): 165	stibnite (sauvīraka): 141
solid (styāna): 148	stibnite (añjana): 145
soma creeper (somalatā): 96	stick-ear (yaṣṭīkarṇa): 40
somalatā (soma creeper): 96	sting-gush (alagarddā): 23
śonita (blood): 142	stings (śūla): 119
śonita (blood): 61	stinking pus (pūtipūya): 61
śonita-pitta, rakta-pitta (blood-bile): 142	stirred with goat's milk (ajākṣīrārdita):
śonitāgamana (haemorrhaging): 134	150
śonitena (with blood): 149	stomach (āmāśaya): 112f
soot (gṛhadhūma): 123	strength (bala): 13
spasm of the jaw-bones (ardita): 57	striped snake (rājimat): 114
spasmodic contraction (apatānaka): 55	strong mallow (atibalā): 143
spasmodic contradiction (āpatantraka):	stupor (mūrcchā): 96
56	styāna (solid): 148
sperm (śukra): 61	substance (dravya): 47
sphoṭa (spots): 99f	substrate (āśrayin): 13
spiders (lūtā): 11	successive shocks (vega): 127
spike (śalya): 164	sūcī (needle): 148
spikenard (nalada): 145	sūcīvaktrā (with a needle-like opening):
spiral (āvarta): 147	159
spirits (madirā): 141	suckable ( <i>lehya</i> ): 166
spirits (madira): 145	suffering (duḥkha): 13
spleen (plīhan): 142	sugandhi (sandal): 143
splinter (śalya): 164	śūka (bristles): 118
spots (sphota): 99	śukapatra (the white leaf): 132
spots (kaṇṭaka): 99	sūkarākṣitā (pigs' eye): 149
spots (sphoṭa): 100	sukha (comfort): 15
sprung (plutā): 159	śukra (sperm): 61
sraj (garlands): 94	sūkṣma (rarified): 111
sraṃsanī (causing a fall): 159	śūla (pain): 113
srāva (discharge): 98, 100	śūla (shooting pain): 149
śreyas (welfare): 10	śūla (stings): 119
srotas (kohl): 144	sun ( <i>hari</i> ): 148
srotas (tubes): 135	supernatant layer (agra): 145
srotas (ducts): 134	sūtra (aphorism): 163
srotoja (kohl): 141, 151	svabhāva (inherent factors): 15
stalk (vṛnta): 140	svābhāvika (inherent): 13
stammers (gadgad): 58	svāpa (sleep): 109
statement of reason (apadeśa): 164	svāpa (numbness): 100
statement of reason (apadeśa): 162	svarasa (extracted juice): 99
stationary (sthāvara): 13, 15, 104	svarasa (juice extract): 14
steeped (pragāḍha): 143	svarasa (expressed juice): 140
stewed juice (niḥkvātha): 114	śvāsa (wheezing): 109
sthāvara (stationary): 13, 15, 104	svasamjñā (field-specific term): 162

svasamjñā (field-specific term): 166	the brown (babhru): 132
svayamgupta (velvet bean): 140	the brown hut mouth
svedaja (born of sweat): 14	(babhrūkuṭīmukha): 131
<i>śvetadara</i> (the white rip): 131	the chariot of light ( <i>jyotīratha</i> ): 132
svetahanu (the white jaw): 132	the conch keeper (śaṃkhapāla): 131
śvetakapota (the white pigeon): 131	the curd mouth (dadhimukha): 131
śvetamaṇḍala (the white ring): 131	the deer foot (enīpada): 132
swollen (ādhmāta): 134	the drop stripe ( <i>bindurāji</i> ): 132
syanda (watery eye): 146	the finger stripe (angulirāji): 132
symptom (linga): 99	the flame (agnika): 132
symptoms (linga): 112	the flower all (puṣpasakalī): 132
synovitis of knee join (koṣṭukaśīrṣa): 57	the flower sprinkle beauty
	(puṣpābhikīrṇnābha): 131
tailasugandhi (the fragrant one in oil):	the fragrant one in oil (tailasugandhi):
143	143
tailvaka (prepared with tilvaka): 140	the gavedhuka (gavedhuka): 131
take away (āhārya): 40	the gift of god (devadinna): 131
taken hot (puṭāhvaya): 144	the goat swallower (ajagara): 132
takes the form of pervading the whole	the grass drier ( <i>tṛṇaśoṣaka</i> ): 132
body (akhiladehavyāptirūpam): 111	the grass flower (darbhapuṣpa): 132
talahṛdaya (sole-heart): 165	the grass flower (apuṣpa): 131
tālīśa (scramberry): 140	the great lotus ( <i>mahāpadma</i> ): 131
tālīśapatra (scramberry): 141	the great snake ( <i>mahāsarpa</i> ): 131
tāmra (copper): 149	the hand decoration (hastābharaṇaka):
tāmracūḍa (cock): 144	132
tantrayukti (logical methods of the	the hungry sting (alagarda): 131
system): 161	the ilikinī ( <i>ilikin</i> ī): 132
tantuka (the stretch): 131	the intoxicator ( <i>madanaka</i> ): 131
tarpaṇa (eyewash): 100, 140, 144f	the jackfruit ( <i>panasaka</i> ): 131
tarpaṇa (irrigation): 158	the khaluṣa ( <i>khaluṣa</i> ): 132
tatra (in those cases): 142	the kid (śiśuka): 131
tatra (the tatra): 132	the kūkuṭa ( <i>kūkuṭa</i> ): 131
tawny (kapilā): 23	the little tree ( <i>vṛkṣaka</i> ): 132
temperament (prakṛti): 13	the lotus (puṇḍarīka): 132
the all black (sarvaķṛṣṇa): 131	the lotus ( <i>padma</i> ): 131
the bamboo leaf (venupatraka): 131	, ,
the big black ( <i>mahāķṛṣṇa</i> ): 131	the lotus mouth (puṇḍarīkamukha): 131
the big cow snout ( <i>vṛddhagonasa</i> ): 131	the mark (citraka): 132
the big head (mahāśīrṣā): 131	the milk flower (kṣīrikāpuṣpa): 132
the big jackfruit ( <i>mahāpanasaka</i> ): 131	the mirror ring (ādarśamaṇḍala): 131
the big pigeon (mahākapota): 131	the morning glory ( <i>pālindaka</i> ): 131
the black belly (kṛṣṇodara): 131	the mountain snake ( <i>girisarpa</i> ): 131
the black snake (kṛṣṇasarpa): 131	the mud (kardama): 132
the blood of birds and animals (rasa):	the ochre ( <i>kaṣāya</i> ): 132
141	the pale as a flower (puṣpapāṇḍu): 131
the break hood (khaṇḍaphaṇa): 131	the pigeon (pārāvata): 132

the pilindaka ( <i>pilindaka</i> ): 131	tree turmeric $(d\bar{a}rv\bar{\imath})$ : 141		
the rain cloud (valāhako): 131f	triad ( <i>mithuna</i> ): 166		
the red eye (lohitākṣa): 131f	trice (kāṣṭhā): 14		
the red ring (raktamaṇḍala): 131	triphalā (three fruits): 140f		
the ringed (cakraka): 132	<i>triphalā</i> (the three fruits): 145		
the science of life ( <i>āyurveda</i> ): 10	trivṛt (turpeth): 143		
the sense of the cause (hetvartha): 163	tṛṇaśoṣaka (the grass drier): 132		
the six part (ṣaḍaṅga): 132	trunk of the body (koṣṭha): 135		
the snake around ( <i>parisarpa</i> ): 131	tubes (srotas): 135		
the speckled ( <i>pṛṣata</i> ): 131	turmeric ( <i>haridrā</i> ): 145		
the stimulator $(d\bar{\imath}pyaka)$ : 132	turmerics ( <i>rajana</i> ): 141		
the straight snake ( <i>rjusarpa</i> ): 131	turnerics ( <i>rajana</i> ). 141 turpeth ( <i>trivṛt</i> ): 143		
the stretch (tantuka): 131	tuttha (blue vitriol): 144		
the stripe speckle ( $r\bar{a}jicitra$ ): 132	tvak (skin): 14f		
the tatra ( <i>tatra</i> ): 132	tympanites (ādhmāna): 58		
the three fruits ( <i>triphalā</i> ): 145	tympanics (minimum). 30		
the three spices (vyoṣa): 141	ucchingana (sniffing): 148		
the time for therapies ( <i>kriyākāla</i> ): 15	ucciținga (crabs): 119		
the two finger stripe ( <i>dvyangulirāji</i> ): 132	udāvartā (udāvartā): 159		
the two-day ( <i>dvyāhika</i> ): 132	udāvartā ( <i>udāvartā</i> ): 159		
the variegated (vicitra): 131	udbhid (shoots): 14		
the white jaw ( <i>svetahanu</i> ): 132	udveṣṭana (writhing): 108		
the white leaf ( <i>śukapatra</i> ): 132	<i>ūhya</i> (deducible): 162, 166		
the white pigeon ( <i>śwetakapota</i> ): 131	unsteadiness of the humours		
the white ring (śvetamaṇḍala): 131	(doṣapariplava): 149 untreatable (asādhya): 147		
the white rip ( <i>śvetadara</i> ): 131	upadeha (rheum): 100		
the worm eater (kikkisāda): 132	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
the year-snake (varṣāhīka): 132	upadeśa (prescription): 162		
thei snake flag ( <i>ahipatāka</i> ): 132	upadeśa (prescription): 164		
therapies (karman): 15	upadrava (side-effects): 100, 116		
three fruits ( <i>triphalā</i> ): 140f	upahita (combined): 142		
three-quarters of an hour ( <i>muhūrta</i> ): 14	upaśama (pacification): 14		
timira (partial blindness): 142	upasarga (affliction): 100		
timira (blindness): 146	used (niṣevita): 142		
timira (partial blindness): 143	uśīra (cuscus grass): 145		
tooth socket (dantaveṣṭa): 97	utpala (blue lotus): 140		
topic (adhikaraṇa): 161f	utpalabhedyaka (lotus-splittable): 40		
torn (darita): 128f	utpīḍita (injured): 146		
totaka ('angry beetles'): 118	utsādana (dry rub): 98		
toxic impulses (viṣavega): 135	utsādana (dry rubs): 94		
traivṛta (prepared with turpeth): 140	11 (1. 6.7. 1)		
treatable (yāpya): 116	vadhra (slice of flesh): 44f		
treatment ( <i>kriyā</i> ): 145	vaidūrya (beryl): 151		
treatment (bheṣaja): 159	vaiṣamya (irregularities): 13		
treatment ( <i>kriyā</i> ): 15, 145	vakrabhrūnetra (bent brow and eye): 149		

vāksamūhārthavistāra (extensive meaning	vilocana (misshapen eyeball): 149
of the collection of statements): 133	vipakva (matured): 140
vaktra (ends): 149	viparītadarśana (metamorphopsia): 134
vākyaśeṣa (ellipsis): 164	viparyaya (contraposition): 162, 164
vākyaśeṣa (ellipis): 162	vīrudh (shrubs): 13
valāhako (the rain cloud): 131f	viśada (limpid): 111
vallīkarṇa (creeper-ear): 40	viṣāda (depression): 13
vallūraka (dried flesh): 40	viṣavega (toxic impulses): 135
vāminī (vomiting): 159	viśleṣa (disjunction): 112
vānara (monkey): 118	viśvambhara ('earth scorpions'): 119
vanaspati (fruit trees): 13	viśvañci (paralysis of arms and back): 57
vanaspati (non-flowering tree): 145	vital energy (ojas): 13
vandhyā (infertile): 159	voḍhāra (bearers): 94
vapour ( <i>bāṣpa</i> ): 95f, 99	vomiting (vāminī): 159
varaki (wasps): 119	vṛddhagonasa (the big cow snout): 131
varcaḥkīṭa (dung beetles): 118	vṛkṣa (flowering trees): 13
varga (collection): 15	vṛkṣaka (the little tree): 132
variable statement ( <i>anekānta</i> ): 165	vṛnta (stalk): 140
variable statement ( <i>anekānta</i> ): 162	vṛṣabha (bull): 95
various treatments ( <i>miśrakacikitsa</i> ): 44	vyadha (piercing): 148
varṇa (complexion): 13, 47	vyadhi (disease): 15
varṣā (rainy seasons): 14	vyākhyāna (explication): 162, 165
varṣāhīka (the year-snake): 132	vyākhyāta (intended): 15
vartti (wicks): 151	<i>vyāla</i> (wild animals): 14
vartti (wick): 39	vyāna (vyāna breath): 135
vasā (fat): 144	vyāna breath ( <i>vyāna</i> ): 135
vāta (wind): 158f	vyavāyin (pervasive): 111
vātalā (windy): 159	vyāyojima (multi-joins): 40
vāvikṛtā (or not distorted): 97	vyoṣa (the three spices): 141
veda (knowledge): 9	(1 11 )
	wasps (kaṇabha): 119
vedanābhighāta (pain and injury): 10 vega (successive shocks): 127	wasps (varaki): 119
ę , .	wasted (kṣṇṇa): 42
velvet bean (svayaṃgupta): 140	water (jala): 22
velvet leaf (pāthā): 145	water-born ( <i>salilotthita</i> ): 146
venupatraka (the bamboo leaf): 131	water-dwellers (jalaukas): 22
vicitra (the variegated): 131	watery eye (syanda): 146
vidagdha (inflamed): 139	welfare ( <i>śreyas</i> ): 10
vidanga (embelia): 145	wheezing (śvāsa): 109
vidbheda (loose stool): 109, 120	white mustard ( <i>siddhārthaka</i> ): 150
vidhāna (itemization): 162	white siris (kinihī): 145
vidhāna (itemization): 165	white sugar (sitā): 150
vidruma (coral): 151	white teak (kārśmarī): 141
vikalpa (particulars): 15	wick (vartti): 39
vikalpa (option): 162, 166	wicks (vartti): 151
vikāsin (expansive): 111	wild animals ( <i>vyāla</i> ): 14

wind ( <i>vāta</i> ): 158f	yantraṇā (restrictions): 148	
windy (vātalā): 159	yāpya (mitigatible): 139	
with a needle-like opening (sūcīvaktrā):	уāруа (can be mitigated): 147	
159	yāpya (alleviated): 142	
with blood (śonitena): 149	уāруа (treatable): 116	
with bloodloss (raktakṣayā): 159	yaṣṭīkarṇa (stick-ear): 40	
with difficulty (krcchra): 147	yavāgū (gruel): 114	
with testicles (aṇḍīnī): 159	yavaudana (cooked barley): 146	
without venom (nirviṣa): 128	year (saṃvatsara): 14	
womb (yoni): 154	yoga (construing): 161	
wood apple (kapittha): 140	yoga (compounds): 140	
wood apple (kapittha): 140	yoga (construing): 162	
word meaning (padārtha): 161	yoni (female reproductive organ): 158	
word-meaning (padārtha): 163	yoni (female reproductive system): 158	
worms (kṛmi): 14	yoni (female reproductive organ): 159	
writhing (udveṣṭana): 108	yoni (womb): 154	
	yonivyāpat (disorders of the female	
yakṛdrasa (liver extract): 141	reproductive system): 158	
yakṛt (liver): 141f	yuga (yuga): 14	
yamalā (double): 97	yuga ( <i>yuga</i> ): 14	
yāmya (in yama's direction): 123	"invincible" ( <i>ajeya</i> ): 116	

## **Todo list**

Can't be "sedation"	35
JG in the light of your reflections, I removed "women's fertile".	
I've put śārīram back in	61
JG could you provide a standard citation reference for this inform-	
ation?	61
I have replaced the plant-names with entries from my plant data-	
base	63
This is a change we should make in the edition	67
You need not give all the grammatical details about śrotādi. As-	
sume you are talking to knowledgeable Sanskrit scholars	68
Perhaps kalka here could also mean the Terminalia Bellerica (विभीतक).	7º
Euphorbia Antiquorum (Antique spurge)	72
The webpage https://hindi.shabd.in/vairagya-shatakam-bhag-	
acharya-arjun-tiwari/post/117629 says that this verse belongs	
to the <i>Nītiratna</i> . I could not find this text.	75
The provisional edition should be modified accordingly	77
There, Dalhana comments that deliberation on avapīda had been	
done earlier when it was mentioned. Find that description to	
know more details	79
Search for the section where the treatment of <i>ākṣepaka</i> is described.	80
Make the first letter of sentence capital	80
?	86
?	86
?	86
(?)	86
Cf. Arthaśāstra 1.21.8	94
I'm still unhappy about this verse	97

	Mention this in the introduction as an example of the scribe know-
	ing the vulgate
	fn about sadyas+
	Bear's bile instead of deer's bile
	punarṇṇavā in the N & K MSS
	śrita for śṛta
	explain more
	Medical difference from Sharma
	example where the vulgate clarifies that these should be used sep-
	arately; appears to be a gloss inserted into the vulgate text 100
	The two uses of prāpta are hard to translate. prāptā $h \rightarrow k$ ṣipra $m$ is
	an example of the vulgate banalizing the Sanskrit text to make
	sense of a difficult passage
	$\sqrt{\text{vyadh not }\sqrt{\text{vedh (also elsewhere and for the ears)}}$ , causative
	optative
	-> ativișa
	Look up the ca. reference
	Come back to the issue of "kalpa". Look up passages in the Kośa. 117
	write footnote: don't repeat ativiṣā; vulgate similar to H 121
	material corresponds to SS.1.45.205ab, where it describes how al-
	cohol affects the body
	Or "There are 20 phanins and 6 mandalins. The same number are
	known. There are 13 Rājīmats." Or even, "there are 20 Phaṇins
	and six of them are Maṇḍalins." Are phaṇins really the same as
	darvīkaras?127
	grammar
	ri- ṛ-?
	varṇa means "colour" elsewhere?
	where is cutting with a knife related to removing bile or phlegm 140
	maṣī burned charcoal. Find refs
	find ref
	Check out these refs
	meaning of kalpa
	or a dual?
	Footnote here about who is speaking to whom
	a kind of asthma?
	Not happy with the last part
	connecting with the previous pāda?

(atyartha? excessive?)
fordvādaśādikaḥ)? not clear to me, is it dvādaśādhikaḥ? 150
(any better medical terms for them?)
(since the word lagha is not clear to me)
(Not too happy with it.)
(not sure about it)
(Not in vulgate)
(I am looking for a better translation)
(I'd need to rework on it)
(I'd need to rework on it and think about the sequencing of the
number)
(āmadoṣa? Not too sure)
(2nd hemistich is incomplete)
(not too sure about the meaning of vyapada)
not so sure about sodāvarte
not so sure about it, MW mentions others like Cordia Myxa and
Alangium hexapetalum
not sure about it
$(s\bar{a}m\bar{a}h\bar{a}ya-any\ better\ word?)$
Not so happy with this translation
( Not happy with it)
(the second hemistich is incomplete)
can śṛta mean here boiled milk? Not happy with the last part 155
the rest of the text is unclear to me
(not so sure about it). [ghṛtābhyaṅgonavasthāsu should it be like
ghṛtābhyaṅgo 'navasthāsu?, svedā lepaḥ ghṛtābhyaṅgonavas-
thāsu ca yojayet] (Not so happy with the translation) 156
See also Dalhana at 1.1.1 (Su 1938: 1)
See chapter 40 of Sūtrasthāna
vasā / medas / majjan
Does bhūtādi a compound or it means ahaṅkāra or ego? 165