

A Translation of the New Edition of the  
*Suśrutasamhitā*

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## Abstract

The [Suśruta Project](#) is producing a new Sanskrit text edition of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* based on the early Nepalese manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> As we gradually transcribe and edit the manuscripts, we are producing this new translation of the classic work.

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<sup>1</sup> MS Kathmandu KL 699, MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079, and MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333.

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## Kalpasthāna, adhyāya 1

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

The signs of a poisoner, on the other hand, are as follows: dry and dark look on the face, stuttering speech, excessive perspiration and yawning, trembling, stumbling, looking around while speaking, agitation while working, and not remaining in his place.<sup>50</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>51</sup>

The work then moves on to the various symptoms experienced by the king after being poisoned, and remedies appropriate to each case. Poison exhibits characteristic signs when added to milk and other drinks.<sup>52</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>53</sup> Translations

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

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

52 Cf. *Arthaśāstra* 1.21.6 again.

53 HIML: IA, 289–290.

of this chapter since 2000 have appeared by Wujastyk (2003: 131–139), P. V. Sharma (1999–2001: 3, 1–15), and Srikantha Murthy (2000–2).<sup>54</sup>

More recently, a discussion of the fourth chapter of this section in the light of the Nepalese manuscripts was published by Harimoto.<sup>55</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>56</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>57</sup> dated to 1165 CE noted in Bendall’s chart of Nepalese letter-numerals Bendall 1883: Lithograph V, after p. 225

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

55 Harimoto 2011: 101–104.

56 The two editions that Harimoto noted, [Su 1938](#) and [Su 1889](#), present identical texts.

57 Scan at [cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01693/1](http://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>58</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>59</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>60</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>61</sup>
- 8–11 He should employ a doctor in his kitchen (*mahānasa*) who is respected

58 MS H adds in the margin अथ खलु वत्स सुश्रुतः “Now begins Vatsa Suśruta.” This phrase has been copied here by the scribe from the beginning of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* chapter in the *sūtrasthāna* on the rules about food and drink (1.46.3 (Su 1938: 214)). The scribe presumably felt, not unreasonably, that this section had common subject matter with the present chapter. Further, SS 1.46.3 is the only place in the Nepalese transmission of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that names Dhanvantari and integrates him into the narrative of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* as the teacher of Suśruta.

The mention of Dhanvantari here is the only other time in the Nepalese transmission that this authority is cited as the source of Ayurvedic teaching, and the unique occurrence of this actual phrase, “as was declared by the Venerable Dhanvantari.” See the discussion by Klebanov (2021a: 28–32), who concludes that the earliest recoverable recension of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* may have had the phrase only at this point and not elsewhere in the work. See the further discussion by Birch et al. (2021).

59 This is a quite different statement from the vulgate which has Dhanvantari as the teacher, and calls him the Lord of Kāśī (*kāśīpati*) (Su 1938: 559). Ḍalhaṇa 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.”

60 Verses about the use of Venemous Virgins as a weapon do not appear in the Nepalese manuscripts. Cf. Wujastyk 2003: 81 f., 132. This material is present in the commentary of Gayadāsa.

61 The verb √śvas is conjugated as a first class root in the Nepalese manuscripts.

- 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>62</sup> have clean utensils and be staffed by men and women who have been vetted.<sup>63</sup>
- 17–18ab The chefs, bearers (*voḍhāra*), and makers of boiled rice soups and cakes and whoever else might be there, must all be under the strict control of the doctor.<sup>64</sup>
- 18cd–19ab An expert knows people’s body language (*iṅgita*) through abnormalities in voice, movement and facial expression. He should be able to identify a poisoner by the following signs.
- 19cd–23 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>65</sup> A poisoner goes the wrong way and is absent-minded.
- 25–27 I shall explain the signs to look for in toothbrush twigs, in food and drink as well as in massage oil (*abhyāṅga*) and combs (*avalekhana*); in dry rubs (*utsādana*) and showers, in decoctions (*kaṣāya*) and massage ointment (*anulepana*); in garlands (*sraja*), 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*) served from the king’s portion, die on the spot.

Cf.  
Arthaśāstra  
1.21.8.

62 We read महच्छुचिः with the Nepalese manuscripts and against the vulgate’s महच्छुचि. We understand शुचिस् as a neuter noun meaning “light” following Apte (1992: 1050a).

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

64 The word सौपोदनैकपूपिक “chefs for the boiled rice soups and cakes” is grammatically interesting. The term सूपोदन (as opposed to sūpaudana) is attested in the *Bodhāyanīya-grhyasūtra* 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).

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



- 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>66</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>67</sup> The chital deer sheds tears and the monkey releases excrement.<sup>68</sup>
- 34cd 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>69</sup>
- 35, 36cd In such a case, an errhine and a collyrium that are costus, *lāmajja* grass (*lāmajja*), spikenard (*nalada*) and honey (*madhus*);<sup>70</sup> a paste of sandalwood on the heart may also provide relief.<sup>71</sup>

66 The verb अर्च्छति “rises up” is a rare form best known from epic Sanskrit (see Oberlies 2003: 212, §7.6.1). The transmitted form क्रौञ्च is obviously a colloquial version of Sanskrit क्रौञ्च. Commenting on 1.7.10 (Su 1938: 31), Ḍalhaṇa interestingly gives the colloquial versions of several Sanskrit bird names, even singling out pronunciation in the specific location of Kānyakubja. For क्रौञ्च he says that people pronounce it कुरञ्च and कौचि. The form क्रौञ्च is found in Pāli (see Cone 2001: 731, who notes that Ardhamāgadhī has the same form). Elsewhere, Ḍalhaṇa calls the bird क्रौञ्चिर, क्रौञ्चि, and कैचर (1.46.105 (Su 1938: 223), 6.31.154 (Su 1938: 684) and (6.58.44 (Su 1938: 790) respectively).

67 Ḍalhaṇa 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.”

68 MS Kathmandu KL 699 reads bull (वृषभ) for Chital deer (पृषत). The latter may perhaps be mistaken for the former in the Newa script, although the reading of MS Kathmandu KL 699 is hard to read at this point.

69 “Tainted” translates उपक्षिप्त. The word’s semantic field includes “to hurl, throw against,” and especially “to insult verbally, insinuate, accuse.” The commentator Ḍalhaṇa 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 Ḍalhaṇa’s “given (दत्त).”

70 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.

71 Singh and Chuneekar (1972: 350) discussed the difficulties in identifying लामज्ज, a plant cited more often in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* than in the *Carakasamhitā*; Ḍalhaṇa adopted the common view that it is a type of *uśīra* or vetiver grass. The grammatical

- 37 Held in the hand, it makes the hand burn, and the nails fall out. In such a case, the ointment (*pralepa*) is beautyberry (*śyāmā*), velvet-mite (*indragopa*), soma and water-lily (*utpala*).<sup>72</sup>
- 38–39 If he eats that food, through inattention or by mistake, then his tongue will feel like a pebble (*aṣṭhīlā*) and it will lose its sense of taste. It stings and burns, and his saliva (*śleṣman*) dribbles out.<sup>73</sup> In such a case, he should apply the treatment recommended above for vapour (*bāṣpa*), and what will be stated below under “toothbrush twigs”.<sup>74</sup>
- 40 On reaching his stomach, it causes stupor (*mūrcchā*), vomiting, the hair stands on end, there is distension, a burning feeling and an impairment of the senses.<sup>75</sup>
- 41 In this case, vomiting must quickly be induced using the fruits of emetic

neuter form मधुस् “sweetness” of the Nepalese manuscripts is less common than neuter मधु “honey, sweetness, liquorice.”

- 72 “Beautyberry” (*Callicarpa macrophylla* Vahl.) is one identification of श्यामा, but vaidyas and commentators have different ideas about the plant’s identity (see Singh and Chuneekar 1972: 410; Warriar et al. 1994–6: 1: 334; Nadkarni 1954: #420).

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

Ḍalhaṇa curiously parses 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. Ḍalhaṇa also mentions that some people think the word refers to the soma creeper (सोमलता), which might explain his choice to take the word as feminine. But the compounded word is far more likely to be सोम (m.), the well-known mystery plant (see Wujastyk 2003: 76–78, 125). If this can be taken as rue (*Ruta graveolens*, L.), as some assert, one can point to a pleasing passage in Dioscorides where rue plays an antitoxic role: “...it is a counterpoison of serpents, the stinging of Scorpions, Bees, Hornets and Wasps; and it is reported that if a man be anointed with the juice of the Rue, these will not hurt him; and that the serpent is driven away at the smell thereof when it is burned; insomuch that when the weasel is to fight with the serpent she armeth herself by eating Rue, against the might of the serpent” (cited from Wren 1956: 262; not found in Osbaldeston and Wood 2000).

- 73 The word अष्टील is normally feminine. The Nepalese manuscripts read it with a short अ- ending. Gayadāsa noticed that some manuscripts read अष्टील with a short -अ ending (MS Bikaner RORI 5157, f. 5v:7–8) and Ḍalhaṇa reproduced his observation. The vulgate reading “from his mouth (चास्यात्)” is more obvious (*lectio faciliior*), but is not attested in the Nepalese manuscripts.

- 74 Poisoned toothbrushes are discussed in verses 48 ff. below.

- 75 I translate मूर्च्छा in the light of the metaphors discussed by Meulenbeld (2011), that include thickening and losing consciousness.

- nut (*madana*), bitter gourd (*alābu*), red gourd (*bimbī*), and luffa (*koṣī-takī*), taken with milk and watered buttermilk (*udaśvit*), or alternatively with rice-water.
- 42 Reaching the intestines (*pakvāśaya*), it causes a burning feeling, stupor, diarrhoea, thirst, impairment of the senses, flatulence (*āṭopa*) and it makes him pallid and thin.
- 43 In such a case, purgation with the fruit of indigo (*nīlī*), together with ghee, is best. And ‘slow-acting poison antidote (*dūṣṭviṣāri*)’ should be drunk with honey and curds (*dadhi*).<sup>76</sup>
- 44 When poison is in any liquid substances such as milk, wine or water, there are various streaks, and foam and bubbles form.
- 45 And no reflections are visible or, however, if they can be seen once more, they are distorted, fractured, or tenuous and distorted too.<sup>77</sup>
- 46 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 (*prā√kuth*) and unripe ones ripen.<sup>78</sup>
- 48 When a toothbrush twig has poison on it, the bristles are corroded and the flesh of the tongue, gums and lips swells up.<sup>79</sup>
- 49 Then, once his swelling is lanced, one should rub (*pratisāraṇa*) it with fire-flame bush flowers (*dhātakīpuṣpa*), jambul (*jambū*), mango stones (*āmṛāsthī*) and chebulic myrobalan (*harītakī*) fruit mixed with honey.<sup>80</sup>
- 50 Alternatively, the rubbing (*pratisāraṇa*) can be done with either the roots of sage-leaved alangium (*aṅkolla*), the bark of blackboard tree

I’m still unhappy about this verse.

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

fn about sadyas+

76 The ‘slow-acting poison’ is discussed at 5.2.25 ff. (Su 1938: 565).

77 Both Nepalese witnesses read distorted (*vikṛta*) 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 (*yamālā*)” 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*.

78 The root √कुथ् “stink, putrify, rot” is apparently known only from its few uses in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

79 Gayadāsa and Ḍalhaṇa point out that “enclosure of a tooth (दन्तवेष्ट)” and “flesh of the tooth (दन्तमांस)” have the same meaning (2.16.14–26 (Su 1938: 331–332)).

80 This recipe is different from the vulgate.

- (*saptachada*) or siris seeds (*śirīṣamāṣaka*).<sup>81</sup>
- 51ab One should give advice about a poisoned tongue-scraper or mouth-wash (*kavala*) in the same way as for a toothbrush twig.
- 51cd Massage oil that has been laced with poison is slimy, thick and discoloured.
- 52 When the massage oil has been contaminated with poison, boils arise, pain, a discharge (*srāva*), inflammation of the skin, and sweating.<sup>82</sup> And the flesh (*māṃsa*) splits open.
- 53–54 In such a case, sandalwood, Indian rose-bay (*tagara*),<sup>83</sup> costus, and vetiver grass (*uśīra*), bamboo leaves (*veṇupatrikā*), heart-leaved moonseed (*somavallī*) and calamine (*amṛtā*), white clitoria (*śvetā*), sacred lotus (*padma*), and Indian barberry (*kālīyaka*) should be made into an ointment (*anulepana*) for the patient, who has been sprinkled with cold water. That is also recommended as a drink with the juice and leaves of wood apple (*kapittha*).<sup>84</sup>
- 55 In the case of a dry rub (*utsādana*), a shower (*parīṣeka*), an infusion, a massage ointment (*anulepana*), or in beds, clothes, or armour, the physician should understand that it is the same as for massage (*abhyāṅga*).<sup>85</sup>
- 56–58 When a comb has poison in it, the hair falls out, the head aches and blood oozes from the follicles (*kha*) and lumps (*granthi*) appear on the head. In such a case, one should repeatedly apply an ointment of black earth soaked with bear's bile,<sup>86</sup> ghee, beautyberry (*śyāmā*),<sup>87</sup> black creeper (*pālindī*) and amaranth (*tanḍulīyaka*). Good alternatives are

Bear's bile  
instead of  
deer's bile.

- 81 The spelling of the name अङ्गोल्ल varies अङ्गोट, अङ्गोठ, अङ्गोल (Singh and Chuneekar 1972: 5); Ḍalhaṇa notes that the form अङ्गोल्ल is a colloquialism (1.37.12 (Su 1938: 161)). The sentence is awkward and we have emended शिरीषमाषक to be a plural, as in the vulgate, rather than the ablative singular of the Nepalese witnesses. We follow Ḍalhaṇa in interpreting the compound to refer to the distinctive bean-like siris seeds, rather than to mung beans (माषक) (5.1.50 (Su 1938: 562)).
- 82 The feminine स्फोट for “boils” is unattested.
- 83 Some say तगर is Indian valerian, but there remain many historical questions about the ancient and regional identities of this plant (see, e.g., Singh and Chuneekar 1972: 173–174)[334]avs.
- 84 This compound could be interpreted as “wood apple juice and cassia cinnamon (*pa-tra*).” Note that this recipe is differs from that of the vulgate, which requires urine.
- 85 See verse 52 above.
- 86 Ḍalhaṇa comments here that ‘bile is that fluid which goes along inside the tube attached to the liver’ (कालखण्डलग्ननलिकामध्यगतजलं पित्तम्) 5.1.57 (Su 1938: 562).
- 87 See note 72.

- either the fluid extract of cow-dung, or the juice of jasmine (*mālatī*), the juice of woodrose (*mūṣikakarṇī*), or household soot.<sup>88</sup>
- 59 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 (*padminikaṇṭaka*).<sup>89</sup> In this case, the drink is honey and ghee, and the ointment (*pralepa*) is sandalwood with ghee, curds (*payasyā*), honey, verbena (*phañjī*), scarlet mallow (*bandhu-jīva*) and hogweed (*punarnavā*).<sup>90</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 atis roots (*ativiṣā*), is prescribed, with henna (*madayantikā*), as a cold drink or errhine.
- 65cd–66 Flowers lose their fragrance and colour, and wilt. On smelling them, he gets a headache and his eyes fill with water. In this case, the treatment is what was proposed above for vapour (*bāṣpa*) and that which is traditional for face make-up.

punarnavā  
in the N &  
K MSS

śrīta for  
śrta

88 The plant identifications in this passage follow Ḍalhaṇa's glosses, although he noted a difference of opinion on the identity of mouse-ear (*mūṣikakarṇī*). Singh and Chuneekar 1972: 317; Sivarajan and Balachandran 1994: 23–25 discussed this issue well.

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

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

90 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 1920–5: 20, where it is the name of a constellation).

- 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 (*bahuputrā*) and very cold juice of white cutch tree (*somavalka*) are also recommended as something good.<sup>91</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 (*dr̥ṣṭivibhrama*), and possibly even blindness.<sup>92</sup>
- 70–71 In this case, one must immediately drink ghee and have it also in an eye-wash (*tarpaṇa*) with long pepper (*māgadha*). One should have an eye ointment (*añjana*) of the juice of periploca of the woods (*meṣaśṛṅga*) and have the extract (*niryāsa*) of three-leaved caper (*varuṇa*), wood apple (*kapittha*) and periploca of the woods (*meṣaśṛṅga*) and the flower of marking-nut tree (*bhallātaka*).
- 72–73 If his slippers have been poisoned, then there will definitely be a swelling, numbness (*svāpa*), a discharge (*srāva*) and an outbreak of spots (*sphoṭa*) on the feet. One should clean (*pra√sādh*) footstools together with slippers.
- 74 Ornaments lose their lustre, and they do not shine as they used to. The places they touch are afflicted with burning, sepsis (*pāka*), and fissuring (*avadāraṇa*).
- 75ab One should apply the procedures for massage oil (*abhyāṅga*) to what has been said about slippers and ornaments.
- 75cd–76 In the case of the affliction (*upasarga*) by poison that 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 (*agada*). I shall describe it.<sup>93</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

explain more

Medical difference from Sharma.

example where the vulgate clarifies that these should be used separately

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

92 The term translated as “faulty vision” could also mean “rolling eyes.”

93 It 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.



- emetics. And if bloodletting is indicated, he should open the indicated veins.
- 78cd–79ab If either purging nut (*mūṣikā*) or a fern (*ajaruhā*) is tied on to the King's wrist, then all food that is mixed with poison will be rendered free of poison.<sup>94</sup>
- 79cd–80 He should always keep his heart protected (*hr̥dayāvaraṇa*) when amongst people who are not his friends.<sup>95</sup> He should not eat, but drink the kinds of ghee called 'Invincible' and 'Immortal'.<sup>96</sup> He should drink ghee (*sarpiṣ*), honey, curds (*dadhi*), milk (*payas*), or cold water.
- 81 He should always eat monitor lizard, peacock, mongooses, chital deer (*pr̥ṣata*), and blackbuck (*hariṇa*) too, that destroy poison, and he should also drink soups made of them.<sup>97</sup>
- 82 As discerning person should add well-crushed black creeper (*pāli-ndī*),<sup>98</sup> liquorice (*madhuka*), and sugar to the meats of monitor lizard (*godhā*), mongoose and blackbuck (*hariṇa*)
- 83 For a peacock, sugar and atis root (*ativiṣā*) should be added, together with ginger (*mahaṣadha*) And for meat from a chital deer (*pārṣata*), he should add long peppers (*pippalī*), with ginger (*mahaṣadha*).
- 84ab A cold neem broth with honey and ghee is wholesome too.
- 84cd A discerning person should partake of various foodstuffs that counter-act poison.
- 85 If a person who has protected his heart thinks, "I might have drunk poison," he should cause himself to vomit using long pepper, liquorice, honey, sugar, sugarcane juice and water.

A simple example of the vulgate banalizing the text

opposite of the vulgate

The first chapter in the Kalpas.

94 In early Ayurvedic literature, the plant अजरुहा is mentioned only here and its identity is unknown. It may be a fern of the Nephrodium family, according to Singh and Chuneekar (1972: 7). Ḍalhaṇa (5.1.78 (Su 1938: 563)) cites a description of the two plants from the little-known authority Uśanas (HIML: IA, 660 et passim) that describe अजरुहा as a white root with spots on it that looks like collyrium when it is split; when drunk with sandalwood it causes poison to be digested.

95 The *Carakasamhitā* makes it clearer that 'protecting the heart' means drinking several sweet, oily drinks to surround the heart and keep it safe (6.23.46 (Ca. 1941: 574)).

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

97 The text more literally says that he should drink their juices.

98 Or some say turpeth.

## Uttaratantra, adhyāya 38

- 1 And now I shall explain the countermeasures against disorders of the female reproductive system (*yonivyāpat*).<sup>160</sup>
- 2 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 (*yonī*), because he is devoted to it for the sake of (people's?) happiness.<sup>161</sup>
- 3 A female reproductive system, when morbid, cannot consume semen and therefore the woman does not get pregnant. She gets severe prolapses (*arśas*), abdominal lump (*gulma*) and similarly many other diseases (*roga*).

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160 On this broad understanding of the term *yonī*, see Das 2003: pp. 572–5

161 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.'



## Abbreviations

- Ah 1939 Kumṭe, Aṇṇā Moreśvara, Navare, Kṛṣṇaśāstrī, and Parādkar, Hariśāstrī (1939) (eds.), श्रीमद्वाग्भटविरचितम् अष्टाङ्गहृदयम्, श्रीमद-  
रुणदत्तविरचितया सर्वाङ्गसुन्दराख्यया व्याख्यया, हेमाद्रिप्रणीतया आयुर्वेदर-  
सायनाह्वया टीकया च समुल्लसितम् = *The Astāṅgahṛidaya* (6th edn.,  
Mum̐bayyām: Nirṇayasāgara Press), [ark:/13960/t3tt6967d](https://nirṇayasāgara.org/ark:/13960/t3tt6967d).
- Anup *Anup Sanskrit Library* (n.d.).
- AS *Asiatic Society* (n.d.).
- As 1980 Āṭhavale, Ananta Dāmodara (1980) (ed.), *Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgrahaḥ. Śrīmad Vṛddhavāgbhaṭaviracitaḥ Induṣyākhyāśahitaḥ* (Pune: Ma-  
heśa Ananta Āṭhavale, Śrīmad Ātreya Prakāśanam), [ark:/13960/t9773bb9z](https://nirṇayasāgara.org/ark:/13960/t9773bb9z).
- Bhela 1921 Mookerjee, Ashutosh and Ananta Krishna Shastri, Ved-  
antabisharad (1921) (eds.), *The Bhela Samhita. Sanskrit Text*  
(Calcutta: University of Calcutta), [ark:/13960/t3sv3157j](https://nirṇayasāgara.org/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-saṃhitā. Text with English  
Translation, Commentary and Critical Notes* (Haridas Ayurveda  
Series, 8; Varanasi: Chaukhambha Visvabharati).
- BL *British Library* (n.d.).
- Ca. 1941 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1941) (ed.), महर्षिणा पुनर्व-  
सुनोपदिष्टा, तच्छिष्येणाग्निवेशेन प्रणीता, चरकहृदबलाभ्यां प्रतिसंस्कृता च-  
रकसंहिता, श्रीचक्रपाणिदत्तविरचितया आयुर्वेददीपिकाव्याख्यया संवलित्ता  
(3rd edn., Mum̐bayyām: Nirṇaya Sagara Press), [URL](https://nirṇayasāgara.org/), accessed  
01/01/2018.
- HIML Meulenbeld, Gerrit Jan (1999–2002), *A History of Indian  
Medical Literature*, 5 vols. (Groningen: E. Forsten), ISBN:  
9069801248.
- KL *Kaiser Library* (n.d.).
- NAK *National Archives of Kathmandu* (n.d.).

- NCC Raghavan, V. et al. (1949–), *New Catalogus Catalogorum, an Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit and Allied Works and Authors*, 39 vols. (Madras University Sanskrit Series; Madras: University of Madras); v.1: revised edition, 1968.
- NGMCP NGMCP (2014), 'Nepal-german Manuscript Cataloguing Project. Online Title List and Descriptive Catalogue', Universität Hamburg and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, [URL](#).
- RORI *Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute* (n.d.).
- Su 1889 Bhaṭṭācāryya, Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara (1889) (ed.), सुश्रुतः. सूत्र-निदान-शारीर-चिकित्सा-कल्पोत्तर-तन्त्र-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 निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया समुल्लसिता, आचार्योपाह्वेन त्रिविक्रमात्मजेन यादवशर्मणा संशोधिता = *The Sushrutasamhita of Sushruta, the Nibandhasangraha Commentary of Shri Dalhanāchārya* (Mumbayyām: Nirṇayasāgaramudrāyantrālaye), [ark : / 13960 / t3sv0mt50](#), accessed 29/07/2020; [HIML](#): IB, 312 edition \*v.
- Su 1931 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1931) (ed.), सुश्रुतसंहिता, वैद्यवरश्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया समुल्लसिता, महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता, सूत्र-निदान-शारीर-चिकित्सा-कल्पस्थानोत्तरतन्त्रात्मकः. आचार्योपाह्वेन त्रिविक्रमात्मजेन यादवशर्मणा संशोधिता = *The Sushrutasamhitā of Sushruta with the Nibandhasangraha Commentary of Shree Dalhanāchārya* (2nd edn., Mumbayyām: Pāṇḍuraṅga Jāvajī at the Nirṇayasāgaramudrāyantrālaye), [ark : / 13960 / t9j41sg94](#), accessed 09/06/2020; [HIML](#): IB, 312 edition \*v.
- Su 1938 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (1938) (eds.), श्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया निदानस्थानस्य श्रीगयदासाचार्यविरचितया न्यायचन्द्रिकाख्यपञ्जिकाव्याख्यया 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, श्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया निदानस्थानस्य श्री-गयदासाचार्यविरचितया न्यायचन्द्रिकाख्यपञ्जिकाव्याख्यया च समुल्लसिता (Vārāṇasī: Caukhambhā Kṛṣṇadāsa Akādamī); Reprint of the third, 1938 edition (Su 1938).
- Su 1939 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama and Śarman, Nandakiśora (1939) (eds.), सुश्रुतसंहितायाः सूत्रस्थानम्. श्रीचक्रपाणिदत्तविरचितया भानुमतीव्याख्याया समेतम् = *Sushrut-saṁhitā (sūtra Sthān) with Bhānumatī Commentary by Chakrapāṇi Datta with Introduction by Gaṇanāth Sen* (Śrīsvāmi Lakṣmīrāma Nidhi Grantha-mālā = Shri Swāmī Lakshmi Rām Trust Series, 1; [Jaipur]: Śyāmasundara Śarman), [ark : /13960/t54g0d12m](http://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 Suśrutasaṁhitā of Suśruta with Various Readings, Notes and Appendix etc.* (Mumbāi: Nirṇayasāgarākhyamudraṇālaye), [URL](http://13960/t6qz6fr23).
- TMSSML *Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji Saraswati Mahal Library* (n.d.).
- Viṣṇudh. Śarman, Madhusūdana and Śarman, Mādhavaprasāda (1912) (eds.), विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणम् = [*Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*] (Mumbai: Khemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa at the Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press), [ark : / 13960 / t6qz6fr23](http://13960/t6qz6fr23); Lithograph format. Edited on the basis of a manuscript belonging to the astrologer Śudhākaraśarman of the Varanasi Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā.

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## Todo list

■ Cf. Arthaśāstra 1.21.8. . . . .	25
■ I'm still unhappy about this verse. . . . .	28
■ Mention this in the introduction as an example of the scribe knowing the vulgate. . . . .	28
■ fn about sadyas+ . . . . .	28
■ Bear's bile instead of deer's bile. . . . .	29
■ punarṇavā in the N & K MSS . . . . .	30
■ śrita for śṛta . . . . .	30
■ explain more . . . . .	31
■ Medical difference from Sharma. . . . .	31
■ example where the vulgate clarifies that these should be used separately . . . . .	31
■ A simple example of the vulgate banalizing the text . . . . .	32
■ opposite of the vulgate . . . . .	32
■ where is cutting with a knife related to removing bile or phlegm. . . . .	33
■ maṣī burned charcoal. Find refs. . . . .	33
■ find ref. . . . .	39
■ Check out these refs. . . . .	40
■ or a dual? . . . . .	44

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