# A Translation of the New Edition of the Suśrutasaṃhitā

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

#### **Contents**

The Manuscripts used in the vulgate editions by Yādavaśarma	
Trivikrama Ācārya	3
The manuscripts of the 1915 edition	3
The manuscripts of the 1931 edition	3
The manuscripts of the 1938 edition	4
Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 1	5
Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 2	12
Literature	12
Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 16	13
Uttaratantra, adhyāya 16 (17 in the vulgate)	18
Literature	18
Translation	18

Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 28	27
Abbreviations	28
References	30
Glossary	34
Index of Manuscripts	45
2	

## The Manuscripts used in the vulgate editions by Yādavaśarma Trivikrama Ācārya

Yādavaśarma Trivikrama Ācārya produced three successive editions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* with the commentary of Dalhaṇa, in 1915, 1931 and 1938. These editions, especially the last, are considered the most scholarly and reliable editions of the work, and have been constantly reprinted up to the present day.

The 1915 edition was based on three manuscripts. The 1931 edition used another nine. For his final 1938 edition, Ācārya used a further three.<sup>1</sup>

#### The manuscripts of the 1915 edition

- 1 Calcutta, Royal Asiatic Society. Covers the sūtra, nidāna, śārīra and kalpa sthānas.
- 2 Jaipur, Pandit Gaṅgādharabhaṭṭaśarman, lecturer at the Royal Sanskrit University. Covers the cikitsāsthānna and the uttaratantra.
- 3 Bundi, my great friend the royal physician Pam. Śrīprasādaśarman Covers the uttaratantra.

#### The manuscripts of the 1931 edition

- 1 Vārāṇasī, professor of literature, the great Gaurīnāthapāṭhaka. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Covers the nidānasthāna and uttaratantra.
- 2 Ahmedabad. My friend Sva. Vā. Vaidya Raṇachoḍalāla Motīlālaśarman. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Covers the śārīrasthāna.
- 3 From the library of my great friend Sva. Vā. Vaidya Murārajīśarman. Extremely old. No commentary. Covers the śārīrasthāna.
- 4 Puṇe, BORI library. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Covers the śārīrasthāna.<sup>2</sup>
- 5 Puṇe, BORI library. With the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. Complete. With some damaged folia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>SS 1938: 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Not one of the three MSS of the *śārīrasthāna*described in **shar-vaid**.

6 Bombay, Asiatic Society. Incomplete.<sup>3</sup>

#### The manuscripts of the 1938 edition

							Man	uscr	ipts		.1	0			
edition		1915	5					19	35					19	38
sthāna	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3
$s\bar{u}$ .	•							•	?		•	●1-43	•		•
ni.				•					?				•		•
śā.					•				?				•		•
ci.									?				•		●1-9
ka.									?				•		
utt.		•	•					•	?		•				

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Possibly MS Mumbai, AS B.I.3 or MS Mumbai, AS B.D.109 (Velankar 1925–30: v. 1, # 212 and 213). But both these have the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*. The first covers only the śārīrasthāna; the second may be complete, but Velankar calls it only "disorderly."

#### Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 1

- Now I shall narrate the chapter on the origin of this knowledge.<sup>4</sup>
- 2 Now, as is well-known, Aupadhenava, Vaitaraṇa, Aurabhra, Puṣkalāvata, Karavīra, Gopurarakṣita, Bhoja, Suśruta and others addressed Lord Divodāsa, king of Kāśi, the best of the immortals, who was in his ashram surrounded by an entourage of sages.<sup>5</sup>
- "O Lord, distress arose in our minds after witnessing people thrashing about with cries, assailed by different kinds of pain and injury (*vedanā-bhighāta*), feeling helpless in spite of having friends, because of diseases arising from the body, the mind and external sources.
- 4 "To quell the illnesses of those who seek happiness and for our own purpose of prolonging life, we desire the science of life (āyurveda) that is being taught. Welfare, both in this world and in the next, depends upon it. Therefore, we have come to the Lord in pupillage."
- 5 The Lord said to them:
  - "Welcome to you! My children, all of you are beyond reproach and worthy to be taught.
- 6 "As is well known, Ayurveda is the name of what is said to be the subsidiary part of the Atharvaveda. Before creating people, Svayambhū composed it in hundreds of thousands of verses and a thousand chapters and, after observing the short lifespan and low intelligence of people, he presented it again in eight parts.<sup>6</sup>
- "Surgery, treatment of body parts above the clavicle, general medicine, knowledge of spirits, care of children, and the disciplines of antidotes, rejuvenation and aphrodisiacs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Dalhaṇa understood the word "knowledge (veda)" as specifically "medical knowledge." He said that the word "longevity" ( $\bar{a}yur$ ) had been elided. After this opening statement, later manuscripts and commentaries include the attribution, "as the venerable Dhanvantari stated." The absence of this statement in the early Nepalese MSS is highly noteworthy because it removes the outer narrative frame of the  $Su\acute{s}rutasaṃhit\bar{a}$  (Dominik Wujastyk 2013: 148; Klebanov 2021a: § 3.1.2). On the figure of Dhanvatari in medical literature, see HIML: IA 358–361.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>On these persons, see HIML:IA 361–363, 369 ff. The authority Bhoja does not appear in the list as published in the vulgate edition (SS 1931:1), and was not included in HIML amongst "authorities mentioned in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*." Meulenbeld gathered textual evidence about Bhoja at HIML:IA 690–691. Klebanov (2021*b*) has discussed these authors in the context of an anonymous commentary on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that cites them.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Svayambhū is another name for Brahmā, the creator.

- 8 "Now, a collection of the characteristics of each component of Āyurveda.
- 9 "Among them, [the component] called surgery has the goal of extracting various grasses, wood, stone, dust, iron (?), soil, bone, hair, nails, discharge of pus, malignant wounds and foreign bodies inside the womb, and of determining the application of surgical instruments, knives, caustics and fire by means of sixty definitions.
- "[The component] named the doctrine of treating body parts above the clavicles has the aim of curing diseases situated above clavicles that is, diseases located in ears, eyes, mouth, nose and so on.
- "[The component] called general medicine has the goal of curing illnesses established in the whole body and [diseases] such as fever, tumour, swelling, hemorrhagic disorders, insanity, epilepsy, urinary diseases, diarrhoea and the like.
- "[The component] called knowledge of spirits is for appeasing demons by pacification rites and making food offerings for those whose minds have been possessed by gods, their enemies, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, demons, deceased ancestors, Piśācas, Vināyakas, Nāgas and evil spirits that possess children.
- "[The component] called care of children is for bearing children and purifying defects in a wet-nurse's milk, and curing diseases that have arisen from bad breast milk and demons.
- "[The component] called the discipline of toxicology is for [knowing] the signs of poison from snake and insect bites and for neutralising various combinations of poisons.9
- "[The component] called the discipline of rejuvenation is maintaining youth, bringing about a long life and mental vigour and for curing diseases.
- 16 "[The component] called the discipline of aphrodisiacs brings about the increase, purity, accumulation and production of semen for those

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Dānavas. The insertion marks ( $k\bar{a}kapadas$ ) below the text at this point appears to be by the original scribe.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>The vulgate doesn't have *vināyakas* but does add *asuras*, probably under the influence of Dalhaṇa. Cite Paul Courtright, Ganesha book.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>The scribal insertion marks (crosses) above the line at this point in MS K appear to be in a later hand and their referent is lost in the damaged part of the folio. Although MSS N and H include spiders ( $l\bar{u}t\bar{a}$ ) and creepy-crawlies ( $sar\bar{s}rpa$ ) in the list, it does seem that MS K had a shorter list, and the vulgate edition adds rodents ( $m\bar{u}sika$ ).

- whose semen is minimal, bad, depleted, and dry [respectively] and for inducing an erection.
- "Thus, this Ayurveda is taught with eight components."

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

[There a verse about this.]. 10

For, I (i.e., Brahmā) am Dhanvantari, the first god, the remover of old age, pain and death of mortals.

Having understood surgery, the best of the great knowledge systems, I arrived on earth again to teach it here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>This is an expansion of the scribe's abbreviation *bha* for *bhavati cātra ślokaḥ* "There is a verse about this" (sometimes plural).

- In this context, as far as this discipline is concerned, a human being (puru 
  otin a) is called an amalgam of the five elements and the embodied soul. This is where procedures (kriy 
  otan) apply. This is the locus. Why?
  - Because of the duality of the world, the world is twofold: the stationary and the moving. Its nature ( $\bar{a}tmaka$ ) is twofold, depending on the preponderance of Agni and Soma.<sup>11</sup> Alternatively, it can be considered as being fivefold. The multitude of beings in it are fourfold: they are termed "sweat-born, stone-born, caul-born and egg-born".<sup>12</sup> Where they are concerned, the human being is the main thing; others are his support. Therefore, the human being (puruṣa) is the locus.
- Diseases are said to be the conjunction of the person and suffering (duḥ-kha). There are four of them: invasive, bodily, mental and inherent. The invasive ones are caused by an injury. The bodily ones are based on food, caused by irregularities (vaiṣamya) in wind, bile, phlegm and blood.<sup>13</sup>

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

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

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

Scarification (*lekhana*), nourishment (*bṛṇṇhaṇa*), purification (*saṇśo-dhana*), pacification (*saṇśamana*), diet (*āhāra*) and regimen (*ācāra*), properly employed, bring about their cure.

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>See Dominik Wujastyk 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>This fourfold classification of beings is paralleled with closely-related vocabulary in *Bhelasaṃhitā* 4.4.4 (Bhela 2000: 206; Bhela 1921: 81).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Note that four humoral substances are assumed here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Pāṇini 6.3.132 provides that the final vowel of the noun oṣadhi may be lengthened  $(\to oṣadh\bar{\iota})$  under certain conditions. These conditions require that the word be used in a Vedic mantra and not in the nominative. Neither condition is met in this passage, yet the

(jaṅgama).

- Of these, there are four types of stationary ones: fruit trees (*vanaspati*), flowering trees (*vṛkṣa*), herbs (*oṣadhi*) and shrubs (*vīrudh*). Amongst these, the "fruit trees" have fruit but no flowers. The "flowering trees" have flowers and fruit. The "herbs" die when the fruit is ripe. "Shrubs" put out shoots.
- As is well known, moving remedies are also of four types: those born in in a caul (<code>jarāyuja</code>), those born from eggs (<code>aṇḍaja</code>), those born of sweat (<code>svedaja</code>), and shoots (<code>udbhid</code>). Amongst these, those born in a caul include animals (<code>paśu</code>), humans, and wild animals (<code>vyāla</code>). Birds, creepycrawlies (<code>sarīsṛpa</code>) and snakes are "born of eggs." Worms (<code>kṛmi</code>), small insects (<code>kunta</code>) and ants (<code>pipīlika</code>) and others are born of sweat. <sup>17</sup> Shoots include red velvet mites (<code>indragopa</code>) and frogs (<code>maṇḍūka</code>). <sup>18</sup>|
- In this context, among the stationary remedies, skin (tvak), leaves (pa-tra), flowers (puṣpa), fruits (phala), roots ( $m\bar{u}la$ ), bulbs (kanda), sap ( $kṣ\bar{t}ra$ ), resin ( $niry\bar{a}sa$ ), essence ( $s\bar{a}ra$ ), oil (sneha), and juice extract (sva-rasa)<sup>19</sup> are useful; among the moving remedies pelt (carman), hair, nails, and blood (rudhira) and so forth.
- 34 And earthen products (*pārthiva*) include gold and silver.<sup>20</sup>
- The items created by time  $(k\bar{a}lak\dot{r}ta)$  are clusters (samplava) as far as wind and no wind  $(niv\bar{a}ta)$ , heat and shade, darkness and light and the cold, hot and rainy seasons  $(vars\bar{a})$  are concerned. The divisions of time are the blink of the eye  $(nimes\bar{a})$ , a trice  $(k\bar{a}sth\bar{a})$ , minutes  $(kal\bar{a})$ , three-quarters of an hour  $(muh\bar{u}rta)$ , a day and night  $(ahor\bar{a}tra)$ , a fort-

author uses the form  $oṣadh\bar{\iota}$ . This form is in fact not uncommon in medical literature as well as in epics, purāṇas, smṛtis, and other parts of Sanskrit literature.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Ca.sū.1.71–72 also describes these four types of medicinal plant in similar terms but with slightly differing names: *oṣadhi* is a plant that ends after fruiting, *vīrudh* is a plant that branches out, *vanaspati* is a tree with fruit, and *vānaspatya* is a tree with fruit and flowers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>The MSS agree in reading *phalavantyaḥ* "having flowers" which is grammatically non-standard. This form is also found in the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (1.92.27, 1.92.27 Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa: 56r).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>The word *kunta*, though marked as "lexical" in most dictionaries, is in fact found in literature, commonly as a compound with *pipīlika*; the compound sometimes seems to be understood a type of ant (*tatpuruṣa* compound) rather than as a pair of insects (*dvandva* compound).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>On *indragopa*, see Lienhard 1978.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>On juice extract (*svarasa*) see CS 1.1.73, 1.4.7; Dalhana on SS 4.10.12 (SS 1938<sup>2</sup>: 450).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>The flow of concepts in the treatise seems to be interrupted here.

- night (pakṣa), a month ( $m\bar{a}sa$ ), a season (rtu), a half-year (ayana), a year (samvatsara), and yuga (yuga).<sup>21</sup>
- These naturally cause accumulation (*sañcaya*), irritation (*prakopa*), pacification (*upaśama*) and alleviation (*pratīkāra*) of the humours (*doṣa*). And they have practical purposes (*prayojanavat*).

#### [There are verses about this:]<sup>22</sup>

- This fourfold category is taught by physicians as a cause for the agitation and quelling of bodily diseases.<sup>23</sup>
- There are two kinds of invasive diseases. Some certainly<sup>24</sup> affect (nipat-) the mind, others the body. Their treatment (kriyā) is of two kinds too.
- For those that affect the body there is physical (śārīravad) therapy, whereas for those that affect the mind there is the collection (varga) of desirable sensory experiences like sound that bring comfort (sukha).
- 40 Along these lines (*evam*), this brief explanation of the four factors (*catustaya*) is given:
  - human being (puruṣa),
  - disease (vyadhi),
  - remedies (osadhi),
  - the time for therapies (*kriyākāla*).

#### In this context,

• from the mention of the word "human," the collection of substances that arise from it, such as the elements, and the particulars (*vikalpa*) of its major and minor parts (*aṅga*) such as skin (*tvak*), flesh (*māṃsa*), ducts (*sirā*), sinews (*snāyu*), bones (*asthi*) and joints (*sandhi*) are meant.

 $<sup>^{21}</sup>$ These units are presented at SS 1.6.5 (SS 1938 $^2$ : 24) and discussed by Hayashi (2017: § 59).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>See footnote 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>On the topic of the "group of four," the commentator Dalhana considers them to be "food, behaviour, earthen products and items created by time." He refers to the author of the lost commentary entitled  $Pa\tilde{n}jik\bar{a}$ , and to Jejjaṭa (HIML: IA, 372–3, 192). In his view, these early commentators do not agree that the fourfold grouping (caturvarga) refers to the quartet of stationary ( $sth\bar{a}vara$ ), moving (jangama), earthen products ( $p\bar{a}rthiva$ ) and items created by time ( $k\bar{a}lakrta$ ) (SS 1938<sup>2</sup>: 9a).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>The text uses an archaic interjection here, ha.

- From the mention of "diseases," all diseases caused by wind, bile, phlegm, congested humours (sannipāta), external factors (āgantu) and inherent factors (svabhāva) are intended (vyākhyāta).
- From the mention of "remedies," there is the teaching of substances, tastes, potencies, post-digestive tastes.
- From the mention of "procedures (*kriyā*)," therapies (*karman*) such as oiling and excision (*chedya*) are taught.
- From the mention of the word "time," every single teaching about the times for procedures is meant.

#### [There is a verse about this:]<sup>25</sup>

- This seed of medicine has been declared in brief. Its explanation will be given in one hundred and twenty chapters.<sup>26</sup>
- There are one hundred and twenty chapters in five sections (*adhyāya*).<sup>27</sup> In that regard, having divided them, according to their subject matter, into the Ślokasthāna, the Nidāna, the Śārīra, the Cikitsita and the Kalpa, we shall mention this in the Uttaratantra.<sup>28</sup>

#### [There is a verse about this:]29

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>See footnote 10.

 $<sup>^{26}</sup>$ This is the number of chapters in the first five sections of the work, namely the  $S\bar{u}tra$ -,  $Nid\bar{a}na$ -,  $S\bar{a}r\bar{t}ra$ -,  $Cikits\bar{a}$ - and Kalpa-sth $\bar{a}na$ s. These have 46, 16, 10, 40 and 8 chapters respectively. The Uttaratantra has 66 chapters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>On vimśa in the sense of "greater by 20" see P.5.2.46 śadantavimśateś ca.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>The end of this sentence reads oddly. The vulgate edition adds an object: "[we shall mention] the remaining topics [in the Uttara]" which smooths out the difficulty, but this is supported in none of the Nepalese MSS. At the start of the Uttaratantra (SS 1938: 1.3–4ab) there is indeed a statement that picks up the point about there being 120 chapters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>See footnote 10.

## Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 2

#### Literature

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

1

#### Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 16

- 1 Now we shall expound the method for the piercing of the ear.
- One may pierce a child's ears for the purpose of preserving and decorating.
  - During the first half of the sixth or seventh lunar month, during a renowned day, half day, hour and constellation the child who has received a benediction (krtamangala), blessings pronounced (svastivacana) should be placed on the lap of a wet-nurse.<sup>30</sup> For a boy, do the right one first; for a girl do the left one. Use a needle on a thin ear; an awl ( $\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ ) on a thick one.
- If there is excess blood or pain one should know that it was pierced in the wrong place. The absence of side-effects is a sign that it has been pierced in the right place.<sup>31</sup>
- 4 In this context, if an ignorant person accidentally pierces a duct (*sirā*) there will be fever, burning, swelling (*śvayathu*), pain, lumps (*granthi*), paralysis of the nape of the neck (*manyāstambhā*), convulsions (*apatānaka*), headache or pain in the ear.
- Having removed the wick (*varti*) in it, one should smear it with a paste of the roots of barley, liquorice, Indian madder (*mañjiṣṭhā*), and the castor oil tree (*gandharvahasta*), thickened with honey and ghee. When it has healed well, one should pierce it again.
- 6 One should treat the properly-pierced ear by sprinkling it raw sesame oil. After every three days one should apply a thicker wick (*varti*) and sprinkle oil right on it.<sup>32</sup>
- 7 Once the ear is free from humours or side-effects, one should loosen it with a light dilator (*pravardhanaka*) in order to enlarge it.
- 8 An person's ear enlarged in this way can split in two, either as a result of the humours or as a result of a blow.

Listen to me about the joins (sandhāna) it can have.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>The syntax here is unclear. The expression *svastivācana* may have been a gloss inserted into the text at an earlier period to clarify *maṅgala*. But as it stands, it is not syntactically connected to the rest of the sentence. The vulgate records a reading in which the words are united in a compound that reads more naturally.

 $<sup>^{31}</sup>$ From here on, witness K is missing a folio, so the text is contstructed on the basis of witnesses N and H.

 $<sup>^{32}</sup>$ The manuscripts support the reading  $sth\bar{u}latar\bar{t}m$  that is either a non-standard form or a scribal error.

Here, there are, in brief, fifteen ways of mending the ear. They are as follows: Rim-join, Lotus-splittable, Dried Flesh, Fastening, Cheek-ear, Take away, Ready-Split, Multi-joins, Door-hinge, Half door-hinge, Compressed (saṃkṣipta), Reduced-ear, Creeper-ear, Stick-ear, and Crow's lip.

In this context, among these,

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

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

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

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

"Cheek-ear" (gaṇḍakarṇa): one flap is longer on the outside.33

"Take-away" ( $\bar{a}h\bar{a}rya$ ): the flaps are missing, in fact, on both sides.

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

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

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

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

'These ten options (*vikalpa*) for joins (*sandhi*) of the ear should be bound. They can mostly be explained as resembling their names.<sup>34</sup> The five below are not so successful:

The five from compressed (saṃkṣipta) on are incurable. Among these, "compressed" has a dry ear canal and the other flap is small. "Reduced ear" has flaps that have no base and have wasted flesh on their edges. "Creeper-ear" has flaps that are thin and uneven. "Stick-ear" has lumpy (granthita) flesh and the flaps are stretched thin and have stiff (stabdha)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>See fig. ??.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>This is an odd assertion, given the strangeness of the names.

ducts (*sirā*). "Crow-lip" has a flap without flesh with compressed (*saṃ-kṣipta*) tips and little blood. Even when they are bound up, they do not heal because they are hot, inflamed, suppurating (*srāva*), or swollen.

A person wishing to perform any of these joins should therefore gather together the supplies prepared according to the recommendations of the 'Preparatory Supplies' chapter.<sup>35</sup> And in particular, he should gather decanted liquor (*surāmaṇḍa*), milk, water, fermented rice-water (*dhānyāmla*), and powdered earthenware crockery (*kapālacūrṇa*).

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

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

Then, arranging the join in the ear so that it is neither proud, depressed, nor uneven, one should make the join. Next, after anointing it with honey and ghee, each ear should be bandaged with cotton (picu) and gauze (prota), and bound up with a thread, neither too tightly nor too loosely. Then the earthenware powder should be sprinkled on, and medical advice ( $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rika$ ) should be given. And he should supplement with food as taught in the 'Two Wound' chapter.<sup>36</sup>

One should avoid rubbing, sleeping during the day, exercise, overeating, sex, getting hot by a fire, or the effort of speaking.

One should not make a join when the blood is too pure, too copious, or too thin.<sup>37</sup> For when the ear is tainted by wind, then it is obstructed by blood (raktabaddha), unhealed and will peel. When tainted with choler, is becomes pinched ( $g\bar{a}dha$ ), septic ( $p\bar{a}ka$ ) and red. When tainted by phlegm, it will be stiff (stabdha) and itchy. It has excessively copi-

<sup>35</sup>SS.1.5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>SS.4.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>The vulgate reads "impure" for the Nepalese "too pure," which would appear to make better medical sense. Emending the text to *nāśuddha*- for *nātiśuddha*- in the Nepalese recension would yield the same meaning as the vulgate.

- ous suppuration ( $sr\bar{a}va$ ) and is sopha ( $puffed\ up$ ). It has it has a small amount of wasted ( $k\bar{s}\bar{\iota}na$ ) flesh and it will not grow.<sup>38</sup>
- When the ear is properly healed and there are no complications, one may very gradually start to expand it. Otherwise, it may be angry (samrambha), burning, septic or painful. It may even be split open again.
- Now, massage for the healthy ear, in order to enlarge it. One should gather as much as one can of the following: a monitor lizard ( $godh\bar{a}^{39}$ ), scavenging (pratuda) and seed-eating (viskira) birds, and creatures that live in marshes or water,<sup>40</sup> fat, marrow, milk, and sesame oil, and white mustard oil. Then cook the oil with an admixture ( $prativ\bar{a}pa$ ) of the following: purple calotropis ( $arka^{41}$ ), white calotropis ( $alarka^{42}$ ), country mallow ( $bal\bar{a}^{43}$ ), 'strong Indian mallow' ( $atibal\bar{a}^{44}$ ), country sarsaparilla ( $anant\bar{a}^{45}$ ) beggarweed ( $vid\bar{a}ri^{46}$ ), liquorice (madhuka), hornwort ( $jalas\bar{u}ka \rightarrow jalan\bar{l}ik\bar{a}^{47}$ ),<sup>48</sup> items having the 'sweet' savour (madhuravarga),<sup>49</sup> and 'milk flower' ( $payasy\bar{a} \rightarrow vid\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}^{50}$ ). This should then be deposited in a well-protected spot.
- The wise man who been sweated should rub the massaged (mardita) ear with it. Then it will be free of complications, and will enlarge properly and be strong.
- 16 Ears which do not enlarge even when sweated and oiled, should be scarified at the edge of the hole (*apāṅga*), but not outside it.
- 17 In this tradition, experts know countless repairs to ears. So a physi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>This passage exemplifies numerous small changes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Varanus bengalensis, Schneider (Daniel 1983:58)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>For such classifications, see **zimm-jung** and **smit-clas**.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>Calotropis gigantea, (L.) R. Br. (ADPS 52, AVS 1.341, NK #427, Potter 57, ID 306)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>Calotropis procera, (Ait.) R. Br. (NK #428, GIMP 46b, ID 306)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>Sida cordifolia, L. (ADPS 71, NK #2297)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>Abutilon indicum, (L.) Sweet; Sida rhombifolia, L.? (NK #11, IGP ,4 1080; NK #2300)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>Hemidesmus indicus, (L.) R. Br. (ADPS 434, AVS 3.141–5, NK #1210)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>Desmodium gangeticum (L.) DC (Dymock 1.428, GJM 602, cf. NK #1192; ADPS 382, 414 and IMP 2.319, 4.366 are confusing)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>Ceratophyllum demersum, L. (IMP 2371, AVS 2.56, IGP 232)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>This name is not certain: in fact, the commentator Dalhana notes that some people interpret it as a poisonous, hairy, air-breathing, underwater creature.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>The items which exemplify the 'sweet' savour (*madhuravarga*) are enumerated at SS.1.42.11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>Pueraria tuberosa (Willd.) DC. (ADPS 510, IMP 1.792f., AVS 4.391; not Dymock 1.424f. See GJM supplement 444, 451, IMP 1.187, but IMP 3.1719 = Ipmoea mauritiana, Jacq.)

- cian who is very intent (*suniviṣṭa*) on working in this way may repair (*yojayed*) them.
- 18 If an ear has grown hair, has a nice hole, a firm join, and is strong and even, well-healed, and free from pain, then one can enlarge it slowly.
- 19 Now I shall describe the proper method of repairing a severed nose. First, take from the trees a leaf the same size as the man's nose and hang it on him.
- Next, having cut a slice of flesh (*vadhra*) with the same measurements off the cheek, the end of the nose is then scarified. Then the diligent (*apramatta*) physician, should quickly put it back together (*pratisandhā*-) so that it is well joined (*sādhubaddha*).
  - Having carefully observed that it has been well sown up, two tubes should be fixed in place. Then, having lifted them up,<sup>53</sup> the powder of sappanwood ( $patt\bar{a}nga^{54}$ ),<sup>55</sup> liquorice ( $yast\bar{n}madhuka^{56}$ ), and Indian barberry ( $anjana^{57}$ ) should be applied to it.
- The wound should be covered properly with cotton (picu) and should be moistened repeatedly with sesame oil. Ghee should be given to the man to drink. His digestion being complete, he should be oiled and purged in accordance with the instructions specific to him.<sup>58</sup>
- And once healed and really come together, what is left of its flesh (*vadhra*) should then be trimmed. If it is reduced (*hīna*), however, one should make an effort to stretch it, and one should make its overgrown flesh smooth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>The vulgate reads bound, connected (*baddham*) for slice of flesh (*vadhra*). This is a critical variant from the surgical point of view. If the slice remains connected, it will have a continuing blood supply. This is one of the effective techniques that so astonished surgeons witnessing a similar operation in Pune in the eighteenth century (**wuja-roots3**).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>Or '... off the cheek, it is fixed to the end of the nose, which has been scarified'. The Sanskrit text is unfortunately not unambiguous on the important point of whether or not the flap of grafted skin remains connected to its original site on the cheek.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>The Sanskrit here, *unnāmayitvā* is non-Pāṇinian.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup>Caesalpinia sappan, L. (AVS 1.323, IMP 2.847f.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup>For pattāṅga there are manuscript variants *pattrāṅga* (MS H) and *pattaṅga* (N). We read with H and K (f. 14r:1) on Y. T. Ācārya and N. R. Ācārya (SS 1938<sup>2</sup>: 1.14.36). The vulgate reads *pataṅga* and this reading is propagated in modern dictionaries.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>Glycyrrhiza glabra, L. (AVS 3.84, NK #1136)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup>Berberis aristata, DC. (Dymock 1.65, NK #685, GJM 562, IGP 141)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>The expression *svayathopadeśa* is ungrammatical but supported in all available witnesses.

#### Uttaratantra, adhyāya 16 (17 in the vulgate)

#### Literature

Survey of this chapter and the existing research on it to 2002: HIML: IA, 305–306.

History of couching in India: Scott 1817; Breton 1826; Jack 1884; Hendley 1895; Elliot 1918; Parshwanath Shastri 1940; Deshpande 1999; 2000; Dagmar Wujastyk 2019; Leffler et al. 2020.

#### **Translation**

- 1 Now I shall explain the counteraction (*pratiṣedha*) of diseases located in the pupil (*dṛṣṭi*).
- There are three curable  $(s\bar{a}dhya)$ , three incurable  $(as\bar{a}dhya)$ , and six mitigatible  $(y\bar{a}pya)$  diseases located in peoples eyes. Among these, three are curable  $(s\bar{a}dhya)$ . Amongst these three, the remedy  $(prat\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}ra)$  has been stated for the one called "seeing smoke  $(dh\bar{\imath}umadarsin)$ ".<sup>59</sup>
- 3–5ab When the eye is inflamed (*vidagdha*) by bile and when it is inflamed by phlegm, one should apply the method for removing bile and phlegm, using nasal medicines (*nasya*), irrigation (*seka*), application of collyrium (*añjana*), liniment (*ālepa*), and medicines cooked in a crucible (*puṭapāka*), together with a balm (*tarpaṇa*), <sup>60</sup> but not cutting with a blade (*śastrakṣata*). <sup>61</sup>

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

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

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

• ochre (*gairika*), Sind salt (*saindhava*), long pepper (*kṛṣṇā*) and the black soot (*maṣī*) from cow's teeth;

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

maṣī burned charcoal. Find

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup>This disease and its cure are described earlier (SS.6.7.39 and SS.6.10.16 (SS 1938<sup>2</sup>: 609 and 614) respectively). The latter part of this verse is hard to construe and the text here may have been altered at an early period.

 $<sup>^{60}</sup>$ These therapies are described in SS.6.18 (SS 1938<sup>2</sup>: 633–640).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup>Dalhaṇa interprets this as blood-letting (*sirāvedha*), which is discussed in SS.1.14 (SS 1938<sup>2</sup>).

- Cow's flesh (*gomāṃsa*), black pepper (*marica*), siris (*śirīṣa*) and red arsenic (*manaḥśilā*);
- stalk (*vṛnta*) from a wood apple (*kapittha*) with honey (*madhu*);<sup>62</sup>
- or the the fruits of the velvet bean (*svayamgupta*).
- 8 The physician should make a collyrium with ground up metal (*ku-pyaka*), <sup>63</sup> Asoka tree (*aśoka*), Sal tree (*śālā*), mango (*amra*), beautyberry (*priyaṃgu*), Indian lotus (*nalina*), blue lotus (*utpala*), together with hareṇu (*hareṇu*), emblic (*āmalaka*), myrobalan (*pathyā*), long pepper (*pippali*). It should be combined with ghee and honey (*kṣaudra*).
- 9–10 Also, when bile and phlegm have developed, the physician should apply harenu (harenu) with the expressed juice (svarasa) of the flowers from mango (amra) and Jambu (jambū) trees.

  Then this collyrium, matured (vipakva) with ghee and honey (kṣaudra), should then be applied.
- Filaments ( $ki\tilde{n}jalka$ ) of Indian lotus (nalina) and blue lotus (utpala), with ochre (gairika), and the juice of cow-dung ( $go\acute{s}ak\ref{r}t$ ) are a collyrium in the form of a pill ( $gu\rlap/qik\=a$ ). This is good for both day and night blindness.
- 11cd–12ab Elixir-salve ( $ras\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$ ), honey (kṣaudra), ghee, scramberry ( $t\bar{a}l\bar{i}\acute{s}a$ ), together with gold and ochre, with the juice of cow-dung ( $go\acute{s}akrt$ ) are for an eye afflicted with bile.
  - - Thus, a collyrium of white teak ( $k\bar{a}r\acute{s}mar\bar{\iota}$ ) flowers, liquorice (madhuka), tree turmeric ( $d\bar{a}rv\bar{\iota}$ ), lodh tree (lodhra) and elixir salve ( $ras\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$ ) is always good as a collyrium in this case.
    - Alternatively, for those who cannot see during the day, this pill  $(gudik\bar{a})$ , with sandalwood, is recommended: salt  $(nad\bar{i}ja)$ , conch shell and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup>wood apple (*kapittha*) in this verse is ablative singular or accusative plural, neither of which construe obviously.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup>A metal other than gold or silver, according to V. Jośī and N. H. Jośī 1968: 1.217. Perhaps lead, which is used in making contemporary collyrium.

 $<sup>^{64}</sup>$ This is Palhaṇa's preferred interpretation of *rasa* "juice" in this context. He also notes that some take elixir-salve ( $\hat{s}\bar{\imath}ta$ ) to be camphor.

- three spices, collyrium, realgar (manahśil $\bar{a}$ ), the two turmerics (rajana)<sup>65</sup> and liver extract (yakrdrasa).<sup>66</sup>
- One should grind up kohl (*srotoja*),<sup>67</sup> and Sind salt (*saindhava*) and long pepper and also harenu (*harenu*). Such wicks with goats urine are good in a collyrium for night blindness (*kṣaṇadāndhya*).
- Alternatively, in such a case, grind together Indian sarsaparilla  $(k\bar{a}l\bar{a}-nus\bar{a}riva)^{68}$  long pepper, dried ginger  $(n\bar{a}gara)$  and honey, the leaf of the scramberry  $(t\bar{a}l\bar{i}\acute{s}apatra)$ , the two turmerics (rajana), a conch shell and liver extract (yakrdrasa). Then shade-dried wicks take away illness (ruj).
- 18cd–19ab Wicks made of red arsenic ( $mana h sil \bar{a}$ ), chebulic myrobalan ( $abhay \bar{a}$ ), the three spices (vyo sa). Indian sarsaparilla (sariva), cuttlefish bone (samudraphena), combined with goat's milk are good.
- One should cook a honey collyrium (*kṣaudrāñjana*) either in the juices of cow's urine (*gomūtra*), and bile, spirits (*madirā*), liver (*yakṛt*), and emblic (*dhātrī*) or else in the juice of the liver (*yakṛt*) of something different, or else with the extract of the three fruits (*triphalā*). One of these should be mixed with cow urine, ghee and cuttle fish (*arṇavamala*)<sup>69</sup> with long pepper, honey and box myrtle (*kaṭphala*). It is placed in sea salt and stored in a bamboo tube.
  - One should cook the liver of a sheep, the ghee of a goat, with long pepper and Sindh salt, honey and the juice of emblics. Then one should store it properly in a catechu box. Prepared thus, the honey collyrium is good.
    - Alternatively, a collyrium that is harenu (harenu) mixed with long pepper ( $m\bar{a}gadh\bar{\iota}$ ), the bone and the marrow of a goat, cardamom ( $el\bar{a}$ ) and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup>Turmeric (Curcuma longa *Linn*.) and tree turmeric (Berberis aristata DC). The term *rajana* is unusual; the normal term is *rajanī*. *Rajana* occurs in *Suśrutanighaṇṭu* 158 in the sense of Ferula asafoetida, Linn.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup>This verse appears as no. 27 in the vulgate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup>Glossed by Dalhaṇa as a kind of collyrium. Cf. Nadkarni 1954: 2.M13 and Sharma 1982: 197–198

 $<sup>^{68}</sup>$ There are two forms of  $s\bar{a}riv\bar{a}$  mentioned widely in Āyurvedic literature, the white and the black. Ideas on the identity of the black form are particularly fluid. See Sivarajan and Balachandran (1994: 434–438) for a clear discussion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup>At SS 6.12.31, Dalhaṇa glossed *arṇavamala* as cuttlefish bone (*samudraphena*). It may be worth considering whether the unusual term *arṇavamala* "ocean-filth" might refer to ambergris.

- liver, together with liver extract, is good for eyes afflicted by phlegm.<sup>70</sup>
- Over a fire, one should cook the liver (*yakṛt*) of a monitor lizard (*godhā*) prepared with entrails (*antra*) and stuffed with long pepper (*māgadhi*). As is well known, liver (*yakṛt*) which is used (*niṣevita*) with collyrium certainly destroys night blindness.
- 25 After preparing both a spleen (*plīhan*) and a liver on a spit, one should eat them both with ghee and oil.<sup>71</sup>
- As is well known, there are six diseases that can be alleviated (*yāpya*); in those cases (*tatra*) one should release the blood by bloodletting. And for the sake of wellbeing one should also purge using aged ghee combined (*upahita*) with purgative aids (*aṅga*).
  - When an eye-disease is caused by wind (pavanodbhava) they say that castor oil (pañcāṅgulataila) mixed with milk is good.<sup>72</sup> In the case of diseases of blood (śonita) and bile (pitta), one should drink ghee with the three fruits; it is particularly cleansing.<sup>73</sup> In the case of phlegm, a purgative by means of turpeth (trivṛt) is recommended. In the case of all three humours, sandal (sugandhi) in oil is prepared with it (turpeth).<sup>74</sup>
    - 28 In cases of partial blindness (*timira*), aged ghee is recommended. It is good if it is kept in an iron vessel.
- 28cd–29ab One should know that ghee with the three mylobalans is always good, and it is made with what is called periploca of the woods (meṣaviṣāṇa). A man who is suffering from partial blindess should lick the finely-

<sup>7</sup>ºOn the identities of <code>elā</code> and <code>harenu</code> Watt (1908: 511 ff) described the former as "true" or "lesser" or "Malabar" cardamom, Elettaria cardamomum, Maton & White, in contrast to the "greater" cardamom is Amomum subulatum (that he discusses on p. 65) that is commonly used as an inferior substitute for E. cardamomum. Singh and Chunekar (1972: 467 f) provided an interesting discussion of <code>harenu</code>, noting that the term refers to two substances, first the <code>satīna</code> pulse (Pisum sativum, Linn.), and second an unknown fruit such as perhaps a Vitex. They noted, "None of the text commentators have attempted to disclose the nature of its source plant," although Dalhaṇa described it as aromatic and identical to <code>renukā</code> (SS.ci.2.75).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup>We read the locative as if an instrumental; if the locative were intended then it would be the spit that would be coated with oil and ghee.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup>Dalhaṇa says that the unexpressed topic of this recipe is partial blindness (*timira*).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup>Blood-bile (*śonita-pitta, rakta-pitta*) is a widely-recognized disease in ayurveda, but the compound here is definitely dual, which rules out that interpretation. One would expect blood-bile because the previous verse

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup>The expression "the fragrant one in oil (*tailasugandhi*)" is puzzling. The word *sugandhi* has different referents in the *Nighaṇṭu* literature but is not common as a noun in the extant literature. "Sandal" is just one of its possible meanings.

- ground three fruits mixed with ghee off his hand (sapāṇa).75
- 29cd Alternatively, someone afflicted by phlegm should apply them (the three fruits) mixed with oil and steeped (*pragāḍha*) in honey.
  - The very best oil, well-cooked with a decoction of cow-dung, is good in cases of partial blindness, taken as an errhine.
    - In cases caused by bile, ghee by itself is good, as is oil when it arises from wind and blood.
  - And in the case of wind one should apply turpeth (trivrt) based on strong mallow  $(atibal\bar{a})$ , and country mallow  $(bal\bar{a})$  in an errhine (na-sya).<sup>76</sup>
    - Ghee which has been extracted from milk cooked with the meat of aquatic creatures and those from marshlands should be prescribed.
  - †An enclosed roasting (puṭākhya) with Sindh salt and the product of the meat of a carnivore (kravyabhuj) and a deer (eṇa), is combined with honey and ghee.<sup>77</sup>
    - Fat  $(vas\bar{a})$  from a horse, a vulture, a snake, and a cock  $(t\bar{a}mrac\bar{u}da)$ , combined with mahua  $(madh\bar{u}ka)$  is always good in a collyrium. †78
  - Having prepared (*niṣevita*) a collyrium made of kohl (*srotas*) and gradually combine it with juices (*rasa*), milk and ghee.<sup>79</sup>

    For thirty days, this collyrium is put in the mouth of a black snake that

For thirty days, this collyrium is put in the mouth of a black snake that

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup>"Off his hand" translates the adverbial *sapāṇam*, an unusual word. Dalhaṇa reproduces a reading close to the Nepalese recention but says that Jejjaṭa rejects it and so he also does (\$\sum\_{1938}\$:627).

 $<sup>^{76}</sup>$ "Based on" translates - $\bar{a}$ śrita "depending on" which does not construe easily here. The vulgate has śṛṭa "cooked" which makes easier sense but is not supported by the Nepalese MSS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup>Dalhaṇa notes (SS 1938<sup>2</sup>: 628a) that  $puṭ\bar{a}hvaya$  (see verse 35 below) is a synonym for  $puṭap\bar{a}ka$ , and that the process is described in the  $Kriy\bar{a}kalpa$  chapter, i.e., SS.6.18.33–38 (SS 1938<sup>2</sup>: 635). On the puṭa process in the  $Su\acute{s}rutasan;hit\bar{a}$ , which is earlier and different than that of  $rasa\acute{s}\bar{a}stra$  literature, see the discussion by Dagmar Wujastyk (2019: 83):

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup>This verse contain irresolvable difficulties. There are no significant variants in the Nepalese MS transmission, but the text is ungrammatical. The vulgate reads substantially differently but we have nevertheless made some emendations in line with it and read the verse as two sentences.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup>Dalhana specifies that the juices are meat soups of various animals (SS 1938<sup>2</sup>: 628).

- is covered with kuśa grass (kuśa).
- Next, a collyrium that is milk containing long pepper  $(m\bar{a}gadh\bar{\iota})$ , lye  $(k \bar{s}araka)$  and Sindh salt (saindhava) that has been repeatedly prepared with the mouth of a black snake, is good in the case of bloodshot blindness  $(r\bar{a}gin\ timira)$ .
- They say that ghee may be produced from that and combined with sweet herbs is good as an errhine for eye-diseases caused by bile. And here, a balm (*tarpaṇa*) is good that is a combination that is the flesh of wild animals taken hot (*putāhvaya*).<sup>81</sup>
- And realgar ( $mana h sil \bar{a}$ ) mixed with elixir salve ( $ras \bar{a} \tilde{n} jana$ ) and honey is a liquid collyrium ( $drav \bar{a} \tilde{n} jana$ ) which is, in this case, combined with mahua ( $madh \bar{u} ka$ ).<sup>82</sup>
  - Alternatively, experts on this say that finely ground blue vitriol (*tuttha*) extracted from a gold mine is the "same collyrium" (*samāñjana*).<sup>83</sup>
- Conch mixed with equal parts of sheep's horn and stibnite  $(a\tilde{n}jana)$  removes the impurity of the glassy opacity  $(k\bar{a}ca)$  because of the application of collyrium  $(a\tilde{n}jana)$ .<sup>84</sup>
  - The extracts (rasa) produced from aflame of the forest ( $pal\bar{a}\acute{s}a$ ), Rohīta tree ( $roh\bar{\imath}ta$ ),  $^{85}$  mahua ( $madh\bar{u}ka$ ), ground with the supernatant layer (agra) of the spirits (madira) is applied.
- 38 Alternatively, one should cook an errhine with cuscus grass ( $u \le \bar{v} = 1$ ), lodh tree (lodhra), the three fruits ( $triphal\bar{a}$ ), beauty berry (priyangu) to pacify eye diseases caused by phlegm.<sup>86</sup>
  - One should apply smoke of the bark of embelia (vidanga), velvet leaf

 $<sup>^{80}</sup>$ Palhaṇa describes this blindness as a type of  $k\bar{a}ca$  disease caused by wind (SS 1938: 628). The expression "bloodshot blindness" is an attempt to capture the idea of a blind eye that is dyed or coloured (not colour-blindness). This verse is quite different from the vulgate and also syntactically challenging.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup>The expression taken hot (*putāhvaya*) is a guess.

 $<sup>^{82}</sup>$ The expression liquid collyrium ( $drav\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$ ) is only known from Dalhaṇa's comments on SS.6.17.11ab (SS 1938 $^2$ : 626). The recipe in the present collyrium is different from that discussed by Dalhana.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup>The expression "same collyrium" (*samāñjana*) is a hapax legomenon glossed inexplicably by Dalhaṇa as "a collyrium with an equal amount of fermented barley" (*tulya-sauvīrāñjana*) (SS 1938<sup>2</sup>: 628).

 $<sup>^{84}</sup>$ The ablative "from collyrium" is hard to construe, but Dalhana uses this term and phrase in his commentary on SS 6.17.41ab (SS 1938 $^2$ : 629).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup>Probably *Soymida febrifuga* A. Juss.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Dalhaṇa invokes a general rule ( $paribh\bar{a}s\bar{a}$ ) to indicate that this mixture should be cooked with sesame oil.

- $(p\bar{a}th\bar{a})$ , white siris  $(kinih\bar{\iota})$ , and desert date  $(i\dot{n}gud\bar{\iota})$ ; and cuscus grass  $(u\bar{s}\bar{\imath}ra)$  alone.
- 39 A ghee that is cooked ( $bh\bar{a}vita$ ) from a decoction of a non-flowering tree (vanaspati)<sup>87</sup> as well as turmeric ( $haridr\bar{a}$ ) and spikenard (nalada) is good in a balm (tarpaṇa).
  - Alternatively, one may have an enclosed roasting ( $puṭap\bar{a}ka$ ) done with arid-land animals ( $j\bar{a}ngala$ )<sup>88</sup> and a plentiful amount of long pepper ( $m\bar{a}gadha$ ), Sindh salt and honey.
- 40 A treatment ( $kriy\bar{a}$ ) with realgar ( $mana h sil\bar{a}$ ), the three spices, conch, honey, along with Sindh salt, green vitriol ( $k\bar{a}s\bar{\imath}sa$ ) and elixir salve ( $ras\bar{a}n\bar{\imath}jana$ ).<sup>89</sup>
  - They say that an elixir salve (*rasāñjana*) combined with myrobalans, treacle and dried ginger is good.<sup>90</sup>
- Alternatively, a collyrium that has been prepared many times in the eight types of urine<sup>91</sup> is put into water with the three fruits. Having stored it in the mouth of a nocturnal creature (*niśācara*)<sup>92</sup> one should place it in a conch (*salilotthita*) for two months.<sup>93</sup>
- One should apply that collyrium together with the flowers of mahua  $(madh\bar{u}ka)$  and horseradish tree  $(\acute{s}igru)$  when [the disease] is caused by all [the humours].
  - But alternatively, all treatments apply when blood is the cause. The procedure that removes bile is good when there is blue dot cataract  $(ml\bar{a}yin)$ .<sup>94</sup>
- 43 For one who has a humour, the physician should consider the rule in

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup>These are fig trees. The *Sauśrutanighanṭu* (252) specifies the Udumbara. Cf. the classification in CS.1.1.71–72, 1.8, *et passim*.

 $<sup>^{88}</sup>$ On this term, see SS.1.35.42 (SS 1938<sup>2</sup>:157) and the discussion by Zimmermann (1999: 25–31).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Dalhaṇa glosses treatment ( $kriy\bar{a}$ ) specifically as inspissation ( $rasakriy\bar{a}$ ) (SS 1938<sup>2</sup>: 629).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup>We emend *hite* to *hitam*, against the MSS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup>See SS mūtravarga

 $<sup>^{92}</sup>$ Dalhaṇa glosses nocturnal creature ( $nis\bar{a}cara$ ) as "vulture," although elsewhere in the SS it is more commonly interpreted as a spirit or demon. In the present context, following verses 33 and 34, it is probably a snake.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup>We interpret "water-born" (*salilotthita*) as "conch" in line with *jalodbhava*, but the term is uncertain.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup>The vulgate follows Dalhaṇa in glossing  $ml\bar{a}yin$  as  $pariml\bar{a}ya$ . The description of this condition at SS.6.7.27–28 appears to refer to "blue dot" or "cerulean" cataract.  $\sqrt{mlai}$  derivatives can mean "dark" or "black."), which is normally a different ailment.

- all humoral cases and then smear the ointment on the face.<sup>95</sup> The treatment that is good for removing watery eye (*syanda*) should be properly applied in all these humoral cases, according to the individual.<sup>96</sup>
- The physician should not employ substances in errhines etc., when the humours intensify, and also when disease spreads. And further, in the *Kalpa*, there is a good deal more said about collyriums, and that should be considered and then applied.<sup>97</sup>
- Someone who uses matured ghee, the three fruits, wild asparagus ( $\hat{s}a-t\bar{a}var\bar{\iota}$ ), as well as mung beans (mudga), emblic and barley has nothing to fear from cases of severe blindness (timira).
- 46 Blindness is dispelled by milk prepared with wild asparagus or in emblics, or again cooked barley (*yavaudana*) followed by the water of three fruits with plenty of ghee.
- When there is bloodshot blindness (*rāgiṇi timire*), the wise physician should not cut a vein. A humour injured (*utpīḍita*) by the instrument rapidly destroys vision.
- 48 Non-bloodshot blindness (*araga timira*) in the first layer (*paṭala*) is treatable. And bloodshot blindness (*rāgiṇi timire*) in the second layer, with difficulty. And in the third layer it is mitigable (*yāpya*).
- I shall explain the therapy for success when there is a cataract ( $linga-n\bar{a}\acute{s}a$ ) caused by phlegm. It may be white, like a full moon, an umbrella, a pearl ( $mukt\bar{a}$ ) or a spiral ( $\bar{a}varta$ ).
- Or it may be uneven, thin in the middle, streaked or have excessive shine (*prabha*). A humour (*doṣa*) in the pupil may be characterized as being painful or having blood.<sup>98</sup>
- At a time that is neither too hot or too cold, the patient who has been oiled and sweated is restrained and seated, looking symmetrically at his own nose.

The wise physician should separate ( $muktv\bar{a}$ ) two white sections from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup>The vulgate edition omits part of this verse (ab) combining earlier and later passages. <sup>96</sup>The term watery eye (*syanda*) refers to the specific disease *abhiṣyanda*. See SS.6.6.5, 1.46.51, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup>Dalhana notes that *Kalpa* means the Uttaratantra adhyāya 18 (\$\frac{1}{2}\$ 1938<sup>2</sup>: 633 ff).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup>In the vulgate, and in parallel passages in the AS, the reading "it may be (*bhavet*)" is replaced with the negative "if, then not (*na ced*)" (cf. AS utt.17.1–3 (AS 1980: 712)). These characteristics are then read as conditions that preclude surgery; for the Nepalese recension, they are simply descriptions of the appearance of a cataract.

the black part (krsna) and from the outer corner of the eye  $(ap\bar{a}nga)$ . Having pressed  $(\sqrt{p\bar{\iota}d})$  properly into the eye, 99 at the naturally occurring (daivakrte) hole (chidra) with the probe  $(sal\bar{a}k\bar{a})$  made of copper or iron, with a tip like a barley-corn that is held by a steady hand with the middle finger, forefinger and thumb, the left one with the right hand and the other one contrariwise.

When the piercing is done, there is the simultaneous issue of a drop of liquid and a sound.<sup>100</sup>

- The expert should moisten the exact place of piercing with a woman's breast-milk. Then he should scratch the circuit of the pupil (drstimandala) with the tip of the probe  $(sal\bar{a}k\bar{a})$ .<sup>101</sup>
- Without injuring, gently pushing the phlegm in the circuit of the pupil against the nose, he should remove it by means of sniffing (ucchingana). 102
- Whether the humour is solid ( $sty\bar{a}na$ ) or liquid (cala), one should apply sweating to the eye externally, with leaves ( $bha\dot{n}ga$ ) that remove wind, after fixing the needle ( $s\bar{u}c\bar{\iota}$ ) properly.<sup>103</sup>

58

- But if the humour cannot be destroyed or if it comes back, one should apply the piercing (*vyadha*) once again, with appropriate oils and so on.
- Now the pupil (drsti) shines like the sun (hari) in a cloudless sky; then, when objects become visible, one may slowly remove the probe  $(\acute{s}a-l\bar{a}k\bar{a})$ . 104

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup>We understand the locative *nayane* as the place of pressing; other interpreters take it as an accusative dual. The idea is that the eye is held steady by the surgeon.

 $<sup>^{100}</sup>$  Palhaṇa interprets simultaneous (samyak) rather as "proper," referring to the proper kind of incision.

 $<sup>^{101}</sup>$ The anatomy of the eye is described in SS 6.1.14–16 (SS 1938 $^2$ : 596) The disks or *mandalas* are the circuits or disks of the eye.

 $<sup>^{102}</sup>$  Palhaṇa describes sniffing (*ucchingana*) at SS 6.19.8 (SS 1938 $^2$ : 641), clearly intending inward sniffing.

 $<sup>^{103}</sup>$ We interpret *bhaṅga* as leaves, following the usage elsewhere in this sthāna SS 4.32.9, 6.11.5 (SS 1938<sup>2</sup>: 513, 614) where *bhaṅga* means shoots (*pallava*). A similar procedure is described at AS 6.17.25 (AS 1980: 716a), where sweating of the eye is done by means of the leaves of a castor-oil plant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup>There are many problems with the MS readings and interpretation of this half-verse. We have inferred "sky" and emended from "free from the point (*agramukta*)" to "free from clouds (*abhramukta*)". The latter meaning is supported (in different words) by the vulgate and occurs elsewhere in Sanskrit literature.

### Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 28

Thus, living creatures and their strength, complexion (*varṇa*) and energy (*ojas*) are rooted in food. That (food) depends on the six flavours (*rasa*). Thus, the flavours depend on substance (*dravya*), and substances depend on medicinal herbs. There are two kinds of them (herbs): stationary and mobile.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup>SS 1.1.28 (SS 1938<sup>2</sup>:7), tr. Sharma 1999–2001: I, 21.

#### **Abbreviations**

AS 1980

Āṭhavale, Anaṃta Dāmodara (1980) (ed.), Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgrahaḥ. Śrīmad Vṛddhavāgbhaṭaviracitaḥ Induvyākhyāsahitaḥ (Puṇe: Maheśa Anaṃta Āṭhavale, Śrīmad Ātreya Prakāśanam), ark:/13960/t9773bb9z.

Bhela 1921

Mookerjee, Ashutosh and Ananta Krishna Shastri, Vedantabisharad (1921) (eds.), *The Bhela Samhita. Sanskrit Text* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta), ark:/13960/t3sv3157j; Based on two copies made of the Thanjavur codex unicus (MS Thanjavur TMSSML 10773, Burnell 1880: 63–4, 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).

HIML

Meulenbeld, Gerrit Jan (1999–2002), *A History of Indian Medical Literature*, 5 vols. (Groningen: E. Forsten), ISBN: 9069801248.

SS 1931

Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1931)सुश्रुतसंहिता, वैद्यवरश्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचि-(ed.), महर्षिणा तया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया समृद्धसिता, 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.

SS 1938

Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (1938) (eds.), श्रीडल्हणाचार्यविर-चितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया निदानस्थानस्य श्रीगयदा-साचार्यविरचितया न्यायचिन्द्रकाख्यपञ्जिकाव्याख्यया च समु-छ्रिसता महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता (3rd edn., Bombay: Nirṇayasāgara Press); HIML: IB, 313 edition cc.

SS 1938<sup>2</sup>

Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (2004) (eds.), महर्षिणा सु-श्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता, श्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया निदानस्थानस्य श्रीगयदासा-चार्यविरचितया न्यायचन्द्रिकाख्यपञ्जिकाव्याख्यया च समुल्लासेता (Vārāṇasī: Caukhambhā Kṛṣṇadāsa Akādamī); Reprint of the third, 1938 edition (SS 1938), with changed pagination.

SS<sub>1915</sub>

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

Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa

Śarman, Madhusūdana and Śarman, Mādhavaprasāda (1912) (eds.), *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇam* (Mumbai: Khemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa at the Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press), ark:/13960/t6qz6fr23; Lithograph format. Edited on the basis of a manuscript belonking to the astrologer Śudhākaraśarman of the Varanasi Sanskrit Pāthaśālā.

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## Glossary

pressed: 26 nipal- nipal- affect: 10 along these lines evam: 10 asmānjiana: 23 asmānjiana: 23 asmānjiana: 23 asmānjiana: 24 abhayā chebulic myrobalan: 20 abhramukta free from clouds: 26 ācārika regimen: 8 ācārika regimen: 8 ācārika medical advice: 15 accumulation sañcaya: 10 adhiṣṭhāna located: 8 adhyāya sections: 11 agra secternal factors: 11 agra supernatant layer: 23 agramukta free from the point: 26 agramukta external factors: 11 agra supernatant layer: 26 agramukta free from the point: 26 agramukta chetic tapata agra supernatant layer: 26 agramukta external factors: 11 agra agra supernatant layer: 26 agramukta external factors: 11 agra agra supernatant layer: 26 agramukta chetic tapatānaka chetic tapatānaka application of collyrium external factors: 11 agra agra supernatant layer: 26 agramukta chetic tapatānaka chetic tapat	√pīḍ	yāpya: 21	arid-land animals
nipat- affect: 10 along these lines cram: 10 along these lines cram: 10 asādāhya chebulic myrobalan: 20 abhaya chebulic myrobalan: 20 abhamanukta free from clouds: 26 ācāra regimen: 8 ācārīka medical advice: 15 accumulation sarācaya: 10 adhiṣṭhāna located: 8 adhiyāya sections: 11 affect nipat-: 10 āgantu external factors: 11 agra supernatant layer: 23 agramukta free from the point: 26 āhāra aniga: 21 aday and night: 9 aids ariga: 21 alepa ariga: 21 alepa ariga: 21 alepa ariga: 21 alepa along these lines cuttle fish: 20 asādhya incurable: 18 asoka tree: 19 āsoka sasoka tree asoka tree in substrate: 8 asthi substrate: 8 asthi substrate: 8 asthi substrate: 8 asthi asiva asthi bones: 10 asītyā išvarta spipalise: 9 avija išvaria spipalise: 9 avija išvaria spipalise: 2 awija išvaria spipalise: 3 avija avija: 21 avijana application of collyrium: 18, 23 avijana half-year: 10 āyatta depends on: 8 āyur avijana application of collyrium arījana: 18, 23 avijana half-year: 10 āyatta depends on: 8 āyur alife, longevity: 5 āyuroda the science of life: 5 avijana avijana: 11 avijana avijana avijana avijana avijana avijana avijana avija avijana			iāṅṣala: 24
affect: 10 "same collyrium" samāñjana: 23 "water-born" salilotthita: 24  abhayā chebulic myrobalan: 20 abhramukta free from clouds: 26 ācāria regimen: 8 ācārika medical advice: 15 accumulation sañcaya: 10 adhiṣṭhāna located: 8 adhyāya sections: 11 affect nipat: 10 āgantu external factors: 11 agra supernatant layer: 23 agramukta free from the point: 26 āhāra agramukta chebulic myrobalan: 20 aniga: 21 ants pasi: 9 anijani: 18 ants pipīlika: 9 apānga edge of the hole: 16 outer corner of the eye: 26 āhāra agramukta diet: 8 ahorātra day and night: 9 aids ariga: 21	•		
"same collyrium" samānjana: 23 "water-born" salilotthita: 24 abhayā chebulic myrobalan: 20 abhamukka free from clouds: 26 ācārā regimen: 8 ācārīka medical advice: 15 accumulation sañaya: 10 adhiṣṭhāna located: 8 adhyāya sections: 11 affect mipal-: 10 āgantu external factors: 11 agra supernatant layer: 23 agramukta free from the point: 26 āhāra ahara shāra ahara ahara application of collyrium diet: 8 aharā application of collyrium diet: 8 aharā application of collyrium diet: 8 aharā application of collyrium añjana: 18, 23 appatānaka convulsions: 13 application of collyrium añjana: 18, 23 appatānaka convulsions: 13 application of collyrium añjana: 18, 23 appatānaka convulsions: 13 application of collyrium añjana: 18, 23 appatānaka convulsions: 13 application of collyrium añjana: 18, 23 appatānaka convulsions: 13 application of collyrium añjana: 18, 23 appatānaka convulsions: 13 application of collyrium añjana: 18, 23 appatānaka convulsions: 13 application of collyrium añjana: 18, 23 appatānaka convulsions: 13 application of collyrium añjana: 18, 23 appatānaka convulsions: 13 application of collyrium añjana: 18, 23 appatānaka convulsions: 13 application of collyrium añjana: 18, 23 appatānaka convulsions: 13 application of collyrium añjana: 18, 23 appatānaka convulsions: 13 application of collyrium añjana: 18, 23 appatānaka convulsions: 13 application of collyrium añjana: 18, 23 appatānaka convulsions: 13 application of collyrium añjana: 18, 23 appatānaka convulsions: 13 application of collyrium añjana: 18, 23 application of collyrium añjana ay	•	•	•
"water-born" emblic: 19 asóka asoka tree: 19 abhayā angaiga parts: 10 abhayā angar chebulic myrobalan: 20 abhramukta free from clouds: 26 ācāra regimen: 8 ācārika angry saṃrambha: 16 acumulation sañcaya: 10 adhiṣṭhāna located: 8 adhyāya sections: 11 affect nipat: 10 āgantu external factors: 11 agra supernatant layer: 23 agramukta plinātra apañaga supernatant layer: 23 agramukta eye: 26 āhāra day and night: 9 aids amra emblic: 19 amra mango: 19 amra mango: 19 asoka tree: 19 āsoka grief: 8 asoka tree asoka: 19 āsrayin substrate: 8 asthi substrate: 8 atibalā strong mallow: 22 ātmaka nature: 8 āvarta spiral: 25 awl ārā: 13 ayana half-year: 10 āyatta depends on: 8 āyur depends on: 8 āyur life, longevity: 5 āyurveda the science of life: 5  apramatha bound, connected: apaga fina country mallow: 22 alala araga timira day and night: 9 aids araga timira linent: 18 soboka grief: 8 asoka tree: 19 āsoka grief: 8 asoka: 19 āsrayin substrate: 8 asthi substrate: 8 atibalā atibalā atibalā atibalā atibalā ativala afavarta spiral: 25 awl ārā: 13 ayana depends on: 8 āyur life, longevity: 5 āyurveda the science of life: 5 apurveda the science of life: 5		_	
"water-born" salilotthita: 24 amra amango: 19 andaja chebulic myrobalan: 20 abhramukta free from clouds: 26 ācāra regimen: 8 ācārika medical advice: 15 accumulation saficaya: 10 adhiṣṭḥāṇa located: 8 adhiyāya sections: 11 affect nipat-: 10 āgantu external factors: 11 agra supernatant layer: 23 agramukta free from the point: 26 āhāṇa application of collyrium external factors: 11 agra supernatant layer: 23 agramukta free from the point: 26 āhāṇa application of collyrium diet: 8 ahorātra day and night: 9 aids liniment: 18 amra amango: 19 amra amango: 19 amra amango: 19 andaja agrame eggs: 9 asoka tree asoka tree: 19 āsrayin substrate: 8 asthi bones: 10 asūyā astipala strong mallow: 22 ātmaka nature: 8 āvarta spiral: 25 awl ārā: 13 ayana half-year: 10 āyatta depends on: 8 āyur life, longevity: 5 āyurveda the science of life: 5  apulafanaka bound, connected: 17 balā country mallow: 22 bala strength: 8 asoka tree			· ·
salilotthita: 24 amra asoka tree: 19 abhayā chebulic myrobalan: 20 abhamukta free from clouds: 26 ācāra regimen: 8 ācāria sanger krodha: 8 angry sanirambha: 16 animals stibalā strong mallow: 22 adhisṭhāna located: 8 adhyāya sections: 11 affect nipat-: 10 āgantu external factors: 11 agra supernatant layer: 23 agramukta external factors: 11 agra supernatant layer: 26 āhāra ahorātra apramatta day and night: 9 aids ālosatia paga tilla and and and night: 9 aids ārāa: 13 application of collyrium diet: 8 appanatta apramatta day and night: 9 aids ārāa: 13 araga tillagen araga timira strength: 8 anira sexternal factors: 11 agra apārīga apārīga country mallow: 22 afiga: 21 aids ārāa application of collyrium diet: 8 apatānaka apramatta 11 aparamukta stree ing araga timira strength: 8 alliniment: 18 anira saga tillage araga timira strength: 8 balm			
abhayā chebulic myrobalan: 20 abhramukta free from clouds: 26 ācāra regimen: 8 ācārika medical advice: 15 accumulation sañcaya: 10 adhiṣṭhāna located: 8 adhyāya sections: 11 affect nipat-: 10 āgantu external factors: 11 agra supernatant layer: 23 supernatant layer: 26 āhāra ahorātra ahorātra day and night: 9 aids afiga: 21 alepa aliga: 21 alepa anga: 21 alega anga: 21 anga anga anga timira anga: 21 anga idsis 21 andassoka: 10 āsaoka tree assoka tree assoka: 10 āsarayin substrate: 8 asthi bones: 10 asinyā substrate: 8 asthi bones: 10 asinyā substrate: 8 atibala strong mallow: 22 ātmaka nature: 8 āvarta spiral: 25 awl ārā: 13 ayana half-year: 10 āgyatta depends on: 8 āyur life, longevity: 5 āyurveda the science of life: 5 aleba araya timira strength: 8 bones: 10 asihai substrate: 8 asoka tree asoka: 19 āfsrayin substrate: 8 asthi bones: 10 asityā jealousy: 8 atibala strong mallow: 22 ātmaka nature: 8 āvarta spiral: 25 awl ārā: 13 ayana half-year: 10 āgyatta depends on: 8 āyur life, longevity: 5 āyurveda the science of life: 5 auguroeda the science of life: 5		•	
abhayā chebulic myrobalan: 20 abhramukta free from clouds:     26 ācāra regimen: 8 ācārika medical advice: 15 accumulation sañcaya: 10 adhiṣḥāna located: 8 adhyāya sections: 11 affect antra external factors: 11 agra supernatant layer:     23 agramukta free from the point:     26 āhāra day and night: 9 aids afiga: 21 afiga: 8 andra araya timira allounda allounda araya timira allounda allounda araya timira afigapa angra araya timira anga: 21 alepa araya timira aids: 21 asoka tree asoka tree asoka: 19 āsavai asoka: 19 āsavai asoka tree asoka: 19 āsavai astibalēa strong mallow: 22 ātmaka nature: 8 āvarta spiral: 25 awl āravai asovai asoka tree asoka: 19 āsavai astibalēa strong mallow: 22 ātmaka nature: 8 āvarta spiral: 25 awl āvaria spiral: 25 awl āravai asoka tree asthi	<i>5инонни</i> . <b>24</b>		The state of the s
chebulic myrobalan: 20  abhramukta free from clouds: 26  ācāra aregimen: 8  ācārika angry saṃrambha: 16 accumulation sañcaya: 10  adhiṣhāna located: 8  adhyāya sections: 11  affect anipat-: 10  āgantu external factors: 11  agra supernatant layer: 23  agramukta free from the point: 26  āhāra diet: 8  ahorātra day and night: 9  aids  ārā  araya timira  liniment: 18  born from eggs: 9  aids: 21  aids: 21  patts: 10  aids: 21  substrate: 8  asthi  substrate: 8  asthi  astibula  astibula  strong mallow: 22  ātmaka  nature: 8  āvarta  application of collyrium: 18, 23  stibnite: 23  antra  entrails: 21  appāṇga  appāṇga  diet: 8  ahorātra application of collyrium añjana: 18, 23  apramatta day and night: 9  aids  araya timira  liniment: 18  asoka tree  asoka: 19  āśrayin  substrate: 8  astibula  astibula  strong mallow: 22  ātmaka  nature: 8  āvarta  apvaratu  ārā: 13  ayana  half-year: 10  āyatta  depends on: 8  āyur  life, longevity: 5  āyurveda  the science of life: 5  apramatta  bound, connected:  17  balā  country mallow: 22  bala  strength: 8  balm	ahhauā		
myrobalan: 20 abhramukta free from clouds: 26 acāra regimen: 8 ācāra medical advice: 15 accumulation sañcaya: 10 adhiṣṭhāna located: 8 adhyāya sections: 11 affect nipat-: 10 āgantu external factors: 11 agra supernatant layer: 23 agramukta free from the point: 26 āhāra ahorātra day and night: 9 aids aids: 21 araga timira diet: 8 ahorātra day and night: 9 aids aids: 21 ariga aids: 21 ariga aids: 21 asigsa samirambha: 16 asignā samirambha: 16 asignā application of collyrium: 18, 23 stibnite: 23 apinal apina ants pipīlika: 9 apānga edge of the hole: 16 outer corner of the eye: 26 āhaāra day and night: 9 aids araga timira liniment: 18 born from eggs: 9 āsrayin substrate: 8 asthi satibalā strong mallow: 22 ātmaka atimaka atimaka atibalā strong mallow: 22 ātmaka atimaka apayana half-year: 10 āyurteda the science of life: 5 āyurveda the science of life: 5  āyurveda the science of life: 5  āyurveda the science of life: 5  āyurveda the science of life: 5  āyurveda the science of life: 5  āyurveda the science of life: 5  āyurveda the science of life: 5  āyurveda the science of life: 5  āyurveda the science of life: 5  āyurveda the science of life: 5  āyurveda the science of life: 5  āyurveda the science of life: 5	· ·		-
aids: 21 parts: 10 aids: 21 parts: 10 asspiral regimen: 8 acārīda regimen: 8 acārīka medical advice: 15 accumulation sancaya: 10 adhiṣṭḥāna located: 8 adhyāya sections: 11 affect nipat-: 10 āgantu external factors: 11 agra supernatant layer: 23 agramukta free from the point: 26 āhārā a day and night: 9 aids aids: 21 arra aids: 21 arra aids: 21 apramatta day and night: 9 aids aids: 21 aids: 21 aids; 21 arra aids: 21 aids; 21 arra aids: 21 arra aids: 21 apramatta day and night: 9 aids araga timira lidigent: 17 arra arra arra arra arra arra arra ar			
free from clouds:  26  ācāra  anger  regimen: 8  ācārika  medical advice: 15  accumulation  sañicaya: 10  adhiṣṭḥāṇa  located: 8  adhyāya  sections: 11  affect  nipat-: 10  āgantu  external factors: 11  agra  supernatant layer:  23  agramukta  free from the point:  26  āhāra  ahorātra  day and night: 9  aids  arga timira  liniment: 18  ands  ands  ands  ands  ants  application of  collyrium: 18, 23  spiral: 25  awl  ārā: 13  ayana  half-year: 10  āyatta  depends on: 8  āyur  life, longevity: 5  āyuroeda  the science of life: 5  bones: 10  asthi  bones: 10  astiyā  jealousy: 8  atibalā  strong mallow: 22  ātmaka  nature: 8  āvarta  spiral: 25  awl  ārā: 13  ayana  half-year: 10  āyatta  depends on: 8  āyur  life, longevity: 5  āyuroeda  the science of life: 5  ayuroeda  the science of life: 5	•	-	
anger regimen: 8 anger regimen: 8 anger medical advice: 15 accumulation sañcaya: 10 adhiṣṭhāna located: 8 adhyāya sections: 11 affect nipat-: 10 āgantu external factors: 11 agra supernatant layer: 23 agramukta free from the point: 26 āhāra algana diet: 8 alhorātra day and night: 9 aids añga: 21 algea araga timira anger krodha: 8 angry asgiva angry asgiva anjealousy: 8 atibala strong mallow: 22 ātmaka nature: 8 āvarta spiral: 25 avi atmaka nature: 8 āvarta spiral: 25 avi avyana half-year: 10 āyatta depends on: 8 āyur life, longevity: 5 āyurveda the science of life: 5 ayurveda strength: 8 bala		aids: 21	
regimen: 8 angry medical advice: 15 accumulation sañcaya: 10 adhiṣṭhāna located: 8 adhyāya sections: 11 affect nipat-: 10 āgantu external factors: 11 agra supernatant layer: 23 agramukta free from the point: 26 āhāna diet: 8 ahorātra day and night: 9 aids afiga: 21 aidepa afiga: 21 afiga: 3 angry samrambha: 16 animals animals afigaina application of collyrium: 18, 23 application of collyrium afigai: 13 asitioalā atibalā strong mallow: 22 ātmaka atibalā strong mallow: 22 ātmaka strong mallow: 22 ātmaka strong mallow: 22 ātmaka avarta spiral: 25 awl ārā: 13 ayana apyana apyana half-year: 10 āyatta depends on: 8 āyur life, longevity: 5 āyurveda the science of life: 5  āyurveda the science of life: 5 apadaham bound, connected: 17 balā country mallow: 22 bala strength: 8 balm		parts: 10	
regimen: 8		anger	_
ācārikaangryjealousy: 8medical advice: 15animalsatibalāaccumulationpaśu: 9ātmakasañcaya: 10añjanaattmakaadhiṣṭhānaapplication ofatmakalocated: 8collyrium: 18, 23spiral: 25adhyāyasections: 11antraspiral: 25asections: 11antraantsaffectantraantshalf-year: 10āgantuantshalf-year: 10agranapāṅgadepends on: 8ayaraapañgadepends on: 8agramuktaeye: 26apatānakathe science of life: 5agramuktaeye: 26āyurvedathe science of life: 5āhāraapplication of collyriumbaddhambound, connected:det: 8apramatta17balāday and night: 9diligent: 17balāaidsārācountry mallow: 22āiepaaraga timirastrength: 8liniment: 18non-bloodshotbalm		krodha: 8	
medical advice: 15 accumulation     sañcaya: 10     adhiṣṭhāna     located: 8     adhyāya     sections: 11     affect     nipat-: 10     āgantu     external factors: 11     agra     supernatant layer:     23     agramukta     free from the point:     26     āhāra     diet: 8     ahorātra     diet: 8     ahorātra     application of     convulsions: 13     application of     convulsions: 13     application of collyrium     diet: 8     ahorātra     application of collyrium     diet: 8     ahorātra     day and night: 9     aids     araga timira     liniment: 18     saṇrambha: 16     animals     strong mallow: 22     ātmaka     nature: 8     āvarta     spiral: 25     awl     ārā 13     ayana     half-year: 10     āyutta     depends on: 8     āyur     life, longevity: 5     āyurveda     the science of life: 5      adham     baddham     bound, connected:     17     balā     country mallow: 22     bala     strong mallow: 22     ātmaka     nature: 8     āvarta     spiral: 25     awl     ārā 13     ayana     half-year: 10     āyutta     depends on: 8     āyur     life, longevity: 5     āyurveda     the science of life: 5      āyurveda     the science of life: 5      āulta 17     balā     country mallow: 22     bala     strength: 8     balm		angry	· ·
accumulation  sañcaya: 10  adhiṣthāna located: 8  adhyāya sections: 11  affect nipat-: 10  āgantu external factors: 11  agra supernatant layer: 23  agramukta free from the point: 26  āhāra diet: 8  ahorātra day and night: 9  aids ariga: 21  aids ariga: 21  aids ariga: 21  aids ariga: 21  aidepa liniment: 18  application of collyrium: 18, 23 application of collyrium app		saṃrambha: 16	,
sañcaya: 10 adhiṣṭhāna located: 8 adhyāya sections: 11 affect nipat-: 10 agra external factors: 11 agra supernatant layer: 23 agramukta free from the point: 26 āhāra diet: 8 ahorātra day and night: 9 aids alhyāya sections: 11 affect nipat-: 10 ants external factors: 11 apatānaka application of collyrium: 18, 23 stibnite: 23 awl ārā: 13 ayana half-year: 10 āyatta depends on: 8 āyur life, longevity: 5 āyurveda the science of life: 5 aputānaka bound, connected: apramatta day and night: 9 aids araga timira liniment: 18 application of collyrium araga timira araga timira strength: 8 balm		animals	
adhisṭhāna located: 8 adhyāya sections: 11 affect nipat-: 10 agantu external factors: 11 agra supernatant layer: 23 agramukta free from the point: 26 ahōrān diet: 8 ahorātra day and night: 9 aids ainayan añjana application of collyrium: 18, 23 stibnite: 23 awl arārī: 13 ayana half-year: 10 ayatta depends on: 8 ayur life, longevity: 5 ayurveda the science of life: 5 apatānaka the science of life: 5 apatānata application of collyrium diet: 8 ahorātra day and night: 9 aids araga timira liniment: 18 application of collyrium araga timira strength: 8 bala strength: 8 balm		paśu: 9	© .
located: 8  adhyāya sections: 11  affect nipat-: 10  āgantu external factors: 11  agra supernatant layer: 23  agramukta free from the point: 26  āhāra application of collyrium: 18, 23 stibnite: 23  awl ants pipīlika: 9 apāṅga edge of the hole: 16 outer corner of the eye: 26 apatānaka free from the point: 26  āhāra application of collyrium: 18, 23 awl avana half-year: 10 āyatta depends on: 8 āyur life, longevity: 5 āyurveda the science of life: 5  āyurveda the science of life: 5  apramatta day and night: 9 aids araga timira liniment: 18 apatānaka strength: 8 bala strength: 8 balm			ātmaka
adhyāya sections: 11 stibnite: 23 spiral: 25 awl arā: 13 ayana half-year: 10 agantu external factors: 11 pipīlika: 9 apāṅga depends on: 8 āyur life, longevity: 5 āyurveda the science of life: 5 ahāra application of collyrium diet: 8 ahorātra araga timira liment: 18 araga timira strength: 8 liniment: 18 non-bloodshot balm	• •	,	nature: 8
sections: 11  affect  nipat-: 10  agantu  external factors: 11  agra  supernatant layer:  23  agramukta  free from the point:  26  ahāra  diet: 8  ahorātra  day and night: 9  aids  araga timira  diet: 8  ahorātra  day and night: 9  aids  aids  aints  entrails: 21  ants  pipīlika: 9  apāṅga  edge of the hole: 16  outer corner of the  eye: 26  apatāṇaka  convulsions: 13  application of collyrium  diet: 8  ahorātra  day and night: 9  aids  araga timira  liniment: 18  spiral: 25  awl  ārā: 13  ayana  half-year: 10  āyatta  depends on: 8  āyur  life, longevity: 5  āyurveda  the science of life: 5  baddham  bound, connected:  17  balā  country mallow: 22  bala  ātepa  araga timira  strength: 8  balm			
affect  nipat-: 10  agantu  external factors: 11  agra  supernatant layer:  23  agramukta  free from the point:  26  ahāra  application of collyrium  diet: 8  ahorātra  aparamatta  day and night: 9  aids  araga : 13  ayana  half-year: 10  āyatta  depends on: 8  āyur  life, longevity: 5  āyurveda  the science of life: 5  apatānaka  application of collyrium  diet: 8  ahorātra  apramatta  day and night: 9  aids  ārā  araga timira  liniment: 18  anta  ayana  half-year: 10  āyatta  depends on: 8  āyur  life, longevity: 5  āyurveda  the science of life: 5  apatānaka  the science of life: 5  bound, connected:  araga timira  strength: 8  bala  strength: 8  balm			
allect  nipat-: 10  ants  external factors: 11  agra  supernatant layer:  23  agramukta  free from the point:  26  ahāra  diet: 8  ahorātra  day and night: 9  aids  araga timira  liniment: 18  entrails: 21  ants  pipīlika: 9  apānga  edge of the hole: 16  outer corner of the eye: 26  apatānaka  convulsions: 13  application of collyrium añjana: 18, 23  bound, connected:  17  balā  country mallow: 22  bala  araga timira strength: 8  balm		-	awl
ants external factors: 11  agra  supernatant layer:  23  agramukta free from the point:  26  āhāra  diet: 8  ahorātra  day and night: 9  aids  ants  pipīlika: 9  apāṅga  edge of the hole: 16  outer corner of the eye: 26  apatānaka  convulsions: 13  application of collyrium diet: 8  ahorātra  day and night: 9  aids  arīga: 21  awl: 13  ālepa  liniment: 18  ants  pipīlika: 9  apāṇga  depends on: 8  āyur  life, longevity: 5  āyurveda the science of life: 5  apurveda the science of life: 5  apadāham baddham baddham country mallow: 22  bala country mallow: 22  bala strength: 8  liniment: 18			ārā: 13
external factors: 11  agra  supernatant layer:  23  agramukta  free from the point:  26  āhāra  diet: 8  ahorātra  day and night: 9  aids  araga timira  liniment: 18  pipīlika: 9  apatānga  application of the hole: 16  apramatta  araga timira  pipīlika: 9  apyatta  depends on: 8  āyur  life, longevity: 5  āyurveda  the science of life: 5  apurveda  the science of life: 5  baddham  bound, connected:  17  balā  country mallow: 22  bala  strength: 8  balm		, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	ayana
agra apāriga depends on: 8 supernatant layer: edge of the hole: 16 agramukta eye: 26 free from the point: apatānaka the science of life: 5  āhāra application of collyrium diet: 8 ahorātra apramatta apramatta thorātra day and night: 9 aids ārā country mallow: 22 aṅga: 21 ālepa araga timira strength: 8 liniment: 18 apāriga depends on: 8 āyur life, longevity: 5 āyurveda the science of life: 5  abadham baddham baddham country mallow: 22 bala strength: 8 bala	O .		half-year: 10
supernatant layer:  23  agramukta  free from the point:  26  āhāra  diet: 8  ahorātra  day and night: 9  aids  añga: 21  ālepa  life, longevity: 5  āyurveda  the science of life: 5  application of collyrium  añjana: 18, 23  bound, connected:  apramatta  tip  balā  country mallow: 22  bala  araga timira  liniment: 18  araga timira  non-bloodshot  but depends on: 8  āyur  life, longevity: 5  āyurveda  the science of life: 5  apurveda  the science of life: 5  country balā  country mallow: 22  bala  strength: 8  balm	external factors: 11		āyatta
outer corner of the agramukta eye: 26 free from the point: 26 convulsions: 13 application of collyrium diet: 8 ahorātra apramatta day and night: 9 aids arīga: 21 alepa araga timira liniment: 18  outer corner of the life, longevity: 5 āyurveda the science of life: 5  baddham baddham bound, connected:  araga timira country mallow: 22  bala strength: 8  balm			depends on: 8
agramukta free from the point:  26	supernatant layer:		āyur
free from the point:  26  convulsions: 13  application of collyrium  diet: 8  ahorātra  day and night: 9  aids  añga: 21  ālepa  liniment: 18  apatānaka  convulsions: 13  application of collyrium  añjana: 18, 23  application of collyrium  baddham  bound, connected:  17  balā  country mallow: 22  bala  strength: 8  liniment: 18  non-bloodshot  balm			life, longevity: 5
convulsions: 13  āhāra application of collyrium baddham diet: 8 añjana: 18, 23 bound, connected: ahorātra apramatta 17 day and night: 9 diligent: 17 balā aids ārā country mallow: 22 aṅga: 21 awl: 13 bala ālepa araga timira strength: 8 liniment: 18 non-bloodshot balm		·	āyurveda
26convulsions: 13āhāraapplication of collyriumbaddhamdiet: 8añjana: 18, 23bound, connected:ahorātraapramatta17day and night: 9diligent: 17balāaidsārācountry mallow: 22aṅga: 21awl: 13balaālepaaraga timirastrength: 8liniment: 18non-bloodshotbalm	free from the point:	•	the science of life: 5
diet: 8  ahorātra  day and night: 9  aids  arā  awl: 13  ālepa  liniment: 18  añjana: 18, 23  anjana: 18, 23  apramatta  tip  balā  country mallow: 22  bala  strength: 8  liniment: 18  bound, connected:  bala  strength: 8  bala  strength: 8	26		3
ahorātraapramatta17day and night: 9diligent: 17balāaidsārācountry mallow: 22aṅga: 21awl: 13balaālepaaraga timirastrength: 8liniment: 18non-bloodshotbalm	āhāra		baddham
day and night: 9 diligent: 17 balā  aids ārā country mallow: 22  aṅga: 21 awl: 13 bala  ālepa araga timira strength: 8  liniment: 18 non-bloodshot balm	diet: 8	añjana: 18, 23	bound, connected:
aidsārācountry mallow: 22aṅga: 21awl: 13balaālepaaraga timirastrength: 8liniment: 18non-bloodshotbalm	ahorātra	apramatta	17
ariga: 21awl: 13balaālepaaraga timirastrength: 8liniment: 18non-bloodshotbalm	day and night: 9	diligent: 17	bal <del>ā</del>
ālepaaraga timirastrength: 8liniment: 18non-bloodshotbalm	aids	ārā	country mallow: 22
liniment: 18 non-bloodshot balm	aṅga: 21	awl: 13	bala
liniment: 18 non-bloodshot balm	ālepa	araga timira	strength: 8
		6	O
alleviated blindness: 25 tarpaṇa: 18, 23f	alleviated	blindness: 25	tarpaṇa: 18, 23f

bandha	utpala: 19	chidra
bindings: 15	blue vitriol	hole: 26
beauty berry	tuttha: 23	circuit of the pupil
priyangu: 23	bones	dṛṣṭimaṇḍala: 26
beautyberry	asthi: 10	clusters
priyaṃgu: 19	born from eggs	samplava: 9
bhaṅga	aṇḍaja: 9	cock
leaves: 26	born in a caul	tāmracūḍa: 22
bhavet	jarāyuja: 9	collection
it may be: 25	born of sweat	varga: 10
bhāvita	svedaja: 9	combined
cooked: 24	bound, connected	upahita: 21
infused: 19	baddham: 17	comfort
bhedya	box myrtle	sukha : 10
splitting: 15	kaṭphala: 20	complexion
bile	bṛṃhaṇa	varņa: 8, 27
pitta: 21	nourishment: 8	compounds
bindings	bulbs	yoga: 18
bandha: 15	kanda: 9	compressed
black part		saṃkṣipta: 14f
kṛṣṇa: 26	cala	compressed
black pepper	liquid: 26	saṃkṣipta: 14
marica: 19	cardamom	conch
black soot	elā: 20	salilotthita: 24
maṣī: 18	carman	congested humours
blessings pronounced	pelt: 9	sannipāta: 11
svastivācana: 13	carnivore	convulsions
blindness	kravyabhuj: 22	apatānaka: 13
timira: 25	castor oil	cooked barley
blink of the eye	pañcāṅgulataila: 21	yavaudana: 25
nimeṣa: 9	castor oil tree	cooked
blood	gandharvahasta: 13	bhāvita: 24
rudhira: 9	cataract	cotton
śonita: 21	liṅganāśa: 25	picu: 15
blood-bile	caturvarga	counteraction
śonita-pitta,	fourfold grouping:	pratiședha: 18
rakta-pitta: 21	10	country mallow
blood-letting	catuștaya	balā: 22
sirāvedha: 18	four factors: 10	cow's flesh
bloodshot blindness	caused by wind	
	pavanodbhava: 21	gomāṃsa: 19
rāgin timira: 23	chebulic myrobalan	cow's urine
rāgiņi timire: 25	abhayā: 20	gomūtra: 20
blue dot cataract	chedya	cow-dung
mlāyin: 24	cutting: 15	gośakṛt: 19

sarīsṛpa: 6, 9	dilator	emblic
curable	pravardhanaka: 13	āmalaka: 19
sādhya: 18	diligent	dhātrī: 20
cuscus grass	apramatta: 17	ena
นร์īra: 23f	disease	deer: 22
cutting	vyadhi: 10	enclosed roasting
chedya: 15	dosa	puṭākhya: 22
cutting with a blade	humour: 25	puṭapāka: 24
śastrakṣata: 18	humours: 10	energy
cuttle fish	dravāñjana	ojas: 27
arṇavamala: 20	liquid collyrium:	entrails
cuttlefish bone	23	antra: 21
samudraphena: 20	dravya	envy
Sumuarupuena. 20	substance: 27	īrṣyā: 8
dainya		errhine
misery: 8	dried ginger	
dais	nāgara: 20	nasya: 22
pīṭha: 14	dṛṣṭi	essence
daivakṛte	pupil: 18, 26	sāra: 9
naturally	dṛṣṭimaṇḍala	evam
occurring: 26	circuit of the pupil:	along these lines:
dārvī	26	10
tree turmeric: 19	duct	excision
	sirā: 13	chedya: 11
day and night	ducts	expressed juice
ahorātra: 9	sirā: 10, 15	svarasa: 19
decanted liquor	duḥkha	external factors
surāmaṇḍa: 15	suffering: 8	āgantu: 11
deer	dușța	extract of rohu carp
eṇa: 22	tainted: 15	rauhita: 19
depends on	dveṣa	extracts
āyatta: 8	hatred: 8	rasa: 23
depression		
viṣāda: 8	earthen products	fat
desert date	pārthiva: 9f	vasā: 22
iṅgudī: 24	edge of the hole	fermented rice-water
desire	apāṅga: 16	dhānyāmla: 15
icchā: 8	elā	filaments
dhānyāmla	cardamom: 20	kiñjalka: 19
fermented	elixir salve	flame of the forest
rice-water: 15	rasāñjana: 19, <b>2</b> 3f	palāśa: 23
dhātrī	elixir-salve	flavours
emblic: 20	rasāñjana: 19	rasa: 8, 27
dhūmadarśin	elixir-salve	flesh
seeing smoke: 18	śīta: 19	māmsa: 10
diet	embelia	vadhra: 17
āhāra: 8	าก่อกลา	flowering trees

vṛkṣa: 9	granthita	humours
flowers	lumpy: 14	doṣa: 10
puṣpa: 9	greed	
fortnight	lobha: 8	icchā
pakṣa: 10	green vitriol	desire: 8
four factors	kāsīsa: 24	if, then not
catuștaya: 10	grief	na ced: 25
fourfold grouping	āśoka: 8	illness
caturvarga: 10	guḍikā	ruj: <b>2</b> 0
free from clouds	pill: 19	in those cases
abhramukta: 26	-	tatra: 21
free from the point	half-year	incurable
agramukta: 26	ayana: 10	asādhya: 18
frogs	hareṇu	indian lotus
maṇḍūka: 9	hareņu: 20	nalina: 19
fruit trees	hareṇu	indian madder
vanaspati: 9	hareņu: 19	mañjiṣṭhā: 13
fruits	hareṇu	indian sarsaparilla
phala: 9	hareņu: 19f	kālānusāriva: 20
<i></i>	hareņu	sāriva: 20
gāḍha	hareṇu: 19f	indragopa
pinched: 15	hari	red velvet mites: 9
gairika	sun: 26	inflamed
ochre: 18f	haridrā	vidagdha: 18
gandharvahasta	turmeric: 24	infused
castor oil tree: 13	harṣa	bhāvita: 19
gauze	overexcitement: 8	iṅgudī
prota: 15	hatred	desert date: 24
general rule	dveṣa: 8	inherent factors
paribhāṣā: 23	herbs	svabhāva: 11
ghee	oṣadhi: 9	inherent
sarpis: 18	hīna	svābhāvika: 8
glassy opacity	reduced: 17	injured
kāca: 23	hole	utpīḍita: 25
godhā	chidra: 26	inspissation
monitor lizard: 21	honey collyrium	rasakriyā: 24
gomāṃsa	kṣaudrāñjana: 20	intended
cow's flesh: 19	honey	vyākhyāta: 11
gomūtra	kṣaudra: 19	irregularities
cow's urine: 20	madhu: 19	vaiṣamya: 8
gośakṛt	horseradish tree	irrigation
cow-dung: 19	śigru: 24	seka: 18
juice of cow-dung:	human being	irritation
19	puruṣa: 8, 10	prakopa: 10
granthi	humour	īrṣyā
lumps: 12	dosa: 25	envv. 8

it may be	powdered	kṣāraka
bhavet: 25	earthenware	lye: 23
items created by time	crockery: 15	kṣaudra
kālakṛta: 9f	kapittha	honey: 19
	wood apple: 19	kṣaudrāñjana
jambu	karman	honey collyrium
jambū: 19	therapies: 11	20
jambū	kārśmarī	kṣīṇa
jambu: 19	white teak: 19	wasted: 16
jāṅgala	kāsīsa	kṣīra
arid-land animals:	green vitriol: 24	sap: 9
24	kāṣṭhā	kunta
jaṅgama	trice: 9	small insects: 9
moving: 9f	kaṭphala	kupyaka
jarāyuja	box myrtle: 20	metal: 19
born in in a caul: 9	kinihī	kuśa grass
jealousy	white siris: 24	kuśa: 23
asūyā: 8	kiñjalka	kuśa
joins	filaments: 19	kuśa grass: 23
sandhāna: 13	knowledge	,
sandhi: 14	veda: 5	layer
joints	kohl	paṭala: 25
sandhi: 10	srotas: 22	leaves
juice extract	srotoja: 20	bhanga: 26
svarasa: 9	kravyabhuj	patra: 9
juice of cow-dung	carnivore: 22	lekhana
gośakṛt: 19	kriyā	scarification: 8
juices	procedures: 7f, 11	lekhya
rasa: 22	treatment: 10, 24	scarification: 15
1454. 22	kriyākāla	life, longevity
kāca	the time for	āyur: 5
	therapies: 10	liṅganāśa 
glassy opacity: 23 kalā	krmi	cataract: 25
	•	liniment
minutes: 9	worms: 9 krodha	ālepa: 18
kālakṛta		liquid
items created by	anger: 8 krsna	cala: 26
time: 9f		liquid collyrium
kālānusāriva	black part: 26	dravāñjana: 23
indian sarsaparilla:	kṛṣṇā	liquorice
20	long pepper: 18	madhuka: 19
kāma	kṛtamaṅgala	liver extract
lust: 8	received a	yakṛdrasa: 20
kanda	benediction: 13	liver
bulbs: 9 kanālacūrna	kṣaṇadāndhya	yakṛt: 20f
китиниситиа	night hlinghess: 20	lohha

greed: 8	manaḥśilā	dainya: <mark>8</mark>
located	realgar: 20, 23f	mitigable
adhiṣṭhāna: 8	red arsenic: 19f	уāруа: <b>2</b> 5
lodh tree	mānasa	mitigatible
lodhra: 19, 23	mental: 8	уāруа: 18
lodhra	maṇḍūka	mlāyin
lodh tree: 19, 23	frogs: 9	blue dot cataract:
long pepper	mango	24
krsnā: 18	amra: 19	monitor lizard
māgadha: 24	mañjiṣṭhā	godhā: 21
māgadhī: 20, 23	indian madder: 13	month
māgadhi: 21	manyāstambhā	māsa: 10
pippali: 19	paralysis of the	moving
lumps	nape of the neck: 13	jaṅgama: 9f
granthi: 13	mardita	mudga
lumpy		mung beans: 25
granthita: 14	massaged: 16	muhūrta
lust	marica	three-quarters of
kāma: 8	black pepper: 19	an hour: 9
lūtā	māsa	muktā
spiders: 6	month: 10	pearl: 25
<del>_</del>	mașī	muktvā
lye kṣāraka: 23	black soot: 18	
клики. 23	massaged	separate: 25 mūla
madhu	mardita: 16	
honey: 19	mātsarya	root: 8
madhuka	malice: 8	roots: 9
liquorice: 19	matured	mung beans
madhūka	vipakva: 19	mudga: 25
mahua: 22ff	may repair	mūṣika
madirā	yojayed: 17	rodents: 6
spirits: 20	medical advice	myrobalan
madira	ācārika: 15	pathyā: 19
	medicines cooked in a	na ced
spirits: 23 māgadha	crucible	if, then not: 25
	puṭapāka: 18	
long pepper: 24	mental	nadīja
māgadhī	mānasa: 8	salt: 19
long pepper: 20, 23		nāgara
māgadhi	meṣaviṣāṇa	dried ginger: 20
long pepper: 21	periploca of the	nalada
mahua	woods: 21	spikenard: 24
madhūka: 22ff	metal	nalina
malice	kupyaka: 19	indian lotus: 19
mātsarya: 8	minutes	nasal medicines
māṃsa	kalā: 9	nasya: 18
flesh: 10	misery	nasya

errhine: 22	vikalpa: 14	velvet leaf: 24
nasal medicines: 18	oṣadhi	pathyā .
naturally occurring	herbs: 9	myrobalan: 19
daivakṛte: 26	remedies: 10	patra
nature	oṣadhī-	leaves: 9
ātmaka: 8	remedies: 8	pavanodbhava
needle	outer corner of the eye	caused by wind: 21
sūcī: <b>26</b>	apāṅga: 26	pearl
night blindness	overexcitement	muktā: 25
kṣaṇadāndhya: 20	harṣa: 8	pelt
nimeșa	•	carman: 9
blink of the eye: 9	pacification	periploca of the woods
niryāsa	saṃśamana: 8	meṣaviṣāṇa: 21
resin: 9	upaśama: 10	
niśācara	pain and injury	phala
nocturnal creature:	vedanābhighāta: 5	fruits: 9
24	pāka	physical
nișevita	septic: 15	śārīravad: 10
prepared: 22	pakṣa	picu 
used: 21	fortnight: 10	cotton: 15
nivāta	palāśa	piercing
no wind: 9	flame of the forest:	vyadha: 26
no wind	23	vyadhana: 15
nivāta: 9	pallava	pill
nocturnal creature	shoots: 26	guḍikā: 19
niśācara: 24	pañcāṅgulataila	pinched
non-bloodshot	castor oil: 21	gāḍha: 15
blindness	paralysis of the nape of	pipīlika
	the neck	ants: 9
araga timira: 25	manyāstambhā: 13	pippali
non-flowering tree	paribhāṣā	long pepper: 19
vanaspati: 24	general rule: 23	pīṭha
nourishment	pārthiva	dais: 14
bṛṃhaṇa: 8	earthen products:	pitta
obstructed by blood	9f	bile: <b>21</b>
raktabaddha: 15	partial blindness	plīhan
ochre	timira: 21	spleen: 21
gairika: 18f	particulars	powdered earthenware
off his hand	vikalpa: 10	crockery
sapāṇa: 22	parts	kapālacūrņa: 15
oil	aṅga: 10	prabha
sneha: 9	paśu	shine: 25
	animals: 9	practical purposes
ojas energy: 27		prayojanavat: 10
energy: 27	paṭala layer: 25	pragāḍha
vital energy: 8	nāthā	pruguuru steened: 22
	17/4/17/14	SIEEDEU 22

prakopa	puṣpa	red arsenic
irritation: 10	flowers: 9	manaḥśilā: 19f
prakṛti	put it back together	red velvet mites
temperament: 8	pratisandhā-: 17	indragopa: 9
pratīkāra	puṭāhvaya	reduced
alleviation: 10	taken hot: 23	hīna: 17
remedy: 18	puṭākhya	regimen
pratisandhā-	enclosed roasting:	ācāra: 8
put it back	22	remedies
together: 17	puṭapāka	oṣadhi: 10
pratiședha	enclosed roasting:	oṣadhī-: 8
counteraction: 18	24	remedy
pratuda	medicines cooked	pratīkāra: 18
scavenging: 16	in a crucible: 18	resin
pravardhanaka		niryāsa: 9
dilator: 13	rāgin timira	rodents
prayojanavat	bloodshot	mūṣika: 6
practical purposes:	blindness: 23	rohīta
10	rāgiņi timire	rohīta tree: 23
prepared	bloodshot	rohīta tree
nișevita: 22	blindness: 25	rohīta: 23
prepared with tilvaka	rainy seasons	root
tailvaka: 18	varṣā: 9	mūla: 8
	rajana	roots
prepared with turpeth <i>traivṛta</i> : 18	turmerics: 20	mūla: 9
	raktabaddha	ŗtu
pressed	obstructed by	season: 10
√pīḍ: 26	blood: 15	rudhira
priyangu	rasa	blood: 9
beautyberry: 19	extracts: 23	ruj
priyangu	flavours: 8, 27	illness: 20
beauty berry: 23	juices: 22	
probe	the blood of birds	sādhubaddha
śalākā: 26	and animals: 19	well joined: 17
procedures	rasakriyā	sādhya
kriyā: <b>7</b> f, 11	inspissation: 24	curable: 18
prota	rasāñjana	saindhava
gauze: 15	elixir salve: 19, 23f	sind salt: 18, 20
puffed up	elixir-salve: 19	sindh salt: 23
śopha: 16	rauhita	sal tree
pupil	extract of rohu	śālā: 19
dṛṣṭi: 18, 26	carp: 19	śālā
purification	realgar	sal tree: 19
saṃśodhana: 8	manaḥśilā: 20, 23f	śalākā
puruṣa	received a benediction	probe: 26
human being: 8, 10	kṛtamaṅgala: 13	salilotthita

conch: 24	sarīsṛpa	śigru
"water-born": 24	creepy-crawlies: 6,	horseradish tree:
salt	9	24
nadīja: 19	sāriva	simultaneous
samāñjana	indian sarsaparilla:	samyak: 26
"same collyrium":	20	sind salt
23	sarpis	saindhava: <b>18, 20</b>
saṃkṣipta	ghee: 18	sindh salt
compressed: 14	śastrakṣata	saindhava: 23
compressed: 14	cutting with a	sinews
compressed: 15	blade: 18	snāyu: 10
samplava	śatāvarī	sirā
clusters: 9	wild asparagus: 25	duct: 13
samrambha	sauvīraka	ducts: 10, 15
angry: 16	stibnite: 19	sirāvedha
saṃśamana	scarification	blood-letting: 18
pacification: 8	lekhana: 8	siris
saṃśodhana	scarification	śirīṣa: 19
purification: 8	lekhya: 15	śirīṣa
samudraphena	scavenging	siris: 19
cuttlefish bone: 20	pratuda: 16	śīta
samvatsara	scramberry	elixir-salve: 19
year: 10	tālīśa: 19	skin
samyak	tālīśapatra: 20	tvak: 9f
simultaneous: 26	season	slice of flesh
sañcaya	rtu: 10	vadhra: 17
accumulation: 10	sections	small insects
sandal	adhyāya: 11	kunta: 9
sugandhi: 21	seed-eating	snāyu
sandhāna	vișkira: 16	sinews: 10
joins: 13	seeing smoke	sneha
sandhi	dhūmadarśin: 18	oil: 9
joins: 14	seka	sniffing
joints: 10	irrigation: 18	ucchiṅgana: 26
sannipāta sannipāta	separate	solid
congested	muktvā: 25	styāna: 26
humours: 11	septic	śonita
sap	pāka: 15	blood: 21
kṣīra: 9	shine	śonita-pitta, rakta-pitta
sapāṇa	prabha: 25	blood-bile: 21
off his hand: 22	shoots	śopha
sāra	pallava: 26	<sup>1</sup> puffed up: 16
essence: 9	udbhid: 9	spiders
śārīravad	shrubs	lūtā: 6
physical: 10	าง <b>ī</b> rudh∙ o	snikenard

nalada: 24	needle: 26	tainted
spiral	suffering	dușța: 15
āvarta: 25	duhkha: 8	taken hot
spirits	sugandhi	puṭāhvaya: 23
madirā: 20	sandal: 21	tālīśa
madira: 23	sukha	scramberry: 19
spleen	comfort: 10	tālīśapatra
plīhan: 21	sun	scramberry: 20
splitting	hari: <b>26</b>	tāmracūḍa
bhedya: 15	sunivișța	cock: 22
srāva	very intent: 17	tarpaṇa
suppurating: 15	supernatant layer	balm: 18, 23f
	agra: 23	
suppuration: 16	suppurating	tatra
śreyas	srāva: 15	in those cases: 21
welfare: 5	suppuration	temperament
srotas	srāva: 16	prakṛti: 8
kohl: 22	surāmaṇḍa	the blood of birds and
srotoja	decanted liquor: 15	animals
kohl: 20	svabhāva	rasa: 19
stabdha	inherent factors: 11	the fragrant one in oil
stiff: 14f	svābhāvika	tailasugandhi: 21
stalk	inherent: 8	the science of life
vṛnta: 19		āyurveda: 5
stationary	svarasa	the three fruits
sthāvara: 8, 10	expressed juice: 19	triphalā: 23
steeped	juice extract: 9	the three spices
pragāḍha: 22	svastivācana	vyoṣa: 20
sthāvara	blessings	the time for therapies
stationary: 8, 10	pronounced: 13	kriyākāla: 10
stibnite	svayamgupta	therapies
añjana: 23	velvet bean: 19	karman: 11
sauvīraka: 19	śvayathu	three fruits
stiff	swelling: 13	triphalā: 18, 20
stabdha: 14f	svedaja	three-quarters of an
strength	born of sweat: 9	hour
bala: 8	swelling	muhūrta: 9
strong mallow	śvayathu: 13	timira
atibalā: 22	syanda	blindness: 25
styāna	watery eye: 25	partial blindness:
solid: 26	tailacugandhi	21
substance	tailasugandhi	traivṛta
dravya: 27	the fragrant one in	•
	oil: 21	prepared with
substrate	tailvaka	turpeth: 18
āśrayin: 8	prepared with	treatment
SHEE	HIVAKA: 10	KT11///: 1(). 2/

tree turmeric	varga	vyadhi
dārvī: 19	collection: 10	disease: 10
trice	varna	vyākhyāta
kāṣṭhā: 9	complexion: 8, 27	intended: 11
triphalā	varsā	vyāla
the three fruits: 23	rainy seasons: 9	wild animals: 9
three fruits: 18, 20	varti	vyoṣa
trivrt	wick: 13	the three spices: 20
turpeth: 21f	vasā	the three spices. 20
turmeric	fat: 22	wasted
haridrā: 24	veda	kṣīṇa: 16
turmerics		watery eye
rajana: 20	knowledge: 5	syanda: 25
turpeth	vedanābhighāta	welfare
	pain and injury: 5	śreyas: 5
trivṛt: 21f tuttha	velvet bean	well joined
	svayaṃgupta: 19	sādhubaddha: 17
blue vitriol: 23	velvet leaf	white siris
tvak	pāthā: 24	kinihī: 24
skin: 9f	very intent	white teak
ucchingana	sunivișța: 17	kārśmarī: 19
	vidagdha	wick
sniffing: 26 udbhid	inflamed: 18	
	vidaṅga	varti: 13
shoots: 9	embelia: 23	wild animals
upahita	vikalpa	vyāla: 9
combined: 21	options: 14	wild asparagus
upaśama	particulars: 10	śatāvarī: 25
pacification: 10	vipakva	wood apple
used	matured: 19	kapittha: 19
nișevita: 21	vīrudh	worms
uśīra	shrubs: 9	kṛmi: 9
cuscus grass: 23f	viṣāda	
utpala	depression: 8	yakṛdrasa
blue lotus: 19	vișkira	liver extract: 20
utpīḍita		yakṛt
injured: 25	seed-eating: 16	liver: 20f
,,,	vital energy	уāруа
vadhra	ojas: 8	alleviated: 21
flesh: 17	vṛkṣa	mitigable: 25
slice of flesh: 17	flowering trees: 9	mitigatible: 18
vaiṣamya	vṛnta	yavaudana
irregularities: 8	stalk: 19	cooked barley: 25
vanaspati	vyadha	year
fruit trees: 9	piercing: 26	saṃvatsara: 10
non-flowering tree:	vyadhana	yoga
2.4	niercing: 15	compounds: 18

yojayed yuga yuga yuga repair: 17 yuga: 10 yuga: 10

## **Index of Manuscripts**

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

Kathmandu, KL 699: 1 Mumbai, AS B.D.109: 4 Kathmandu, NAK 1-1079: 1 Mumbai, AS B.I.3: 4

Kathmandu, NAK 5-333: 1 Thanjavur TMSSML 10773: 28