

A Translation of the New Edition of the
Suśrutasamhitā

Jason Birch Dominik Wujastyk Andrey Klebanov

Draft of 28th October 2021
© Jason Birch and Dominik Wujastyk



© Dominik Wujastyk. I am distributing this pre-publication draft under a
Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.
For details, see <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>

Abstract

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

¹ MS Kathmandu KL 699, MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079, and MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333.

Contents

The manuscripts and editions used in the vulgate editions by Yā-	
davaśarman Trivikrama Ācārya	5
The sources of the 1915 edition	5
The sources of the 1931 edition	5
The sources of the 1938 edition	6
Evaluation	7
The 1939 edition	8
For the Bhānumatī	8
For the Suśrutasaṃhitā	10
Evaluation	10
Features of the manuscript transmission	12
Palaeographical features	12
Chart of characters	12
Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 1	13
Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 2	20
Literature	20
Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 28	21
Kalpasthāna, adhyāya 1	22
Literature	22
Manuscript notes	23
Translation	24
[Threats to the king]	24
Uttaratantra, adhyāya 16 (17 in the vulgate)	33
Literature	33
Translation	33
[Complications]	42
[Characteristics of the probe]	43
[Complications]	43
Uttaratantra, adhyāya 38	45

Abbreviations	46
Index of Manuscripts	48
References	49
Glossary	61
On digital critical editions	67

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.⁵⁰

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.⁵¹

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.⁵² 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.⁵³ 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).⁵⁴

More recently, a discussion of the fourth chapter of this section in the light of the Nepalese manuscripts was published by Harimoto.⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶

Manuscript notes

- MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 has foliation letter numerals, for example on f. 323a, that are similar to MS Cambridge Add. 1693,⁵⁷ dated to 1165 CE noted in Bendall’s chart of Nepalese letter-numerals Bendall 1883: Lithograph V, after p. 225

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.

Translation

- 1–2 And now I shall explain the procedures for safeguarding food and drink, as were declared by the Venerable Dhanvantari.⁵⁸
- 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.⁵⁹

[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.⁶⁰
- 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.⁶¹
- 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 *Suśrutasamhitā* chapter in the *sūtrasthāna* on the rules about food and drink (1.46.3 (Su 1938: 214)). The scribe presumably felt, not unreasonably, that this section had common subject matter with the present chapter. Further, SS 1.46.3 is the only place in the Nepalese transmission of the *Suśrutasamhitā* that names Dhanvantari and integrates him into the narrative of the *Suśrutasamhitā* as the teacher of Suśruta.

The mention of Dhanvantari here is the only other time in the Nepalese transmission that this authority is cited as the source of Ayurvedic teaching, and the unique occurrence of this actual phrase, “as was declared by the Venerable Dhanvantari.” See the discussion by Klebanov (2021a: 28–32), who concludes that the earliest recoverable recension of the *Suśrutasamhitā* 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,⁶² have clean utensils and be staffed by men and women who have been vetted.⁶³
- 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.⁶⁴
- 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.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷ The chital deer sheds tears and the monkey releases excrement.⁶⁸
- 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.⁶⁹
- 35, 36cd In such a case, an errhine and a collyrium that are costus, *lāmajja* grass (*lāmajja*), spikenard (*nalada*) and honey (*madhus*);⁷⁰ a paste of sandalwood on the heart may also provide relief.⁷¹

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 कोञ्च 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 *Suśrutasamhitā* 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*).⁷²
- 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.⁷³ In such a case, he should apply the treatment recommended above for vapour (*bāṣpa*), and what will be stated below under “toothbrush twigs”.⁷⁴
- 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.⁷⁵
- 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; Warrier 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*).⁷⁶
- 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.⁷⁷
- 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.⁷⁸
- 48 When a toothbrush twig has poison on it, the bristles are corroded and the flesh of the tongue, gums and lips swells up.⁷⁹
- 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.⁸⁰
- 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*).⁸¹
- 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.⁸² And the flesh (*māṃsa*) splits open.
- 53–54 In such a case, sandalwood, Indian rose-bay (*tagara*),⁸³ 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*).⁸⁴
- 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*).⁸⁵
- 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,⁸⁶ ghee, beautyberry (*śyāmā*),⁸⁷ 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); Dalhaṇa 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 Dalhaṇa in interpreting the compound to refer to the distinctive bean-like siris seeds, rather than to mung beans (माषक) (5.1.50 (Su 1938: 562)).
- 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 Dalhaṇa 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.⁸⁸
- 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 (*padminīkaṇṭaka*).⁸⁹ 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*).⁹⁰
- 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 (*atviṣā*), 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.⁹¹
- 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.⁹²
- 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. They damage their respective locations with burning, sepsis (*pāka*), and fissuring (*avadāraṇa*).⁹³
- 75ab One should apply the stated procedures for massage oil (*abhyāṅga*) 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.⁹⁴

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

94 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.

- 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. 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.⁹⁵
- 79cd–80 He should always keep his heart protected (*hṛdayāvaraṇa*) when amongst people who are not his friends.⁹⁶ He should not eat, but drink the kinds of ghee called 'Invincible' and 'Immortal'.⁹⁷ He should drink ghee (*sarpiṣ*), honey, curds (*dadhi*), milk (*payas*), or cold water.
- 81 He should always eat monitor lizard, peacock, mongooses, chital deer (*prṣata*), and blackbuck (*hariṇa*) too, that destroy poison, and he should also drink soups made of them.⁹⁸
- 82 As discerning person should add well-crushed black creeper (*pāli-ndī*),⁹⁹ 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 (*mahaśadha*) And for meat from a chital deer (*pārṣata*), he should add long peppers (*pippalī*), with ginger (*mahaśadha*).
- 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

95 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 Chunderkar (1972: 7). Dalhana (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.

96 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)).

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

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

99 Or some say turpeth.

The first chapter in the Kalpas.

Uttaratantra, adhyāya 38

- 1 And now I shall explain the countermeasures against disorders of the female reproductive system (*yonivyāpat*).¹⁶⁰
- 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.¹⁶¹
- 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*).

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 Dalhaṇāchārya* (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 Dalhaṇāchārya* (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 1938² 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.

Index of Manuscripts

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

Bikaner RORI 5157 27

Cambridge Add. 1693 23

Kathmandu KL 699 2, 26

Kathmandu NAK 1-1079 2

Kathmandu NAK 5-333 2, 23, 28

Thanjavur TMSSML 10773 46

References

- Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1941) (ed.), महर्षिणा पुनर्वसुनोपदिष्टा, तच्छिष्येणाग्निवेशेन प्रणीता, चरकदृढबलाभ्यां प्रतिसंस्कृता चरकसंहिता, श्रीचक्रपाणिदत्तविरचितया आयुर्वेददीपिकाव्याख्यया संवलिता (3rd edn., Mumbayyām: Nirṇaya Sagara Press), [URL](#), accessed 01/01/2018.
- 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), [URL](#).
- Adriaensen, Rob C. R., Barkhuis, Roelf, and Ruijters, Jean-Louis (1984), 'An English Translation of Suśrutasaṃhitā, Nidānasthāna 1, 1–39, Together with Gayadāsa's Nyāyacandrikā', in Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Workshop on Priorities in the Study of Indian Medicine* (Groningen: Forsten), 277–310.
- Apte, Vaman Shivaram (1992), *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Company), ISBN: 4-653-00038-7; Reprinted from **gode-apte**.
- Baber, Zaheer (1996), *The Science of Empire: Scientific Knowledge, Civilization, and Colonial Rule in India* (Albany: State University of New York Press).
- Bausi, Alessandro et al. (2015), *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies. An Introduction* (Hamburg: Tredition). doi: [10.5281/ZENODO.46784](#).
- Bendall, Cecil (1883), *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit, Manuscripts in The, University Library, Cambridge: With Introductory Notices and Illustrations of the Palaeography and Chronology of Nepal and Bengal* (Cambridge: University Press), [ark:/13960/t03x8vz7b](#).
- Bhaṭṭācārya, Candrakānta (1910–7) (ed.), सुश्रुतसंहिता प्रथमखण्डम् सूत्रस्थानात्मकम्...हाराणचन्द्रचक्रवर्तिकविराजविरचितसुश्रुतार्थसन्दीपनभाष्य-समेतम्...चन्द्रकान्त भट्टाचार्य-प्रमुखैः संशोधितम् = [*The Suśrutasaṃhitā with the Commentary Suśrutārthasandīpanabhāṣya by Hārāṇacandra Cakravartī*] (Kalikātā: Satya Press); Edition "t" in [HIML](#): IB, 312.
- Birch, Jason et al. (2021), 'Further Insight into the Role of Dhanvantari, the Physician to the Gods, in the Suśrutasaṃhitā', *Academia Letters*. doi: [10.20935/AL2992](#).

- Breton, P. (1826), 'On the Native Mode of Couching', *Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta*, 2: 341–82, [ark : / 13960 / t3dz8nn5t](https://doi.org/10.13960/t3dz8nn5t), URL, accessed 02/06/2021.
- Bronkhorst, Johannes (2021), 'Patañjali's Āryāvarta = Śuṅga realm?', *Academia Letters*. DOI: [10.20935/al291](https://doi.org/10.20935/al291); Article 291.
- Bronner, Yigal (2021) (ed.), 'The Pandit Project' (30 Sept.), URL.
- Burghart, Marjorie (2016), 'The TEI Critical Apparatus Toolbox: Empowering Textual Scholars through Display, Control, and Comparison Features', *Journal of the Text Encoding Initiative*, 10/Issue 10. DOI: [10.4000 / jtei.1520](https://doi.org/10.4000/jtei.1520), URL, accessed 12/12/2017.
- (2017), 'Textual Variants', in Marjorie Burghart, James Cummings, and Elena Pierazzo (eds.), *Digital Editing of Medieval Texts: A Textbook* (DEMM), URL, accessed 04/07/2021.
- Burnell, Arthur Coke (1880), *A Classified Index to the Sanskrit Mss. in the Palace at Tanjore* (London: Trübner), [ark : / 13960 / t4xh86j61](https://doi.org/10.13960/t4xh86j61); Bheḷasamhitā described on pp. 67 ff.
- Carpue, J. C. (1816), *An Account of Two Successful Operations for Restoring a Lost Nose from the Integuments of the Forehead...Including Descriptions of the Indian and Italian Methods* (London: Longman et al.), [ark : / 13960 / t2q57fn42](https://doi.org/10.13960/t2q57fn42), accessed 20/03/2019.
- Cone, Margaret (2001), *A Dictionary of Pāli* (Oxford: The Pali Text Society), ISBN: 0 86013 394 x.
- Cordier, P. (1903), 'Récentes découvertes de mss. médicaux sanscrits dans l'Inde (1898–1902)', *Muséon, Nouvelle Série*, 4: 321–52, [ark : / 13960 / t26b2j457](https://doi.org/10.13960/t26b2j457), accessed 02/01/2020; Reprinted in Roşu 1989: 539–70.
- Coult, Ro. (1731), 'An Account of the Diseases of Bengall', in *Indian Science and Technology in the Eighteenth Century* (Impex India), 141 f., 276.
- Crawford, D. G. (1930), *Roll of the Indian Medical Service, 1615–1930* (London, Calcutta, Simla: Thacker).
- Das, Rahul Peter (2003), *The Origin of the Life of a Human Being. Conception and the Female According to Ancient Indian Medical and Sexological Literature* (Indian Medical Tradition; Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas), ISBN: 81-208-1998-5.

- Dave, K. N. (1985), *Birds in Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass), ISBN: 0-89581-676-8, [ark:/13960/t2c94cv80](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:in:csir-13960-t2c94cv80).
- Deshpande, Vijaya (1999), 'Indian Influences on Early Chinese Ophthalmology: Glaucoma As a Case Study', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 62: 306–22. DOI: [10.1017/S0041977X00016724](https://doi.org/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](https://doi.org/10.1017/s0041977x00008454).
- Elliot, Robert Henry (1918), *The Indian Operation of Couching for Cataract: Incorporating the Hunterian Lectures Delivered before the Royal College of Surgeons of England on February 19 and 21, 1917* (London: H. K. Lewis).
- Emeneau, M. B. (1969), 'Sanskrit Syntactic Particles – "kila, khalu, nūnam"', *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 11/4: 241–68.
- Falk, Harry (1991), 'Silver, Lead and Zinc in Early Indian Literature', *South Asian Studies*, 7/1: 111–7. DOI: [10.1080/02666030.1991.9628430](https://doi.org/10.1080/02666030.1991.9628430).
- Fan, Ka Wai (2005), 'Couching for Cataract and Sino-indian Medical Exchange From the Sixth to the Twelfth Century AD', *Clinical and Experimental Ophthalmology*: 188–90. DOI: [10.1111/j.1442-9071.2005.00978.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1442-9071.2005.00978.x); Unaware of Deshpande 1999; 2000.
- Gaṇapatiśāstrī, T. (1920–5), *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpāḥ* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 70; Anantaśayane: Rājakīyamudraṇayantrālaye), [ark:/13960/t4pk5sj0j](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:in:csir-13960-t4pk5sj0j).
- Gombrich, Richard (1979), '“He cooks softly”: dverbs in Sanskrit grammar', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 42/2 (June): 244–56. DOI: [10.1017/s0041977x0014580x](https://doi.org/10.1017/s0041977x0014580x).
- Gupta, Sri Madhusudana (1835–6) (ed.), *Āyur-veda-prakāśa [also Called Suśruta-saṃhitā] by Suśruta. the Suśruta, or System of Medicine, Taught by Dhanwantari, and Composed by His Disciple Suśruta*, 2 vols. (Calcutta: Education Press and Baptist Mission Press), [ark:/13960/t6841qw6x](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:in:csir-13960-t6841qw6x).
- Harimoto, Kengo (2011), 'In Search of the Oldest Nepalese Manuscript', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 84/1–4: 85–106, ISSN: 0392-4866, URL, accessed 08/09/2019.

- Harimoto, Kengo (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](https://doi.org/10.4259/ibk.62.3_1087), URL, accessed 08/09/2019.
- (pre-published), '[Preliminary Edition of the Nepalese MSS of the Suśrutasaṃhitā, adhyāyas 1.1–3, 6.4]'; Unpublished document dated 2010.
- Hayashi, Takao (2017), 'The Units of Time in Ancient and Medieval India', *History of Science in South Asia*, 5/1: 1–116. DOI: [10.18732/h2ht0h](https://doi.org/10.18732/h2ht0h).
- Hemarāja Śarman (1938) (ed.), काश्यपसंहिता (वृद्धजीवकीयं तन्त्रं वा) महर्षिणा मारीचकश्यपेनोपदिष्टा ... हेमराजशर्मणा लिखितेन विस्तृतेन उपोद्धातेन सहिता ... सत्यपाल भिषगा कृतया विद्योतिनी हिन्दीव्याख्यया ... समुल्लसिता (1st edn., Mumba: Nirṇayasāgara Press), URL, accessed 02/02/2018.
- Hendley, T. Holbein (1895), *A Medico-topographical Account of Jeypore, Based on the Experience of Twenty Years' Service As a Residency Surgeon and Thirteen As Superintendent of Dispensaries at Jeypore, Rajputana* (Calcutta: Calcutta Central Press Company).
- Hessler, Franciscus (1844–55), *Suśrutasaṃhitā: Id Est Medicinæ Systema a Venerabili D'hanvantare Demonstratum a Susruta Discipulo Compositum; Nunc Primum Ex Sanskrita in Latinum Sermonem Vertit, Introductionem, Annotationes Et Rerum Indice Franciscus Hessler* (Erlangen: Ferdinandum Enke), URL, accessed 04/11/2017.
- Hoernle, A. F. Rudolf (1893–1912) (ed.), *The Bower Manuscript: Facsimile Leaves, Nagari Transcript, Romanised Transliteration and English Translation with Notes* (New Imperial Series, 22; Calcutta: Government of India and under the patronage of the Bengali Government, Archaeological Survey of India), [ark:/13960/t05z1bg4q](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:in:asi-bower-1893-1912).
- (1907), *Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India: Osteology or the Bones of the Human Body* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Hofer, Theresia (2007), 'Swami Laxmi Ram's Ayurvedic Pharmacy in Jaipur, India', *Wellcome History*, 34: 2–3, URL, accessed 01/07/2021.
- Holwell, J. Z. (1767), *An Account of the Manner of Inoculating for the Small Pox in the East Indies With...Observations on The...Mode of Treating That Disease in Those Parts* (London: T. Becket & P. A. de Hondt), [ark:/13960/t3ws9h63c](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:in:asi-holwell-1767).

- Jack, David Morton (1884), 'A Thesis on Cataract in India: Its Pathology and Treatment', Wellcome Library, London, MS.3007, [URL](#), accessed 02/06/2021.
- Joṣī, Veṇīmādhavaśāstrī and Joṣī, Nārāyaṇa Harī (1968), *Āyurvedīya Mahākośaḥ arthāt Āyurvedīya Śabdakośaḥ Saṃskṛta–Saṃskṛta* (Mumbai: Mahārāṣṭra Rājya Sāhitya āṇi Saṃskṛti Maṇḍala), [URL](#).
- Kangle, R. P. (1969), *The Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* (2nd edn., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass), ISBN: 81-208-0042-7, [ark : / 13960 / t3gz6qh1s](#), accessed 23/09/2021.
- Keith, Arthur Berriedale (1908), review of A. F. Rudolf Hoernle (1907), *Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India: Osteology or the Bones of the Human Body* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), in *Zeitschrift Der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1/62: 134–9, [URL](#), accessed 17/04/2021.
- Klebanov, Andrey (2021a), 'On the Textual History of the Suśrutasamhitā (1): A Study of Three Nepalese Manuscripts', to be published in *eJIM: Electronic Journal of Indian Medicine*, [URL](#), accessed 09/09/2019.
- (2021b), 'On the Textual History of the Suśrutasamhitā, (2): An Anonymous Commentary and its Identified Citations', in Toke Lindegaard Knudsen, Jacob Schmidt-Madsen, and Sara Speyer (eds.), *Body and Cosmos: Studies in Early Indian Medical and Astral Sciences in Honor of Kenneth G. Zysk* (Leiden, Boston: Brill), 110–39.
- Kuist, James M. (1982), *The Nichols File of The Gentleman's Magazine* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), ISBN: 0-299-08480-9, [ark:/13960/t53g2ct2z](#).
- Leffler, Christopher T. et al. (2020), 'The History of Cataract Surgery: From Couching to Phacoemulsification', *Annals of Translational Medicine*, 8/22: 1551–97, ISSN: 2305-5847. DOI: [10.21037/atm-2019-rcs-04](#), [URL](#), accessed 02/11/2020.
- Lienhard, Siegfried (1978), 'On the Meaning and Use of the Word Indragopa', *Indologica taurinensia*, 6: 177–88, [URL](#), accessed 06/02/2021; The indragopa is a 'red velvet mite'.

- Longmate, Barak (1794), 'A Curious Chirurgical Operation', *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 64.4 (Oct.): 883, 891, 892; I am grateful to the late John Symons of the Wellcome Library who identified the author 'B. L.' as the journalist Barak Longmate. See also Kuist 1982: 87.
- Majno, Guido (1975), *The Healing Hand. Man and Wound in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), [URL](#), accessed 26/08/2021.
- Malamoud, Charles (1996), 'Paths of the Knife: Carving up the Victim in Vedic Sacrifice', in *Cooking the World: Ritual and Thought in Ancient India. Translated from the French by David White* (Delhi, Bombay, etc.: Oxford University Press), 169–80.
- Manucci, Niccolò (1907–8), *Storia Do Mogor or, Mogul India, 1653–1708 by Niccolao Manucci, Venetian; Translated with Introduction and Notes, by William Irvine* (The Indian Texts Series; London: J. Murray), [URL](#), accessed 04/10/2021.
- Masai, François (1950), 'Principes et conventions de l'édition diplomatique', *Scriptorium*, 4: 177–93. DOI: [10.3406/scrip.1950.2294](#).
- Meulenbeld, Gerrit Jan (1974), *The Mādhavanidāna and Its Chief Commentary: Chapters 1–10. Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (Leiden: Brill), ISBN: 978-90-04-03892-9; Meulenbeld provided a supplement to his 1974 listing of plant identities as an appendix in Das 2003.
- (1984), 'The Surveying of Sanskrit Medical Literature', in id. (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Workshop on Priorities in the Study of Indian Medicine* (Groningen: Forsten), 37–56.
- (1992), 'The Characteristics of a Doṣa', *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society*, 2/1: 1–5, [URL](#), accessed 31/08/2021.
- (2008), *The Mādhavanidāna with "Madhukośa," the Commentary by Vijayarakṣita and Śrīkaṇṭhadatta (Ch. 1-10). Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass); Meulenbeld provided a supplement to his 1974 listing of plant identities as an appendix in Das 2003.
- (2011), 'The Relationships between Doṣas and Dūṣyas: A Study on the Meaning(s) of the Root Murch-/mūrch', *eJournal of Indian Medicine*, 4/2: 35–135, [URL](#), accessed 13/10/2017.

- Miles, M. (1999), 'Personal Communication', Mar.; Letter of 4 March.
- Moureau, Sébastien. (2015), 'The Apparatus Criticus', in Alessandro Bausi et al. (eds.), *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction* (Hamburg: Tredition), 348–52, ISBN: 978-3-7323-1768-4, [URL](#), accessed 04/07/2021.
- Mukhopādhyāya, Girindranāth (1913), *The Surgical Instruments of the Hindus, with a Comparative Study of the Surgical Instruments of the Greek, Roman, Arab, and the Modern European (sic) Surgeons* (Calcutta: Calcutta University), [ark: 13960/t1zd2pq29](#), accessed 29/01/2018; Vol.2: [ark:/13960/t9r25qd8m](#). Reprinted as a single volume, New Delhi, 1987.
- Nadkarni, K. M. (1954), *Dr. K. M. Nadkarni's Indian Materia Medica, with Ayurvedic, Unani-tibbi, Siddha, Allopathic, Homeopathic, Naturopathic & Home Remedies, Appendices & Indexes ... in Two Volumes*, ed. A. K. Nadkarni, 2 vols. (3 ed., revised by A. K. Nadkarni, Bombay: Popular Prakashan), [ark:/13960/t6rz4h160](#).
- (1982), *Dr. K. M. Nadkarni's Indian Materia Medica, with Ayurvedic, Unani-tibbi, Siddha, Allopathic, Homeopathic, Naturopathic & Home Remedies, Appendices & Indexes ... in Two Volumes*, ed. A. K. Nadkarni, 2 vols. (3 ed., revised and enlarged by A. K. Nadkarni, Bombay: Popular Prakashan), ISBN: 8171541429, [URL](#).
- Narayana, Ala and Thrigulla, Saketh Ram (2011), 'Tangible Evidences of Surgical Practice in Ancient India', *Journal of Indian Medical Heritage*, 16: 1–18, [URL](#), accessed 02/06/2021.
- NGMCP (2014), 'Nepal-german Manuscript Cataloguing Project. Online Title List and Descriptive Catalogue', Universität Hamburg and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, [URL](#).
- Oberlies, Thomas (2003), *A Grammar of Epic Sanskrit* (Indian Philology and South Asian Studies, 5; Berlin: De Gruyter), ISBN: 9783110144482. DOI: [10.1515/9783110899344](#).
- Olivelle, Patrick (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](#).
- Pārśvanātha Śāstrī, Vardhamāna (1940) (ed.), उग्रादित्याचार्यकृत कल्याणकारक (राष्ट्रभाषानुवादसहित) = *The Kalyāṇa-kāraṇam of Ugrādityacharya, Edited with Introduction, Translation, Notes, Indexes and Dictionary* (Sakhārāma Nemacanda Gramthamālā, 129; Solāpura: Setḥa Goviṃdajī Rāvajī Doṣī), [ark:/13960/t2q617g4d](#).
- Pass, Gregory (2003), *Descriptive Cataloging of Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance, and Early Modern Manuscripts* (Chicago: American Library Association), ISBN: 0-8389-8218-2, [URL](#).
- Preisendanz, Karin (2007), 'The Initiation of the Medical Student in Early Classical Āyurveda: Caraka's Treatment in Context', in Birgit Kellner et al. (eds.), *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ. Papers Dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday. Part 2*, ii, 2 vols. (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 70.2; Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische Und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien), 629–68, ISBN: 9783902501097, [URL](#).
- Price, Kenneth M. (2013), 'Electronic Scholarly Editions', in Ray Siemens and Susan Schreibman (eds.), *A Companion to Digital Literary Studies* (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd), 434–50. doi: [10.1002/9781405177504.ch24](#), [URL](#), accessed 04/07/2021.
- Rai, Saurav Kumar (2019), 'Invoking 'Hindu' Ayurveda: Communalisation of the Late Colonial Ayurvedic Discourse', *The Indian Economic & Social History Review*, 56/4: 411–26. doi: [10.1177/0019464619873820](#); Online first.
- Rama Rao, B. et al. (2005), *Sanskrit Medical Manuscripts in India* (New Delhi: Central Council for Research in Ayurveda & Siddha), [ark:/13960/t88h7763b](#).
- Rhys Davids, Thomas William and Stede, William (1921–5), *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* (London: The Pali Text Society), [URL](#).

- Roşu, Arion (1989), *Un demi-siècle de recherches āyurvédiques. Gustave Liétard et Palmyr Cordier: Travaux sur l'histoire de la médecine indienne* (Paris: Institut de Civilisation Indienne).
- 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, Kamasutra, Vaidya & Jyotisa, nos. 10650–11737* (Srirangam: Sri Vani Vilas Press), [ark:/13960/t3nw8bc12](https://nopr.sri-vani.org.in/VLIL/13960/t3nw8bc12).
- 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](https://nopr.sri-vani.org.in/VLIL/13960/t9870jt4g); Breton 1826: 358–363 cites Scott's description of cataract couching.
- Sena, Gaṅgāprasād et al. (1886–93) (eds.), *सुश्रुतसंहिता...दल्लनाचार्य-कृत-निबन्ध-संग्रह, चक्रपाणिदत्त-कृत-भानुमती-टीका...वङ्गानुवाद...इंरैजि प्रतिशब्द* (Calcutta: Maṇirāma Press); Edition "g" in [HIML: IB](https://nopr.sri-vani.org.in/VLIL/13960/t0ms6rc70), 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; Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute), [ark:/13960/t0ms6rc70](https://nopr.sri-vani.org.in/VLIL/13960/t0ms6rc70), accessed 23/10/2019.
- Sharma, Priya Vrat (1972), *Indian Medicine in the Classical Age* (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office).
- (1982), *Ḍalhaṇa and his Comments on Drugs* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal).
- (1999–2001), *Suśruta-Saṃhitā, with English Translation of Text and Ḍalhaṇa'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](https://nopr.sri-vani.org.in/VLIL/13960/t2t492622).
- Singh, Thakur Balwant and Chuneekar, K. C. (1972), *Glossary of Vegetable Drugs in Brhatrayāṇī* (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office).

- Sircar, Dinesh Chandra (1987), '6. Rākshashkhāli (Sundarban) Plate; Śaka 1118', *Epigraphia Indica* (1953–54), 30: 42–3.
- Sivarajan, V. V. and Balachandran, Indira (1994), *Ayurvedic Drugs and Their Plant Sources* (New Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta: Oxford & IBH Publishing).
- Sleeman, W. H. (1893), *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official* (London: Constable), [ark:/13960/t22c4bx7w](http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t22c4bx7w), accessed 14/03/2018; V. 2 at <http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t2s52bq7w>.
- Smith, Brian K. (1994), *Classifying the Universe: The Ancient Indian Varṇa System and the Origins of Caste* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press), ISBN: 0-19-508498-5.
- Spink, M. S. and Lewis, G. L. (1973) (eds.), *Albucasis on Surgery and Instruments: A Definitive Edition of the Arabic Text with English Translation and Commentary* (London: Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine).
- Srikantha Murthy, K. R. (2000–2), *Illustrated Suśruta Saṃhitā: Text, English Translation, Notes, Appendices and Index* (Jaikrishnadas Ayurveda Series, 102; 1st edn., Varanasi: Chaukhambha Orientalia).
- Suvedī, K. S. and Tivārī, N. (2000) (eds.), *Sauśrutaniḥṣaṇṭuḥ: granthāḍau viśṭṛtena granthavaiśiṣṭyaprakāśakenopodghātena avasāne ca dravyāṇām anekabhāṣānām āvalī- paryāyasaṅgrahābhyaṃ samalaṅkṛtaḥ Suśrutasaṃhitāyāṃ prayuktānām auśadhadravyāṇām paryāya-guṇakarmavarṇātmako pūrvagranthaḥ* (Belajhūṇḍī, Ḍāṇ: Mahendrasaṃskṛtaviśvavidyālayaḥ).
- Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste (1684), *Collections of Travels through Turkey (sic), into Persia, and the East-Indies* (London: M. Pitt).
- The Unicode Consortium (1991–2020), 'The Unicode Standard 13.0, NewaRange: 11400–1147F', [URL](http://unicode.org), accessed 20/07/2021.
- Thorburn, S. S. (1876), *Bannu; or Our Afghan Frontier* (London: Trübner & Co.), [URL](http://www.india.gov.in), accessed 10/09/2019; Reprinted Lahore: Niaz Ahmad, 1978.
- Unschuld, Paul Ulrich (1984), *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas* (Berkeley: University of California Press), ISBN: 0520050231.
- Velankar, H. D (1925–30), *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskr̥ta and Prākṛta Manuscripts in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Bombay: Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay), [ark:/13960/t53g00h0n](http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t53g00h0n); Biswas #0115.

- Warrier, P. K., Nambiar, V. P. K., and Ramankutty, C. (1994–6) (eds.), *Indian Medicinal Plants: A Compendium of 500 Species*. Vaidyaratnam P. S. Varier's Arya Vaidya Sala, Kottakal (Madras: Orient Longman).
- Watt, George (1889–96), *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India* (Calcutta: Dept. Revenue and Agriculture, Government of India), [URL](#), accessed 28/04/2021.
- (1908), *The Commercial Products of India, Being an Abridgement of "the Dictionary of the Economic Products of India"* (London: John Murray), [ark:/13960/t9t14xh3x](#).
- Whitney, William Dwight (1885), *The Roots, Verb-forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language. A Supplement to his Sanskrit Grammar* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel), [ark:/13960/t3qv3p906](#).
- Wilson, H. H. (1823), 'On the Medical and Surgical Sciences of the Hindus', *The Oriental Magazine and Calcutta Review*, 1: 207–12, 349–56, [URL](#).
- Wren, R. C. (1956), *Potter's New Cyclopaedia of Botanical Drugs and Preparations*, ed. R. W. Wren (Rustington, Sussex: Health Science Press), [ark:/13960/t14n65c9g](#).
- Wujastyk, Dagmar (2012), *Well-mannered Medicine: Medical Ethics and Etiquette in Classical Ayurveda* (New York: Oxford University Press). doi: [10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199856268.001.0001](#).
- (2019), 'Iron Tonics: Tracing the Development from Classical to Iatrochemical Formulations in Ayurveda', *HIMALAYA, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies*, 39/1, ISSN: 2471-3716, [URL](#), accessed 23/07/2019.
- Wujastyk, Dominik (1993), 'Indian Medicine', in W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter (eds.), *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, i (London: Routledge), chap. 33, 755–78, ISBN: 0-415-04771-4, [URL](#).
- (2003), *The Roots of Ayurveda: Selections from Sanskrit Medical Writings* (Penguin Classics; 3rd edn., London, New York, etc.: Penguin Group), ISBN: 0-140-44824-1.
- (2004), 'Agni and Soma: A Universal Classification', *Studia Asiatica: International Journal for Asian Studies*, IV–V, ed. Eugen Ciurtin: 347–70, ISSN: 1582-9111, [URL](#).

- Wujastyk, Dominik (2013), 'New Manuscript Evidence for the Textual and Cultural History of Early Classical Indian Medicine', in *Medical Texts and Manuscripts in Indian Cultural History*, ed. Dominik Wujastyk, Anthony Cerulli, and Karin Preisendanz (New Delhi: Manohar), 141–57, [URL](#).
- (2021), 'MS London BL H. T. Colebrooke 908', [URL](#).
- Zimmermann, F. (1983), 'Suśrutasamhita. Essay review.', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 57/2: 291–3, ISSN: 00075140, [URL](#).
- Zimmermann, Francis (1999), *The Jungle and the Aroma of Meats* (2nd edn., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass), ISBN: 8120816188.
- Zysk, Kenneth G. (1984), 'An Annotated Bibliography of Translations into Western Languages of Principle Sanskrit Medical Treatises', *Clio Medica*, 19/3–4: 281–91.
- (1985), *Religious Healing in the Veda: With Translations and Annotations of Medical Hymns from the Rgveda and the Atharvaveda and Renderings from the Corresponding Ritual Texts* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society), ISBN: 0871697572.
- (1986), 'The Evolution of Anatomical Knowledge in Ancient India with Special Reference to Cross-cultural Influences', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 106: 687–705. DOI: [10.2307/603532](#).
- (2000), *Asceticism and Healing in Ancient India: Medicine in the Buddhist Monastery* (Indian Medical Tradition; 2nd edn., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass); First published 1991. Reprint of 1998 edition.

Glossary

abdominal lump

gulma 45

abhyāṅga

massage 29

massage oil 25, 31

affliction

upāsarga 31

ajaruḥā

fern 32

ajeya

invincible 32

alābu

bitter gourd 28

ālepana

liniments 32

amaranth

taṇḍulīyaka 29

āmrāsthī

mango stones 28

amṛtā

calamine 29

amṛta

immortal 32

añjana

eye make-up 25, 31

eye ointment 31f

aṅkollā

sage-leaved

alangium 28

anulepana

massage ointment

25, 29

ointment 29

apertures of the head

kha 30

arśas

prolapses 45

aṣṭhīlā

pebble 27

atis root

ativiṣā 32

atis roots

ativiṣā 30

ativiṣā

atis root 32

atis roots 30

āṭopa

flatulence 28

avadāraṇa

fissuring 31

avalekhana

combs 25

bahuputrā

wild asparagus 31

bali

morsel 25

bamboo leaves

veṇupatrikā 29

bandhujīva

scarlet mallow 30

bāṣpa

vapour 26f, 30

bearers

voḍhāra 25

beautyberry

śyāmā 27, 29

bhallātaka

marking-nut tree 31

bhramaraka

drongo 26

bhr̥ṅgarāja

racket-tailed

drongo 26

bimbī

red gourd 28

bitter gourd

alābu 28

black creeper

pālindī 29, 32

black drongo

dhūmyāṭa 26

blackboard tree

saptachada 29

blackbuck

hariṇa 32

body language

īṅgita 25

bull

vṛṣabha 26

calamine

amṛtā 29

cassia cinnamon

patra 29

cāsyāt

from his mouth 27

chebulic myrobalan

harītakī 28

chital deer

pr̥ṣata 26

chital deer

pr̥ṣata 32

clean

pra√sādh 31

combs

avalekhana 25

curds

dadhi 28, 32

payasyā 30

dadhi

curds 28, 32

dantamāṃsa

flesh of the tooth 28

dantaveṣṭa

enclosure of a tooth

28

datta

given 26

decoctions

kaṣāya 25

dhātakīpuṣpa

fire-flame bush

flowers 28

dhūma

inhaled smoke 25

dhūmyāṭa

black drongo 26

dhyāma

grimy 25

discharge
srāva 29, 31
 diseases
roga 45
 disorders of the female
 reproductive system
yonivyāpat 45
 distorted
vikṛta 28
 double
yamālā 28
 drongo
bhramaraka 26
dr̥ṣṭivibhrama
 faulty vision 31
 dry rub
utsādana 29
 dry rubs
utsādana 25
dūṣṭviṣāri
 slow-acting poison
 antidote 28
 emetic nut
madana 28
 enclosure of a tooth
dantaveṣṭa 28
 errhines
nasya 32
 extract
niryāsa 31
 extracted juice
svarasa 31
 eye make-up
añjana 25, 31
 eye ointment
añjana 31f
 eyewash
tarpaṇa 31
 faulty vision
dr̥ṣṭivibhrama 31
 female reproductive
 system
yoni 45
 fern

ajaruhā 32
 fire-flame bush flowers
dhātakīpuṣpa 28
 fissuring
avaḍāraṇa 31
 flatulence
āṭopa 28
 flesh
māṃsa 29
 flesh of the tooth
dantamāṃsa 28
 follicles
kha 29
 from his mouth
cāsyāt 27
 garlands
sraja 25
 ghee
sarpiṣ 32
 ginger
mahaṣadha 32
 given
datta 26
 godhā
 monitor lizard 32
 granthi
 lumps 29
 great fragrance
mahāsugandha 31
 grimy
dhyāma 25
 gulma
 abdominal lump 45
hariṇa
 blackbuck 32
harītakī
 chebulic
 myrobalan 28
 heart protected
hr̥dayāvaraṇa 32
 heart-leaved moonseed
somavallī 29
 henna
madayantikā 30

hogweed
punarnavā 30
 honey
madhus 26
hr̥dayāvaraṇa
 heart protected 32
 immortal
amṛta 32
 indian barberry
kālīyaka 29
 indian rose-bay
tagara 29
 indigo
nīlī 28
indragopa
 velvet-mite 27
iṅgita
 body language 25
 inhaled smoke
dhūma 25
 intestines
pakvāśaya 28
 invincible
ajeya 32
 irrigated
pratipūraṇa 31
jambū
 jambul 28
 jambul
jambū 28
 jasmine
mālatī 30
kālīyaka
 indian barberry 29
kañṭaka
 spots 30
kapha
 mucus 30
kapittha
 wood apple 29, 31
kaṣāya
 decoctions 25
kāśīpati

lord of kāṣī 24
kavala
 mouthwash 29
kha
 apertures of the
 head 30
 follicles 29
 kitchen
mahānasa 24
koṣṭakī
 luffa 28

lāmajja grass
lāmajja 26
lāmajja
lāmajja grass 26
liṅga
 symptom 30
 liniments
ālepana 32
 liquorice
madhuka 32
 long pepper
māgadha 31
 long peppers
pippalī 32
 lord of kāṣī
kāśīpati 24
 lotus-spots
padminikaṇṭaka 30
 luffa
koṣṭakī 28
 lumps
granthi 29

madana
 emetic nut 28
madayantikā
 henna 30
madhuka
 liquorice 32
madhus
 honey 26
māgadha
 long pepper 31
mahānasa

kitchen 24
mahāsugandha
 great fragrance 31
mahaṣadha
 ginger 32
mālatī
 jasmine 30
māṃsa
 flesh 29
 mango stones
āmrāsthī 28
 marking-nut tree
bhallātaka 31
māṣaka
 mung beans 29
 massage
abhyāṅga 29
 massage oil
abhyāṅga 25, 31
 massage ointment
anulepana 25, 29
 meat from a chital deer
pārṣata 32
meṣāśrṅga
 periploca of the
 woods 31
 milk
payas 32
 monitor lizard
godhā 32
 morsel
bali 25
 mouse-ear
mūṣikakarṇī 30
 mouthwash
kavala 29
 mucus
kapha 30
 mung beans
māṣaka 29
mūrcchā
 stupor 27
mūṣikā
 purging nut 32
mūṣikakarṇī

mouse-ear 30
 woodrose 30

nalada
 spikenard 26
nasya
 errhines 32
 snuff 30
nasya
 snuff 25
nīlī
 indigo 28
niryāsa
 extract 31
 numbness
svāpa 31

 ointment
anulepana 29
pralepa 27, 30
 or not distorted
vāvikṛtā 28

padma
 sacred lotus 29
padminikaṇṭaka
 lotus-spots 30
pāka
 sepsis 31
pakvāśaya
 intestines 28
pālindī
 black creeper 29, 32
parīṣeka
 shower 29
pārṣata
 meat from a chital
 deer 32
patra
 cassia cinnamon 29
payas
 milk 32
payasyā
 curds 30
 pebble
aṣṭhīlā 27

periploca of the woods
meṣaśṛṅga 31
phañjī
 verbena 30
pippalī
 long peppers 32
pra√kuth
 rot 28
pra√sādh
 clean 31
pralepa
 ointment 27, 30
pratipūraṇa
 irrigated 31
pratisāraṇa
 rub 28
 rubbing 28
 prolapses
arśas 45
prṣata
 chital deer 26
 chital deer 32
punarnavā
 hogweed 30
 purging nut
mūṣikā 32

 racket-tailed drongo
bhr̥ṅgarāja 26
 red gourd
bimbī 28
 rheum
upadeha 31
roga
 diseases 45
 rot
pra√kuth 28
 rub
pratisāraṇa 28
 rubbing
pratisāraṇa 28

 sacred lotus
padma 29
 sage-leaved alangium
aṅkolla 28

saliva
śleṣman 27
saptachada
 blackboard tree 29
sarpiṣ
 ghee 32
 scarlet mallow
bandhujīva 30
 sepsis
pāka 31
 shower
pariṣeka 29
 side-effects
upadrava 31
 siris seeds
śirīṣamāṣaka 29
śirīṣamāṣaka
 siris seeds 29
śleṣman
 saliva 27
 slow-acting poison
 antidote
dūṣṭviṣāri 28
 snuff
nasya 30
 snuff
nasya 25
 soma creeper
somalatā 27
somalatā
 soma creeper 27
somavalka
 white cutch tree 31
somavallī
 heart-leaved
 moonseed 29
sphoṭa
 spots 30
 spikenard
nalada 26
 spots
kaṇṭaka 30
sphoṭa 30
sraj
 garlands 25

srāva
 discharge 29, 31
 stupor
mūrcchā 27
svāpa
 numbness 31
svarasa
 extracted juice 31
śvetā
 white clitoria 29
śyāmā
 beautyberry 27, 29
 symptom
liṅga 30

tagara
 indian rose-bay 29
taṇḍulīyaka
 amaranth 29
tarpaṇa
 eyewash 31
 three-leaved caper
varuṇa 31

udaśvit
 watered buttermilk
 28
upadeha
 rheum 31
upadrava
 side-effects 31
upasarga
 affliction 31
uśīra
 vetiver grass 29
utpala
 water-lily 27
utsādana
 dry rub 29
 dry rubs 25

 vapour
bāṣpa 26f, 30
varuṇa
 three-leaved caper
 31

vāvikṛtā
or not distorted 28
velvet-mite
indragopa 27
veṇupatrikā
bamboo leaves 29
verbena
phañjī 30
vetiver grass
uśīra 29
vikṛta
distorted 28
voḍhāra
bearers 25

vṛṣabha
bull 26
water-lily
utpala 27
watered buttermilk
udaśvit 28
white clitoria
śvetā 29
white cutch tree
somavalka 31
wild asparagus
bahuputrā 31
wood apple

kapittha 29, 31
woodrose
mūṣikakarṇī 30
yamalā
double 28
yoni
female
reproductive system
45
yonivyāpat
disorders of the
female reproductive
system 45

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

Draft of October 28, 2021 for private study only